

FRIEDRICH VON SCHILLER.

Schiller

MARIA STUART

BY

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I. 'A DEADLY GLORY'

. . . such things will pluck
Hard at men's hearts that think on them, and move
Compassion that such long strange years should find
So strange an end: nor shall men ever say
But she was born right royal; full of sins,
It may be, and by circumstance or choice
Dyed and defaced with bloody stains and black,
Unmerciful, unfaithful, but of heart
So fiery high, so swift of spirit and clear,
. . . . . .
She shall be a world's wonder to all time,
A deadly glory watched of marvelling men
Not without praise, not without noble tears,
And if without what she would never have
Who had it never, pity — yet from none
Quite without reverence and some kind of love . . .

Such is the epitaph on Mary, Queen of Scots, which Swinburne, towards the end of his trilogy on the life of Mary Stuart, puts into the mouth of Drury, one of the royal prisoner's keepers at Fotheringay. Is it to be wondered at that many playwrights — some of them famous, most of them obscure — should have felt moved to dramatize the events which culminated in Mary's execution on 8 February 1587? Few episodes in history contain more of the very stuff of drama. A turbulent scene of political and religious strife; the fate of nations in the balance; ambitious men gambling for power, fanatics staking their lives on their faith; a story of intrigue, reckless passion, and murder; and in the centre of it all the enigmatic character of the heroine, one of the most fascinating figures in European history, alluring, proud, impulsive, elusive — the Daughter of Debate. What more could a dramatist ask?

Some dramatists, in point of fact, would have managed better with less; a great subject calls for a dramatist of genius, and the very richness of the theme proved an embarrassment to lesser

practitioners. In Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (Book V, Canto 9, 40) Mary Stuart is represented — in the person of Duessa — as a wicked temptress who lures men to their doom:

> That false *Duessa*, which had wrought great care,
> And mickle mischiefe vnto many a knight,
> By her beguyled, and confounded quight.

The fatal spell which Mary cast upon many men during her lifetime continued to work after her death, with similarly disastrous effect, among those who tried their hand at dramatizing her story. In a book which deals with the dramatic treatment of the subject in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (*Maria Stuart im Drama der Weltliteratur*, Leipzig, 1907), Karl Kipka lists well over a hundred plays. Some of them are by authors of note: Joost van Vondel, Vittorio Alfieri, Julius Słowacki, Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach, Björnstjerne Björnson, and Algernon Swinburne figure in the list. None of these plays, however, can be said to have established itself firmly on the stage and to have won a place in the front rank of European drama: none, that is, except Schiller's. Alone among the scores of contenders he emerged undefeated from the encounter with the Scottish sphinx.

II. THE GENESIS OF *Maria Stuart*

Schiller was at the height of his powers when he wrote *Maria Stuart*. It was a case of a mature writer returning, at the age of forty, to a project with which he had toyed as a young man. In December 1782, when Schiller, then aged twenty-three, was staying incognito at Frau von Wolzogen's country house at Bauerbach, where he had found a temporary refuge after his flight from Stuttgart, he borrowed a copy of Dr. William Robertson's *History of Scotland* from the library in the near-by town of Meiningen. About three months later we find the idea of a play on the subject of Mary, Queen of Scots, cropping up in several of his letters. Nothing came of it at the time. The years that followed were mainly devoted to the completion of *Don Carlos*, a long and complex work which marks the transition from the naturalist style of Schiller's earlier prose plays to his own form of poetic drama, and which was slow to take shape: it was

not until 1787, after four and a half years of intermittent effort, that the play could at last be offered to the public in book form. But if for the time being Schiller's interest shifted from Scotland to Spain, it remained centred in the same period. The Spanish Infante (1545–1568) and the Queen of Scots (1542–1587) were contemporaries; the author of *Maria Stuart* was to profit from the historical studies which preceded and accompanied the writing of *Don Carlos*.

For some time these historical studies, first undertaken as a means to an end, became an end in themselves. 'My affection for history grows day by day. . . . I wish I had studied nothing but history for ten years running', Schiller confessed in a letter to his friend Christian Gottfried Körner (15 April 1786); and presently his background reading for *Don Carlos* (which included such works as William Robertson's *History of Charles V* and Robert Watson's *History of the Reign of Philip II*) produced an offshoot in the shape of his *History of the Revolt of the Netherlands* (1788). Though he found this essay in history far less exacting a task than his play had been, it was more favourably received by the public. In one of his letters to Körner (7 January 1788) he comments wryly on the disproportion between effort and popular success: 'My reward for *Don Carlos* — the work of three laborious years — was displeasure. My Dutch History, the work of five or at most six months, may well establish my reputation.' Christoph Martin Wieland, one of the most influential critics of the time, encouraged him in the belief that the writing of history was his true vocation. When Schiller read him some passages from his *Revolt of the Netherlands*, Wieland was enthusiastic. 'He was quite carried away by the thing' (Schiller reports in a letter to F. Huber, 26 October 1787) 'and he maintains that I am a born historian. He declared that I should have no superior in the field of history.' Schiller rightly felt that he had the gift of combining the requisite amount of scholarship with a lucid, vigorous, and attractive prose style, and he saw himself developing into a writer 'more like Montesquieu than Sophocles'. (Letter to Körner, 12 February 1788.) Körner was opposed to these plans; he wanted his friend to concentrate his energies on his work as a poet and dramatist, and feared that he might be side-tracked by the pursuit of history. But his protests were of no avail. When, through Goethe's good offices, Schiller was offered a professorship of history in the University of Jena — his *History of the*

Revolt of the Netherlands having furnished him with the necessary credentials for such a post — he accepted, even though the appointment was far from being a lucrative one; and for some years the study, the teaching, and the writing of history became his main professional occupations.

Schiller's place as a historian is with the pioneers of modern German historiography: it would be unfair to compare him with such masters of a later age as B. G. Niebuhr or Leopold von Ranke. Even so, his work should not be underrated. He brought an artist's gifts to the writing of history; whether he writes on Europe at the time of the crusades or on the civil wars in sixteenth-century France, the imprint of his strong individuality imparts unity and coherence to his narrative. What he gave his readers was something they had rarely been offered before: history seen through the medium of a temperament — over-simplified at times, no doubt, and not always based on primary sources, but always eminently readable and memorable. Schiller was no specialist; the title of his inaugural lecture — 'What is universal history, and to what end does one study it?' — shows clearly enough that he proposed to take all history for his province. At the same time, there is one great theme which obviously engaged his special interest, both in his own studies and in his work as an editor of historical memoirs: the theme of religious conflict and its political consequences in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is a fair assumption that he must have given some thought to the fate of Mary Stuart in that general context; and the assumption is confirmed by a passage in a letter to his future wife, Charlotte von Lengefeld, written in March 1788. In this letter, which accompanied a copy of Robertson's *History of Scotland*, Schiller refers to Mary, Queen of Scots, adding the injunction: 'Let your heart be touched by the suffering of the poor Queen.'

Schiller had come to history by way of the drama. Although he had felt disgruntled at the lukewarm reception accorded to *Don Carlos*, there was no reason to think that his dramatic vein had run dry, and it was to be expected that sooner or later the creative urge would revive and turn his thoughts back to the theatre. In biographical retrospect, the decade which he devoted to the study of history and Kantian philosophy appears as a period of painstaking preparation for renewed and greater efforts in his old *métier* — a case of 'reculer pour mieux sauter'. His second

and last major historical work, the *History of the Thirty Years War*, provided the starting-point for his return to the drama. The process was slow and troublesome; the subject he had chosen — Wallenstein's bid for supreme power and his fall — proved refractory material. But when, after many set-backs and delays, the new play — a work of vast proportions, over 7,600 lines in length — was at last finished, it showed Schiller as a dramatist of greatly increased stature. In grandeur of conception, in subtlety and variety of characterization, and in the profundity of its ideas, *Wallenstein* is Schiller's greatest achievement, though in regard to mastery of dramatic form, elegance of design and structural harmony, *Maria Stuart* must be conceded pride of place. After the completion of *Wallenstein* in 1799, the tempo of Schiller's dramatic production suddenly quickened: from now on until the end of his short life, a magnificent series of major plays (to say nothing of translations and adaptations) followed each other at the remarkable rate of one a year. Such a sustained creative effort would have taxed the strongest of men; Schiller maintained it, with superb courage, in spite of the ever more menacing symptoms of serious illness. Its first result was *Maria Stuart*.

While Schiller was writing *Wallenstein*, he often felt weighed down by the heavy demands which the work made upon him, and some of his letters show him chafing under a sense of bondage. 'How I shall thank Heaven', he exclaims, 'when this *Wallenstein* is off my hands and gone from my desk!' (Letter to Körner, 24 January 1798.) When the long task was finally accomplished, however, he experienced the kind of reaction which often comes, perversely, at moments of fulfilment: far from feeling relaxed and happy, he felt flat and ill at ease. 'I am worse off in my present state of freedom', he writes to Goethe (19 March 1799), 'than I was previously in my slavery. The massive weight which had hitherto attracted me and held me fast is now suddenly gone, and I feel as if I were suspended, indeterminate, in empty space. . . . I shall not be at peace until my thoughts are once again directed, in hope and affection, towards a definite subject.' He did not have long to wait for a new orientation of his creative energy. On 26 April 1799, he reports to Goethe that he is busy reading a history of the reign of Queen Elizabeth and studying the trial of Mary Stuart. 'One or two central tragic motifs suggested themselves at once and have inspired me with great

faith in this subject, which unquestionably has many rewarding features.' Before another two months had passed, he had worked out the plan of his play and started writing. His confidence in his subject grew as the work proceeded. 'I am becoming increasingly convinced of the genuinely tragic quality of my subject; one special characteristic of it is that one sees the catastrophe from the very first scenes and that one is led ever more closely towards it while the action of the play seems to be moving away from it.' (Letter to Goethe, 18 June 1799.) The first act, in which the audience had to be familiarized with the complicated historical background, proved a difficult hurdle. Once the poet had won this 'struggle with the historical material', progress was more rapid; by the beginning of September 1799, he had finished the second act and started on Act III. At this point, however, his work was interrupted by domestic calamities. In October his wife became critically ill after the birth of their third child, Karoline; a severe attack of brain fever seemed to threaten her sanity. Weeks of constant anxiety put a heavy strain on Schiller's frail health, and the removal of his household from Jena to Weimar in December did nothing to improve matters. Being in no fit state to continue his creative work, he decided that a change of occupation was indicated. He embarked upon a German version of *Macbeth*, in the hope of being able to complete this interim assignment in about a fortnight's time. Although in fact it took much longer, the time was well spent; the result of his labours, though distinctly un-Shakespearean, remains an actable and effective adaptation. No sooner was this interlude finished than Schiller himself fell gravely ill, and a depressingly slow convalescence brought this winter of his discontent to a close.

