Royal Self-Fashioning: King James VI and His Demonology

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Table of Contents

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Glossary

All Hallow's Eve of October- The 31st day of October, associated in medieval and early modern Europe with occult practices involving witches, sorcerers, and the devil.

Boots – A particularly cruel device of torture used in some witchcraft cases in which a person's legs would be placed into a metal casting into which wedges would be hammered, eventually crushing the leg and ankle bones.

Dittay – Early modern Scottish name for an indictment.

Kirk – The name for the Church of Scotland.

Pilliwinks – Scottish name for thumb-screw device used in torture.

Privy Council – A committee of close advisors, typical of a monarchical government, whose members counsel the monarch on affairs and policy.

Regent – A person who handles state affairs due to the minor age, absence or incompetence of the current monarch.

Sabbat – A name for the gathering of witches, usually involving rituals and dancing, where they conferred with the devil and often arrived by so-called 'night flying' (or in the North Berwick cases, by magically sailing on the sea).

Abstract

King James is one of the most widely studied royal historical figures of the early modern period. This dissertation examines King James VI's *Daemonologie* as it relates to the themes of masculinity and self-fashioning. By analysing James, through his demonological treatise, I illuminate James's anxiety of the learned man and show his masking of that anxiety through textual self-fashioning as it appears in his *Daemonologie*.

Introduction

King James VI and I would have enjoyed the honour bestowed upon himself and most royals in history—they have had their lives analysed and interpreted extensively by historians. These examinations keep the royal legacies alive. James would not only have enjoyed this privilege by virtue of being King of Scotland, between July 1567 and March 1603, then King of England from March 1603 to March 1625, but also because of his proud role as an author.

In this dissertation I will approach James VI's *Daemonologie*, written in 1590-1 and published in 1597, by first critically reviewing current scholarship on the text and then, adding my layer of personal analysis, drawing on gender theory and self-fashioning ideology. Prior analysis of James's *Daemonologie* has been initiated by scholars such as Rhodes Dunlap, Stuart Clark, Daniel Fischlin, and most recently Jane Rickard, all of whose research will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Five. Yet, the concept of self-fashioning and James's use of it as a tool to promote his ideas of masculinity in his demonology has not been highly examined. A new reading of the *Daemonologie* provides us with further information about early modern Scottish witchcraft but, more importantly, it can also can be read as a reflective text of its James's masculine identity or self-defining ideals of masculinity. The conclusions drawn from this reading will not only cast a fresher light upon James VI & I as an author and a man, but it will help researchers in our quest to understand the motivations behind the authors of demonologies in this early modern period; possibly other texts as well.

Starting from a young age James wrote many sonnets and poems. Eventually his early writings were published together in a book in 1584.[1] It is here that historians can begin to see the love of writing that James possessed; a feature that will be discussed in Chapter Two. He continued to be prolific in his writing, producing some of his most important works during the decade of 1590-1600. During this decade James wrote *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, published in 1598, investigating the 'trew grounds of the mutuall duetie, and alleageance betwixt a free and absolute *Monarche*, and his people,' or in other words, James's ideas of how a commonwealth should function.[2] A year later he published the three-volume *Basilikon Doron,* a personal guide for his son Prince Henry, in which James instructed his son on the duties of being a godly man, a king, and a proper gentleman. D.H. Willson, who published an early biographical work on James, stated that the *Basilikon Doron* is 'the best prose James ever wrote', nevertheless, even with Willson's supportive gesture, the *Basilikon Doron* is not the text in which James is widely known.[3] Rather, a book that James sponsored has kept him renowned beyond the grave—the King James Bible (KJV). Published originally in 1611, the KJV Bible, one of the most reprinted books in the world, has carried the godly king across the histories of four centuries. But back in the 1590-1600 decade, James produced another text—a work that may help us to understand the often timidly portrayed boy king. A text that James wrote before any of those mentioned above; a work that, on the surface, tackles the pestilence of witchcraft in early modern

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[1] James, *The Essays of a Prentise : [in a Divine Art of Poesie]* (New York: Da Capo Press [u.a.], 1584;1969).
[2] King James I and Charles McIlwain, *The Political Works of James I*, Harvard Po (Cambridge [Mass.]: Harvard University Press,1918).
[3] David Harris Willson, *King James VI and I* (London: Cape, 1966), p. 132.

Scottish society whilst subtly unleashing the paradox of masculinity and insecurity within King James—*Daemonologie*.

Since the 1970s the scholarship on witchcraft and witch-trials has increased dramatically; it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to discuss it in great detail. Female witches and the reasons for their persecution have been at the centre of ongoing research, with explanations ranging from feminist scholars who attributed patriarchy and misogynistic ideals for the initiations and growth of witch-hunts, to more recent historians who have increased our understanding a bit more as to why women accused each other (and often themselves) of being witches.[4] Contemporary witchcraft historians have begun to focus attention more critically on men as victims of witch-hunts; we can no longer assume that the word 'witch' pertains only to women. This concept of the "male witch" is important in regards to this dissertation. Recent works by Alison Rowlands and Rolf Schulte challenged the general perception of witchcraft as a female structure of early modern society and they help to create a more precise definition with the inclusion of early modern male witches and earl modern male victims of witchcraft. In addition to pointing out the need to explore the male victim of witch-hunts, Rowlands also suggested that much more work needs to be done in order to understand the role of the elite male prosecutors and persecutors behind those hunts. She also questioned the role early modern European demonology played in influencing

[4] Sigrid Brauner, *Fearless Wives and Frightened Shrews : The Construction of the Witch in Early Modern Germany* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995); Deborah Willis, *Malevolent Nurture : Witch-Hunting and Maternal Power in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Julian Goodare, "Women and the Witch-Hunt in Scotland," *Social History*, 23 (1998), 288–308 <doi:10.2307/4286516>; Alison Rowlands, "Witchcraft and Old Women in Early Modern Germany," *The Past and Present Society*, 2001, 50–89.

the prosecutors' minds and actions.[5] Chapter Five of this dissertation will probe the category of the male witch as it pertains to James's *Daemonologie*; the focus on Dr. Fian, a male witch; and the linkage of the focus to James's personal insecurities. Studying James offers us the opportunity to explore the motivation of a man who was both a witch-hunter and the writer of a demonology.

The perspective of the witch-hunter has gradually emerged in the study of witchcraft. By examining the witch-hunter, historians have gained a wider, more gendered view of witchcraft society and motivations for the persecution of so-called witches. Whilst the scope of the inquiry into the witch-hunter in England by iconic witchcraft historians, Keith Thomas and Jim Sharpe included the noted hunter, Matthew Hopkins, the developments found in the work of Malcolm Gaskill, *Witchfinders: A Seventeenth-century English Tragedy,* have added insight by examining the social status and motivations of the male witch-hunters of the East Anglian witch-trials of 1645-7.[6] In *Witchfinders,* Gaskill attempted to analyse the deeper thoughts and feelings of the infamous seventeenth century witch-finders, Matthew Hopkins and John Stearne. Gaskill followed their witch-hunting journeys across East Anglia, analysed the demonological texts that they wrote to justify their activities, and contextualized their actions. Because of the lack of systematic study on the topic of witch-hunters before now, a review of James and his demonology is important and may help to enhance the field of the early modern witch-hunters. In the case of King James, the examination of

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[5] Alison Rowlands, *Witchcraft and Masculinities in Early Modern Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), n. The introduction, Chapter Four as well as Table 3.2. Also read Schulte's, "*Man as Witch: Male Witches in Central Europe*."

[6] Malcolm Gaskill, *Witchfinders : A Seventeenth-Century English Tragedy*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005).

witch-hunters allows us to re-position the monarch—from a history of Scottish and English royalty to the history of a royal witch-hunter to the unique history of a royal demonologist. James, although taxed with so many other administrative and social matters, prioritized his responsibilities to include the investigation and reporting of witches. This priority, amidst massively critical duties, invites this same focus of attention to his witch-hunting experiences, as well as, the purposes of his demonological text. There is a need for an in-depth analysis to rediscover *Daemonologie* not only as a book about witchcraft, which in terms of the theme of masculinity, but, interestingly, a book about the man himself—the author King James VI.[7]

In Chapters Four and Five, the field of demonology is examined. The field can be divided into two groups—the demonological text and the demonologist. Ideally, we need to consider them as interlinked, so that we can analyse how and why the author, typically a man, shaped the text in the way that he did. There are, of course, many excellent editions of key demonological works of the early modern period, with excellent editorial notes on their authors such as Heinrich Kramer, Jean Bodin, Johann Weyer, and Reginald Scot.[8] However, much work still needs to be done from a gender-analysis perspective on these authors as men. And it must be taken into account that many demonologies were produced after men had participated in a witch-finding activity; how did these experiences interlink? Stuart Clark's *Thinking with Demons* is a seminal work

[7] Professor Julian Goodare notes in his article *Women and the Witch-Hunt in Scotland*, (Social History, 1998) that from cir. 1550-1700 most of the witches in Scotland were women—85%, p. 289.
[8] Jean Bodin, *La Démonomanie Des Sorciers... Par J. Bodin* (Paris: J. Du Puys, 1581); Johann Weyer, *On Witchcraft : An Abridged Translation of Johann Weyer's De Praestigiis Daemonum* (Asheville N.C.: Pegasus Press, 1998); Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft.* (New York: Dover Publications, 1972).

for demonological scholarship. He shows how widely spread throughout early modern culture the themes in demonological texts were. In relation to James, Clark focuses on the contrariety theme of James's demonology and how this was played out in relation to the ideas of divinity in general and divine kingship in particular. Clark's investigation of the organizing intellectual concept of contrariety is exemplary, yet, it creates an opening to extract other themes from James's *Daemonologie* for more research, using in this case, a more gender-sensitive perspective.[9]

My aim in this dissertation is to analyse the *Daemonologie* and its authorship in the context of the kingship of James in the final decade of the sixteenth century when witchcraft was highly saturated through Scottish society and when James began writing his treatise. I will argue that it was during this period James exhibited great anxiety regarding his succession to the English throne and insecurities regarding his masculine public image. To mask his true agenda and overcome the psychological states, James developed and refined his writing craft. By manipulation of words in his demonology, James was able to 'fashion' himself. Much like Stephen Greenblatt's attempt to reconstruct the authorial motives and strategies of Thomas More and Shakespeare by the analysis of their works, this dissertation will argue that through maleness and self-fashioning one can study James's *Daemonologie* and gain a different perspective on kingship, masculinity, and motive.[10]

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[9] Stuart Clark's work on contrariety in connection with James's *Daemonologie* are explored in his chapter, 'King James's *Daemonologie*: Witchcraft and Kingship' in Sidney Anglo's, *The Damned Art: Essays in the Literature of Witchcraft* (London: Boston, 1977).

[10] Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning : From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), n. Greenblatt's model of self–fashioning will be a guide or rather a framework for investigating the demonology.

The Kingship of King James VI: 1590-1600

In order to understand James during his last years of residence in Scotland, we must take into account his tragic Scottish beginnings. James VI was the only son of Mary Queen of Scots and Lord Darnley. His birth occurred against the tense backdrop of the Scottish-Protestant Reformation, in which Mary, who was Catholic, headed a General Assembly containing mostly Protestants and some moderates, such as, her half-brother, the Earl of Moray. She was also the head-figure of the Kirk, which was composed of hard-lined members including John Knox, a popular and prominent Protestant minister who published *The First Book of Discipline* in 1560, a moral guide for the reformed Scotland. When Mary was pregnant with James, her husband, Lord Darnley murdered her alleged lover, David Rizzio, directly in front of her. Six months after James's birth on 19 June 1566, James's father was murdered. Members of the Privy Council believed, with a high probability, that Queen Mary and her future husband James Hepburn, fourth Earl of Bothwell, were responsible for the murder of Lord Darnley.[11]

In July, 1567, when James was thirteen months old, he was crowned King James VI of Scotland after Mary had been forced to abdicate the throne, fleeing to England in exile. After his mother's leave, James spent the early part of childhood in the (often violent) game of tug-of-war between the Scottish Kirk, prominent Presbyterians, and the

[11] Willam Croft Dickinson, *Scotland Fromt He Earliest Times to 1603*, ed. by Archibald A. M. Duncan, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 358–9.

Catholic nobles.[12] Religion was an integral part of his life.[13] James loved God and was a stern believer in the Divine Right of Kings, although his senior tutor, George Buchanan tried to sway him otherwise. Theologically, James would become a devout Calvinist but, in terms of church government, he ironically preferred the top-down blueprint of Catholicism and Anglicanism, as was reflected in his famous remark, 'No bishop, No king'.

His education, as well as his experience of being a minor king subject to Regent's opinions and other factions, shaped him profoundly. For example, from my analysis of James's relationship with his famous tutors, George Buchanan and Peter Young, it appears highly probable that they helped James foster his useful political maneuvering in debates and in his writings; Buchanan with his harshness and Young with his lightheartedness. His education from his tutors may have also aided James in his ability to reserve judgement, especially since there was a constant whisper in his ear from one faction or another, including his mother when she recognised an increase in his power.[14] James grew up knowing that he needed to assert his own royal power in the face of the many competing groups and influences with which he was faced; in response he created the appearance of an unshakable character who answered to God alone. James, therefore, found it necessary to establish himself as a divine right king especially following the Ruthven Raid in 1582 when James was sixteen. James

[12] Antonia Fraser, *King James VI of Scotland, I of England* (London & Edinburgh: Morrison & Gibb Ltd, 1974), chap. One; Willson, chap. Two.

[13] Fincham, Kenneth; Lake, P. (1985). The Ecclesiastical Policy of King James I. *Journal of British Studies*, *24*(2), 169–207.

[14] Fraser, p. 35.

attachment to the Duke of Lennox and the Duke's acceptance of Catholic representatives into Scotland made the Queen Elizabeth and earls of Mar and Gowrie question the future of Scotland's politics. James appeared to be in love with Lennox but he also appeared to be unaware that the more Catholics that showed up in Scotland, the more likely England would have another religious battle on their hands.[15] The end of the raid, June 1583, actually began the start of James ruling more of his own accord, never forgetting the removal of Lennox from Scotland by his court and the raid itself, even if it was said to be for his own protection. In addition the 'Black Acts' which gave him more authority of parliament, James's thrust for a more kingly persona may have also been spurred by his homosexual orientation that was witnessed by those surrounding the king since childhood.[16][17] He definitely preferred the company of men to women and quite openly kissed men, but in order to be the king of Scotland as he so desired, he put aside his love of men by the late 1580s and married Princess Anne of Denmark in 1589. Within five years, he and his wife, per their royal duties, produced an heir. By 1590, James established the image of the king he desired to be for Scotland and created plans to obtain the English throne.

King James VI and the North Berwick Witch Trials

James's image has been more thoroughly analysed by Jenny Wormald who removed James from the indecisive, timid ruler of early depictions of James to a more

[15] Ruth Grant, 'George Gordon, Sixth Earl of Huntly and the Politics of the Counter-Reformation in Scotland, 1581-1595' (University of Edinburgh, 2010), pp. 54–9.
[16] Regarding James and homosexuality, further information can be found in Michael Young's, *King James and History of Homosexuality.*
[17] Dickinson, p. 373.

accurate description of a king with profound insight and scholarly ability.[18] Wormald was keenly aware of the circumstances of James's upbringing but did not see them as historically hindering James's ability to rule Scotland and later England. In allegiance with Wormald's view, this dissertation also values the way James 'carefully manipulated the General Assembly and cultivated the moderates in the Kirk, taking an increasingly tough line against the Presbyterians,' and his regeneration of the 'prestige of monarchy, which, sadly, had been stained by the antics of his mother.'[19] James's ability to enhance his prestige, through *Daemonologie*, is what gives this dissertation a unique scope whilst alerting historians that many texts of the past can be used to help grasp figures, places, and incidents of history.

To take a closer look at the Scottish court, religion and politics during the reign of James is to be keenly aware of the complexity of post-Reformation Scotland. By the time James was able to assert more personal authority during the late 1580s, the core elements of Scottish government (the Kirk, Privy Council, and his Chancellor) had produced some semblance of political stability in Scotland. Thus, an attempt is made in this text to highlight how King James VI illustrated authority and launched himself ahead of these groups through his demonology. There were so many ideas pertaining to what government and kingship should be and how it needed to be instituted within Scotland. One of James's major tasks was choosing his personal royal philosophy from amongst the differing views. Jenny Wormald, instead of focusing on the groups that made up

[18] After D.H. Willson's thoughtful but misinterpreted work on James, Professor Wormald illuminates James within the context of his sixteenth century Scottish court very convincingly in, *Court, Kirk, and Community* (Toronto, 1981); *Lord and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent, 1442-1603* (Edinburgh, 1985), and her article *James VI & I* in History Today (2002).
[19] Jenny Wormald, "James VI & I," *History Today*, 52 (2002), 27–33 (p. 28).

James's court life, homed in on influential players in his life, such as, James's mother Mary (in absentia); the Earls Huntly and Bothwell; and Andrew Melville.[20] With this approach, Wormald looks at how the court functioned based upon religion, either Protestant or Catholic; or divine kingship and the idea of representative accountability. Detailing further on the functions of James's court is Julian Goodare. His approach of breaking down the layers of sixteenth century Scottish government, especially the roles of central and local governments, such as, the cooperation of the Privy Council with individual burgh lairds on the issuance of commissions to prosecute witches, illustrate another diagnosis of James's government. In his recent text, he analysed in detail the different roles of the various components of Scottish government from 1560-1625.[21] Extremely intricate in explanation, Goodare provides a more institutional and legal explanation of how King James VI's court worked, whilst Wormald roots her explanations more in the context of key people within the court. The delegates of a monarchial court can catapult or crush the persons within it and even the king. The dexterity of James's interactions with Protestants, Catholics, Presbyterians, Queen Elizabeth, etc., illustrated a man of considerable analytical and diplomatic skill. Yet, it appears that he relegated one his most political power moves behind the old adage—there is nothing better to bring people together than a common enemy.[22]

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[20] Jenny Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community : Scotland, 1470-1625* (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1981), n. Wormald disproves the earlier take of James and provides a realistic depiction on his life.; Jenny Wormald, "*James VI & I*," *History Today*, 52 (2002), 27–33.