In these circumstances, the completion of *Maria Stuart* during the spring months of 1800 was no mean achievement. Schiller himself supervised the rehearsals on the Weimar stage. The first performance took place on 14 June 1800; it was a resounding success. In a letter to Körner written two days later, Schiller observed with modest pride: 'At last I am beginning to master the dramatic medium and to know my job.'

III. THE HISTORICAL RECORD

The history of Mary Stuart's brief Scottish reign and of her long captivity in England is notoriously controversial. If it is the historian's business (in Ranke's famous phrase) to say how things really happened — 'wie es eigentlich gewesen' — then the historian cannot content himself with being a mere annalist, a chronicler of facts and dates: he has to interpret the facts, evaluate the sources, analyse human relationships, explore characters and appraise motives, while all the time remaining conscious of the vagaries of human behaviour and of the imponderable in human affairs. In the case of Mary, Queen of Scots, pro-Marians and anti-Marians have placed widely divergent interpretations upon the recorded facts. A distinguished modern historian has remarked that 'there are questions on which historians will probably be divided to the end of time, for the simple reason that their points of view differ so greatly that the gulf between them is unbridgeable. Of such a nature is the question of Mary Stuart's responsibility for the fate that eventually overtook her'.[1]

Although as a dramatist Schiller reserved the right to treat the data of history with the freedom of the artist, he was at pains to ascertain the recorded facts first. Before considering the interpretation which he puts forward in his play, it may be well to recapitulate briefly the historical record on which his interpretation is based.

Mary Stuart, the daughter of James V of Scotland and his French consort, Mary of Guise, was born at Linlithgow on 8 December 1542. On her father's side she was descended from Henry VII, the founder of the Tudor dynasty in England, whose daughter Margaret had married James IV of Scotland. In the eyes of the Catholic world, which did not acknowledge the legitimacy of Elizabeth, this line of descent established Mary Stuart's claim to the throne of England after the death of Mary Tudor (November 1558).

James V was lying on his deathbed at Falkland Palace when he received the news of his daughter's birth; an infant queen succeeded to the crown of Scotland. Her great-uncle, Henry VIII, wanted to see her betrothed to his own son and heir, Prince Edward. The negotiations, however, broke down, and nothing came of a project of marriage which would have united the two realms. Instead, the 'petite reine d'Écosse' was sent to her mother's native country at the age of six, to be brought up, under the eye of her grandmother, the dowager Duchess of

[1] John B. Black, *The Reign of Elizabeth*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1959, p. viii.

Guise, at a court renowned for its gaiety and sophistication; and the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, eventually secured the consent of the Scottish Parliament to the marriage of her daughter with Francis, the Dauphin of France. The union of the young couple was duly solemnized in 1558, when the bride was in her sixteenth year. In 1559 Henry II of Valois was killed in a tournament, and Francis and Mary became King and Queen of France.

Their reign was very brief. The health of Francis II had always been frail; the boy King died before reaching manhood, on 5 December 1560. His brother (who succeeded him as Charles IX) being a minor, the reins of government passed into the hands of the Queen Mother, Catherine dei Medici — 'Madame la Serpente', as her youngest son called her. The death of her husband left Mary Stuart in the unenviable position of a young dowager, without power or influence, an unwanted stranger at the court now presided over by her formidable mother-in-law.

In June of the same year Mary's mother, the Regent of Scotland, had died at Leith, at the age of forty-four. Since there was no future for her on French soil, the young widow decided to enter upon her Scottish heritage, even though this meant exchanging the sunshine and the *dolce vita* of France for the grey skies and the harsher ways of her northern kingdom. Her cousin Elizabeth having refused to grant her a safe conduct for a journey through England, she went by sea, arriving at Leith on 19 August 1561. It was raining when the Queen and her French retinue disembarked from their galley, and a characteristic east-coast 'haar' blurred all outlines in its gloomy twilight. Depressing weather, even for those who were accustomed to the vagaries of a Scottish summer; and some of Mary's Scottish subjects insisted on regarding it as an ominous portent. In his *Historie of the Reformatioun of Religioun within the Realm of Scotland*, John Knox observed that 'The verie Face of the Heavin, the Tyme of hir Arryvall, did manifestly speik quhat Comfort was brocht unto this Countrey with her, to wit, Sorow, Darknes, Dolor, and all Impiety. . . . The Sone was not sene to schyne two Dayes befoir, nor two Dayes efter. That Fore-wairning gave God unto us; bot alace the most Pairt wer blynd.'

The thirteen years of Mary's sojourn in France witnessed a crucial phase in the history of Scotland. She had left a Catholic country in 1548; she returned in 1561 to a country whose Parliament had repudiated the supremacy of the Pope and forbidden the celebration of mass. Her mother had done her best during her regency to contain the Calvinist revolution, first by negotiation and compromise, and latterly by repression; but neither concessions nor attempts at intimidation could stem the rising tide of Protestantism. The young Queen had declared, in the plainest terms, that she had no intention of abjuring her Catholic faith. Would she command the loyalty of her Protestant subjects? She was returning to her native land virtually a foreigner, French in language, upbringing, tastes and sympathies — at a moment when the Treaty of Edinburgh (signed in July 1560) had just put an end to the Auld Alliance between Scotland and France and asserted Scotland's independence. Would the new sovereign seek to revive her mother's conception of Scotland as a French protectorate? Then there was the question of her title to the English succession. After the death of Mary Tudor, Mary Stuart had openly asserted her claim by quartering her arms with the three lions of England. The Treaty of Edinburgh laid it down 'that the Most Christian King and Queen Mary and both of them shall at all times coming abstain from using the said arms and title of the kingdoms of England and Ireland', thus acknowledging Elizabeth as the rightful Queen of England; but Mary and her husband Francis had never ratified the Treaty. Would she now abide by its terms?

Considering the perils with which her situation was fraught, things went remarkably well during the first years of Mary's reign. Her conciliatory attitude in matters of religion reassured those who had feared for the safety of the reformed faith; while demanding, for herself and her household, the right to worship according to the Roman rite, she declared that she had no intention of interfering with the religious practice of her Protestant subjects. Nor was there any sign of her trying to make Scotland submit again to the tutelage of France. As for the thorny problem of the English succession, it remained unresolved. Mary tried to persuade Elizabeth to recognize her formally as her only legitimate successor, heiress presumptive to the English crown; but Elizabeth refused, being only too well aware that 'more people worship the rising than the setting sun'. But if no agreement was reached, at least courteous diplomatic relations were maintained; the two Queens exchanged professions of amity and expressed their desire for a personal interview — a plan that was

mooted repeatedly between 1562 and 1564. While this policy of moderation disarmed her critics, Mary's captivating personality won her the allegiance of many hearts; few remained as impervious to her charm as John Knox, who saw in the lovely young Queen nothing but 'a proud Mynd, a crafty Witt, and ane indurat Hairt against God and his Treuth'.

The fatal turning-point in Mary's career came when she married her second husband, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley (29 July 1565). Within two years of that ill-starred match, the fund of goodwill which she had accumulated during the first years of her reign was utterly squandered, and the Queen was left without a friend in her realm. It is true that Darnley was of royal descent (like Mary, he was a great-grandchild of Henry VII, his mother, the Countess of Lennox, being the daughter of Margaret Tudor by her second husband, the Earl of Angus), and in that sense a better choice than Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester, whom Elizabeth had suggested to Mary as a suitable consort. In all other respects, however, this hasty marriage proved a disastrous mistake. From a political point of view, it alienated the Scottish Protestants, Darnley being a Catholic; it antagonized the Scottish nobles, who regarded Darnley as a threat to their power and their influence with the Queen; and it offended Elizabeth, whose attempts at intervention had been ignored. Bad as all this was, it was not the worst. Mary rode out the political storm that followed her wedding; the rebellion of the nobles, led by the Earl of Murray, was quelled, and Elizabeth in the end had to accept the *fait accompli*. What was far more sinister was the rapid and irreparable breakdown of the royal marriage. Very soon Mary discovered that the handsome youth who had taken her fancy was a despicable creature, as vicious in his habits as he was arrogant in manner and violent in temper. Though obviously unfit to rule, Darnley was not satisfied with the mere courtesy title of 'King Henry', and his sense of frustration finally vented itself in an appallingly brutal murder. His victim was David Rizzio, an Italian musician of humble origin who had come to Scotland in 1561, had gained the Queen's favour by his pleasant manner and ready wit, and had been appointed to the post of her French secretary. The foreign upstart's rise to a position of power was widely resented; what is more, court gossip alleged that the relation between the Queen and her protégé was one of clandestine intimacy. On the evening of 9 March 1566 a band of

conspirators, led by Darnley, made their way into Mary's private apartments, dragged the Italian from his seat by the side of the Queen (who was at that time six months gone with child) and stabbed him to death.

The murder of Rizzio was an attempt at a *coup d'état* as well as an act of private revenge. Mary handled the crisis with great courage and skill. She contrived a rapid reconciliation with Darnley, thus detaching him from his fellow-assassins. She then made her peace with the exiled Earl of Murray and his followers, on whose support Darnley had counted. 'King Henry' was completely isolated, hated by the accomplices whom he had betrayed, and less of a king than ever. Mary was once again in control, and her position was further strengthened when, on 19 June 1566, she gave birth to a son and heir — the baby Prince who was destined to unite the crowns of Scotland and England in 1603.

On Mary's part, her speedy reconciliation with Darnley had been mere pretence; as soon as it had served its immediate political purpose, she made no secret of the contempt and loathing she felt for her husband, or of her desire to be rid of him. In that desire she was not alone: nor did she have to look far for someone who was prepared to take action. The Queen had become passionately devoted to a new favourite — James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, an adventurous nobleman from the Borders, not overburdened with principles or scruples, who had stood by her during the Rizzio affair. If the tie of Mary's intolerable marriage could not be loosened in any other way, Bothwell was ready to cut it. The precise details of the events that followed, and of Mary's complicity in them, remain shrouded in the mists of historical conjecture. The known facts can be briefly stated. In January 1567, Mary visited Darnley in Glasgow where he was lying ill. (The nature of his trouble is obscure. Some say that it was smallpox; some contemporary chroniclers suggest that he had been poisoned; and some historians conjecture that he was suffering from virulent venereal disease.[1]) He returned to Edinburgh with her; his disease being infectious, he was lodged in a lonely house at Kirk o' Field, just outside the city walls, where she visited him frequently. On 9 February — a Sunday — she spent part of the evening with him, and then left in order to attend a wedding party at Holyrood. In the small hours of the

[1] Cf. David Hay Fleming, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 2nd ed., London, 1898, pp. 430 f.

morning, the house at Kirk o' Field was blown up; Darnley's strangled body was found in a near-by garden.

Rumour soon named Bothwell as the instigator of the crime; a charge of murder was brought against him by Darnley's father, the Earl of Lennox. The presence of an armed force of Bothwell's followers rendered the result of the ensuing trial a foregone conclusion: in the absence of the accuser, judgment went by default. On 24 April, Bothwell waylaid the Queen on the road from Stirling to Edinburgh and carried her off to his stronghold, Dunbar Castle. She remained there, wholly in his power, for twelve days. They then returned to Edinburgh together, where Mary created her captor Duke of Orkney. In the meantime, proceedings had been hastily instituted to dissolve Bothwell's marriage. A decree of divorce having been granted to Lady Bothwell, the Queen and the new Duke of Orkney were married, with Protestant rites, on 15 May.

This sequence of events was felt to be a national disgrace by Protestants and Catholics alike. The country rose in revolt. Such forces as the Queen and her new consort could muster collapsed at Carberry Hill (15 June). Bothwell escaped to Norway. Mary was taken back to Edinburgh, where she was greeted by the insults and curses of an angry crowd, and thence to Lochleven Castle. Here she was forced to abdicate in favour of her infant son (who was duly crowned as James VI) and to agree to the appointment of the Earl of Murray as Regent.

Mary could hardly be expected to hold herself bound by an agreement which had been wrested from her under duress; and although the Darnley murder and its astonishing sequel had lost her the sympathy of the nation as a whole, there were still groups of influential men — such as the Hamiltons — who believed that they might profit from the Queen's restoration. Aided and abetted by such adherents, Mary succeeded in escaping from her island prison on 2 May 1568. There followed a few brief days of precarious freedom. If her supporters had hoped to reinstate her by force of arms, their hopes were soon shattered; on 13 May, they were routed by the Regent's troops at Langside. Mary's last desperate gamble for power had failed, and there was now no safety in Scotland for the dethroned Queen of Scots. Three days after the defeat of her forces at Langside, she crossed the Solway Firth, an exiled monarch, asking for political asylum in her cousin's kingdom.

She soon discovered that in going to England she had merely exchanged one kind of captivity for another. Whatever Elizabeth may have felt in her heart when contemplating Mary's sad plight — and there is no reason to think that she was wholly devoid of sympathy — the arrival of the royal fugitive from across the Border created a political problem of the first order; a problem which called for the exercise, not of impulsive generosity, but of diplomatic caution. Elizabeth hated rebellion; she was outraged by the idea of subjects sitting in judgment on their own lawful sovereign, and she made no secret of her sentiments in the messages she sent to the Scottish lords during Mary's imprisonment at Lochleven Castle. To hand Mary over to the Scottish rebels was out of the question. On the other hand, to receive her — as Mary had no doubt hoped to be received — as an honoured guest, to admit her cousin to her presence and to her court, might have seemed tantamount to condoning her conduct and espousing her cause, and was therefore inexpedient: neither Elizabeth herself nor her people wanted to go to war for the restitution of the Queen of Scots. Nor could she be allowed to make her way to France, where she might be used as a means of reimposing French hegemony and Catholic rule upon her northern kingdom. The only safe course, it seemed, was to detain Mary in England. In Archbishop Parker's striking phrase, Elizabeth had 'the wolf by the ears': to let go would have been fatal.

Accordingly Mary was transferred from Carlisle Castle, where she had lodged after her flight from Scotland, to a place further removed from the Scottish border. Bolton Castle in Wensleydale was assigned to her as her temporary residence; Sir Francis Knollys, Elizabeth's cousin, acted as her custodian. At the same time, pressure was brought to bear on her to make her agree to a judicial inquiry (with Elizabeth in the role of arbiter), designed to clarify the issue between the exiled Queen of Scots and the rebel government of Scotland, headed by the Earl of Murray as Regent. Mary consented very reluctantly, and with reservations, pleading her status as a sovereign Queen answerable only to God, who could not appear as a party in legal proceedings, least of all on a footing of equality with her own rebellious subjects. Having begun at York in October 1568, the 'conference' was subsequently moved to Westminster. It was here, on 6 December, that Murray finally produced his evidence of Mary's complicity

in the murder of Darnley: letters alleged to have been written by Mary to Bothwell and to have been taken, in their silver casket, from one of Bothwell's servants on 20 June 1567, a few days after the defeat of Mary's and Bothwell's supporters at Carberry Hill. Mary promptly declared the Casket Letters to be a forgery and withdrew her commissioners from the conference, having been refused permission to appear and defend herself in person. The inquiry thereupon ground to a standstill. An interim pronouncement, made by Elizabeth on 10 January 1569, left the matter in abeyance. Nothing, she said, had so far been proved against Murray and his adherents to impair their honour; on the other hand, no sufficient evidence had as yet been produced for Elizabeth to 'conceive or take any evil opinion of the Queen, her good sister'.

The inquiry had settled nothing. Mary was kept in custody, in a manner befitting her royal status, the cost of her household being borne partly by the English treasury and partly by Mary herself, out of the very substantial income which she derived from her dowry as Queen-dowager of France. During the nineteen years of her detention in England, she resided at a number of places: at Tutbury Castle in Staffordshire, at Coventry, at Sheffield Castle (where she stayed longest — from 1569 to 1585 — and where the Earl of Shrewsbury acted as her keeper), at Tutbury again (where surveillance became much more stringent under her new custodian, Amyas Paulet), at Chartley in Derbyshire, and finally at Fotheringay Castle in Northamptonshire. Although the intention was to cut Mary off from any active participation in politics, in practice this proved impossible. Except during the last phase of her imprisonment, when very elaborate precautions were taken to isolate her (and when such secret correspondence as she conducted was tapped by Elizabeth's Principal Secretary, Sir Francis Walsingham, to be used in evidence against her at her trial), she had no difficulty in communicating with the outside world — with France, with Philip of Spain and his ambassador at the English court, and with her friends among the Catholic nobility in the north of England. In spite of the restrictions placed upon her movements, the captive Queen of Scots remained a centre of political disturbance and a focus of Catholic disaffection in Elizabeth's realm.

The first move of the Catholic malcontents took the form of a cabal which aimed at marrying Mary to the Duke of Norfolk, the

ultimate objectives being her restoration to her throne, her recognition as Elizabeth's successor, the dismissal of William Cecil and his Protestant party from their position of power, and possibly the restoration of Catholicism in England. The scheme (in which the Earl of Leicester was implicated) was discovered by Elizabeth; and when the Duke, after some hesitation, obeyed the Queen's summons to present himself at her court he was imprisoned in the Tower, where he remained from October 1569 until his conditional release in August 1570. The failure of the cabal was followed by an armed rising in the north, led by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland. The rebels had the satisfaction of hearing mass said once again at the altar of Durham Cathedral; but after the elation of some initial successes, the movement lost its momentum. Within little more than a month the Northern rebellion had collapsed. Its leaders fled across the Border; severe reprisals were taken against their followers.

As the price of his release from the Tower, the Duke of Norfolk had solemnly promised to desist from any political action relating to the future of Mary Stuart. Despite these assurances, he allowed himself to be drawn into a plot, devised, with Mary's knowledge and co-operation, by a certain Ridolfi, an Italian banker in London, who was acting as a political agent for Pope Pius V. The essence of the Ridolfi plot was that a renewed Catholic revolt, to be led by the Duke of Norfolk, should be supported by a Spanish force under the command of the Duke of Alva, which was to invade England from the Netherlands. The plot was uncovered by the watchfulness of Cecil (now Lord Burghley); in January 1572, the Duke of Norfolk was brought to trial before his peers on a charge of treason, and sentenced to death. For some time Elizabeth deferred sanctioning the execution of the sentence; but the new Parliament which met in May 1572 clamoured for the blood of the traitors who had been scheming against the safety of the state and of their Queen. The Lords and the Convocation of Bishops joined the Commons in demanding the heads of the Duke and of his fellow-conspirator, the Queen of Scots. Elizabeth refused to have Mary attainted and put to death. Mary's unfortunate associate, however, paid with his life for the privilege of having championed her cause: on 2 June 1572, the premier nobleman of England was beheaded on Tower Hill.

The Ridolfi plot set the pattern which subsequent events were to follow. In the eyes of the Catholic world, Mary was a noble martyr for her faith whose suffering had long since atoned for the sins and follies of earlier years: a royal Queen of unspotted lineage, a rightful claimant to the throne of England, held captive by a jealous rival of heretical views and questionable birth. As an object of Catholic devotion and an embodiment of Catholic hopes, she remained a force to be reckoned with, both in the grand strategic design of the Catholic powers of Europe — 'the Enterprise of England', as it came to be known — and in the simpler minds of those fanatics who believed that the quickest short-cut to the realization of their dreams was the assassination of Elizabeth. To Elizabeth's loyal subjects she appeared, by the same token, as a permanent threat to the peace and security of the realm, 'the bosom serpent' (in Walsingham's phrase) who would sting while there was life in her. Although she was subjected to stricter restraint after the Ridolfi plot, Mary continued to correspond with her sympathizers in England and abroad, pinning her hopes, now on the success of 'the Enterprise' and an invasion of England, now on a favourable turn of events in Scotland. Some of this secret correspondence was intercepted by the English intelligence service; and in 1583 Walsingham brought off a major *coup* by identifying and eventually arresting one of Mary's principal agents, Francis Throckmorton, whose confession (forced from him on the rack) revealed the extent of Mary's intrigues. Further information about 'the Enterprise' came to light in the following year when another agent, a Jesuit named Creighton, was arrested by the Dutch authorities on board a ship bound for Scotland, and handed over to the English government.