[21] Julian Goodare, *The Government of Scotland : 1560 - 1625* (Oxford [u.a.]: Oxford Univ. Press, 2004); Julian Goodare, *The Scottish Witch-Hunt in Context* (Manchester, UK; New York: Manchester University Press, 2002).

[22] In Goodare's edited book, *Scottish Witches and Witch-Hunters* (2013), Michael Wasser and Paula Hughes look at witch-hunters, per se, as not necessarily a person but as a group, such as the newly implemented Reformation Kirk.

The Earl of Bothwell, Francis Stewart, King James's cousin, was placed in charge of Scotland whilst the king was away fetching his bride, Anne of Denmark, in late 1589. Anne and her flotilla hit rough seas on their way to Edinburgh so she was forced to take refuge in Norway. James was anxious to see his queen so he decided to meet her and provide a personal escort to Scotland. Whilst his actions seem to be chivalrous, the fact that he left a note affirming that he decided to go after Anne by his own accord, shows his need to cement his own authority and actions without consultation of anyone except God. The couple held a marriage ceremony in Norway on 23 November 1589 even though they had been officially married by proxy since earlier that autumn. On an unsuccessful attempt to return together to Scotland because of adverse weather, they diverted to Denmark where they lived until the spring of 1590. Back in Scotland the country was relatively peaceful. Nonetheless, when King James VI and Queen Anne finally returned to Scotland, lurking behind the pomp of the Scots welcoming their new Queen, an enemy emerged and all of hell, literally and figuratively, broke loose.

The North Berwick witch trials were the first of the five major panics that Scotland experienced. These trials were in close proximity to the event of James's marriage to Anne. As noted above, Anne and her fleet had experienced unusual gales on her first attempt to reach Scotland. After receiving news of her problems James sailed to her, experiencing contrary winds as well. It is this place, the North Sea, where King James, Queen Anne and the North Berwick witch trials imaginatively intertwine. When the royal couple arrived in Leith on 1 May 1590, Admiral Peder Munk of Queen Anne's fleet had already begun to blame the bad weather on Danish witches. Once word of this reached Scotland, the connection was made between longstanding beliefs in witches'

capabilities to impact weather through magic and the apparent attempt to drown King James VI and his bride upon the waters, thus, triggering James's intensive involvement in the North Berwick witch trials.

During these trials, which lasted from 1590 to 1592, nearly two hundred people were accused of demonic conspiracy to the murder the king. A key figure in the alleged plot was the 5th Earl of Bothwell, who had supposedly employed the witches to raise storms at sea in order to gain the Scottish crown, to which he had a claim. The scale of the trials and involvement of the king led to an increased fear and knowledge of the demonic pact, the witch's agreement with the devil and renunciation of Christ, in Scotland. News spread about these evil witches and the attack of the devil against King James VI, both verbally and by means of the 1591 pamphlet, *News from Scotland,* about the North Berwick trials published in London. Ultimately these events set into motion the creation of the world's only demonological treatise ever written by a monarch.

Much debate exists about the introduction of the demonic pact element of witchcraft into Scotland. It was not a common characteristic of Scottish witch trials leading up to North Berwick proceedings but King James felt the need to explain some of the pact features in his *Daemonologie*, published six years after these trials ended. Stuart Clark, drawing on Christine Larner states that, 'James […] was almost certainly responsible for introducing these specifically continental notions (demonic pact) into Scotland'.[23] The King did stay amongst theologians and met the famous Danish

[23] Sydney Anglo, *The Damned Art : Essays in the Literature of Witchcraft*, (London; Boston: Routledge & K. Paul, 1977). pp. 157

demonologist Niels Hemmingsen whilst residing in Denmark but there is no true record of whether James studied the demonic pact. Furthermore, recent scholarship challenged the argument that James was the bringer of Continental witchcraft ideology into Scotland, arguing instead that knowledge of the demonic pact existed in Scotland before 1590.[24] Whatever the exact origin of belief in the demonic pact in Scottish witchcraft, the important point for this dissertation is fact that King James used it as a key device to establish himself as the enemy of the devil in his *Daemonologie*.

Whilst King James VI's involvement in the North Berwick witchcraft cases is well known, current scholars have questioned the depth of the king's involvement in the trials—was James in control of the events or was he being manipulated by powerful men at court? As Peter Elmer points out, witchcraft accusations typically gained momentum following the interest of men with minimal education.[25] King James did not fit that description of the typical interested trial followers; did others without the academic background of James stoke the smoldering embers of the North Berwick trials? Was there a real plot to kill the king, using witchcraft, or was the plot fabricated to implicate the Earl of Bothwell? These questions have been discussed by various historians starting with Christina Larner.

Larner argues that James was not interested in witchcraft before the North Berwick trials. She saw James as a king who engulfed trendy ideas and witchcraft

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[24] William G Roberts and Penny Naphy, *Fear in Early Modern Society* (Manchester, England; New York; New York: Manchester University Press ; .

[25] For more information on how demonology, in a wider context can help bridge the gap of elitist thought processes concerning witch prosecution see Peter Elmer's chapter, "*Towards A Politics of Witchcraft In Early Modern England*," in Stuart Clark's *Languages of Witchcraft: Narrative, Ideology, and Meaning In Early Modern Culture*. (Basingstoke, 2001).

happened to be a lucrative theme in the 1590s. She cements her analysis of James's apparently trendiness in his retraction from witchcraft and witches after he became the king of England in 1603.[26] There is no doubt that James liked being popular which made him quite the contemporary, but my analysis found James to be more of a trendsetter rather than a follower. James is not so much playing with fashionable ideas as he is using fashionable ideas to self-fashion. In early modern Europe and in an era of high illiteracy, printed text was fashionable and James appreciated the impact of the novelty and the inferences of high social status.

Another historian who reviews James and his demonology is Stuart Clark, an expert on demonologies. Clark believed that *Daemonologie* was an important work to James and that past historians used it to bring out abnormalities relating to the king in oppose to placing him in proper context. As Clark also notes, witchcraft was a reality of sixteenth century life in Europe and thus James's interest should not been seen as abnormal, especially considering that fact that he resides over a religious Western kingdom. Clark also explicates that the involvement of the ruthless earl of Bothwell with the witches of North Berwick 'compounded James's fears on top of the witches' statements.'[27]

In 1996 Daniel Fischlin wrote an article entitled, 'Counterfeiting God: James VI (I) and the Politics of *Daemonologie'.* It appears that Fischlin believes James is writing his demonology to prove that he is a divine king by proving that witches exist; they exist

[26] In *The Reign of James VI & I* edited by Alan G.R. Smith, chapter four written by Larner titled James *VI & I and Witchcraft*, is where Larner focuses on James and witchcraft.
[27] Sydney Anglo, *The Damned Art : Essays In The Literature of Witchcraft* (London; Boston: Routledge & K. Paul, 1977), n. 158–9. Clark's chapter also brings up the theme of contrariety in *Daemonologie* which will be discussed in chapter five.

and proclaim the power of God's greatest enemy, the devil. Therefore the demonology, in Fischlin's point of view, is a book about proving and creating the need for a divine monarch.[28] It is this take on the demonology that will be followed in this thesis. However, whilst Fischlin focused on the belief that the monarch created the threat of witches to substantiate their existence, it will be argued that the idea of witchcraft was already embedded in early modern society; possibly King James used their existence to enhance his image a king but he did not create the threat.

Each historian that has put in the work to analyse James and his *Daemonologie* has brought intriguing insight to the subject. To go forward with their ambitions of discovering James, however, I will use a double lens; the scope of gender and the scope of self-fashioning. When analysing James, the fact the he's a learned, early modern, royal man should not be assumed that his involvement in the North Berwick witch trials came from misogynistic terms. Instead, I argue, his insecurities in his maleness, and possibly the threat of the learned man is what makes *Daemonologie* one of the most revealing works when understanding late sixteenth century James.

In looking at the links between King James VI, the North Berwick witch trials, and the king's court, the meticulous work of Lawrence Normand and Gareth Roberts provides an unparalleled amount of material on the witch-hunts, especially in the Scottish political context. The text includes dittays from the trials and a copy of *Daemonologie.*[29] The connection between politics, godly society, and witchcraft, in their

[28] Daniel Fischlin, "'Counterfeiting God': James VI(I) and the Politics of '*Daemonologie'* (1597)," *Journal of Narrative Technique*, 26 (1996), 1–29.
[29] Lawrence Normand and Gareth Roberts, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland : James VI's Demonology and the North Berwick Witches* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000).

view, engulfed not only King James VI but the nobility and Kirk, without whose support the trials would have been impossible in practice. An example of the interplay between politics, the law and witchcraft is suggested by Normand and Roberts, who note that, 'The city's (Edinburgh) lawyers, who included judges, advocates, clerks of court, and notaries, were an increasingly influential group in the sixteenth century. Legal dynasties were becoming established, including the families of David MacGill of Cranstoun Riddell, James's prosecutors in witchcraft trials [….]'.[30] Brian Levack agrees to some extent with Normand and Robert's interpretation of the King's role in the North Berwick witch trials in that politics played a major role.[31] However, whilst Normand and Roberts tended to rely upon the pamphlet about the trials, *News from Scotland*, which was published in London in (c.1591), Levack preferred using legal records. Normand and Roberts's interpretation provides a more popular culture setting and Levack illustrates a more elitist insight. The author of the pamphlet is not definitely known but it was suspected to be James Carmichael, a devout Presbyterian who worked closely with James in the witchcraft trials. But, because the true author is not known and the legal documentation is fractured, both bodies of work contain lacunae; yet both present the most accurate picture of witchcraft in Scotland from the passing of the Witchcraft statute in 1563 to the North Berwick trials. Nevertheless, the perspective of the accused witch, on whom all of this ungodliness was blamed, has the least amount to say.

[30] Ibid pp. 57

[31] Brian P Levack, *Witch-Hunting in Scotland : Law, Politics, and Religion* (New York; London: Routledge, 2008), n. Levack analyses Scottish witch–hunt within a legal scope. This is helpful but he removes gender from the equation which should be taken into account.

As stated above, women made up eighty-five percent of all those prosecuted for witchcraft in early modern Scotland; and the issue of why most witches were female has been discussed by various historians, including Larner, Goodare and Deborah Willis, in her book, *Malevolent Nurture*.[32] Willis seeks to explain the gender-relatedness of witchcraft accusations by means of the connection between the woman as witch and the maternal role that women played throughout early modern society. 'Witches were women, I believe, because women are mothers: witchcraft beliefs encode fantasies of maternal persecution', is the argument Willis makes and she also ties this idea to James and his motherless upbringing.[33] She presents an interpretation that emphasizes James's difficult relationship with his absent mother, Mary Queen of Scots and the transposition of her role to Queen Elizabeth, whom James came to see almost as a surrogate mother, according to Willis. Moreover, Willis suggests that the control Mary Queen of Scots tried to impose on James when he was young and the control Queen Elizabeth held over him as a man came to be resented by James; his control over the North Berwick witch trials can thus be seen as James's attempt to exert his own patriarchal control over those women upon whom he could exercise his godly authority – the witches. Willis uses elements of psychoanalytic theory to add a more gender sensitive perspective to her understanding of James as a witch-hunter; a perspective worth noting that she gained from works by Janet Adelman and Gail Paster. Mary Queen of Scots did pose a small threat to James and Elizabeth could definitely restrict funds and scold James, as she did frequently, through communications. The power that

[32] Willis, n. Willis's research on the 'mother–figure' and its involvement in witch–hunters and female members of society is a different approach to witchcraft study.
[33] Ibid. pp. 6.

Willis argues Elizabeth and Mary had is not fitting to the time period of the North Berwick trials and the writing of his *Daemonologie*. His mother was executed in 1587 and, with his increased authority and his marriage, James responded to Elizabeth's scoffing with reprimands of his own.

It may appear that Larner and Willis are on opposite sides in consideration of the king's motives in the North Berwick witch-trials; one views his role as a reaction to ungodly treason and the other as a misogynistic reaction to the power exerted over him by mother-figures. Larner does admit that the witches posed some threat to the king but does not expand on the idea. In Larner's last book she foreshadowed something of Deborah Willis's point of view regarding the power of the witches whilst contextualizing the entire witchcraft uprising as a threat to James's kingdom rather than a threat to his person.[34] Either way, or as a result of the judicial action taken against the North Berwick witches where James actively participated, the threat posed by witches seemed to decline until the far end of the sixteenth century. In the late 1590s, and especially around 1597, new witchcraft trials began in areas further north than the North Berwick trials, such as Stirlingshire and Perth. More than anything King James VI did not want to lose his kingdom or possibly his life, but, perhaps even more, he wanted the throne of England. New questions began to arise regarding James and witchcraft because he found himself involved in these new trials. The Scottish witch-hunts of 1597 witnessed a slightly different King James though; he had more control over decisions made within the Privy Council, for the Earl of Bothwell had been sent into exile as a result of his

[34] Christina Larner, *Witchcraft and Religion : The Politics of Popular Belief* (New York, NY: Blackwell, 1984).

involvement in the North Berwick episode, James was not under personal threat from a demonic conspiracy, and he had reached a significant personal and dynastic milestone with the birth of a son and heir in 1594, Prince Henry. It would appear that James had finally 'come into his own' or so it would seem until he again became involved in questioning some of the accused of these more recent trials and before the year 1597 was over he published his demonology as well.

The Motive for writing *Daemonologie*

James was immensely aware of the power of the quill and showed an ambition to instruct others. As mentioned above he wrote two other works expressing his views on kingship and fatherhood in the late 1590s, *Trew Law* and *Basilikon Doron*, during this decade. I suspect that by 1597 when he published his *Daemonologie* he was able to provide instruction on the contemporary threat of witchcraft while presenting himself as a philosophical, manly king as well as masking the main purposes for writing the book – his attempt to unite the Kirk and Catholic nobility against a common enemy whilst shielding his anxiety and ambition about possible succession to the English throne.[35]

The foremost authority on King James VI's demonology is Stuart Clark.[36] The main argument of this dissertation, that King James's *Daemonologie* was published to establish his image (as a man, king, scholar, and most importantly the successor to

[35] James. (Edinburgh, 1597).

[36] Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons : The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford [England] ;New York: Clarendon Press ;;Oxford University Press, 1997); Stuart Clark, "King James's Daemonologie: Witchcraft and Kingship," *The Damned Art: Essays in the Literature of Witchcraft*, 1977, 156–181; Bengt Ankarloo, *Early Modern European Witchcraft : Centres and Peripheries* (Oxford [England]: Clarendon Press, 1989).

Queen Elizabeth) takes a key idea of Clark's work and builds upon it. Clark focuses on the theme of contrariety in demonological writing which he argues dominates James's structure and understanding of his *Daemonologie*. The centrality of the idea of contrariety to James, as Clark has shown, is seen in James's argument that, , 'since the Devill is the very contrarie opposite to God, there can be no better way to know god, than by the contrarie', which James wrote in his treatise.[37] The best way therefore for James to define his godly monarchy was by thoroughly understanding and defeating its greatest enemy.

Nevertheless, there are several other theories about James's motive in first writing and then publishing his demonology. Julian Goodare states that James wrote his demonology for propaganda purposes.[38] Goodare mentions that the king originally intended to publish his demonology along with some of the witches' confessions from the North Berwick trials in 1591.[39] This view by Goodare is plausible, especially tying in the editorial notes found in the *Daemonologie* Folger manuscript. But a question arises from this; what was the reason for the delay in publishing until 1597? It very well may lie in the success of the *News from Scotland* pamphlet. The pamphlet's image of James, which was targeted for the English audience, promoted a king who went face to face with danger, and in so many words, the devil; to rid his kingdom of those who tried to kill him and those who displeased God. It was also quite obvious by the 1590s that

[37] Anglo. pp. 175.
[38] Julian Goodare, *Scottish Witches and Witch-Hunters*, 2013, n. Other works that focus on James's demonology include; 'Counterfeiting God: James VI (I) and the Politics of 'Daemonologie' by Daniel Fischlin and 'A king translated : the writings of King James VI & I and their interpretation in the Low Countries, 1593–1603' by Astrid Stilma.
[39] Julian Goodare, *The Scottish Witch-Hunt in Context*, (Manchester, UK; New York: Manchester University Press, 2002). pp 63.

Queen Elizabeth was not going to produce an heir therefore James intended to capitalise on the positive popularity he could capture by ridding society of this pestilence while possibly dashing the hopes of anyone else wanting to claim the English throne. The *Daemonologie* was James's guide to England.

In an alternative view of King James's motive for writing his demonology Jenny Wormald suggests a more political agenda.[40] Taking notice of his council's ambitions in the witch panic of 1597, Wormald places James in the midst of political pressure to not only become involved in the hunts but to throw support their way, which the publishing of his treatise provided. It is understood the James preferred an absolutist rule of Scotland; however, the lairds had taken control over most of the witchcraft cases of the late 1590s, only needing a commission from the Privy Council to start the trials of alleged witches in the localities. There was evidence of a perjuring witch-finder which, if not dealt with, could eventually cause political chaos and potentially criticism of the king's justice on local and central levels. This is where Wormald argues that it was necessary for James to become involved to re-assert royal control even if he did not want to be. He would rather sit through more interviews of accused witches than to appear to have a disorganized kingdom.

There is one more possible motive for James's *Daemonologie*: King James VI's self-image. During the Renaissance there was an increasing concept of the 'learned' man. Today the term 'Renaissance Man' refers to a man who has thorough knowledge and

[40] Terry Ditchburn David Simpson Grant G. Brotherstone, *Freedom and Authority : Scotland, C. 1050-C. 1650 : Historical and Historiographical Essays Presented to Grant G. Simpson*, (East Linton, East Lothian, Scotland: Tuckwell Press, 2000). You need to cite the title of the Wormald essay in the footnote not the text.

practice in a wide range of disciplines. A way to achieve this image during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was through writing. Recent literary and historical developments can help us examine the self-imaging of historical figures and the importance of extracting this information. Shakespeare has been a challenge for many historians to write about and an enjoyment for literary enthusiasts. Nevertheless, the 'new historicism' technique used by Stephen Greenblatt helps produce a new level of understanding Shakespeare, his reason for writing and his expressions of his 'self'. In Chapter Five I will use this concept of self-fashioning, along with the analysis of demonologies and the masculinity of witch-hunters, to analyse James and his *Daemonologie*. In *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*, Greenblatt breaks down structures and dissects myths through the works of More, Shakespeare and others.

What Greenblatt and the new historicist scheme achieved in their methodology is a way of understanding history and the authors themselves through that author's fiction. For example, when examining an excerpt from Thomas More's dinner scene in *Utopia*, Greenblatt uses More's details of being in the abstract to show how one can never really be in the abstract of her/his surroundings. Greenblatt also explains how More was a reluctant socialite but whose life was entrench with such frivolities.

Utopia provided answers to questions regarding More's surroundings, geography, whilst presenting an opportunity for historians to explore what others during that time may have thought about the same event or phenomenon—in other words, triangulation. By looking at *Daemonologie with this sort of framework we begin to view James* in the context of his political and personal situation during the 1590s and whilst

doing so we can introduce theories of self-fashioning will provide a fresh insight into the text and the motives of James in writing it. Furthermore, because witch-hunters and writers of demonologies have not been extensively explored in this way, this type of approach can, perhaps, act as a case-study which can be applied to other men in these roles, to establish their motivations and possibly their intended audience.

Conclusion

King James VI & I was a unique monarch in many ways. The first to rule both Scotland and England, he produced successful settlements in what is now called the USA, and he also sponsored the King James edition of the Bible, which is one of the most circulated books ever printed. He was the only early modern monarch to become personally involved in witch-trials as a witch-hunter, and to write a demonology. Whilst his character and ideologies have been considered and partially mastered by some historians, King James's *Daemonologie* has not yet been analysed using the ideas of masculinity and *selfing*, both of which were underlined by his anxieties about the English succession. Moreover, the *Daemonologie* must be re-read to introduce the ways in which James touched on royal masculinity as well as witchcraft. The sententious eighty-one paged book is a key component of understanding James from 1590-1600. This new analysis of *Daemonologie* will prove to be a template for historians in their analysis of other demonologies, enabling us to get closer to the self-image and intentions of their authors.

Chapter One

Genesis

Witchcraft Origins

A broad but appropriate definition of a witch, through a more Western view-point, is 'a person who possesses a supernatural, occult, or mysterious power to cause misfortune or injury to others.'[41] The origins of witchcraft mostly likely originated around the same time humans began gathering in communities. This is likely so because witchcraft is not based upon a story such as other mainstream worshipping services such as Christianity and Buddhism but more upon feelings. Feelings of fear against darkness, the unexplained, and the unknown have all possibly created witchcraft. In today's world witchcraft is still practiced throughout the world just as it appeared to have been over 30,000 years ago. Early societies normally regarded witchcraft in two factions: white witchcraft and black witchcraft. White magic or witchcraft was regarded as a beneficial to a person such as healing a person or livestock. Black witchcraft caused harm to someone or their possessions. Black witchcraft has grown to be known as *maleficus* (Latin) or more commonly maleficum.[42] Ancient writers such as Apuleius and Horace wrote about witches in some of their text. In Apuleius's "The Golden Ass" or "Metamorphoses," there are two witches in the story. One of the witches in the story could turn herself into a familiar spirit of a weasel and supposedly knawed off the main character's ears and nose so the flesh could be used for incantations. Brian Levack

[41] Brian Levack, 'The Witchcraft Sourcebook' (New York : Routledge, 2004), p. 2.
[42] Larner, 1984, n. For more information on witchcraft origins see "Witch Craze" by Lyndal Roper and Part II of Larner's "Witchcraft and Religion" (The Gifford Lectures)

states that Apuleius's depiction of witches was used as evidence by early modern Europeans as to the validity of witchcraft during their lifetime.[43] Horace was a skeptic of witchcraft according to Levack and possibly supported laws against witches in concurrence with the Emperor Augustus. Horace (65BC-8BC) was a Roman poet and an autobiographer. It is in his work, Canidia, where Horace 'contributes to the creation of the classical witch figure…that image was enduring, and it influence early modern depictions of the witch, especially during the period of the Renaissance, when classical authors had great authority and influence.'[44] Although witchcraft was practiced all over the globe, this dissertation will focus on witchcraft as known in Europe in the early modern period and in particular, Scotland.

Witchcraft Origins in Europe

The canon Episcopi, which originated possibly in the ninth century is one of the most important keys to understanding witchcraft in early modern Europe. Although Europe was not experiencing witch trials during the Dark Ages, the bible did make statements on how witches should be dealt with. The canon Episcopi does not demand the death of witches in opposition to Exodus 22:18; the canon request for witchcraft believers to leave the Catholic Church. 'Bishops and their officials must labour with all their strength to uproot thoroughly from their parishes the pernicious art of sorcery…and if they find a man or woman follower of this wickedness to eject them foully disgraced from their parishes'[45] With the introduction of the canon Episcopi, the former ideologies of Christians where God and the Devil were opposites but equal (such as day and night)

[43] Brian Levack, p. 16.
[44] Ibid. p. 22.
[45] Council of Ancyra, *Canon Episcopi*.

gave way to God possessing ‘divine providence’ over all things, including the bad things. Malcolm Gaskill believes this new providence of God to be the joining of the witch and the heretic.[46]

Views against witchcraft began to change within the next several centuries and in 1486 a book called *the Malleus Maleficarum* by Heinrich Kramer expressed more direct views against witchcraft. The *Malleus Maleficarum* may not have differed from other demonologies when it was published but it did set up the legal precedence that witches should be sought out and punished. The *Malleus* was popular during the late fifteenth century but it rapidly gained prominence due to increased circulation during the mid-sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It was first used by Catholics but continued into Protestant witch-happening territories. According to William Monter ‘there are no adequate answers as to why witchcraft and witch-persecution was possible during the Christian era of the 14th century. He imposes that a de facto pact was made between the secular governments and the Roman Catholic Church to keep witchcraft accepted as a viable social threat.[47] With Pope Innocent VIII’s backing of the Inquisitoris Kramer, there definitely appears to be a connection between governmental approval or allowance and witchcraft persecution. Stephen Mitchell attempts to answer Monter’s question by stating that the re-emergence of Roman law into medieval Europe during thirteenth century, along with ‘an inquisitorial system’, was the beginnings of witchcraft persecution amongst other law breakers.’[48] Trying to pinpoint an exact reason for the

[46] Malcolm Gaskill, *Witchcraft : A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 17.
[47] E William Monter, *European Witchcraft* (New York: Wiley, 1969), chap. 5.
[48] Stephen Mitchell, *Witchcraft and Magic in the Nordic Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), p. 2.

emergence and continuation of witchcraft is not something that can be led back to one event, one sect, or one gender. Like most events in history it is a culmination of conjectures that once collided, caused many people, mostly women, to be executed. It is this way that one can understand how different localities and cultures produced different reactions to witchcraft. This is how we must approach the status of witchcraft in early modern Scotland because whilst it shared its geographic space with its powerful southern neighbor England, more of its witchcraft ideologies reflected those of continental European views.

Witchcraft Origins in Scotland

As stated above witchcraft as a practice has quite a long history. However, records, especially court records, can only go back so far but they do provide us a starting point for looking into witchcraft in Scotland. The most famous witchcraft cases in Scottish history lies in the named North Berwick witch trials of 1590-1. One of the main reasons for its infamousness is the direct involvement of King James VI. These trials provide the context for this dissertation however there were other trials before the 1590s and also a witchcraft act that passed in 1553 during the reign of Mary Queen of Scots.

There is evidence of witchcraft cases around the time of the in the early to mid-sixteenth century in Scotland. For example, 1 June, 1536 a woman by the name of Agnes, had been charged with witchcraft. A commission was given to the bailiff of the Bishop of Aberdeen, William Lyon, ‘empowering him to execute justice upon Agnes,

alias Lanie Scot….'[49] The issue with looking into witchcraft case during the sixteenth century and even the seventeenth century is the lack of physical material. Instead of searching dittays alone, there must be a search of other legal documents or personal diaries that shed light on who was charged with what during this time. P.G. Maxwell-Stuart used rental records to investigate the charges of Agnes Mullikine in 1563. Rental records have been used to express how expensive it may have been for a community to execute a witch. Maxwell-Stuart notes how he discovered that £3.18s of an October 1542 rental record expense happened to coincided with a prosecution of three alleged witches. 'It is rather difficult to appreciate what this cost meant to other costs of the period but, expressed as 78 shillings, it may be compared with the 67 shillings paid as six months' wages to the Cardinal's master chef….'[50] Information on witchcraft cases and a slight rise in cases themselves started to pick up in the latter portion of the sixteenth century which coincided with Scotland's Witchcraft Act of 1563.

Scotland's Witchcraft Act of 1563

The witchcraft act was passed during the early Reformation period in Scotland when Mary Queen of Scots had a Protestant Parliament. 'Its authorship and its passage through Scotland's second Protestant parliament (was) amid bitter debate over ecclesiastical politics.'[51] When the Protestant Parliament met in 1560 in Scotland it established the basics. After all, Protestantism was still developing so the charge of handling prior Catholic judicial affairs, such as the moral policing of society, was not yet

[49] P.G. Maxwell-Stuart, *Satan's Conspiracy: Magic and Witchcraft in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (East Linton, East Lothian, Scotland: Tuckwell Press, 2001), p. 30.
[50] Maxwell-Stuart, p. 32.
[51] Julian Goodare, 'The Scottish Witchcraft Act', *Christian History*, 74 (2005), 39–67 (p. 40).

on the table. During the second Parliament in 1563 when Scotland had a Catholic queen and ambitious civil servants, power was given to the person or group who could show it through legislation, such as the Lord of the Articles which included the earl of Moray, Mary's half-brother. In the end, Moray stood by the queen and did not establish Protestantism as the official religion of Scotland which created a rift between him and John Knox, the flamboyant Presbyterian preacher and creator of the First Book of Discipline.[52]

According to Dr. Julian Goodare, John Knox was most likely to be the author of the witchcraft act. Goodare comes to this conclusion heavily based upon the response to the final acts that passed the Parliament on 4th June 1563. John Knox is upset about certain changes made in the Acts that passed in 1563. He did not mention witchcraft, and there is speculation that his omittance was due to the fact the he possibly drafted that portion of the act, but he did protest against the changes glebes and manses act and the oblivion act. The Glebes and Manses Act was put into place to give Protestants the houses and lands of the former Catholic ministers. Knox wanted those Catholic ministers out of Scotland. Knox mentioned the passing of the witchcraft act but he did not scold it as he did the others. It appears that Knox did not like the vague implications for the acts of oblivion and glebes and manses. He opted for more structure within those acts and more structure of how they were to be prosecuted.[53]

[52] Goodare, 'The Scottish Witchcraft Act', n. Goodare provides many characters surrouding the Witchcraft Act of 1563. Also see the Witchcraft Act of 1563 section of Chapter Two in P.G. Maxwell–Stuarts' Satan's Conspiracy: Magic and Witchcraft in Sixteenth–Century Scotland.
[53] Ibid, 43-51.

The group that decided on the finalization of the act was the Lord of the Articles. The Lord of the Articles which included the Earl of Moray and John Winram, who debated for three days whilst Parliament met. They debated on proposals submitted to them and the claim for Scotland to be an official Protestant nation was one of the key items up for consideration. Whatever the Lord of the Articles came up with after three days was expected to be endorsed. The witchcraft act did not explicitly state a connection between Catholicism and witchcraft, possibly due to Moray's relationship with his half-sister; this parallels the fact that a sentence in the reconstructed preamble shows that there may have been a fear of Mary Queen of Scots for the line was omitted: '...[Witchcraft] derives from the darkness of papistry from which the realm has recently been delivered...'[54] Whatever the reason for the omitting of blame on Catholicism, the act passed and witchcraft in Scotland would be affected by this legislation for nearly two hundred years.

The Bairn King

Mary Queen of Scots in 1567 had been forced to abdicate and her son James was crowned King of Scotland. James's uncle, the Earl of Moray became his regent and handled official business. In the territories along the east coast of Scotland Moray took notice of public immorality issues and began a quest to prosecute those accused of immoral behavior. Witchcraft fit into this category, along with adulterers, and probably thievery. Although evidence of Moray's traveling justice system is not complete, there are individual details of the earl's actions. It has been estimated that at least ten

[54] Ibid, 49

witches were accused and hanged for their participation in witchcraft from 1568-9.[55] 'At the December 1567 parliament, a commission drafting legislative proposals discussed "how witchecraft salbe puniest and Inquisitioun takin thairof"….In April 1568, there was a commission to try many people in Forfarshire, and at least one other person was subsequently investigated in May….On 2 August 1568 Sir William Stewart, the Lord Lyon, was arrested on charges of treason and using witchcraft against Regent Moray;' these cases along with others totaled to be eighty-one involving witchcraft.[56]

A few years later John Knox would find himself involved in the prosecution of an alleged witch. In Fife, 1572, there was an unnamed woman who was taken into custody for 'many horrible things.' She supposedly refused to forgive a man who offended her and did not want to find forgiveness in God either. Knox preached a sermon condemning the woman and on 28 April she was burned.[57]

Moray and Knox are historically not thought of as witch-hunters but because of what each person represented, witchcraft would continue to intermingle with their lives. Moray, representing the royal faction of Scotland, would continue watching over his nephew amongst other things until his murder. Knox continued to represent the clergy, which after the Reformation, became an increasing powerhouse in Scotland. This battle between the souls of men and the divine right given unto men, with witchcraft as an intermediary, a scapegoat, or just a coincidental feature, would play a major role in the

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[55] Julian Goodare, *Scottish Witches and Witch-Hunters*, 2013, n. For the full account of the first witch–hunts of Scotland, read Chapter 1 by Michael Wasser.
[56] Goodare, p. 18-19.
[57] Goodare, *The Scottish Witch-Hunt in Context*, p. 36; Richard Bannatyne, *Journal of the Transactions in Scotland during the Contest between the Adherents of Queen Mary and Those of Her Son* (Edinburgh: J. Ballantyne and Co., 1806), p. 339.

mid-sixteenth and seventeenth century Scotland. And it so happens that the craze and horror that are typically represented in witchcraft histories of Scotland and many other places, plagued Scotland during the same time that James Stuart, king of Scotland, was ready to prove his strength to the world.

Chapter Two

The Acts: A King Becoming a Man

The early modern male

As mentioned in Chapter One, James VI became the king of proxy before he became a king of action in Scotland. With his mother in exile and his father murdered, James was taken under the wings of various regents who supposedly possessed care for the king but also had the ability to run Scotland with firmness until the king reached an age when he could manage things himself. The theory of regency was difficult to put into practice and understanding the masculinity of early modern males may help to grasp why James's regents continued to change and why, eventually, James himself needed to script his own masculinity. And importantly, the connection between early modern masculinity and witchcraft can again be analyzed.

Outside of Europe and the islands of England, Scotland, and Ireland, Europeans possessed a cohesive sense of superiority towards other lands and peoples. Amongst the natives of North America, South America, and Africa, Europeans males felt very courageous, smart, ambitious, and masculine. Within their own continent, however, there was a need to be distinguished, refined, and superior either by class and/or employment position. Europeans could claim exotic lands on the grounds of the barbarity of non-Christian beliefs, but what of those different factions of Christian beliefs within their European society—Calvinist, Presbyterians, Anabaptist,etc.? How could Christianity be use to maneuver a person from one class to the next? The answer was

that Christianity alone did not possess the structure to totally define the early modern male but it certainly played a very serious part.

The man of early modern Europe was a man who loved God, who worked hard in duties, took on a wife and commanded her, who produced children that would continue to practice the ethical code that their father had set in place, and who was respected by his community. Whether the man was a field worker or a lawyer, he was still a man and therefore his gender demanded certain characteristics fill his aura. A unique feature of masculinity is its ability to permeate notable distinctions between men. In the early modern society one of the most notable features of a person was their religion. With the Protestant Reformation continuing to have its effects across Europe by way of Calvinist sects, Puritans, Anabaptist, and so on, each religion still had their idea of what a man should be and expected each man within that sect to be a representative of such. Any man could fight but a man of peace was a skill of the Lord. 'Peace was not simply a desirable condition between men which was derived from a sense of self-preservation, but was itself sanctified.'[58]

In early modern Scotland there was still widespread feuding between families which resulted in much bloodshed. Several of King James's companions were known for their involvement in duels or violent murders, including the earl of Bothwell, the Wauchopes of Niddrie and the earl of Huntly. 'For the next two years he [Niddrie] lived in Bothwell's shadow, and when he was named in a divorce case as an adulterer, the earl marched into session house and arrested the cuckold husband on some other

[58] Keith M. Brown, *Bloodfeud In Scotland 1573-1625: Violence, Justice and Politics in an Early Modern Society* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1986), p. 184.

charge. Niddrie also enhanced his reputation at this time, and the fear in which Bothwell was held, by killing the laird of Edmonstone in a duel.'[59] This is an example of the pressures of masculinity in early modern Europe and Scotland in particular. It was a time of Renaissance knowledge but the honor of a knight was highly regarded amongst all peoples. Both Catholic and Protestants clergy believed that it was their duty to help society become the epitome of morality and who better to set an example of this than the most powerful people in those societies, the men. The complexity of early modern nobility, trying to juggle state affairs, religious proclamations, family interests, and remain in power, was something each of James's regents had to take on and eventually James himself. Witchcraft was a way for early modern European males could handle all of these factions with the hopes of possibly increasing their status, whether knowingly or unknowingly; witchcraft becomes a conscious tool for James.