Shortly before the climax of the Throckmorton affair, a certain John Somerville, a young Catholic from Warwickshire, had sworn to 'shoot the Queen with his dag'; having given himself away by talking too freely about his intention, he had been apprehended and executed. Public feeling against Mary and her Catholic adherents ran high; it rose even higher when William of Orange (who had miraculously survived a previous attempt on his life in 1582) was assassinated on 30 June 1584. The murder of heretic rulers had papal sanction — and Elizabeth had been declared a heretic and a usurper in the bull of excommunication published by Pius V as long ago as 1570. More fuel was added

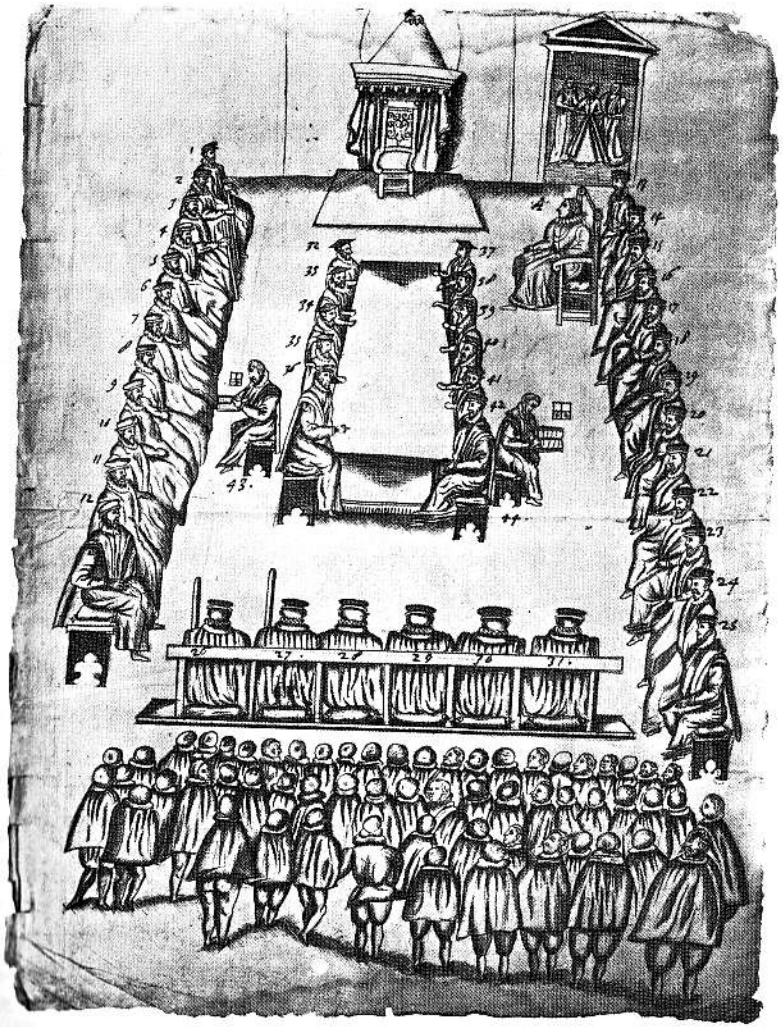
to the flames of the nation's anger when, early in 1585, Dr. Parry, a member of the House of Commons, was found guilty of having plotted to kill the Queen, and sent to the scaffold. The safety of the Queen became the main concern of Parliament. The Catholic mission, which had been sending many of its seminarists from Douai to work for the revival of the old faith in England, was banned; and a bill was passed (incorporating, in a modified form, the so-called 'Bond of Association' drawn up by Elizabeth's council earlier on and signed by thousands of citizens) which was plainly designed to deal with the threat to Elizabeth's safety arising from Mary's claim to the succession. In the event of an attempt being made on the Queen's life with the intention of raising some other person to the throne, that other person being privy to the attempt, the new law laid it down that the claimant in question — unnamed in the enactment, but clearly identifiable — was to be excluded from the succession and liable to the death penalty, always providing that his (or rather, her) guilt had been duly established in the course of a proper trial.

It was not long before the cap was made to fit. A certain Gilbert Gifford, who was returning to England from abroad with instructions to establish contact with Mary, now under close guard at Chartley, was arrested on landing and induced to act as Walsingham's confidence man. Ostensibly operating on Mary's behalf, Gifford helped to arrange a system of 'secret' communication between Mary and the outside world. Chartley Manor received regular deliveries of beer from a brewer of Burton, and these were used as a means of conveyance. Incoming letters were put in a waterproof bag and pushed through the bung-hole of a full cask; outgoing letters travelled in the empties which were going back to the brewery. In this way the whole of Mary's correspondence passed through Walsingham's hands, to be deciphered and copied by his confidential secretary Thomas Phelippes; and very soon it yielded the kind of evidence he was looking for. A new plot was being hatched: a group of young men were planning to murder Elizabeth and to set Mary free, with the aid of an invading force from abroad. One of the leaders, Anthony Babington, a young gentleman from Derbyshire who had been a page in the Earl of Shrewsbury's household at the time of Mary's residence at Sheffield Castle, wrote to Mary through the 'secret' post, giving her a detailed description of the conspirators' plans. On 17 July 1586, Mary signified her

approval in a long letter. This important document, having been duly studied by Walsingham and copied by his secretary, was forwarded to Babington with a forged postscript which asked for the names of his fellow-conspirators. On the copy which he had written out for his employer, Phelippes sketched the sign of the gallows.

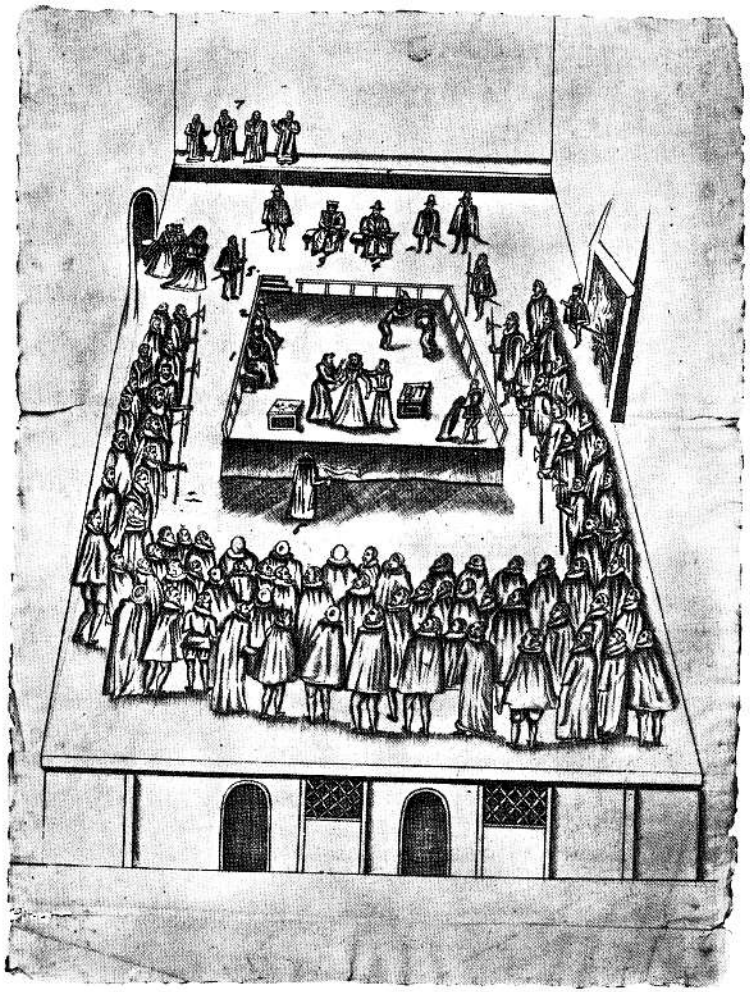
The forged postscript was the touch of a perfectionist who wanted to see his dossier complete in every detail. In the long run, however, it did more harm than good to the case against Mary which Walsingham was at pains to build up, for in the view of some historians it tends to cast doubt upon the rest of the evidence. Nor did it serve the immediate purpose for which it was inserted; sensing danger in delay, Walsingham decided to move in for the kill without waiting for Babington's reply. Babington and his companions were apprehended and imprisoned in the Tower, where confessions were obtained from them. At the same time Mary's two private secretaries were arrested and her papers impounded. On 20 September, Babington and six of his fellow-conspirators were executed with all the brutality which was customary in cases of treason.

Mary herself was arraigned before a commission of thirty-six judges, to be tried under the new Act for the Queen's Surety. She conducted her own defence with great ability and spirit, insisting on her privileged status as an anointed Queen which, as she claimed, placed her beyond the jurisdiction of any court of law, however constituted. This fundamental objection having been overruled, she pleaded not guilty to the charges brought against her, denying the authenticity of her letter to Babington and disclaiming all knowledge of the plot. The evidence produced by the prosecution was, however, held to be conclusive — a view, it may be added, with which most historians are disposed to agree. After prolonged deliberations, the commissioners unanimously found her guilty, and their verdict was endorsed, with equal unanimity, by both Houses of Parliament. On 12 November 1586, the Lords and the Commons jointly petitioned the Queen for the speedy execution of the death sentence; but it was not until 1 February 1587 that Elizabeth, after much casting about for 'some other way', reluctantly signed the warrant which sealed the fate of her kinswoman. On 8 February 1587, the life of Mary, Queen of Scots, ended under the executioner's axe. She met her death with royal dignity and superb fortitude.



THE TRIAL OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

Pen and ink sketch of the arrangements made for the trial at Fotheringhay Castle, 14, 15 October 1586, preserved among the papers of Robert Beale (1541-1601), Clerk to the Council of Elizabeth I. The Scottish Queen is shown seated on the right (A).



THE EXECUTION OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

Pen-and-ink sketch of the arrangements made for the execution at Fotheringhay Castle, 8 Feb. 1587, preserved among the papers of Robert Beale (1541-1601), Clerk to the Council of Elizabeth I, who carried the death-warrant to Fotheringhay Castle and read it aloud in the great hall as a preliminary to the execution. The sketch depicts three stages of the procedure, namely, the entry of the Queen by the door on the left, her preparation, and her execution.

IV. *Maria Stuart* — A TRAVESTY OF HISTORY?

Can it be said that Schiller's play presents a truthful picture of the historical situation with which it deals? Some readers, no doubt, would unhesitatingly answer 'No', and dismiss Schiller's drama as a travesty of history. Is it not enough (they would ask) to point to the obvious liberties Schiller takes with established fact and chronology — inventing a meeting of the two Queens which in fact never took place, shortening the period of Mary's captivity by considerably more than half, and representing Mary and Elizabeth as women of twenty-five and thirty respectively,[1] whereas at the time of Mary's death in 1587 their historical prototypes were forty-four and fifty-three?

There is, of course, an easy answer to these objections. A dramatist, it may be argued, is not a chronicler, and any attempt to judge his work in terms of factual accuracy is beside the point. A play is a work of the imagination, not a work of historical research; an author may choose an historical setting and historical characters simply because they provide him with convenient material to work on, but there is no reason why he should allow an historian's scruples to cramp his style. This is the line of argument which Schiller himself adopted when he touched upon the question — in his dedication of *Fiesco* to J. F. Abel, in the *Erinnerung an das Publikum*, and again, a few years later, in a letter to Caroline von Beulwitz,[2] where he contrasts 'the inner truth, which I will call the philosophical truth and the truth of art' with the exactitude of the annalist, and where he defines his own practice as follows: 'History, indeed, is only a storehouse for my imagination, and its subjects must put up with what they become in my hands.' In claiming such latitude for the playwright, Schiller takes his cue from Lessing, to whom he explicitly refers in the dedicatory Preface to *Fiesco*. In Section 19 of his *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, Lessing had paraphrased and developed the passage in the *Poetics* which leads Aristotle to the conclusion that poetry is 'more philosophical' than history — 'for poetry is chiefly conversant about general truth, history about particular. In what manner, for example, any person of a certain character would speak or act, probably or necessarily — this is general; and this is the object of poetry, even while it

[1] Letter to Iffland, 22 June 1800. [2] 10 December 1788.

makes use of particular names'.[1] Dotting the i's and crossing the t's of Aristotle's terse statement, Lessing explains that the tragic poet is concerned with historical truth only in so far as it resembles a well-constructed plot which he can use for his own purpose. 'He makes use of a story, not because it has in fact happened, but because it happened in such a way that for his present purpose he could hardly invent anything better.' In Section 23 of the *Dramaturgie* (in which he discusses an earlier play on an Elizabethan theme, Thomas Corneille's *Le Comte d'Essex*), Lessing goes on to say that if a dramatist's choice of an historical subject is determined by the characters of the protagonists, 'then the question of how far the poet may deviate from historical truth is readily settled: as far as he likes in whatever does not concern the characters. The characters alone he holds sacred.' He may, Lessing adds, illuminate them and throw them into relief, but he must not change them in any material particular.

Do these familiar arguments settle the question of historical truth in Schiller's *Maria Stuart*? Or do they perhaps provide too easy a solution when one is dealing with a dramatist who was at the same time a historian of some note? If one says that the poet chooses a certain historical situation and certain historical characters because they supply him with suitable material, the question still remains — how does he recognize them as being 'suitable'? How does he come to fasten upon the particular situation and the particular characters in question? In saying that they suit his purpose, one implies that he sees them not as mere discrete data but as a coherent, and therefore intelligible, complex of forces, motives, and actions. No matter how emphatically he may disclaim all pretensions to historical exactness, his choice of an historical subject necessarily involves an act of historical interpretation: it is in virtue of such interpretation that he judges the subject to be suitable for his dramatic purpose. Wilhelm Dilthey and R. G. Collingwood have argued that historical understanding is a reliving of the past, 'the re-enactment of past thought in the historian's own mind' and the 're-enactment of past experience',[2] and they have stressed the affinity

[1] Thomas Twining's translation, reprinted in Everyman's Library, No. 901, London, 1934, p. 20.

[2] R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, Oxford, 1946, pp. 215, 282 ff.

between the historian and the creative writer, both of whom seek to make their picture of a past event a coherent whole. According to Dilthey, this search for living coherence is of the very essence of understanding, and its movement is from the whole to the parts: 'in understanding we start from the coherent system of the whole, which is given to us in living experience, so as to grasp the particular in terms of this datum'.[1] This kind of comprehension is possible because we bring to it our own experience, with all its manifold implications; it is, in Dilthey's arresting phrase, 'a rediscovery of the I in the Thou': 'ein Wiederfinden des Ich im Du'.[2] The more a writer brings to this task, the more vivid and profound his understanding will be. 'The vigour and scope of our own life, and the energy with which we reflect on it, are the foundation of historical vision. They alone make it possible to give a new life to the bloodless shades of the past.'[3]

How do these considerations apply to Schiller's play? Can it be said that the story of Mary, Queen of Scots, had 'happened in such a way that for his purpose he could hardly have invented anything better', and that his portrayal of the heroine's character squares with the findings of historical research? Does Schiller's play, taken as a whole, give a true account of the political conflicts which found their focus in the life and death of Mary Stuart, and does Schiller's heroine bear a true affinity to her historical counterpart?

As a student of history who had devoted special attention to the period of the Counter-Reformation, Schiller was familiar with what earlier historians had written on his subject. His sources included the writings of partisans — William Camden's sympathetic account of Mary's Scottish reign and George Buchanan's fiercely anti-Marian *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (1582)[4] — as well as the works of later authors who aimed at a

[1] Wilhelm Dilthey, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. V (Leipzig and Berlin, 1924), p. 172.

[2] Wilhelm Dilthey, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. VII (1927), p. 191.

[3] Wilhelm Dilthey, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. VII, p. 201.

[4] William Camden, *Annales rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha*, first published in 1615. — The racy Scots version of Buchanan's pamphlet *Detectio Mariae Reginae* shows him in his role of counsel for the prosecution: *Ane detectioun of the duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes, touchand the murder of hir husband, and hir conspiracie, adulterie, and pretensed mariage with the Erle Bothwell*, London, 1571.

more balanced treatment, such as David Hume's *History of England* (vol. 5, 1759) and William Robertson's *History of Scotland* (1759). Schiller's knowledge of these and other authorities is evident throughout the play. Where he deviates from recorded fact he does so deliberately, telescoping the sequence of events and suppressing details so as to concentrate on the essentials of the situation. Thus Bellièvre (II, 2) stands for a whole series of special French embassies, and the incident of the ring (ll. 1207 ff.) is reported to have occurred during François d'Alençon's second visit to Elizabeth's court in the autumn of 1581. Similarly Mortimer, a fictitious character modelled on Anthony Babington, is a kind of stage *revenant* of all those fanatical Catholics (Dr. Parry, the Jesuit Creighton, Babington's fellow-conspirator Ballard, and others) who were prepared to gamble away their lives for Mary's sake. These 'unhistorical' touches simplify the story without falsifying it; and the same may be said of the controversial scene (III, 4) in which the two Queens meet. On more than one occasion — in 1562, and again in 1564 — Elizabeth had in fact made plans for an interview with her cousin. Ever since Mary's arrival in Scotland in 1561, and even more since her flight to England in 1568, the two Queens had been almost constantly in each other's thoughts. They had exchanged numerous letters, some of them censorious and full of acrimony. Schiller's imaginary conversation provides a highly concentrated résumé of these contacts and preoccupations, presenting them in terms of drama.

If Schiller's play is to be faulted on the score of historical accuracy, its most vulnerable point is the portrayal of Elizabeth and her entourage. The noble role which the poet assigns to the Earl of Shrewsbury has no foundation in historical fact. The Earl of Leicester in the play bears some resemblance to his historical namesake (who had at one time been suggested to Mary as a suitable consort and who had subsequently taken a leading part in the Norfolk cabal of 1569 which aimed at Mary's restoration); he has his smooth tongue, his ambitious nature, his selfishness, his opportunism. But somehow he lacks the style, the panache, the glamour of the historical Robert Dudley, who was considered the first courtier of his time and known as 'the Great Lord'. A man who could remain for so long the favourite of so exacting and capricious a sovereign must have had uncommon appeal. In Schiller's play one does not quite see why

Leicester stands so high in his Queen's favour — though it has to be admitted that his Queen, too, falls far short of her great historical model. To point the contrast between the two principal figures, Schiller found it necessary to stress the unlovable features in Elizabeth's nature — her vanity, her coquetry, her cynicism, her occasional cruelty. The result is an unbalanced portrayal which fails to bring out what was good in Elizabeth's complex character — her rich humanity, her devotion to the task to which she had been called, her political astuteness, her sense of humour, and her intellectual distinction: all those qualities, in fact, which gave her such a magic hold over the hearts of her people and which compelled the admiration even of her enemies.

Although the characters of Elizabeth and Leicester in *Maria Stuart* lack magnitude, Schiller had no intention of letting the significance of Mary's death on the scaffold appear scaled down to the reduced stature of her opponents, as if it were no more than the sad consequence of private jealousy and inept political manœuvring. His play offers a disturbing analysis of the problem that arises whenever political expediency masquerades as justice and judges are subjected to the pressures of power politics or ideological conflict. As Mary's captivity wore on, as her restitution to her Scottish throne became more and more impracticable and undesirable, as Catholic agitation at home and Catholic infiltration from abroad continued to present a threat to peace, as the Northern rebellion was followed by the Ridolfi plot, the Throckmorton plot, and the Babington conspiracy, those who were guiding the affairs of England decided that their prisoner had become too dangerous a liability and that there was only one way of putting an end to what could not be allowed to go on. In the words of a modern historian, 'there was no way out of Mary's tragedy of passion and politics other than the pathetic way of death'.[1] In Schiller's play, as in the historical records, the voice of political necessity speaks in the measured accents of Lord Burleigh. The Lord Treasurer acts from honourable motives; he does his duty by his Queen and his country as he sees it. But he is under no illusions about the conditions of political action: if power corrupts, then statecraft has to reckon with a corrupt world and pursue its objects in it as best it can.

[1] J. E. Neale, *Queen Elizabeth*, London, 1942 (reprint), p. 264.

Burleigh argues the legal issue with great skill, stating the English government's case as eloquently as Mary states hers; yet, whatever the merits of his case, and however anxious he may be to preserve every appearance of legality, it is clear that what determines his thinking in the last resort is not justice but expediency. In all essentials, Schiller's picture of Burleigh agrees remarkably closely with that drawn by modern historians, notably by Conyers Read in his two massive volumes with their wealth of detailed documentation.[1]

On the two major legal issues of Mary's career — the question of her complicity in Darnley's murder and the question of her complicity in Babington's conspiracy against the life of Elizabeth — Schiller's play offers clear-cut decisions: it pronounces her guilty of the first crime (cf. ll. 292 f., 3697 f.) and innocent of the second (cf. ll. 3729 ff.), and it represents her as accepting an unjust sentence in atonement for the sins of her youth. Historically speaking the first of these verdicts is more easily sustained than the second. It is strongly supported by some of Schiller's authorities — not only by the violently anti-Marian Buchanan but by the judicious Dr. Robertson, whom Schiller greatly admired and whom he had at one time hoped to emulate. Robertson devotes a lengthy Appendix to the vexed question of the Casket Letters; his marshalling of the evidence shows that he believed them to be genuine and that he accordingly accepted their damaging testimony.[2] Even if one disregards the Casket Letters, which present-day historians have 'set aside as thoroughly untrustworthy evidence',[3] the crime of Kirk o' Field and Mary's association with Bothwell remain the darkest episode in her entire career. The precise degree of her complicity may remain doubtful — there are, after all, various ways of being an accessary before the fact — but the events of the last months of Mary's reign are not in dispute, and they tell their sorry tale all too plainly: the Queen's absence from Kirk o' Field on the night of the crime, the (collusive?) 'rape' at Dunbar, Bothwell's

[1] Conyers Read, *Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth*, London, 1955; *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth*, London, 1960.