Males Figures surrounding young James

James was virtually was reared as an orphan. As bad as it may sound in today's lexicon, a prince growing up away from his immediately family was not uncommon in early modern Europe. In James's case, he was not sent away but rather his caretakers came to him. Immediately following the abdication of his mother, Mary Queen of Scots, young James was taken under the care of the Lady Mar and his regent was his uncle, James Stewart the first earl of Moray. As mentioned in Chapter One, Moray was very familiar with life at court and had considerable influence. Although he was James's relative, it does not appear that he spent much time with young James. Perhaps the

[59] Brown, n. For more on the rivalry between the Bothwells and the Wauchopes reach Chapter One: The Roots of Violence.

earl of Moray knew that his nephew was in capable hands with the Lady Mar who 'was wise and sharp and held the King in great awe.'[60]

By the time James was four and a new regent was assigned, his grandfather Matthew Stewart the fourth earl of Lennox, James would be involved with men who he would remember for the rest of his life and, more importantly, men alone would remain a large part of his circle until he married in 1589, but would increase again after he became king of England. At the beginning of the line of male influence upon to the young King James was one of his tutors George Buchanan. Buchanan was one of James's two tutors—the other being Peter Young and they both had a profound effect on him.

George Buchanan was a satirist, humanist, theorist, amongst other things. He grew up in Scotland and was educated in both France and at St. Andrews in Scotland. He happened to be living in Paris during the Renaissance, which would help to explain his philosophical background but also invention and innovation. 'The ripples of the Reformation had spread rapidly into France: Luther on the one hand and Low Country spirituality on the other hand had made inroads and indeed swelled indigenous currents'.[61]

Also in France, Buchanan is noted to have changed from Catholicism to Calvinism. He also learned secondary languages which he would later pass onto his kingly young pupil. Overall, Buchanan was entrenched in new ideologies, new religions,

[60] Willson, p. 20.
[61] I.D. McFarlane, 'George Buchanan and European Humanism', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 15 (1985), 33–47 (p. 35).

and constant philosophical manliness. 'It was in this atmosphere that such distinguished educationalists as Ignatius de Loyola, Johann Sturm, Andre´ de Govea, Calvin, and Buchanan himself were formed.'[62] By taking a glimpse into the early scholarly life of George Buchanan, we can see reasons why James was not only the writer and scholar he was but more significantly, the type of man he was. If not for the title of his birth would James have been a confirmed old bachelor as his scholarly tutor—it is plausible.

Another interest and life-long friend of James was his second tutor, Peter Young. Peter was younger than the old task master Buchanan and he sympathized with the young king. 'Master Peter Young was gentler, and was loath to offend the King at any time and used himself warily…'[63] Young was born in 1544 and in his twenties he, like Buchanan, was sent to the continent for studies but in Geneva instead of France. Young married several times being the complete opposite of Buchanan. Whilst both men were highly scholastic, it was Buchanan who constantly attempted to penetrate James's brain quite harshly with ideals that Buchanan held of high importance. Young preferred to handle James softly, often applauding James and ensuring that he is a confident fellow.

George Buchanan and Peter Young have been one the topics of discussion concerning James's childhood. The rigorous schedule that James had to follow and the characteristics of his tutors are normally generalised but there is another aspect in which to view their relationship; more than the student-teacher dynamic. James did not

[62] Ibid. (p.35).
[63] Willson, p. 20.

have the luxury of watching his father rule Scotland and then decipher how he would then rule; James had neither father nor mother which left others surrounding him to pay tribute to his abilities and skill as king. Buchanan and Young had a longer relationship with James than any of his regents including the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Arran. A child becomes quickly aware of which parent is stern and which is lenient then provides appropriate behavior to satisfy each; James obviously encountered this same phenomenon regarding his tutors without the complexity of unconditional family love. And with this early ability to decipher between factions who are in charge of you but are under your command, indeed this duality is a benefit.

James's scope of the early modern male reflects his young surroundings. Past historians have often noted that young James was shy or weak-kneed; sometimes being attributed to a possible illness, such as scurvy. When his daily life from the ages of four to eleven is mapped out, however, his life revolved around academia instead of the dueling blood-feuds that surrounded much of Scottish nobility. A life of military servitude or dueling blood-feuds was not the life this particular Scot. Instead he learned different languages, studied religion, and wanted the European prestige of his tutors to impart to himself. Although Young and Buchanan made an impression upon James, his next line of companions were set to influence the king's character as well.

Of course not all of the men surrounding James were European scholars but still men of great esteem in their own right. The next set of men who would have an impression upon James would be his regents. James had four regents lasting from 1567-1580. Whilst the first three are on duty when James is an infant up through the

age of six, it is the last regents and the two companions that follow who will be of major focus; although the first three bear some mention.

When Mary Queen of Scots had to abandon her baby in 1567 he became the King of Scotland but, as an infant, day to day matters was the concern of his regent—then his uncle, the first earl of Moray, James Stewart. Moray was the illegitimate son of King James V. Even though his family was mostly Catholic, Moray was Protestant but he sympathized with Catholics. When his half-sister was still in power Moray was active in the Scottish Parliament particularly after the Reformation. He held the position as one of the Lord of the Articles during the 1563 Parliament. This special group of men were charged with approving or rejecting proposals submitted to them by Parliament and it is during this Parliament session where an example of Moray's sympathies toward Catholicism can be noted. John Knox, the vocal Presbyterian minister, proclaimed that Scotland needed to officially declare Protestantism as the country's religion. 'Key advisor, the Earl of Moray—had decided, reluctantly, to acquiesce in her [Mary Queen of Scots's] wish to defer a full Protestant legislative settlement.'[64] This slight relinquishment by Moray that legislatively left Scotland's official religion a debate, greatly angered the nobility and enraged Knox who not only voiced his opinion on what he saw as weakness, but also pursued to combat any weakness in Scottish moral society.[65] Moray assisted Knox indirectly with these moral codes by punishing immoral behavior. 'There was a determination on the part of the legal and political authorities to pursue witches as a public menace…however, the element of moral panic was not

[64] Goodare, 'The Scottish Witchcraft Act', p. 42.
[65] Julian Goodare, 'The First Parliament of Mary , Queen of Scots', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 36 (2005), 55–75 (pp. 68–9).

exclusive to witches, but was diffused among other offenders against God's law such as adulterers.'[66] Moray's campaign eventually ended in his assassination by John Hamilton, a supporter of Mary Queen of Scots who was attempting to reclaim her kingdom. James, who was now four, received a new regent—his grandfather the fourth earl of Lennox, Matthew Stewart.

Matthew Stewart was in his early fifties when he took on the role of regent for his grandson. He was a very powerful noble of close relation to James V. Still a devout Catholic but in a rift with Mary Queen of Scots over the murder of his son, Lord Darnley, Matthew was an instant target for Mary's sympathizers. The Earl of Lennox was only regent for a year before being assassinated. His death was part of an on-going feud between the Stewarts and the Hamiltons; the Hamiltons killed James's first regent and the Stewarts seized some of the Hamilton's border properties and hung Archbishop Hamilton.[67] Although the assassin is unknown, the Hamiltons undoubtedly played the part of co-conspirator.

The next regent for the minor king, and the only one to die naturally, was the seventeenth earl of Mar, Lord John Erskine. Just like James's grandfather, the Earl of Mar held the title of regent for a little over a year. Although Erskine was suspected to have died of natural causes there was talk of a wrongful death but it was

[66] Goodare, *Scottish Witches and Witch-Hunters*, Chap. 1: Scotland's First Witch–Hunt: The Eastern Witch–Hunt of 1568–1569.
[67] Dickinson, p. 360.

never proven.[68] Lord Erskine would give way to James's fourth and final regent, the fourth Earl of Morton, James Douglas.

The Earl of Morton was James's regent for eight years (1572-1580). Although there were hostilities between the Kirk and Morton and the Catholic earls and Morton, they all respected the stability he brought to the region. Morton was a supporter of Mary's abdication and was supported by England as regent for James. Even Sir James Melville, who disliked Morton, could not deny his calming presence as regent, 'he held the country under great obedience in an established estate'.[69] Along with pushing for a decree of new market money, he stiffened tax collections on the nobility and monies from the Kirk. When it came to James he allowed time for James to hunt, ride horses, and to have a circle of literary friends. One of James's most famous literary companions was Alexander Montgomery. By the mid-1580s Montgomery had already published famous works, some of which James incorporated into one of his own treaties. Alexander Montgomery had come to court in the early 1580's in the train of the Protector Morton, and he seems to have gained James's friendship and literary admiration by 1582-3 at which time James awarded him a pension, and to which period James's poem *An Admonition to the Maister* Poet can be assigned.'[70] James had a

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[68] Sir James Melville, *Memoirs of His Own Life* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1827), n. Located on the bottom of page 248 and continuing on the next page, Melville writes the opinions of some over John Erskine's death. 'Some of his frendis and the vul– gair people, fpak and fiifpected that he had gottin wrang[wrong], and others, that it wes for difpleafour[displeasure].Sir James Melville. Memoirs of His Own Life (Kindle Locations 3822–3824). [Printed by Ballantyne].

[69] Willson, p. 29.

[70] RM Clewett, 'James VI of Scotland and His Literary Circle', *Aevum*, 47 (1973), 441–54 (p. 441) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25821221> [accessed 24 February 2014].

good relationship with Morton until the arrival of James's cousin from France Seigneur d' Aubigny, Esme´ Stuart.

Esme´ Stuart was the great-nephew of James Stewart, the King's grandfather. There is no question that Esme´, who became the Duke of Lennox, and James shared a strong bond. James's relationship with the Duke of Lennox has been examined more closely within the last two decades because of the sexual connotations surrounding it. At the forefront of the sexual relationship between James and the Duke of Lennox has been Michael Young. According to Young, and backed-up by statements of persons who surrounded the adolescent king, James had clear affections for Lennox.[71] Young hints at the sexual aspect James and Lennox's relationship; something he states that has been glanced over by previous historians, however, even Young does not blatantly state that they had sex. An excerpt in Jenny Wormald's 'James VI & I: Two Kings or One," Lawrence Stone writes, 'as a hated Scot, James was suspect to the English from the beginning, and his ungainly presence, mumbling, speech, and dirty ways did not inspire respect. Reports of his blatantly homosexual attachments and his alcoholic excesses were diligently spread back to a horrified countryside…'[72]

Because of Lennox's sway upon the young charge there was pressure from others in the court to have Lennox removed. A part of this hatred derived from the money Lennox was receiving from his personal friend, Robert Montgomery, who was appointed Archbishop of Glasgow which upset the Kirk. Lennox also allowed Mary to increase her communications with her son, mostly in an attempt to regain control of

[71] Willson, p. 36.
[72] Jenny Wormald, "James VI and I: Two Kings or One ?," *History*, 68 (1983), 187–209 (p. 187).

Scotland. Near autumn 1582 King James VI was detained and his precious Duke of Lennox was exiled from Scotland never to see James again.

Whilst James has had a considerably busy childhood, he could not have had much of a childhood. His life at a very young age was the personification of a pawn on a chess board where the hand that guiding the king was either the clergy, Elizabeth I, his mother, or ambitious Scottish nobles—most of relation. James dreamed of managing his own affairs but with no real guidance and no father-figure's footsteps to study, he had to rely on experiences with men who were part of his life. James became an acclaimed European scholar like his tutors, possessed a passion for God like Sir James Melville, felt a love for composition like Alexander Montgomery, and found a comfort in the company of younger men like the Duke of Lennox. Queen Elizabeth I scorned him for his duality, calling him a 'false Scotch urchin,' but it is the ability to handle different interest without causing civil war and massive political uneasiness that allowed James to be a successful king.[73]

James the Man

James showed hints of his duplicity as an adolescent through his prose. It is no secret that James loved to write. And because he was quite successful and enjoyed writing, he used it to express himself or to address an audience. Jane Rickard noticed James's, 'desire to control not only the creation of a text but also its interpretation' in his unpublished poetry. Rickard further analyzes a poem that she claims to be the King's first work, *Song*, and how during his kidnapping by the Ruthven Raiders, he suggested,

[73] Peter C Herman, 'Authorship and the Royal "I:" King James VI/I and the Politics of Monarchic Verse', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 54 (2001), 1495–1530 (p. 1514).

that thought, and by extension writing, is a means of escape--a realm of freedom in contrast to his present physical circumstances.'[74] What James appears to be doing in his early works is fashioning -- self-fashioning, through writing, for a specific cause or a specific audience. Rickard states:

> 'While the poem [*Song*] is ostensibly private, James may himself have allowed some circulation, giving a copy to a senior government official, Sir Richard Maitland, who compiled the Maitland quarto in which the poem appears...we may, then, see that poem as an act of constructing the idea of the King's private self for specific readers.'[75]

This example is evidence of James's textual *selfing* that he continued to use for various purposes throughout his life. Not only did James have a particular image in mind that he wanted to portray but apparently he had a particular audience in mind as well. It is no doubt that his upbringing helped to enhance this feature and perhaps, through his text, we can gain more context of the minds, thoughts, and reasoning of early modern Europeans, starting with James.

By the late 1580s James was becoming the master of his own chess game. With the Duke of Lennox deceased but still having strong ties to Captain James Stewart, the earl of Arran, James began mapping out what he wanted for Scotland and what he wanted others to see in him. James's concordance with the Anglo-Scottish alliance of 1586 attracted the attention of the Scottish Catholic nobles who had dreams of an

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[74] Jane Rickard, *Authorship and Authority : The Writings of James VI and I* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), n. Rickard provides an extensive look into connectons between certain published works by James and events in James's life.
[75] Ibid. p. 3.

alliance with Spain. 'The contrasting foreign policies launched in 1586 were to become a hallmark of Jacobean political strategy until the Union of Crowns in 1603 as James VI sought to protect not only his right to the English succession, but also his realm from Spanish predation.'[76] With James's first Parliament in 1587 and the increase in power of John Maitland from Secretary to Chancellor, the Catholic nobles and the Earl of Huntly in particular, sought to eliminate the Chancellor. Ruth Grant claims that the rift between Huntly and Maitland was taken too far out of its natural feud and placed within the bigger and more complex framework of religion—Protestantism versus Catholicism.

James had a strong attachment with the Earl of Huntly and thus James gave him control of the Royal Guard. Because of James's obvious affections for Huntly, Chancellor Maitland felt unsafe and requested his own guard in which James complied with a liege of soldiers. James was beginning to notice however, that his pacifications were not helping to diminish the feud between Maitland and Huntly and by the spring of 1589 they were virtually at war. On 10 April it was confirmed to James that the earls Huntly, Crawford, and Errol had raised an army in the north of Scotland near Aberdeen. James, with over a thousand soldiers, travelled north to quell the uprising. James and Huntly met on the battlefield in Brig o' Dee on 17 April 1589. James bravely scouted throughout the night anticipating an attack but it never happened. The earls had retreated and finally Huntly surrendered to James on 26 April.

This incident along with James's recent marriage negotiations indeed provided both the Scottish and English audiences with a different view of the James than they

[76] Grant, p. 185.

had normally posited. The only difference was that his act of self-fashioning moved from written pledges to horseback and from poems of affection to royal obligation. The Brig o' Dee affair and the scolding, but not execution of Huntly, did exactly what James had been doing since he was young, satisfying associates of interest and use without totally shattering relationships.

Marriage

The Brig o' Dee affair was not the only action of James that started to turn the tide on his image amongst the Scots and English. James's marriage also provided another view of the king; a king that potentially would secure lineage through children. Kingdoms always had struggles either over religion, politics, territories, etc., but having an heir helped to decrease the arguments of who was next in line; something the people of England were highly concerned about. James had been communicating with Catherine of Bourbon in France, his elder, and King Frederick II of Denmark regarding both of his daughters, Elizabeth and Anne. Negotiations with Catherine fell through but both Danish princesses were of young and of the Protestant faith, proposing an ideal match for James, Scotland, and possibly England in the future. James, after negotiations with King Frederick II, 'had to settle for Anne, the fourteen-year-old younger sister,' a situation James started to warm-up to, although he favoured her older sister[77] Anne left Denmark in September and sailed to Scotland but a crippled flotilla and contrary winds caused her to port in Norway. Once James found out about this he

[77] Lawrence Normand, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland : James VI's Demonology and the North Berwick Witches* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), pp. 29–30.

set out to ‘mak possible on my part, that quilk [which] wes impossible on hirs.’[78] James married Princess Anne through proxy by the Earl of Marischal on 20 August 1589 and later married her in person on 23 November in Oslo, Norway. When Anne had attempted to reach Scotland in September she faced terrible winds and seas causing one of her ships to constantly leak. James also faced contrary winds when he sailed from Scotland to meet Anne in Norway. These events starting from September 1589 through October would become the key features in a witchcraft episode almost a year later. It is this witchcraft episode, alongside James’s need for tutoring others, like his former headmaster Buchanan, which inspires James to draft his *Daemonologie* in 1590-1.

Elizabeth Foyster writes that, ‘manhood in the early modern period was a status to be acquired and then asserted to others. It was concerned with a rejection of 'feminine' qualities through a display of the 'masculine' qualities of reason and strength.’[79] The above statement describes an overall view of James from the 1570s to the late 1580s. The word ‘honour’ meant a lot to men of early modern Europe and it has been noted that men were ‘intoxicated’ with honor and ‘outward repute’ during this time.’[80] James’s actions during the late 1580s helped Queen Elizabeth I to respect him a bit more and his marriage helped him to respect his own position. The coming North

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[78] James Thomson Gibson Craig, *Papers Relative to the Marriage of King James the Sixth of Scotland, with the Princess Anna of Denmark - Google Play*, 1828, p. 94 (p. 13).
[79] Elizabeth A Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England : Honour, Sex, and Marriage*, *Women and Men in History* (New York: Longman, 1999) <Table of contents http://www.loc.gov/catdir/toc/fy054/98042933.html>.
[80] Curtis Watson, *Shakespeare and the Renaissance Concept of Honor* (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960), n. Watson’s study on honor helps contextual the pressures on the early modern male but internally and externally. Watson notes that honor can be separated by a person's interior being and one placed upon them by others. I believe King James VI to have been affected by this also.

Berwick witch trials were to provide James with another opportunity, both in words and actions, which gained the attention of quite a few other audiences: the Kirk, his Privy Council, Scottish nobility, and the English general public.