[2] William Robertson, *The History of Scotland*, 2 vols, London, 1759. Appendix to vol. 2: 'A Critical Dissertation concerning the Murder of King Henry, and the Genuineness of the Queen's Letters to Bothwell'. — Hume takes the same view: cf. *The History of England*, vol. V, revised ed., London, 1778, chap. 39, pp. 141 ff.

[3] J. B. Black, *The Reign of Elizabeth*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1959, p. v.

'acquittal', secured by intimidation in a trial in which all the rules of procedure were flouted, and Mary's marriage to the man whom public opinion accused of having murdered her previous husband, three months after the murder and a week after Bothwell's divorce from his first wife, granted, 'with indecent and suspicious precipitancy',[1] on the ground of his adultery.[2] Here, indeed, was matter for introspection. The part she had played in this sequence of events — whether as an active accomplice or merely as a consenting party — must have been re-enacted again and again in her most secret thoughts, and it is perfectly reasonable to assume that this is what she had in mind when, in her last will and testament, she used the pious formula 'me reconnoissant indigne pécheresse'.

The apportioning of the heroine's guilt in *Maria Stuart* may therefore be accepted as historically valid, even though in the matter of the Babington plot Schiller lets her off more lightly than the evidence permits. Not that the evidence is entirely conclusive; the manner in which it was obtained weakens the case for the prosecution, and so does Walsingham's forged postscript, to say nothing of the conduct of the trial, in which the accused was not confronted with the principal witnesses. Pro-Marians have not hesitated to represent her trial as a travesty of justice, and even W. Robertson (whom Schiller again follows) is clearly of the opinion that the evidence led at the trial did not warrant a conviction. Modern historical scholarship, while admitting that Mary's trial 'would amaze and shock a modern lawyer',[3] accepts the charge of conspiracy to assassinate Elizabeth as established.[4] Schiller's heroine, though she half admits (at least by implication: cf. ll. 876 f.) that she has been in touch with Babington, strenuously denies having planned the assassination of Elizabeth

[1] William Robertson, *The History of Scotland*, London, 1759, vol. I, p. 358.

[2] Rapin de Thoyras, whose *Histoire d'Angleterre* Schiller found useful as background reading (cf. letter to Goethe, 12 July 1799), sums the matter up in a delightful understatement: 'Cela, joint à la haine qu'elle avoit conçue contre le Roi, forme un fâcheux préjugé contre elle.' *Histoire d'Angleterre*, 2nd ed., The Hague, 1727, vol. VI, p. 231.

[3] J. E. Neale, *Queen Elizabeth*, London, 1942, p. 257.

[4] Cf. J. B. Black, *The Reign of Elizabeth*, p. 382; J. E. Neale, *Queen Elizabeth*, p. 257; Conyers Read, *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth*, London, 1960, p. 357.

or having been privy to such a plot. In her interview with Burleigh (I. 7), this denial might be a lie; but Schiller makes her repeat it at a solemn moment when we have no right to doubt her word — in face of imminent death, under the seal of the confessional. Here Schiller goes beyond the evidence offered by his authorities, in as much as a verdict of 'not proven' (which is what Robertson's account suggests) is not the same as proof of innocence. It is well to remember, however, that Mary Stuart's plea of 'not guilty' to the charge of conspiracy against Elizabeth's life was not by any means her only line of defence. From the start she had denied the competence of the tribunal, taking her stand on the privilege of exterritoriality conferred upon her by her status as a sovereign Queen; and the force of these arguments is reflected in Elizabeth's long and painful hesitation before she signed the death-warrant, in her 'answers answerless' which were the despair of her advisers. Whatever might or might not have been proved against her, Mary, Queen of Scots, went to her death protesting that she had been wrongfully sentenced by a court which had no jurisdiction over her: and that is the situation to which Schiller leads his heroine, though by a route which diverges from the historians' at several points.

Amid the welter of conflicting opinion, there seems to be general agreement on one point, at least: it may be said of Mary, as it was of the traitorous Earl of Cawdor, that 'nothing in her life became her like the leaving it'. There are those who see in her superb bearing in the hour of death merely the farewell performance of a consummate actress who was determined to sustain the role of a noble martyr to the very end. It is permissible, however, to put a different interpretation upon the accounts we have of Mary's execution — accounts which speak of her steadfast courage and serene composure, depicting her 'with her countenaunce carelesse, importing thereby rather mirth than mornefull cheare'.[1] (It is interesting to observe that the memorial portrait painted for Elizabeth Curle, one of Mary's women who had been present at the Queen's execution — 'the last portrait of Mary Stuart which can be accepted as an authentic likeness'[2] —

[1] Robert Wynckfield's report to Lord Burghley, preserved among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum; quoted by Lionel Cust in *Authentic Portraits of Mary Queen of Scots*, London, 1903, p. 95.

[2] Lionel Cust, *Authentic Portraits of Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 102.

catches at least a faint reflection of that serenity. The painting, which had originally been bequeathed to the Scottish College at Douai, now hangs in Blairs College, a Roman Catholic seminary near Aberdeen. A Latin inscription dwells upon the illegality of Mary's imprisonment and describes her as going to her doom 'invicto sed pio animo'.) What strikes some historians as a brave piece of play-acting may equally well be read — and this is Schiller's reading — as the transfiguration of a *magna peccatrix* who at the last enters into a state of grace. Now that she no longer strives to adapt herself to the pattern of the world in which she has played so ambiguous a part, her past falls away from her: her mind is remade and her whole nature transformed.[1] Casting out all rancour, forgiving her enemies, she finds the peace which life had hitherto withheld. It is as if the subject of the 'Labanoff' portrait — a sophisticated woman of the world who knows much and who gives nothing away — had suddenly recaptured the grave innocence of the beautiful chalk drawing in the Bibliothèque Nationale which shows Mary Stuart as Dauphine of France.

This interpretation is perfectly compatible with the circumstances of Mary's death as Schiller found them related in his sources. However, in order to present the heroine's change of heart in terms of the theatre he once again decided to improve upon his authorities, who state that Mary was refused the ministrations of a priest of her own Church before her execution. (Robertson remarks indignantly that 'even this favour, which is usually granted to the vilest of criminals, was absolutely denied'.)[2] Schiller contrives to provide her with a confessor in the person of Melvil, her old major-domo, who has secretly taken Holy Orders and who is thus able to administer the Sacrament of Holy Communion. Strangely enough, Schiller's invention accords with a contemporary account which has only recently come to light. The report in question was sent to Archbishop James Beaton, who had been Scots ambassador at the court of France since 1561; it is now among the muniments of Blairs

[1] Cf. Romans, xii, 2, in the version of the New English Bible.

[2] William Robertson, *The History of Scotland*, London, 1759, vol. 2, p. 146. David Hume (as befits a sceptic) shows no such indignation, but he, too, refers to 'the want of a priest and confessor, who was refused her'. *The History of England*, vol. V, revised ed., London, 1778, chapter 42, p. 313.

College, Aberdeen.[1] The document describes 'the manner of the most lamentable death of the Queen of Scotland'; it tells how, after having been offered the services of 'a Puritan heretic whom she wholly refused and rejected', she spent the night in prayer and meditation, and it continues as follows: 'And on the dawn before she was subjected to the torment of death she received the Most Holy Eucharist, having communicated by the hand of a Priest, her familiar, whom she had with her secretly and unknown to others.'

'The manner of the most lamentable death of the Queen of Scotland' set the whole story of her life in a new perspective, investing it with a nobility which it would not otherwise have had. The sombre scene at Fotheringay marks the beginning of a legend in which the discords of Mary's life are at length resolved. The last act of Schiller's play mirrors this transformation. We see Mary as a new woman; we see, not what she was, but what she had it in her to be — the corruptible having put on incorruption.

When Nicholas White, a friend of Cecil's, visited Mary, Queen of Scots, at Tutbury in the spring of 1569, he saw on her chair of state a motto the meaning of which eluded him. 'In looking upon her cloth of estate' (he reports), 'I noticed this sentence embroidered: "*En ma fin est mon commencement*", which is a riddle I understand not.' Eighteen years later, at Fotheringay, when Mary was under sentence of death, her cloth of state was taken down, since such a mark of royal honour was held to be no longer appropriate; whereupon she put a crucifix in its place. To the reader of *Maria Stuart*, the meaning of the 'riddle' which puzzled Nicholas White is plain enough; and the meaning which he finds in Schiller's play is more consistent with the historical record than it has been given credit for.

V. *Maria Stuart* AND SCHILLER'S THEORY OF TRAGEDY

During the decade that elapsed between the completion of *Don Carlos* (1787) and the beginnings of *Wallenstein* (1796) — a period devoted in large measure to the study of history and philosophy — Schiller gave much thought to the theory of tragedy. He formulated his conclusions in a series of essays

[1] It was first published, in English translation from the original Latin, by Walter R. Humphries; *Aberdeen University Review*, XXX, 1, 1943, pp. 20 ff.

written in the 1790s (*Über den Grund des Vergnügens an tragischen Gegenständen*, 1792; *Über die tragische Kunst*, 1792; *Über Anmut und Würde*, 1793; *Über das Pathetische*, 1793; *Über das Erhabene*, probably 1795). As one would expect, the ideas set forth in these essays are reflected, to a greater or lesser extent, in every one of Schiller's later plays. In none of them, however, are they embodied more clearly, more completely, and more satisfyingly than in *Maria Stuart*.

One of the *idées maîtresses* in Schiller's philosophical thinking is the idea of freedom. It runs through all his writings, and it developed as he matured, acquiring a richer and more subtle meaning. As Goethe put it in one of his conversations with Eckermann (18 January 1827), 'the idea of freedom assumed a different form as Schiller advanced in his own development and became a different person. In his youth it was physical freedom that preoccupied him and found its way into his works; in later life it was spiritual freedom.' By freedom Schiller came to mean something more positive than the mere absence of outward compulsion or restraint: a man may not be subject to external pressures of this kind, and yet he may be anything but free, being a slave to his ambition, sensuality, vanity, or greed. To attain true freedom, in Schiller's sense, a man must so condition the impulses of unregenerate nature as to keep them in tune with the dictates of his conscience: duty must lose its compulsive character and become second nature. Such a person will normally do his duty, not slavishly, not because he fears social opprobrium or the penalties of the law, but cheerfully and without any sense of strain, because it seems the natural and the most satisfying thing to do; he will be 'good by instinct', and thus exhibit the quality of moral grace.

The notion of 'moral grace' in a harmoniously balanced personality had been developed in the *Characteristicks* of Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury (1711), whose ideas Schiller had absorbed, if only at second hand. Schiller used it as an argument against Kant, who had stressed the uniqueness of moral experience and had formulated his concept of the 'categorical imperative' of duty with what seemed to Schiller unnecessary rigour. Kant, he observes, had become the Draco of his age because the time was not ripe for a Solon. 'In the moral philosophy of Kant, the idea of Duty is expounded with a harshness which frightens all the graces away and which could

easily tempt a feeble intellect to seek moral perfection by way of a dark and monkish asceticism' (*Über Anmut und Würde*). But if Schiller used arguments derived from Shaftesbury to temper the severity of Kant's doctrine, he could not, on the other hand, content himself with Shaftesbury's somewhat facile optimism which tends to ignore the tragic aspects of the human situation. There are occasions, all too common in human experience, when the performance of one's duty necessarily entails sacrifice and suffering. It is at such times of crisis, when duty and inclination clash and a hard and bitter choice must be made, that Kant's teaching comes into its own. In face of hostile circumstance and evil fate, man's last refuge is that inward freedom of the soul which makes him independent of chance and change in the material world: 'Cases may arise when Fate takes all the outworks on which a man relied for his safety, and when nothing remains for him but to take refuge in the sacred freedom of the spirit' (*Über das Erhabene*). Schiller sees the crises of life — be they caused by outward misfortune or by inner conflict, or both — as a battleground where man fights to save his soul, if need be at the price of all that he holds dear. These are the solemn 'moments of truth' when (as Schiller puts it in his poem *Die Führer des Lebens*) 'man stands, awestruck, on the brink of eternity': 'Wo an der Ewigkeit Meer schaudernd der Sterbliche steht.' At such moments moral grace gives way to the sublime. When a man pits the strength of his spirit — never fully revealed until it is tested to breaking-point — against the worst that may befall; when he emerges from the ordeal, shattered and broken, perhaps, yet — paradoxically — triumphant even in defeat, he rises to the stature and dignity of a tragic hero. Harrowing as it may be, it is nevertheless a spectacle that exalts and inspires, for it shows death swallowed up in victory. The fate that threatens the hero may be not only hard but positively unjust by any ordinary standards of justice; he may have been in no position to foresee the consequences of his actions, and common sense may therefore refuse to hold him responsible for the tragic issue. But the hero rises superior even to a malign fate; shouldering the tragic burden, accepting the sacrifice of life itself, he ceases to be a mere victim of circumstance, and his suffering takes on the quality of an act of faith. The ordeal makes a new man of him; he emerges from it spiritually regenerate, and while we pity him in his anguish, we rejoice in his moral rebirth.

The moral orientation in Schiller's conception of tragedy is unmistakable. He stresses it himself when he says (in the essay *Über den Grund des Vergnügens an tragischen Gegenständen*) that 'the sphere of tragedy comprises all possible cases in which some natural expediency is sacrificed to a moral purpose or, alternatively, a moral purpose is sacrificed to another, higher, one'. It should not be assumed, however, that Schiller thought of tragedy as a court of law in which the punishment is in every case made to fit the crime. He does not suggest that tragedy should exhibit a wholly rational world order, readily intelligible to our finite judgment, in which everyone is served according to his deserts, excluding all the hazards, the accidents, and the perplexities which loom so large in human experience. Rather he invites us to admire men and women who, even at the very threshold of death, attest their stubborn belief in the spiritual values by which they have chosen to live: heroes and heroines who by their greatness of soul save the spectacle of tragic suffering from being merely depressing. Schiller knows better than to make tragedy the handmaid of philosophy or theology. But without seeking to extract from it any proof of a transcendental cosmic harmony or any dogmatic assurances, he is aware of what has been called the paradox of tragedy — the mysterious and challenging fact that 'its conclusions are not contained within its premises, that it radiates light from darkness, destroys hope and harbours it; that do what disaster may with these heroes they gain the more upon us; when Nature has vanquished and cast them out they continue to reign in our affections, in a kingdom inaccessible to Fortune, uncircumscribed by time and with a relish of remoter duration'.[1]

For all his philosophical bent, Schiller was too much of an artist to write to a fixed formula; not all his later plays fit comfortably into the framework of his own theory. In *Maria Stuart*, however, practice chimes with theory to a remarkable degree. The heroine's moral regeneration forms the main theme of the play. Schiller makes Mary a woman of great beauty and vitality in whom quick-witted discernment is at times blinded by the impulses of a passionate nature; a Queen who, throughout the long years of her captivity, remains proudly conscious of her royal blood. Although we are made to see her as the central figure

[1] W. Macneile Dixon, *Tragedy*, London, 1938, p. 138.

in a vast political struggle — the clash between Elizabethan England and the Roman Catholic powers — the essential dramatic conflict is fought out, not between external forces but in the mind of the heroine. The question at issue is whether and how she is to reconcile herself to the fate which she cannot hope to avert. The decision is rendered more difficult because the case against Mary (according to Schiller's interpretation) is not proven. Her bearing in this crisis conforms to the pattern which Schiller had sketched in his essay *Über das Erhabene*: 'abandoning with dignity what she cannot save', she turns outward disaster into inward triumph by 'taking refuge in the sacred freedom of the spirit'. As her faithful companion points out, this change of outlook cannot be other than sudden; it is a leap of faith.

> Man löst sich nicht allmählich von dem Leben!
> Mit einem Mal, schnell, augenblicklich muß
> Der Tausch geschehen zwischen Zeitlichem
> Und Ewigem. . . .
>
> (V, 1, 3402 ff.)

These words of Hannah Kennedy's echo a passage in *Über das Erhabene*: 'Not gradually (for there is no transition from dependence to freedom) but by a sudden shock the sublime tears the independent spirit out of the net in which refined sensuality held it captive.' Though Mary regards herself as the victim of a miscarriage of justice — the sentence which sends her to the block being, in her view, both unjust and *ultra vires* — she accepts the verdict in expiation of sins committed in days long gone by; and she emerges as a new woman from the ordeal which lays the ghosts of her past. She has overcome the world; by giving to the decree of her temporal judges a meaning which they had not intended, she rises superior to their jurisdiction, a being redeemed and transfigured. Schiller does not hesitate to introduce the ritual of the Eucharist in order to give visible expression to the heroine's change of heart: as she prepares to receive the wages of sin, Mary makes her confession, receives the sacrament (*sub utraque specie*) and is granted absolution by one who, according to her faith, holds the keys of the kingdom of heaven.

It has been suggested that this sublimation comes too late to be fully convincing. The historical Mary Stuart was a prisoner in England from 1568 until 1587. Schiller has shortened the period of her captivity in his play, thus making his two Queens much younger than their middle-aged prototypes in history. Even on Schiller's own showing, however, about seven years are assumed to have elapsed between the murder of Darnley and Mary's execution: years during which, though troubled by pangs of conscience, she continued to cherish worldly ambitions, hoping for a return to freedom and power. Some critics think that this time-lag between her crime and its expiation impairs the cohesion and the sense of inevitability which are deemed essential for a fully tragic effect.[1] Such criticism rests on the assumption that tragedy should vindicate the rationality of events, exhibiting a clearly traceable causal connection between guilt and just retribution. There is no reason to believe, however, that Schiller thought in terms of so simple a formula. His tragedy is not exclusively concerned with the question of the heroine's moral responsibility; another aspect, no less important, is the way she meets the calamity that befalls her — a calamity rendered inevitable by the force of circumstances as well as by her own conduct. The final test reveals her true mettle; snared in an evil time, she acts with sublime dignity and composure, displaying what Schiller (in his essay *Über das Pathetische*) calls *das Erhabene der Fassung*. She is no longer blinded by her former passions; suddenly she sees her whole life in a new perspective, and what might have appeared unjust and meaningless from a more restricted point of view falls into place when viewed *sub specie aeternitatis*.

VI. 'THE EURIPIDEAN METHOD'

Even before putting pen to paper Schiller saw, in a flash of inspiration, how he was going to deal with the complexities of his historical material. In his letter to Goethe of 26 April 1799 — in which he reports that he has begun to study the trial of Mary Stuart and that he feels attracted by the story — he writes: 'The subject seems to be particularly suited to the Euripidean method, which consists in the most complete presentation of the situation, for I see a possibility of eliminating the whole trial together with all political matters and to start the tragedy with the death sentence.' The technique of retrospective analysis (which Schiller had studied and admired, not only in Euripides, but

[1] Cf. L. Bellermann, *Schillers Dramen*, vol. 2, 5th ed., Berlin, 1914, pp. 198 ff.; Melitta Gerhard, *Schiller*, Berne, 1950, p. 363.

more particularly in the *Oedipus* of Sophocles) focuses attention on the situation as it presents itself immediately before the final catastrophe; the past is shown to be implicit in the present, and as the hidden implications are gradually revealed, the events of the play are recognized as the fulfilment of what began long ago. To apply this technique to the subject of Mary, Queen of Scots, was obviously a task of formidable difficulty. Schiller solved the problem, with brilliant dramatic craftsmanship, by means of an expository *tour de force*, extruding from the action of his play everything that precedes the last three days of the heroine's life. All the complicated antecedents are woven into the dialogue, adding the warp to the weft of the action which unfolds before our eyes; they transpire, with what looks like a minimum of calculated contrivance, in the course of reminiscences, legal and political arguments, impassioned pleading and angry altercation. Using the 'Euripidean method' with masterly skill, Schiller gradually recalls the whole story of Mary Stuart's life, from her youth at the court of France down to her flight to England, her long, increasingly strait imprisonment, and her trial. And while the historical background is thus being filled in, the drama moves irresistibly towards its goal — the execution of the death sentence. Those influences which seek to retard the march of events merely serve, ironically, to speed it up.