Chapter Three

Judges: The North Berwick Trials

The Witches of North Berwick

James the King, James the blessed, James the husband—James was established in these roles by the beginning of the last decade of the sixteenth century. Starting with obtaining control of his first Parliament in 1587, James at the age of twenty, began to rule Scotland without the politics of regents and ambitious cousins. By 1590, James, the Privy Council, the Scottish nobles, and the Kirk were all in a position to enforce upon Scotland what each party deemed appropriate. The previous three decades of a weak central government strengthened political interest represented by, Andrew Melville, the Catholic earls, and Chancellor Maitland in James's kingdom. Surprisingly, the North Berwick witch trials, 1590-1, brought into play all of these factions so much that the trials strategically played a significant role in deciding who would come out as the central authoritative figure in Scotland. It is in the midst of these witch trials that James started expressing his thoughts regarding political order in Scotland whilst writing his demonology. The following narrative of the North Berwick witch trials is thus necessary to recite as its context is important for understanding James and his binary authorship.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, James married Princess Anne of Denmark by proxy in August 1589. Less than a year after the proxy marriage, the first witch, located in Denmark, would be tried and executed for her involvement in an attempt to kill Anne.

When Princess Anne's entourage set out from Denmark to Scotland in September 1589, they were forced to turn back because of storms at sea. Another attempt was made at the end of the month which was also unsuccessful therefore Anne decided to stay in Norway until the sea currents changed. In 1590, Admiral Peder Munk of the Danish royal fleet was criticised because of these failures. Munk passed on the blame; 'he [Munk] took legal action against the governor of Copenhagen, whose responsibilities included the maintenance of the Danish Royal Navy, and who was blamed for the leaks that had sprung in the *Gideon.*'[81] By May 1590 a supposed witch was included in the 'blame game' for the mishaps at sea in relation to the queen's flotilla and the alleged witch confessed to sabotaging the voyages as well as naming accomplices. Anna Koldings is who Admiral Munk suspected of raising storms against Anne's fleet back in 1589. It has been suggested that Munk accused Anna Koldings because he was in a rift with Koldings's husband.[82] In the same month, James and Anne arrived in Scotland but there is no evidence to suggest that they were at first aware of the convicted witch back in Denmark. By July 1590, however, James and other people on the east coast of Scotland became aware of what had happened in Denmark and began to connect the storms which had affected James and Anne on their return journey to Scotland with witchcraft as well.[83]

The only contemporary narrative summary of the North Berwick witch trials lies in the pamphlet, *News from Scotland*, which was published in London in 1591? It is this

[81] Lawrence Normand, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland : James VI's Demonology and the North Berwick Witches* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), p. 38.
[82] Ethel Carleton Williams, *Anne of Denmark* (Prentice Hall Press, 1970), pp. 16–17.
[83] Normand and Roberts, p. 38.

pamphlet that will be used to explore what happened during the early 1590s between, King James, the witches of East Lothian, and other suspects. Although some dittays exist on the matter, those of Agnes Sampson, Janet Stratton, Donald Robson and Bessie Thomson, Euphame MacCalzean, and Bessie Nesbit, the pamphlet is sometimes seen as propaganda, but the reason for using *News from Scotland* is owed to the fact that early modern pamphlets were often considered a source of regional 'newes'. Normand and Roberts provide a compelling case for the authenticity of the *News from Scotland* pamphlet by exploring and supporting Sir James Melville's assertion that James Carmichael had access to notes and affidavits of the witch trials. Furthermore, it has been widely suspected and accepted by most North Berwick historians that James Carmichael is the author of *News from Scotland*.[84] At a time before modern day newspapers were a widespread reality, pamphlets and ballads were used to spread current events, via print or song, from one place to another. The *News from Scotland* pamphlet informed readers about the event by providing a basic outline of what happened alongside a few paragraphs of the major persons of interest during the North Berwick witch trials. In the only known copy of the pamphlet stated that it was the English copy from its Scottish version—no Scottish version has ever been known to exist. Normand and Roberts illustrates that the word 'copy' had several different meanings in early modern Europe, therefore the English copy could have come from a transcript or manuscript which has not yet been discovered rather than a literal

[84] Normand and Roberts, p. 294.

translation of Scottish lexicon. The pamphlet also does not have an official date of print but is believed to have been published in London in 1591 by William Wright.[85]

News from Scotland

The title page of the *News from Scotland* pamphlet begins by 'declaring the damnable life and death of Doctor Fian, a notable sorcerer, who was burned at Edinburgh in January last, 1591'.[86] The title page goes on to identify Fian as the record-keeper of the devil at the witches' meetings at the North Berwick Kirk via a woodcut illustration.[87] Also noted in the front of the pamphlet is declaration that its contents are a true account of the events and makes the important point of informing readers that James was present during the examination of some of the accused witches. Lastly, the title page lists, arguably, the most serious matter of the whole text--the alleged attempt, confessed by witches, that they had tried to drown the King by means of magic.[88] The fact that the pamphlet starts with the story about Doctor Fian is important to note because upon my analysis it will help to explain why James authorized the pamphlet to focus on the Doctor--a man and the devil's alleged record-keeper, rather than the more stereotypical female witches.

According to the pamphlet, the North Berwick witch trials started with a woman name Geillis Duncan who was a maidservant of the Deputy Bailiff, David Seton, in the

[85] Normand, n. The English copies of Newes from Scotland state that they are from the Scottish copy, which has not been found. Normand and Roberts in chapter nine discusses the origins of the pamplet contemplates the examinations of certain interested parties of the trials with the wording of the pamplet leading them to recommend publishing in late 1591.
[86] James Carmichael?, "*Newes from Scotland"* (London), p. Title.
[87] Ibid., p. 117.
[88] Ibid., n. A copy of the Title page of the pamphlet can be found on page 116.

town of Tranent. David Seton was a member of a Catholic noble family in the locality.[89] Seton took it upon himself, through the use of torture, to find out why Duncan disappeared frequently at night. Duncan was already known as a white-witch and that could have supplied Seton with his suspicions. Duncan, not readily supplying a sufficient answer for her whereabouts, prompted Seton to torture her with the pilliwinks and head trauma, before searching her body for a witch's mark, something quite common on the continent of Europe but not a common practice in England or Scotland thus far.[90] The finding of the devil's mark in her throat supposedly broke her resistance and Duncan finally confessed to being a witch and subsequently named many accomplices, of whom Agnes Sampson of Haddington, Doctor Fian of Saltpans, Robert Grierson, and Barbara Napier and Euphame MacCalzean of Edinburgh were of most importance.[91]

Agnes Sampson is named the elder witch according to the pamphlet. She was questioned by James and others at Holyroodhouse. Then Sampson, like Duncan, was subject to torture by having a rope bound and twisted around her head that had recently been removed of all of its hair. After the witches' mark was located on Sampson by her examiners she began narrating her experiences whilst attending a sabbat at the North Berwick Kirk in Lothian. On the night of All Hallow's Eve she and about 200 other

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[89] The Setons were a non-Reformation conforming, powerful Catholic family in Scotland. On pages 58-59 in Normand and Robert's *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland*, they elaborate on the history of the Seton's during the reign of Mary Queen of Scots and their participation in the North Berwick witch trials.
[90] There is much debate about the origins of the continental witch interrogation practices and procedures in Scotland. Christina Larner believed James picked it up whilst visiting Denmark and conversing with Niels Hemmingsen, the noted demonologist. P.G. Maxwell-Stuart, has noted that continental practices as early as 1552 in Chapter 12: 'The Fear of the King is Death,' in *Fear in Early Modern Society* by Naphy and Roberts.
[91] Barbara Napier, Robert Grierson, and Euphame MacCalzean will be of interest later in chapter four as they relate to the manuscript of James's demonology.

witches travelled to the Sabbath by sea in a sieve, where they drank wine, made merry, sang and danced to a tune supposedly played by Geillis Duncan. After singing and dancing, the devil 'in the habit or likeness of a man' requested his followers to kiss 'his buttocks in sign of duty to him; which being put over the pulpit bare, everyone did as he had enjoined them.'[92] Then the devil inveighed against King James ending the so-called sermon by stating that 'the king is the greatest enemy he hath in the world'.[93]

It must be noted that the devil's proclamation that James is his greatest earthly enemy would have been a powerful message in sixteenth century Scotland; even Europe as a whole. Although the Protestant Reformation created the practice of a separation between Church and State, they were still interdependent entities in most of Europe, including England and Scotland. The Scottish Protestant Reformation left a certain lack of clarity as to who was more powerful, the anointed monarch or the clergy. The devil's statement, mentioned above, clearly places James above the Kirk as he has been branded as the devil's greatest threat, not the clergy. This also implies that the people of Scotland should listen to their king above all other voices of divinity, and indirectly, authority. The statement affirming that James is the devil's greatest enemy would justify the king's position over the Kirk and his godly authority over the entire kingdom whilst at the same time appearing to have a cooperative relationship with the Privy Council and the Kirk in order to address these acts of heresy. Thus I must imply that James used the pamphlet to self-fashion himself as the highest person of godly

[92] Ibid. , p. 315.
[93] Ibid. , p. 315.

authority in Scotland for the mass of English readers for which the pamphlet was intended.

James continues to question Agnes Sampson and according to the pamphlet, he at first felt sceptical about her accusations. It appears that in the beginning the confessions were entertaining; 'these confessions made the king in a wonderful admiration.., but becoming puzzled he then declared that 'they were all extreme liars.'[94] Even if she was a liar she could still be considered a criminal by merely pretending to be a witch, therefore, to prove her authenticity she divulged to the king the words that were communicated between him and Queen Anne on their wedding night. Apparently what she stated to the king gave him just cause to be alarmed and he no longer took the suspects' dittays to be false. At this point Sampson begins to elaborate on the details of his attempted death by the devil and her companions. This is quite startling because the pamphlet's title leads one to believe that the said Dr. Fian was a high importance to these trials yet these women take up much narrative in the beginnings of the pamphlet, not Fian—why is Fian so important?

According to Sampson, the first attempt on James's life was made by the toxins of a toad whose extracted liquid was to be placed on a cloth or linen owned by the king. The linen was to be obtained by one of James's bedchamber attendants, John Kers. Kers denied cooperation in the stated plans and therefore that particular attempt to kill the king failed. Although the sequence of events may seem extreme, it is plausible that Kers could have obtained clothing or linen from the king being that he worked in

[94] Normand and Roberts, p. 315-316.

James's bedchamber. Interestingly, the sea, already naturally mysterious, would be the next mechanism employed by the devil to kill King James.

> '…She [Sampson] being accompanied with the parties before specially named, took a cat and christened it, and afterward bound to each part of that cat the chiefest parts of a dead man, and several joints of his body; and that night following the said cat was conveyed into the midst of the sea by all these witches sailing in their riddles or sieves, as is aforesaid; and so left the said cat right before the town of Leith in Scotland.'[95]

The king did lose a boat filled with items for Queen Anne and he concurs to facing contrary winds when going to fetch his bride from Norway. The pamphlet author appears to have Agnes confess that His Majesty would have drowned if he had not been protected by his faith, which is another example of where the pamphlet author uses the narrative to make a point about James's godliness. These statements from Agnes Sampson along with James's experiences when trying to reach Anne apparently started or certainly increased James's interest in witchcraft. There is no mention of James's interest in the occult before these trials but it is believed that he was aware of such things as witches and fairies as early as 1584 when he published *Essays of a Prentise*, where he quoted a passage from his childhood friend, Alexander Montgomery's play, which contained references to witches.[96]

The *News from Scotland* pamphlet then turns its attention to the accused witch Doctor Fian alias John Cunningham who is the main subject according to the title. In the pamphlet it states that Doctor Fian was a register for the devil during his sabbats. His job was to know who was in attendance and document their name. The illustration on

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[95] Ibid. 316.
[96] Naphy, n. Chapter 12, page 211 contains the details of James early knowledge of witches and fairies from Montegomery's play the 'Fairie Queen.'

the pamphlet shows a man sitting at a table writing.[97] This implicates that Fian was literate, educated, and in a higher position than the other participants. The alleged witch, Geillis Duncan, was the one who informed the examiners of Dr. Fian's role. Fian was subjected to severe torture but did not cry out in the first two attempts. 'Lastly, he was put to the most severre and cruel pain in the world, called "the boots'; who after he had received three strokes, being enquired if he would confess his damnable acts and wicked life, his tongue would not serve him to speak.'[98] Not until the examiners removed two enchanted pins said to be in the mouth of Doctor Fian by his fellow cohorts, did Fian finally confess.

Doctor Fian began to tell the examiners of his bewitching of a man who lived near Saltpans, where Fian was a school master. The details of the episode must have been extraordinary, for James was fascinated by it and requested that the possessed man come to him at Edinburgh. With the king present, the man began to show symptoms of a fit and then, all of a sudden, he did not move. When the man appeared to be normal again the king inquired as to what he had been doing and the man stated that he was asleep the whole time; therefore he did not recall having a fit. By having the man come to his presence, the pamphlet increasingly solidifies that James needed proof of these phenomenal occurrences, demonstrating that he was wise in his pursuit of these followers of the devil. Yet even the excitement of victim of a victim witchcraft present, the debacle wasn't a match for the more diabolical example that was to come in Fian's next confession.

[97] Normand and Roberts, p. 117.
[98] Ibid., p. 318.

Fian admitted to forcing one of his pupils into complicity in a magical ritual designed to gain Fian the love of the pupil's sister. To make her love him, Fian required three pubic hairs from the woman by way of her brother who still shared a room with his sister. The brother, in the midst of obtaining the hairs, was caught by his mother and was beaten. But the mother, who was familiar with the practices of love magic and who knew Fian's plans, deceived the doctor by giving him three hairs of a heifer instead of three hairs from her daughter. This brought the heifer into Fian's schoolhouse where it began dancing and following Fian around whilst being witnessed by various peoples. These incredible incidents involving the heifer perpetuated the reputation of Doctor Fian as a 'notable conjurer' throughout Scotland.[99] Whilst I think this scene in the pamphlet added a bit of flair to the story, the main goal seems to be proving that Doctor Fian was viable threat, thus justifying the punishment he endured.

After signing a confession that he had done all these things, Doctor Fian repented and claimed a life of service to God. After his first night in prison he told those he talked with that he was visited by the devil wearing all black and in possession of a white wand. Fian stated that he told the devil to get away from him because he was tired of listening to him and in response the devil broke the white wand and disappeared. It so happened that Fian escaped from his cell by stealing the prison keys and went back to Saltpans. It was not long before the king re-apprehended him and began inquiring as to why he escaped. Fian stated that all he had confessed was false and that he had only made his confessions out of fear. James, impatient at Fian's 'stubborn willfulness' and believing that the doctor had renewed his allegiance with the

[99] Normand and Roberts, pp. 320–321.

devil when he had escaped, ordered that doctor be searched again for his new devil's mark. No mark was found, but torture was reapplied to Fian by a most grievous method of pulling up the fingernail and pushing two pins into the finger (the author of the pamphlet made sure to translate the name of this device from Scots to English for its readers). Fian still did not confess and was placed back into the boots until his legs were so badly damaged that he could no longer walk. Despite all of these torments, Fian resolutely refused to confess, although the pamphlet author stated that this was because the devil had entered his heart so deeply! James and his councilors nonetheless authorized Fian's condemnation for witchcraft. Fian was burned on Castle Hill in Edinburgh in January 1591.[100]

The pamphlet ends with a paragraph in which the author reminds the readers of the veracity of the events and the godliness of the James. He informs its readers that this evil, witches and sorcerers, needed to be punished with rapidity; the king took it upon himself, even to the danger of his person, to rid his lands of such folk. *News from Scotland* concludes by stating that 'his Highness carried a magnanimous and undaunted mind not feared with their enchantments, but resolute in this: that so long as God is with him, he feareth not who is against him.'[101] The king is seen as the servant of God, removing any and all doubts that there is no other person nearer to God than King James VI.

David Seton, in late 1590 with his interrogation of his maidservant, Geillis Duncan, set the North Berwick witch trials in Scotland into motion. Dittays by those

[100] Ibid, p. 323.
[101] Ibid, p. 324.

mentioned above continued to heighten interest in the North Berwick trials. By the spring of 1591, the trials would continue to cause an increase of excitement with the involvement of a prominent figure than those aforementioned, Francis Stewart, fifth Earl of Bothwell--James's cousin. Richard Graham's confession regarding the Earl of Bothwell's involvement with the North Berwick witches and the insinuation that Bothwell wanted to claim the Scottish throne for himself, not only kept the trials popular but increased its political implications. Graham was of elite circles and had connections with Bothwell along with other nobility. Bothwell was eccentric but he was in good favor with the James before North Berwick. As a matter of fact, James placed Bothwell in charge of his royal fleet when he left Scotland to marry Queen Anne in Norway. With this accusation by Richard Graham, and Bothwell's history of violence, the simple witch trials grew from the devil's need to kill James to a legitimate relative/heir claiming the Scottish throne for his own. Bothwell claimed that he was being framed by James's Chancellor, John Maitland, who genuinely did not have much consideration for Bothwell either. The feud between Bothwell and Maitland goes back to the commotion surrounding James's birth when William Maitland, John Maitland's grandfather, fell out of favor with Mary Queen of Scots. Mary then gave Maitland's estates to James Hepburn, the fourth Earl of Bothwell which set into motion a feud. But, the rift between Maitland and Bothwell appears to have subsided when Bothwell admitted to requesting Graham's magical expertise, but does not believe that he had committed any sort of treason with that request.[102]

[102] For more information on the feuds of early modern Scottish nobles, see Keith M. Brown's, *Bloodfeud in Scotland 1573-1625: Violence, Justice, and Politics in an Early Modern Society*. (Edinburgh, 1986).