The action of the play may be briefly summed up as follows. When the curtain rises on the first act, Mary is already under sentence of death for her alleged complicity in Babington's plot against the life of Elizabeth, and Lord Burleigh arrives at Fotheringay to apprise her of the verdict. Mary, however, immediately denies the competence of the court. She came to England seeking sanctuary, and her royal birth and status, she claims, confer upon her the privilege of exemption from criminal proceedings. Burleigh rejoins that neither the right of asylum nor the status of the refugee can ever sanction subversive political agitation or attempts on the life of the sovereign, and that such crimes against the state must obviously be dealt with according to the law of the country in which they were committed. Mary counters these arguments by pointing out that her complicity in Babington's plot has not been conclusively established according to the rules of English legal procedure because she has never been confronted with the principal witnesses for the prosecution. As for her subversive activities, she argues that she has been unlawfully restrained and that she was entitled to seek redress by rallying her friends abroad to her support. Here she invokes one of the basic principles of natural law, the right of legitimate self-defence, of meeting unlawful force by force. And when Burleigh gravely reminds her that an appeal to force is not likely to benefit a prisoner, he gives her the opening she needs to wind up her case. She is only too well aware that Elizabeth has her in her power and can have her executed: all she has to do is to confirm the sentence of the tribunal by adding her signature. But if she does so, Mary declares, it will be an act of naked force which no specious show of legality can mask.

Elizabeth has every reason to desire the death of her cousin. Even behind prison walls, Mary remains a storm-centre of political controversy, a symbol and rallying-point of Catholic aspirations in England, and a standing challenge to the legitimacy of Elizabeth's rule. In addition to these political motives, there is personal ill will: the jealous antipathy of a sexually frustrated older woman against a younger one who had never cherished any ambition to go down to posterity as a virgin queen. Nevertheless, Elizabeth hesitates to sign the death-warrant. Though she would like to see Mary dead, she shrinks from the odium of sanctioning the execution of her unfortunate rival. Her chief councillors offer conflicting advice. Talbot's generous humanity and incorruptible sense of justice prompt him to plead for Mary; Cecil, on the other hand, insists that only Mary's death can safeguard the peace and unity of the realm. While Elizabeth hesitates, others are active on Mary's behalf. Mortimer, a fanatical young partisan of Mary's cause, and desperately in love with Mary herself, is plotting to liberate her by a daring *coup de main*. At the same time the Earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's favourite and formerly a candidate for Mary's hand, endeavours, for reasons of his own, to bring about a reconciliation between the two Queens. Both plans miscarry. Leicester persuades Elizabeth to meet Mary, but the meeting ends disastrously. Mary humbles herself in vain; Elizabeth merely gloats over her stricken enemy's misfortune. When at last Mary realizes that no self-abasement will avail, her passionate spirit reasserts itself, and the interview ends in a violent quarrel. Anger and long-nourished bitterness put deadly venom into Mary's taunts; she emerges victorious from the battle of words. For a few brief moments at the end of this emotional scene Schiller shows us the helpless prisoner

transformed into her former self, proud, beautiful, reckless — Mary Stuart as she was during the stormy years of her Scottish reign.

Soon after the fatal meeting of the two Queens, Mortimer's plot is foiled by the premature action of one of his accomplices, who makes an unsuccessful attempt on Elizabeth's life while she is on her way back to London. Mary's fate is sealed; after what has happened, she cannot hope for mercy from Elizabeth, while the discovery of Mortimer's plans adds weight to Burleigh's arguments. Elizabeth signs the warrant, and the sentence is carried out. Mary's secretary, Curle, confesses to having falsely testified against his Queen; but his admission of perjury comes too late to stay the execution. Elizabeth tries to put the blame on Burleigh and on her secretary Davison; but Shrewsbury's refusal to hold office any longer and Leicester's flight show that she cannot escape responsibility.

Inevitably, the characters of the two Queens overshadow the male roles in the play. Nevertheless, the men are more than mere foils. It is true that Schiller's Leicester has neither the Elizabethan vitality nor the Elizabethan charm of his historical counterpart; but Burleigh is a lifelike portrait of a patriotic statesman, far-seeing, realistic, and resourceful; and Mortimer is a striking study of a mentally and morally unstable youth, with a convert's zeal and the desperate bravery of the fanatic. His sensuality (which seems to have shocked some of Schiller's contemporaries) serves an important dramatic purpose: at a crucial moment, it conjures up the daemon of reckless passion which ruled Mary's past and which would lie in wait for her again, should she regain her freedom.

While the core of the tragedy lies in the inward crisis, the conflict between Mary and Elizabeth provides the play with its main structural principle. Its scenes are evenly and symmetrically divided between Mary's prison and Elizabeth's court, the result being a design of classical regularity. The carefully balanced architecture of the play and the severe concentration of the action suggest a certain affinity with French tragedy; so does the quasi-forensic technique, the marshalling of the arguments for and against the execution of the death sentence, and the frequent use of antithesis. Schiller's attitude towards French drama was always highly critical; however, Goethe and Humboldt insisted on the positive merits of the French style of

dramatic composition, with its admirable clarity and harmony of design: and although Schiller found most French plays rather dry, stiff, and artificial, he was prepared to learn the lesson they had to teach — nowhere more so than in *Maria Stuart*, which of all his plays is the one most closely akin, in spirit and in technique, to the *tragédie classique*. It was not for nothing that Mme de Staël called it 'de toutes les tragédies allemandes la plus pathétique et la mieux conçue'.

Perhaps Mme de Staël protests too much. However, if her praise of Schiller's play is exaggerated, and if, in any case, her credentials as a critic of German drama are a little suspect, one may at least concede that her admiration was not misplaced. Schiller's historical insight, the remarkable congruity of dramatic practice and critical theory, the brilliant use of the 'Euripidean method', the elegant design of the play, the fascinating portrayal of the principal character, the verve and vitality of Schiller's blank verse — all these merits combine to make *Maria Stuart* a classic of German, and indeed of European, drama.



(Civica Raccolta Bertarelli, Milano)

The most comprehensive recent Schiller bibliography is by Wolfgang Vulpius: *Schiller Bibliographie, 1893–1958*, Weimar, 1959. It covers editions of Schiller's works and letters, biographies, criticism, as well as the repercussions of Schiller's ideas and the history of his posthumous fame. A bibliography of *Schiller in England (1787–1960)* was published in 1961, as vol. XXX (New Series) of the Publications of the English Goethe Society.

Readers of this volume who wish to consult one of the principal modern editions of Schiller's complete works are referred to the following:

Johann Christoph Friedrich SCHILLER, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. by E. von der Hellen; 16 vols., Stuttgart and Berlin, 1904–1905. (The so-called 'Säkulär-Ausgabe'. Vol. 6 contains Julius Petersen's edition of *Maria Stuart*.)

—— ed. by C. Schüddekopf, continued by C. Höfer; 22 vols. Vols. 1–15, Munich and Leipzig, 1910–1914; vols. 16–22, Berlin, 1920–1926. ('Horenausgabe'. Presents the works and most of the letters in chronological order.)

—— ed. by Gerhard Fricke, H. G. Göpfert, H. Stubenrauch; 5 vols., 2nd ed., Munich, 1958–1959. (A compact and reliable recent edition.)

The new 'Nationalausgabe' (publ. by H. Böhlau, Weimar) is scheduled to comprise some 40 volumes; when it is complete, it will be the major critical edition. Volume 9 (Weimar, 1948) — from which the text in the present edition is taken — contains B. von Wiese's and L. Blumenthal's edition of *Maria Stuart*. Their list of variant readings (pp. 341–56) shows the textual differences between the first printed edition of the play (publ. by Cotta, Tübingen, 1801), the stage copies used for performances in Leipzig, Dresden, Hamburg, and Berlin, and the English translation by J. C. Mellish (London, 1801), who received Schiller's manuscript in instalments while the work of composition and revision was still in progress.

The standard edition of Schiller's letters is by Fritz Jonas: *Schillers Briefe*, 7 vols., Stuttgart, Leipzig, Berlin, Vienna, 1892–1896. A useful selection (608 letters in one volume) has been brought out by G. Fricke: *Friedrich Schiller: Briefe*, Munich, 1955.

Of the many books which deal more or less comprehensively with Schiller's life and works, only very few can be mentioned here. (Those marked with an asterisk are specially suitable for sixth-form work and first-year university courses; the others will meet the needs of more advanced students.) Carlyle's *Life of Friedrich Schiller** (2nd ed., London, 1845) remains interesting as the earliest critical biography of any lasting value. R. Buchwald (*Schiller*; 2 vols., 2nd ed., Wiesbaden, 1953–1954) and B. von Wiese (*Friedrich Schiller*, Stuttgart, 1959) offer full and detailed treatment, both on the biographical and on the critical side; so does E. Staiger, *Friedrich Schiller*, Zürich, 1967. More than 120 illustrations relating to Schiller's life and literary career—many of them not otherwise easily accessible—are conveniently gathered together in Bernhard Zeller's attractive 'pictorial biography', *Schiller: Eine Bildbiographie,** *Munich*, 1958. There are two fairly recent studies in English, H. B. Garland, *Schiller** (London, 1949), and W. Witte, *Schiller* (Oxford, 1949).

Various aspects of Schiller's works—including such topics as 'Scottish influence on Schiller' and 'Law and the social order in Schiller's thought'—are discussed in W. Witte, *Schiller and Burns and Other Essays*, Oxford, 1959.

A useful guide to the literature dealing with Mary, Queen of Scots, will be found in the bibliographical section at the end of J. B. Black's *The Reign of Elizabeth*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1959, pp. 507-9.

Antonia Fraser's lengthy biography, *Mary Queen of Scots* (London, 1969; paperback ed., 1970) combines popular appeal with much detailed documentation.

MARIA STUART

Personen

ELISABETH, *Königin von England*
MARIA STUART, *Königin von Schottland, Gefangne in England*
ROBERT DUDLEY, *Graf von Leicester*
GEORG TALBOT, *Graf von Shrewsbury*
WILHELM CECIL, *Baron von Burleigh, Großschatzmeister*
GRAF VON KENT
WILHELM DAVISON, *Staatssekretär*
AMIAS PAULET, *Ritter, Hüter der Maria*
MORTIMER, *sein Neffe*
GRAF AUBESPINE, *französischer Gesandter*
GRAF BELLIEVRE, *außerordentlicher Botschafter von Frankreich*
OKELLY, *Mortimers Freund*
DRUGEON DRURY, *zweiter Hüter der Maria*
MELVIL, *ihr Haushofmeister*
BURGOYN, *ihr Arzt*
HANNA KENNEDY, *ihre Amme*
MARGARETA KURL, *ihre Kammerfrau*
SHERIFF DER GRAFSCHAFT
OFFIZIER DER LEIBWACHE
FRANZÖSISCHE UND ENGLISCHE HERREN
TRABANTEN
HOFDIENER DER KÖNIGIN VON ENGLAND
DIENER UND DIENERINNEN DER KÖNIGIN VON SCHOTTLAND



The unhistorical meeting of Elizabeth I of England and Mary Queen of Scots in the third Act of Schiller's play.
(From a drawing by Wilhelm von Kaulbach).