The *News from Scotland* pamphlet is useful when needing to grasp, on the surface, James's involvement in the North Berwick witch trials but there are other details of the witch trials that could imply that James's involvement had to do with more than just encouraging pious morality amongst the people of Scotland. The Earl of Bothwell's surprise involvement in the North Berwick trials helps to contextualize the political element of the witch trials. It is in the political context of the witch trails where another issue lies: the struggle of maintaining power between James, the Kirk, and the Privy Council. The Scottish Protestant Reformation and at least two decades of political unrest in Scotland had generated a need for structure amongst the populace. The control of citizen behavior was a crucial step in regaining order within local communities. After the Reformation the Kirk already possessed moral control of the citizenry but their power was limited. The Privy Council was full of powerful men who recognized the potentiality of the Kirk's capability. And James's fight for absolute authority appeared to be at the forefront of his agenda in the last decade of the sixteenth century; and all of their ambitions seemed to have coincided with the North Berwick witch trials.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, King James as a boy, and later as a young man, found himself often in the middle of powerful men and their personal ambitions. By the late 1580s James was ready to rule Scotland entirely on his own and through political ties that he directed. The North Berwick witch trials gave James a prime opportunity to show Scotland and all of Europe how he could remove these heretical witches from his lands whilst promoting the strength of the crown, and more importantly himself as the divinely appointed monarch, especially against the rising influence of the Presbyterian Kirk and the established Privy Council, let alone other kingdoms throughout Europe.

An example of his wielding of power was his overturning of the court's verdict of the accused North Berwick witch Barbara Napier. Napier was a woman of elite status—her husband was burgess. She was believed to have threatened the James's life, through the use of witchcraft. She was accused of being involved with witchcraft a year before the North Berwick trials against a man who had wronged her.[103] So when she was acquitted, by the assize, of the North Berwick charges of consulting a witch and making an attempt on the king's life, he stepped in and scolded the assize. Obviously proving that royal authority surpassed any other type of authority in his kingdom, James had the assize change their verdict, after which he lectured them and they, in turn, 'threw themselves on the royal mercy'; this was a direct blow to the Privy Council.[104]

Another way in which James controlled judicial authority was through the issuing of commissions. Commissions were granted to local authoritative figures in Scotland (such as lairds and ministers) for the handling of certain crimes; they were issued by the Privy Council but not without James's signet.[105] Most commissions issued to local authorities were specified to no more than three alleged criminals for certain violations of the law. During the North Berwick witch trials and the subsequent witch-trials of 1597, general commissions were also issued, allowing local lairds and/or religious courts to handle the cases on their own.

The Kirk felt as though they should not need James's permission to handle any cases. Before the Scottish Protestant Reformation bishops oversaw local churches who

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[103] Rhodes Dunlap, "King James and Some Witches: The Date and Text of the 'Daemonologie,'" *Philological Quarterly*, 54 (1975), 40–46 (p. 41).
[104] Ibid. p. 41.
[105]Julian Goodare, 'The Framework for Scottish Witch-Hunting in the 1590s', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 81 (2002), 240–50 (pp. 240–1) <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/25529649>.

managed their community. The Kirk demanded that the power reside within their structure and without governmental interference. One of the key concerns of the ecclesiastical courts in early modern Scotland were moral issues, and the Kirk felt that God gave them the power to handle moral charges not the crown. The Kirk believed it to be their duty to maintain a certain harmony throughout the parishes of Scotland. 'The Kirk session was not a criminal court, therefore its control of witch-hunting extended only to the pre-trial stages of interrogation and collecting witness testimony.'[106] So the Kirk did have significant power in regards to conviction rates and property seizure because they controlled, albeit unofficially, the guilt or innocence of alleged witches through its significant influence over the pre-trial proceedings. There would be no need to summon a commission unless the Kirk already had suspects in mind and confessions in hand. The only object standing in their way of enormous judicial power was the process of obtaining commissions. In order for the Kirk to have an influence on the official judicial process they were required to coordinate with not only the Privy Council in Edinburgh but also with local barons and lairds as the commissions process required. The Privy Council and the Kirk could form a powerful combination if they were not at odds and the witchcraft trials are an example of their powers united—decreasing James's authority. Furthermore, the Kirk's co-operative ties with the local governmental structures, such as education, could be another reason James needed to promote himself as all-powerful over his government.

The Privy Council was more self-governing than the Kirk because the Kirk was made of lay ministers and the Privy Council consisted of bishops, nobles, and royal

[106] Goodare, *The Government of Scotland : 1560 - 1625*, p. 195.

appointees. The Privy Council and the Kirk were the tentacles in which the central government controlled local communities but at certain times, especially in the last decade of the sixteenth century, the Kirk and their Presbyterian leaders had periods of considerable power. The Golden Acts of 1592, which initiated the lateral chain of judicial authority, provided the Presbyterians with a bit more power than what was normally entrusted to them and it has also been argued that the Presbyterian clergy, 'were a major driving force behind the witch hunts of 1590-7, providing political support and ideological justification'.[107] Three Presbyterians in particular, James Carmichael, Andrew Melville, and Robert Bruce, were not only powerful in their own right but also friendly with the James. James was keenly aware of the influence they possessed throughout Scotland, especially with Melville's implementation of the Second Book of Discipline, and Bruce's sermons regarding the push for reform, and action against the devil and witches which happened to coincide with the North Berwick witch trials. James's fight for power, through cooperation mostly, seemed to never cease.

During James's younger days he had three consecutive regents assigned to supervise him and run the kingdom. After his third regent, the Earl of Arran, was exiled Scotland was ruled for a short time by the Ruthven Raiders. James was kidnapped by the Raiders and lived with them for a year as mentioned above in Chapter Two. With each ruler came different ideas for court and how Scotland should be ruled. By the mid to late 1580s James was ready to exercise his power personally and fashion an image of Scotland for all realms to respect. As Susan Broomhall explains, 'the analogy

[107] Lawrence Normand, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland : James VI's Demonology and the North Berwick Witches* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), p. 76.

between the power of the king in the state and that of the father in the family was widely held commonplace; the role of the father was to establish control and order within the family -- or the 'little Commonwealth', as one contemporary called it -- just as the king was to do in the state', and James was ready to be the head of Scotland.[108] However, the Privy Council and the Kirk had considerable authority that James could neither completely remove nor significantly decrease. The last decade of 1590s witnessed the power struggle between these groups as the alleged witches became scapegoats of political trifles. James's approval process in the issuing of commission was one way he maintained some control over local communities which directly affected nobles, lairds and the Privy Council, but his next tactic was more subtle and indirect. *Daemonologie*, would provide not only a dialogue on the actual existence of witches but also 'what exact trial and seuere punishment they merite', or in other words, how the laws of Scotland should handle criminals, as presented by the king himself.[109]

[108] Susan Broomhall, *Governing Masculinities in the Early Modern Period Regulating Selves and Others* (Farnham Surrey ;;Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2011), p. 113.
[109] James, *Daemonologie* (Edinburgh,1597; Amsterdam; New York: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum; Da Capo Press, 1969), p. 3.

Chapter Four

Chronicles: The Makings of *Daemonologie*

The Folger Manuscripts of *Daemonologie*

Although the Gutenberg press was invented over two centuries before King James's birth, the world's fascination with books was still fresh during his mid-sixteenth century arrival. King James's *Daemonologie*, again printed in 1597 but written in 1590-1, would feed the fascination of printed text. The question is *why there was a gap between when and why the book was written and when and why the book was published?* In regards to *Daemonologie,* the possibilities surrounding the first interval have been argued by several historians. The *Daemonologie* could have been used as a mechanism for James to extend his powers over the Privy Council but he also could have written it because he felt a genuine threat from the witches of North Berwick. Perhaps, the manuscript of the *Daemonologie* may provide some answers for James's actual purpose in writing his treatise. The second part of the question has not been widely researched but it has been explored in this dissertation and will again be discussed later.

The Folger manuscript of *Daemonologie*, the only one of its kind, is housed in the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, DC. Opened in 1932, the library holds many of Shakespeare's works as well as art, books, and manuscripts. The library notes James's *Daemonologie* manuscript as, 'printer's waste in binding'.[110] This manuscript was likely the copy that was given to the Royal printer in Edinburgh 1597. The content, as

[110] 'Hamnet: Folger Shakespeare Library Online Catalog' <http://shakespeare.folger.edu/webvoy.htm> [accessed 2 May 2014].

described by the library reads, “Treatise by James VI of Scotland…fair copy in scribal hand….with extensive autograph additions and corrections by James VI, largely incorporated in the printed edition of 1597’.[111] These revisions were analyzed by Rhodes Dunlap and his description of the text has been added into the library’s notations of the manuscript.

Rhodes Dunlap’s work on the *Daemonologie* consists of an analysis of the manuscript; he argues strongly that James in fact wrote the manuscript during the North Berwick witch trials, even though it was published later in the 1590s.[112] He explains the three different set of prints and their mostly likely scribe, one being King James VI. To substantiate his claim that the manuscript was written during the trials rather than the year it was published, Dunlap focused on the initials on the manuscript's page 39, which is page 30 in the 1597 printed version of the demonology.

Dunlap’s analysis begins with the initials ‘BN’ in the margin of the *Daemonologie* manuscript. He considers that ‘BN’ refers to the alleged witch Barbara Napier who, during the North Berwick trials, was charged with witchcraft and also consulting a witch, both crimes punishable by death according to Scottish law. She was of high stature in the community and the assize dropped the charge of witchcraft, and only charged her with consulting a witch. It is here that James asserts his authority over the Privy Council as mentioned in Chapter Three. Dunlap appeared to be fully confident that the “BN” initials belonged to Napier, especially with the initials that followed.[113]

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[111] ‘Hamnet: Folger Shakespeare Library Online Catalog.’
[112] Rhodes Dunlap, “King James and Some Witches: The Date and Text of the ‘*Daemonologie*,’” *Philological Quarterly*, 54 (1975), 40–46.
[113] Ibid. p. 41

The second set of initials ‘EM’, Dunlap believes referred to Euphame MacCalzean. Her father was Lord Liftounhall as well as a Senator. She was extremely established and an heiress, therefore her initials being on the margin just outside the text, ‘rich and worldie wise’, seems quite appropriate.[114] At this point in the demonology Epistemon (James) is telling Philomathes that physicians are wrong in their assessment that alleged witches are full of melancholy. He states that some witches are merry and fully-figured. It is here that I believe James wrote this during the North Berwick trials, fore James through Epistemon describes the uncommon witch with much precision. Instead of the normative early modern solemn witch, he describes someone like Euphame MacCalzean. MacCalzean was charged with twenty-eight crimes and was burned on Castle Hill 24 June 1591 and her property seized by the King but relinquished the next year to her three daughters.

For the last set of initials ‘RG’, Dunlap explains two possibilities. One possibility is Robert Grierson who was only one of six men who stood trial in North Berwick. At the alleged witches’ Sabbath the devil supposedly, during roll call, spoke Grierson's real name instead of Rob the Rover, making the crowd angry. Grierson then complained to the devil that he was still waiting for him to provide the witches with a wax image of James.

The other possible and, according to Dunlap, most likely candidate for the RG initials was Richard Graham. Graham was reportedly the person Bothwell called upon to gain help from a witch; first in order to gain the favor of James and later to allegedly kill

[114] Ibid. pp. 41–2.

James. Richard Graham was burnt at the Mercat Cross in Edinburgh 28 February, 1592. On the basis of his analysis, Dunlap proposes that the demonology was written when the North Berwick trials were still fresh in the king's mind. This would explain the initials in the margins, for Dunlap has not found the same correlations of known victims and their names or initials relating to the 1597 witch-hunts.[115]

In accordance with Dunlap's research on the origin of *Daemonologie*, Stuart Clark also believes that the demonology can be 'traced to his [James's] part in bringing the witches of North Berwick to trial in Edinburgh in 1590-1'.[116] Though Clark does not explore in his article the technical aspects and annotations of the manuscript version of the *Daemonologie*, he provides a different reason for its possible 1590-1 origins. With specific references to James's Preface in the *Daemonologie*, Clark considers that he wrote it in response to the skeptical demonologists, Englishman Reginald Scot and the German Johann Weyer. Both men were criticized by James for their radical notions that either witches did not exist or that the women who claimed to be witches suffered from misapprehensions. With Weyer's demonology published in 1563 and Scot's in 1584, it can be considered most likely that James would have written his response closer to the year 1584 rather than thirteen years later in 1597. This idea that the *Daemonologie* was written in response to Scot and Weyer is also a matter of historiographical controversy. Clark himself stated that it was also written by James for the purpose of introducing his ideology of kingship. In their analysis of the Preface, Lawrence Normand and Gareth Roberts suggest that the gap between Weyer and Scot's demonologies and James's

[115] Dunlap, pp. 42–3.
[116] Clark, 'King James's Daemonologie: Witchcraft and Kingship', p. 156.

demonology was too wide for his treatise to be a direct reaction to their works because in respects to Scot's demonology of 1584, why would James wait until thirteen years later to publish his own? Another question that should be raised is, if James did write the demonology to combat those of Weyer and Scot and had it completed in 1590-1, then why wait until 1597 to print?[117] They also suggest that the book was written closer to the 1590-1 time-frame. Book II, to be discussed in the next chapter, contains James's thoughts on sorcery and witchcraft. Whilst Normand and Roberts agree that marginal initials found in the manuscript add weight to an earlier year for the writing of *Daemonologie*, they also argue that they confessed practices taken up by the North Berwick witches coincided with the practices James mentions in Book II, 'these too paint to a time when the material was fresh in James's mind'.[118] But the most convincing piece of Normand and Robert's evidence, which Dunlap also mentioned, lies in the omitted ending of the sentence that showed in the manuscript but not the demonology, 'Together with their confessions, that have been at this time apprehended,(omitted—"quhilkis all are to be set furthe in print")'.[119]

The manuscript of James's demonology does provide some influential information on exactly when the text was written. The analysis of the manuscript by Rhodes Dunlap is considered accurate and has been incorporated into the manuscripts' archival record. What Dunlap's analysis failed to pull from the manuscript was its importance in relieving tension between James, the Kirk and the Privy Council. In

[117] Lawrence Normand, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland : James VI's Demonology and the North Berwick Witches* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), p. 327
[118] Normand and Roberts, p. 328.
[119] Ibid, p. 328.

hindsight, James's proclivity in the task of writing the *Daemonologie* could possibly be used to show how far he was willing to go to demonstrate power, especially in that the plot to kill him failed and those involved came to terms with justice. Perhaps, a review of demonologist and the structure of James's *Daemonologie* can shed some light on the effaced power struggle of the early 1590s that surrounded James.

The Structure of *Daemonologie*

What is a demonologist? According to Lyndal Roper's, *Witch Craze*, demonologists are 'that special group of professional witch-hunters who wrote about the science of witches and demons'.[120] Therefore a demonology would be a text about the science of witches and demons. Whilst not all demonologists were witch-hunters, only one demonologist was an early modern monarch, King James VI. In James's era, the heretic witch was a phenomenon of early modern Europe that needed to be explained and possibly exterminated by certain men who represented the political and/or religious factions of early modern society.

The *Malleus Maleficarum* by Heinrich Kramer was one of the first widely read demonologies which was published in 1484. From Kramer's *Inquisitoris* experience as a witch-hunter and possibly his inability to obtain massive support for the prosecutions of witches in his early efforts, Kramer published a seeming misogynistic text on the need to exterminate the plague of witches. Even with the popularity of the *Malleus Maleficarum* during the late fifteenth century, its most prominent success came nearly a century later when the witch-hunts were more steadily a part of European communities.

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[120] Lyndal Roper, *Witch Craze : Terror and Fantasy in Baroque Germany* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 7.

The *Malleus* led the way for other men, especially those who had personal experience in witchcraft cases, to write about the need to remove the witch from society.

There were many demonologists in the early modern period. The demonologies contained similar themes, 'grounded in what was taken to be natural knowledge and conducted in what was intended to be critical spirit'.[121] God, the Devil, beast, and symbols were defined and explained as a way of recognizing a witch or an excuse to torment mostly elderly women, depending on the view of the author. James's demonology was no exception.

The *Daemonologie* as a text was not very long. It is eighty-one pages, which was relatively short compared to many other demonologies written in early modern Europe. The demonologies of James's skeptical opponents, Weyer and Scot, were 320 and 745 pages respectively. In James's demonology there were no illustrations, very few citations and it was split into three books, each pertaining to a certain area of witchcraft. In comparison Scot's *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* contained sixteen books. The treatise is straightforward in its title, *Daemonologie*, and seemingly it is just as precise in its purpose.

Starting with the Preface to *Daemonologie*, James presents a tone of urgency. Incorporated with this textual urgency is a tone of instruction. The instructional characteristic that James produced in his demonology is tied closely with the idea of the patriarchal early modern male. This patriarchal tone of instruction is a characteristic that James also used in the two works following the *Daemonologie*. The next year,

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[121] Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons : The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford [England] ;New York: Clarendon Press ;;Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 195

1598, James published *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*. The text, very clearly laid out the instructions on how those within his kingdom should accept all actions of their king.

> 'The king is thus judge and avenger, lawgiver, peacemaker and priest. He is a loving father to his subjects, cherishing their welfare, tempering chastisement with pity, and remembering that he is ordained for them, not they for him'.[122]

Just as important as it was for James's subjects to understand the relationship between themselves and their king, James needed for his son, Prince Henry, to understand the relation between a king and his court.

The *Basilikon Doron*, printed first in 1599 and the revised in 1603, was a book that instructed Prince Henry on kingship. Prince Henry, and the few others who had access to the first edition, read a moralizing text that presented James as a fatherly king. In cohesiveness with the ideal image of an early modern male monarch, the *Basilikon Doron*—meaning 'Royal Gift', was indeed a gift in trinity. It provided his son with a proper guide on being a man and a king, it was another example of James's authorship and scholarly ingenuity, and perhaps most importantly, in 1603, being re-released for the populace of England, it provided his subjects with a fresh concept for those 'anxious to learn of their new king'.[123] But before the second edition *of Basilikon Doron* was distributed in London and before the T*rew Law of Free Monarchies* was published, there was James's demonology to represent the thoughts of the king.

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[122] Willson, p. 131.
[123] Willson, p. 136.; Kevin Sharpe, *Image Wars : Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660* (New Haven [Conn.]: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 17.

As Elizabeth Foyster argues, 'early modern men and women were eager to find ways of classifying, describing and expressing their relative position in society. A language of 'sorts', [...] was frequently employed'.[124] In James's Preface to *Daemonologie* the language is clear in that he does not want a 'shew [show] of my learning & ingine [ingenuity]', but, 'to resolve the doubting harts of many; both that such assaultes of Sathan are most certainly practized, & that the instruments thereof, merits most severly to be punished…'.[125] In other words, he does not want or intend to show off that he was a scholarly king but simply wanted readers to take heed of his message. James could not be chided for this textual self-fashioning; during the Renaissance, men often made a play upon words to enhance their character. In *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*, Stephen Greenblatt states, '…the power to impose a shape upon oneself is an aspect of the more general power to control identity – that of others at least as often as one's own'.[126] King James directly or possibly indirectly used literature to do just that.

The catechetic framework that James introduces in *Daemonologie* is continued throughout the rest of the work. James's text echoes other contemporary demonologies; Henry Holland's *A Treatise against Witchcraft* (1590) and George Gifford's *A Dialogue concerning Witches and Witchcrafts* (1593) are parallel examples. Holland's work was either published right before James started to work on or whilst he was writing his demonology. James does not mention Holland's work, however his love

[124] Elizabeth A Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England : Honour, Sex, and Marriage*, *Women and men in history* (New York: Longman, 1999), p. 8
[125] James, *Daemonologie*, p. 2.
[126] Greenblatt, p. 1.

of intellectual scholarship could have definitely enticed him to take a few moments to glance over Holland's demonology. In the time between James's writing and the actual published version of *Daemonologie*, Gifford's didactic-formed text may have influenced James to change his "Q & A" verse to the "Philomathes and Epistemon" dialogue, for which James's manuscript shows a conversation simply between the letters 'Q' and 'A" but he substitutes those in his book to show Epistemon (who James is speaking through) and Philomathes.

In studies on *Daemonologie* it has been noted that James did not start out with the names Philomathes and Epistemon dialoguing with each other but rather the much simpler, "Q & A" (question & answer). The use of Epistemon and Philomathes suggests that two people are jointly reasoning and discussing the issue of the existence of witches and their punishment.[127] This method of writing helps a reader to visualize the discussion which tends to promote an easier understanding of the text versus abstract ideologies. The irony is that James appears to have written the work in layers, which is not simple. The first layer allows the lay person to grasp an understanding in the importance of prosecuting witches. The second layer ostensibly instructs judges and other judicial representatives on James's ideology of order, not only the order of handling witches but what he perceived as God's order for man. Finally, the third layer, which encompasses the widest number of potential readers including aristocrats, scholars, and other monarchs, presents James as a philosopher, a God-appointed king and the epitome of the Old Testament's King Solomon.

[127] Rickard, n. For more details on the Q&A aspect see page 101.

The Preface

A preface, according to the Oxford Dictionary, is an introduction to a book, typically stating its subject, scope, or aims. In other words, the preface of a text should take away any guessing about what an author is attempting to argue, recommend, or narrate. As an extension of an abstract, the preface, written technically, does exactly what its spelling suggest—*pre face*. There is a sketch each reader should be able to create from the preface; the overall frame of the text, the placement of notable features, a curve or two, and why this work is important or perhaps unique—just like the sketch of a face.

As simplistic and efficient as reading a preface is schematically supposed to be, as a reader, this is not always the case. After all, the words an author uses is only understanding half of what she/he is saying, especially in historical text. The context of a work can provide so much more detail and also bring out what the author stated without them writing it. For example, the story of Macbeth by William Shakespeare includes a premonition by three witches of *Macbeth* becoming a king. When looking at Macbeth as a play the witches' part is a wonderful bit of entertainment. Yet, when placed into the context of Europe during the seventeenth century the witches are not just seen not as actors in a play but as a part of the everyday realities for many early modern Europeans—witches were real to a great many people. It is this approach of reading the preface and contextualizing the preface that will help to formalize the 'what and why' of King James VI's demonology.

Johann Weyer

The preface of James's *Daemonologie,* consisting of five pages, is a very straight forward introduction into James's rhyme and reason for producing the text. Starting on the second page, the king denounces two people for their non-belief in witches.

> '…To resolve the doubting harts of many; both that such assaults of Sathan are most certainly practized, and that the instrumentes thereof, merits most severly to be punished: against the damnable opinions of two principally in our age, whereof the one called SCOT….the other called VVIERVS(WEYER)'.[128]

James is literally calling out a German-Dutch physician named Johann Weyer and an English gentleman named Reginald Scot. Both men wrote demonologies just as James did except they argued more on the behalf of the witches' innocence rather than their damnation. Weyer's treatise, being the earliest of the three demonologies (1563), took a stance on witchcraft with grounds not yet taken before.

Johann Weyer was born in 1515 in the Netherlands. This period of the sixteenth century would place him right in the middle of the Renaissance movement and the Protestant Reformation in Europe. Weyer was influenced by Desiderius Erasmus, a philosopher and more directly by Cornelius Agrippa who was a noted alchemist, theologian, and physician. As the apprentice of Agrippa, Weyer was educated on the belief of modern devotion; practicing meditation with continuous work on the inner self and a more humanistic aura[129]. The humanistic component of his education can be found in Weyer's demonology, *De Praestigiis Daemonum*. Weyer studied at the University of Paris and became the physician to the Duke of Cleves. He had an interest in psychoanalysis which in more recent times has labeled him as the forerunner to

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[128] James, *Daemonologie*, (Edinburgh; Amsterdam; New York: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum; Da Capo Press, 1584 & 1969).
[129] Further reading; '*The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft: The Western Tradition*', Richard M. Golden

Sigmund Freud. It was the new field of psychoanalysis in which Weyer bridged a gap between witchcraft and the minds of the accused.

Much like Jean Bodin's and Heinrich Kramer's demonology, Weyer believed in spirits. He expressed this throughout his demonology regarding demonic activities practiced in the lands. However, he notes that the witches' sabbats and confessed possessions were the products of deranged minds. Hallucinations brought on by the devil, was the reason these poor souls were confessing to have done extraordinary feats, therefore it is not the women. Witches were not responsible for their actions because they were poor, weak, ill, and ignorant, such that the devil persuaded them to do unnatural things.[130]

Dr. Weyer's medical training provided him with cultural and scientific material to justify his stance on witches. He insisted that the witches suffered from mental illness and needed treatment; 'fundamentally, Weyer was activated by pity rather than by reason'.[131] Whatever the reasoning, he was the first to apply legal support incorporated with philosophical, religious, and scientific perspectives. Gerhild Scholz Williams' take on Weyer states that, 'his work formed a demonological trilogy with Bodin's *De la Demonomanie des Sorcies* and Kramer's *Malleus Maleficarum'*.[132]

Jean Bodin

[130] Golden; Pp. 1194-1195
[131] Rossell Hope Robbins, *The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology*, (New York: Crown Publishers, 1959). Pp 539
[132] Golden; Pp. 1194

In James's *Daemonologie* his written antagonist were Reginald Scot and Johann Weyer but he appears to be in support of Jean Bodin's *Demonomanie*, 'collected with greater diligence, then written with judgement, together with their confessions, that have bene at this time apprehended'.[133] Although James mentions a few other demonology writers such as Hyperius, Hemmingius, and Agrippa, it is Bodin's attack on Weyer's character which seems to parallel James's tone against Scot in his demonology. That tone insinuates that a person who defends such creatures as witches calls into question the masculinity of those defenders.

Jean Bodin was born in (cir.) 1529 in France. He was raised in a prosperous family as his father was a master tailor. He was a Carmelite which meant that he lived in the monastery of Notre-Dames-des-Carmes for several of his teenage years and then became the bishop for Gabriel Bouvery, a linguist and influential scholar.[134] He then studied law at the University of Toulouse, became a lawyer, economist, philosopher, historian, and political theorist. These academic niches helped Bodin to develop his theory on witchcraft.

According to Stuart Clark, Bodin's *Demonomanie* (1580), 'is a work which addresses ideals of justice and magistracy'.[135] In expressing his intentions for writing his demonology, Bodin emphasizes a connection between God and godly rulers. 'Those in power were to coincide with God's law', therefore it would be a sin to allow sinners to go unpunished.[136] Whereas Weyer's approach to the subject of witchcraft

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[133] James. Pp. 6
[134] Further reading; Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford [England]; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1997).
[135] Clark. Pp. 674
[136] Ibid. Pp. 675

was founded on a tangible, medical scholarship, such as a disease, Bodin's demonology is founded on principles of divinity; this is a common feature that is found in James's demonological text also and thus Bodin's work possibly influenced James's. Because of the divine authority Bodin allots to Christian rulers who are in power he greatly considers the devil, and anyone assisting him, as the ultimate enemy. Where witches are concerned, women were naturally more susceptible to the devils' schemes, according to Bodin and one of the aims of his treatise was to 'alert readers that there is no crime that could be more atrocious or deserve more serious punishment'., than this feminine weakness.[137]

In relation to the demonologies of Scot, Weyer, and James, Bodin's demonology can be viewed as a frontrunner to James's treatise even though Weyers was published first. There are similarities in James's and Bodin's concepts of divine kingship and the state's responsibility to rid society of social deviants. Another similarity in James's and Bodin's demonologies are their condemnation of writers who were against the persecution or existence of witches. In the preface of Bodin's demonology he states that:

> 'I decided to write this treatise…partly to respond to those who in printed books try to save witches by every means, so that it seems Satan has inspired them and drawn them to his line in order to publish these fine books….one was Pietro d'Abano, a doctor, who tried to teach that there are no spirits; it turned out later that he was one of the greatest witches in Italy'.[138]

Bodin's pledge to respond to witchcraft skeptics is mirrored in James demonological preface where he condemns Scot and the physician, Weyer, on their stance regarding

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[137] Metaphysics Research Laboratory Stanford University, *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, (Stanford, Conn.: Stanford University, Metaphysics Research Lab., 2004).
[138] Jean Bodin, *La DéMonomanie Des Sorciers... Par J. Bodin*, (Paris: J. Du Puys, 1581). Pp. 3

witchcraft.[139] I believe this connection makes a plausible case that perhaps James used Bodin's treatise as a guide to writing his own demonology and just as Bodin became known as a great European scholar, James worked towards the same prestige.

Reginald Scot

The other opponent of witchcraft that King James mentions first in his preface is Reginald Scot. Reginald Scot, an Englishmen, was born possibly in the year 1538. He grew up in the county of Kent on the southeast side of the island of Britain. He came from a family of gentlemen and he is the cousin of Thomas Scot, an influential member of Elizabeth I's parliament. Reginald was educated at Oxford, possibly studying law, but did not graduate. He was a member of parliament, an engineer, but most relevant to this essay is his work *The Discoverie of Witchcraft (1584)*.Scot's intent is best stated when Philip C. Almond writes;

> 'Whatever the purposes for which later publishers and readers may have used The Discoverie of Witchcraft, Scot's motivation for his work was clear…It was the poor and powerless, and poor older women in particular, he wrote, who were the most open to accusations of witchcraft, and the least able to defend themselves'.[140]

Scot dislikes the abuses of the poor and uneducated by the legal system. And as boldly as many of the proclaimers of witchcraft concrete their ideologies through Bible passages, Scot used the Bible to confute their claims; in particular, he used the understood overarching power of God & Jesus.[141] His work ridiculed the general perceived notion that witches were a danger to society and the church's hypocritical

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[139] James. Pp. 2
[140] Philip C. Almond, *England's First Demonologist : Reginald Scot & 'the Discoverie of Witchcraft'*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011). Pp. 9
[141] Scot, n. Scot refutes believers of witches through his entire work, however Chapter Five of Book One is a good starting point.

belief that the devil and witches had the capability to wield humans with great influence. Scot's position on the subject of witchcraft in which he exclaimed as, 'spiritualistic manifestations [witches] were artful impostures of illusions due to mental disturbances in the observers', were very much in cohesion with Weyer's examination of witches.[142]

Scot witnessed trials in his native county and then wrote his demonology. In other words, it appears that his own experiences were what prompted his writing. Other reasons that helps to conclude Scot's motive for writing is the fact that his only other extensive work was in cultivation of Hop gardens, proving that his works were a matter of personal choice. The *Discoverie of Witchcraft* contains sixteen books within it and references over two-hundred other works. He took a very common-sense secular approach yet paradoxically tying it to religion. The work ranged widely-- dealing with many topics debated by contemporary demonologist; such as the Sabbaths, human flight, and incubi and succubi.

Like Weyer, and to a lesser extent James, Scot disliked the Roman Catholic Church and this can be noticed in his demonology. 'Scot described witchcraft at various points as a "cousening art", fit to be believed only by children, fools, melacholics, or Roman Catholics'.[143] However, where Bodin & King James were writing to assert God's will be done when dealing with the witches, my research has shown that Scot's stance is less on religious principles but rather a stance on common sense and having compassion for older women.

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[142] Robbins. Pp. 454
[143] Richard M. Golden, *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft : The Western Tradition*, (Santa Barbara [Calif.]: ABC-CLIO, 2006). Pp. 1017

King James VI

King James VI and I was born in 1566 in Scotland. His father was murdered several months after he was born and his mother, because of her possible involvement of her husband's death, amongst other things, was forced to abdicate her thrown to her infant son of thirteen months. James, like most of the other demonologist mention above, was learned in various scholarships. James spoke Greek, French, and Latin and read books from all three languages. Becoming king at such a young age would present James with the challenge of fighting for his voice to be heard amongst men of influence and the rift between the Scottish Kirk, Catholic Earls, and the Privy Council were the most prominent voices surrounding young James. In 1590-1, however, these different voices were to be drowned out by the fervor of the North Berwick trials which also permitted James to invest his time in a seemingly important matter rather than continue the pacification of the Kirk, nobles and his court. And six years after the North Berwick cases, James was able to voice his concerns widely once more with the publishing of his demonology.

James's *Daemonologie* is a book that deserves much attention for many different reasons. In the preface James informs the readers that he was compelled to write this treatise so that they may know that these 'slaves of the Devill' exist and to confute the works of Scot and Weyer who stated otherwise. Now, the argument can be made that James was moved by some declining belief in witchcraft amongst the Scottish peoples. According to research, from the year when Scot published his condemnation of witchcraft persecution in 1584 to the North Berwick trials, Scotland did not witness many

witchcraft cases.[144] Furthermore, after the North Berwick trials the cases of witchcraft declined again which could be the reason James felt the need to write this treatise because perhaps the law was too lenient on witches.

James possibly wrote his treatise after his experience in North Berwick and set it aside to publish it later. However, that does not align with his so-called prompt response decrying Scot and Weyer's opinion on witchcraft in their works. If this is the case and his treatise was written in response to their work, why publish the book 1597, thirty-four years after Weyer's demonology and thirteen years after Scot's? Perhaps the preface can tell us more about James's intention for writing this didactic prose.

In the sentence mentioned above on page seventy-three James attempts to downplay his learning and ingenuity—James believed that it was necessary for the readers to know that he was not promoting his innate scholastic abilities but releasing something on his heart. Why then did he need to say that he was not writing to show that he is a learned man? Rather than stating that he was writing from his conscious, James inversed the sentence to state that he was not showcasing his scholastic abilities—something that was not necessary. Therefore, it is of importance that readers know that James was an academically inclined king; I consider it is this first sentence of the demonology in which James starts to self-fashion.

From then, James instructs his readers on the technical aspects of his demonology. First, he reiterates that witchcraft exists and should be punished. Then he delves into the arguments he will explore in the book. But it is the last sentence

[144] Normand and Roberts, chap. Four.

which again has a self-imaging connotation. James states, '…wishing my pains in this treatise (beloved reader) to be effectual, in arming al them that reads the same, against these above mentioned erroures….'[145] In other words he is asking all to join him in the fight against these witches and during sixteenth century this would be an easy way to get the Catholics and Protestants to drop their scuffle for a while and unite against witchcraft. Specifically in King James's court he was in a continual battle between the Privy Council, the Kirk, and the Catholic Earls. If their feuds got out of hand King James VI could potentially be seen as the king of an organized state. This is surely a view he wanted to avoid especially of is English neighbors due to his claim to the succession after Elizabeth's death. Therefore, more than the image of a witch-hunter, King James in the preface alone was able to appear as a Solomon of his time; a king of scholarship, philosophy, and inherent divinity.

In comparison to the other demonologies mentioned in the essay, James's work is extremely shorter; done within eighty-one pages. His demonology also lacks the formal referencing of others, not to mention the absence of an index, table of contents, and bibliography. The tone of his work does have similarities, as I stated earlier, to that of Bodin's demonology. But in the didactic form it which James's demonology was written it closely favours that of George Gifford's, *A Dialogue Concerning Witches and Witchcrafts* (1593). James did not reference Gifford's work in his preface but could have read his work being that it was published before James's text. Yet, James, Weyer, Scot, and Bodin, placed their demonologies around the theme of religion, and how religion made them each feel compelled in different ways to express support for or

[145] Ibid. Pp. 7

against the accused witches. So whether they actually believed in God is less of a factor than their recognition in the influence that God has amongst their readers; the populace of Europe. And James VI being a king, his *Daemonologie* could possibly sway thousands of supporters more than any of the other demonological authors; a powerful asset to someone who wants to be the only choice to follow Elizabeth I on the throne of England.

Book I

The first book of James's demonology is also his introduction into witchcraft but magic in particular. The first book is twenty-six pages and begins as if two colleagues are entering into a debate about a topic of currently popularity. As stated above, James did not initially start out with the names Philomathes and Epistemon but Question and Answer. James would have been the 'Answer' had he managed to continue using that heading but he decided on Epistemon which is consistent with replies of his previous 'Answer' heading.

There are several topics of discussion in Book I. Philomathes queries Epistemon about true existence of witches, the etymologies of the practitioners who work in the dark arts, what is the difference between astronomy and astrology, why does God allow people to be trapped by the devil and what should be the punishment for the necromancers and magicians. James, through Epistemon, answers all of Philomathes inquest; witches exist as the Scriptures plainly state, referencing Moses versus the Pharaoh's magicians and Saul's encounter with the witch of Endor. Epistemon continues his lecture by stating that the word magic is of the Persian dialect, 'first used

among the Chaldees, through their ignorance of the true divinitie..,' and necromancy is of Greek origin.[146] James further express that there is a difference between these workers of devilish arts; 'the Witches ar servatnes onelie, and slaves to the Devil; but the Necromanciers are his maisters and commanders.'[147]

When James elaborates on astronomy and astrology, he places emphasis on the two divisions of astrology. Astronomy is the study of the stars, 'and this arte indeed is one of the members of the Mathematicques, & not only lawful, but most necessarie and commendable.

It has been suggested that King James's *Daemonologie* was a very typical demonological text and only differs from others like it because a monarch wrote it. His didactic verse, his authoritative tone, and his use of biblical references are standard characteristics of many early modern demonologies. The suggestion that the book's 'uniqueness lies in its being the only demonological treatise by a monarch', is perhaps the key, if rather, an obvious point. The true representation of this book is that it was much more than a demonology. King James VI was alive during a time when thrones were gained, sometimes peacefully, through birth, and other times quite horribly, such as through bloody wars. James experienced the rigors and risks of being a monarch first hand, with several of his regents assassinated when he was young; he was also kidnapped at one point. The horrors of King James's youth, coupled with the desire for authority may possibly have taught him to adopt a more subtle but powerful tactic; the use of words. It appears that King James VI dared to promote an ideal kingship, to

[146] James, *Daemonologie*, p. 8.
[147] Ibid, p. 9.

enhance power, and possibly succeed Queen Elizabeth I through the persuasive powers of prose. Albeit, an instruction manual of sorts, the *Daemonologie* was a piece of this new fulcrum in James's ability to utilize self-fashioning— a feature that historians are still trying to understand and define

Chapter Five

Ecclesiastes: The Second Testament to Daemonologie

Divine Right

King James's *Daemonologie* is textually similar to other European demonologies. The biblical sources he used, the dialogue format, and, more plainly, his mentioning of other demonologies, help us to confirm that James's treatise was very much like others written by non-sceptical demonologists of the period. This is, perhaps, unsurprising: after all, witchcraft does not appear to be so complex an issue as to necessitate particularly complicated explanations. An accused witch is interrogated; he/she confesses with or without torture; they possibly list accomplices; and, finally, they are tried and possibly sentenced to death. Many books have been written in the early modern period on the events stated in the above chapters yet many of them, such as the *Malleus Maleficarum* by Heinrich Kramer, did more than just speak of witches and devils but insinuated a female weakness of mind and of faith[148]. By contrast, the only mention of such female weakness in James's *Daemonologie* is in book two, chapter five. Philomathes asks why there were more women in the devil's service compared to men; Epistemon, citing the biblical story of the temptation of Eve in the Garden of Eden, gives the standard answer that frail women are an easier target for the devil.[149]

[148] Hans Broedel, *The Malleus Maleficarum and the Construction of Witchcraft : Theology and Popular Belief* (Manchester; New York ;New York: Manchester University Press ;;Distributed exclusively in the USA by Palgrave, 2003). Page reference? Also, check punctuation in this footnote.
[149] James, *Daemonologie*, pp. 43–44.

James, or rather, James speaking through the voice of Epistemon, did not elaborate much on the weakness of the female but he did appear to stress the importance of divine authority in his demonology. The divine right of monarchs was a fairly recent phenomenon in early modern Europe and perhaps its implications appealed greatly to a king who was brought up by George Buchanan, a stickler for the idea that kings should be accountable to their subjects. Buchanan tried to instill in James the importance of remaining loyal to his citizenry and warned that if a king became a tyrant, then the people had the right and duty to overthrow him. Perhaps in some spirit of youthful rebellion against his tutor, James surely did not incorporate his teacher's philosophy on kingship and appeared to have favored divine right instead. According to the theory of divine right of kings the monarchy is a divinely ordained institution. The theory continues by stating that the hereditary right is indefeasible, kings are accountable to God alone, and non-resistance and passive obedience are enjoined by God.[150] This absolutist theory, the essence of order and godliness, can be extracted throughout the weavings of James's demonology. French political theorist and lawyer Jean Bodin, who is considered the creator of absolutism, wrote about this divine doctrine as well as witchcraft before James apparently intermingled the theory of divine right with witchcraft. Perhaps, Bodin's work influence James.

Today Jean Bodin he is known mostly for his book *De la Republique Libri Sex*, a political treatise. Bodin 'thought sovereignty to be the supreme power exercised by a ruler over citizens and subjects, and that as a distinctive feature of the state is

[150] John Figgis, *The Divine Right of Kings.* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), pp. 5–7.

distinguished in the state from other social groups…'[151] Bodin's treatise was surely a part of the king's library and influenced James's ideologies of divine kingship. This absolutist theory, for example, can be found in *Daemonologie* James discussed the question of whether or not the devil had the power to attack those who oversaw the hunting of witches. James was keen to stress that God was on the side of the prosecutors (in other words, James himself), and protected the King and throne against the devil's assaults, writing, 'For where God beginnes justlie to strike by his lawfull Lieutennentes, it is not in the Deuilles power to defraude or bereaue him of the office, or effect of his powerfull and reuenging Scepter'.[152] This is important because it demonstrates a fashioning of divine authority, even over royal authority. James uses the royal authority to incorporate divine authority, something no one could or would dare challenge. This approach comes more into play when connecting James and the theme of absolutism.

Absolutism

As Stephen Greenblatt has suggested, self–fashioning was the cultural system of meanings that creates the specific imagery of a person by governing the passage from abstract potential to concrete historical embodiment.[153] Greenblatt used the writings of Thomas More as an example of this form of expression, showing More's mastery of manipulating his image for his readers. James made use of the culture of witchcraft and the culture of catechetic prose, and 'literally' fashioned himself as his ideal of an

[151] Eva J Ross, 'Of Jean Bodin The Social Theory', *The American Catholic Sociological Review*, 7 (1946), 267–72 (p. 267).
[152] James, Daemonologie, p. 51.
[153] Greenblatt, p. 3.

absolute king. The absolutist expressions in *Daemonologie* are considered by some scholars as the essence of the real James and they therefore conclude that he was more interested in expressing his ideas of kingship than he was in commenting on concerns about witchcraft.[154] Defining authority through absolutism has been the explanation of James's motivation in writing the demonology given by scholars such as Daniel Fischlin, Stuart Clark, and Julian Goodare[155]. James may have claimed in his introductory comments that he sought to rebut the sceptics Reginald Scot and Johann Weyer, but, as Clark suggests, the demonology was also intended to, 'demonstrate James's intellectual and religious *bona fides* as a ruler....the *Daemonologie* may be read as a statement about ideal monarchy'.[156]

Stuart Clark, one of the leading scholars of the idea that there were ties between *Daemonologie*, authority, and absolutism, recognised the religious-political context in which James wrote the text. Even in Protestant Scotland, and Europe as a whole, politics, whether monarchial or representative, could not break away from its religious ties. Using *News from Scotland* and James's personal intervention at Barbara Napier's assize trial, Clark states that James had an innate drive to instruct his subjects. In other words, James was a natural teacher; witchcraft just happened to be a way of expressing his pedagogic and political ideologies. Clark states that this device can also be found in

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[154] Stuart Clark, "King James's Daemonologie: Witchcraft and Kingship," in S. Anglo (ed), *The Damned Art: Essays in the Literature of Witchcraft*, (Place of publication?, 1977), 156–181; Jenny Wormald, "James VI & I," *History Today*, 52 (2002), 27–33.

[155] Fischlin's 'Counterfeiting God', Clark's 'King James's *Daemonologie*: Witchcraft and Kingship' and Goodare's The Scottish witch-hunt in context'; all mention alternative motives for James's writing of the demonology. Jenny Wormald's 'The Witches, the devil, and the king' also touches on James's reasoning behind writing *Daemonologie*.

[156] Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons : The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford [England] ;New York: Clarendon Press ;;Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 156

other texts written by James, including the *Basilikon Doron (1599)* and the *Trew Law of Free Monarchies (1598)* and 'it led to his famous self-identification with King Solomon as the paradigm ruler'.[157] After 1603, and James's accession to the English throne, Clark states that James did not need to concern himself as much with image, and therefore placed less emphasis on public or written instructive behaviors. However, where Clark believe James was no longer concerned with image when he is crowned James VI & I, image is still important to James but more along the lines with preservation rather than authority. James found delight in pursuing fraudsters after he went to England and witches were amongst that crowd. Ann Gunter was supposedly a possessed woman who 'vomited pins' in a trance. James befriended her and convinced Gunter to confess that her hysterics were a hoax. In a possible display of benevolence, James blessed her marriage.[158] Incidents such as this allowed James to use his constructed, superior image to suit his purposes. Going back to the his reign in Scotland, James's concern with fraud was already evident in the Scottish witch-hunts of 1597, so perhaps he published the *Daemonologie* in that year to show his wisdom as someone who was able to judge the truth from fraud. Thus a point can be made that James switched his focus from establishing kingship, from the 1580s to 1603, to maintaining divine authority once in England-- all through textual self-fashioning and evidential in his *Daemonologie*.

The *Daemonologie* needs to be placed in a larger context, in addition to the religious-political setting. Stuart Clarks notes another connection—one between

[157] Clark, 'King James's Daemonologie: Witchcraft and Kingship', p. 165.
[158] Willson, p. 310.

James's grandiose written exchanges with his contemporary monarchs and his phrasing in *Daemonologie*. James's demonology was, 'necessary to the world-view of order on which James's political philosophy rested' and early modern politics were handled in terms of 'arguments by correspondence' in which analogies were drawn between parallel features of the various planes of the hierarchy of being. James's own use of this language involved the classic 'similitude' between monarchy, divine power, patriarchal authority…'[159] In other words, James had covertly introduced in *Daemonologie* the importance of monarchical authority and order in a world view, or at least a European world view. This broader context in which James places himself can be seen as an example of him always considering his audience. How dare anyone not choose him as the successor to Elizabeth when the whole of Europe expects him to be?

Jane Rickard is a literary scholar who concurs with Stuart Clark in that James had an authoritative tone in his demonology but she says there is much more available to extract from the book. In her book, *Authorship and Authority: the Writings of James VI and I*, Rickard, by examining the *Daemonologie* manuscripts and notes, deduced that James showed his determination to be an author, as well as a king. She also found that, *'Daemonologie* has attracted less extended analysis than the two treaties it immediately precedes...and that his works, 'warrant more sophisticated literary analysis than they have so far received'.[160] Her interpretation of *Daemonologie* includes a very important aspect in regards to my argument as to why James published the demonology in 1597—his awareness of his audience. From his youth, Rickard states

[159] Clark, 'King James's Daemonologie: Witchcraft and Kingship', pp. 173–174.
[160] Rickard, p. 99.

that James possessed an ability and desire to control his reader's perceptions of the writing. While the poem, *Song*, written by adolescent James was ostensibly private, James allowed some circulation of the text in manuscript form, giving a copy to a senior government officially Sir Richard Maitland who made it into a quarto…we may then see the poem as an act of constructing the idea of the King's private self for specific readers.[161] This scenario provides an early example of the king's ability to shape the image that he wants to present to others, both publicly and privately.

Likewise, in the second book of the *Daemonologie* Epistemon, who is most likely the character of James, soothes Philomathes' doubt about any harm a witch could do when barred by one of God's 'lawfull Lieutennentes', in the quotation already cited above.[162] Rickard interpreted that passage as James's insistence on the special role of the monarch in the exposure and defeat of witches, a point which in turn assisted James in the ongoing debates between Crown and Kirk about which entity had more authority. As mentioned in the previous chapter, James definitely had reasons to create a more aggressive image in regards to his relationships with the Presbyterians and the Privy Council towards the end of the sixteenth century. Although James appears to be in a more secure position towards the end of the 1590s with his marriage and an heir, both Clark and Rickard note James's subtle push for authority in the *Daemonologie*.[163]

Inversion

[161] Ibid. p. 3.
[162] James, *Daemonologie* (Edinburgh; Amsterdam; New York: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum; Da Capo Press 1969, 1597), p. 81 (p. 51).
[163] Rickard, p. 104.

James's *Daemonologie* presented another theme—inversion, or - as suggested by Daniel Fischlin - counterfeiting. Inversion is defined as a reversal in order. In his article, 'Counterfeiting God', Fischlin sees the demonology as an example of absolutist anxieties seeping through the supposed power of witchcraft. Fischlin suggests that:

> 'If one reads the European witchcraft phenomena as an expression of collective anxieties about the imaginary status of the absolute, especially from the vantage point of those most invested in absolutism, then it becomes possible to argue that witches incarnate the lost dimensions of absolutism.'[164]

In other words, the fact that witches seem to blindly follow Satan and remain loyal without any questioning of authority is something that absolutists want from their own subjects. However, the fact that witches worship the devil instead of God and tried to kill a monarch is profoundly worrying. Fischlin argues that James is an enthusiastic absolutist who wants a similarly blind but godly allegiance from his subjects. 'The monarch constructs the devil's power as a lesser inversion of his own power to punish transgression.'[165] James used the demonology to conscript his authority by suggesting that the inverse position to following Satan was acting in accordance with God, through James's divinity.

Daemonologie was not, of course, the first demonological treatise to address of inversion. Stuart Clark has shown that the idea of inversion, and the structuring of their texts around the intellectual idea of binary opposites, was central to most early modern demonologists, who discussed inversion in great detail, especially during the event of a witches' Sabbat. Nicholas Remy, Paolo Grillando, Pierre de Lancre, and others spoke of how witches were known to things backwards such as dancing or worshipping the

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[164] Fischlin, p. 8.
[165] Ibid. p. 10.

devil. ‘Their dances, too, were ‘utterly unlike ours, for, with the women clinging to the men’s backs…’[166] The concept was, however, arguably even more central to James’s *Daemonologie* as it was written by a king who had actual personal experience of witches that were not just in league with the devil (and thus heretics) but who had actually plotted against his life (and were traitors); they had tried to turn the political as well as the religious world ‘upside down’.

James did not go into much detail on the specifics of Sabbats and the actions of the witches during those occasions but collectively he focused more upon the devil’s actions as the inverse of God’s. When Epistemon states, ‘doubtleslie who denyeth the power of the Deuill, woulde likewise denie the power of God, if they could for shame’, James is therefore reinforcing his own presence and authority through the existence of the witches. In Fischlin’s view the use of the inverse of witchcraft as a mechanism for absolutist theory shifts it from its abstract setting and cements it in witches, devils, and magicians—actual people, like Doctor Fian, with whom James was confronted during the North Berwick witch-trials. The spirit of God is personified in kings and the devil's personification into witches. When James wants the reader to consider the falseness of the devil against the power of God, Fischlin believes that James is covertly implying that the monarch has created or enhanced the abilities of the witches to prove the need for divine king’s existence. Therefore the *Daemonologie*, in Fischlin's point of view, is a book about proving, by societal deviation or perhaps scapegoating, the need for a divine monarch.

[166] Clark, *Thinking with Demons : The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 14–15.

Actually, the conflation of God and monarchy was also important in the biblical context. The relationship between God and king was not new in early modern Europe; as a matter of fact, some historians have noted James's attempted to parallel King Solomon of the Old Testament. Is the conflation between God and kingship only crucial to absolute power? Were kings of the biblical past who are said to have had God on their side all attempting or acting as absolute rulers? It appears unlikely that the monarch created the threat of witches, as Fischlin states, because the idea of witchcraft was already embedded in early modern society. Possibly King James used the religious connotations attached to witchcraft to enhance his image as king but not necessarily to gain absolute power, as Clark emphasized. Absolute power is just that in a monarchical government. More likely, absolute monarchs would not have delegated such a spiritual task as purifying the land of the social deviants to the Privy Council and local commissions, as James had done in the witch-hunts of the 1590s. Therefore, James was masking his push for absolutism by delegating legislative duties. After all, he would always have the capability to remove or change the depth of Privy Council's or the Kirk's involvement in affairs but by gaining their cooperation—providing the audience of Europe with a unified kingdom of Scotland, James was able to obtain an even higher position of authority, the first king of Britain.

Masculinity

The concept of the learned man is another theme found in the *Daemonologie* but one that has not yet been explored. However, to understand James, especially in the last decade of the 1590s, we must examine his connection to the male witch.

Male witches have become a recent segment of study in the whole of witchcraft studies. Up until the 1990s, witchcraft scholarship focused predominantly on female witches; male witches were mentioned but not widely discussed. The reason for this narrow scope of gendered witchcraft study could derive from the demonologists who wrote about the witch-craze at its peak. Demonologies all across early modern Europe tended to place 'emphasis on the witch's pact with the Devil as sealed by sexual intercourse and the general belief that women were naturally more lustful than men'.[167] Because of the integral nature of the pact in witchcraft studies, the male witches did not receive much attention. Male witches also receive less attention because of the statistical evidence that proves that women were majority of the victims in witch-hunts.

Nonetheless, King James was certainly not averse to placing men, especially learned men, in his demonology or allowing the male witch to be the main character of the pamphlet *News from Scotland*; 'which Doctor [Fian] was register to the Deuill that sundry times preached at North Berwick Kirke, to a number of notorious Witches.'[168] The witches are considered the 'notorious' characters but the pamphlet's title and narrative focus mostly upon the learned Doctor Fian. Instead of the pamphlet focusing centrally on the female witches who tried to drown James at sea while travelling to pick up his wife, Queen Anne, in Denmark and again when returning with her, the focus was placed on the Doctor. According to Normand and Roberts, the title of 'doctor' is honorary, referring to a schoolmaster or assistant master. This learned man, alias John Cunningham, practiced sorcery, on one occasion 'bewitch[ing]' a young man and on

[167] Rowlands, *Witchcraft and Masculinities in Early Modern Europe*, p. 10.
[168] James Carmichael (?), "*Newes from Scotland"* (London), n. Title page.

others trying to work love-magic and using his powers for 'wicked intent'[169]. Although James did not claim to write the pamphlet he certainly would have authorized its contents and allowed its focus on this apparently insignificant figure, despite the severity of the other crimes committed by the accused female witches involved. The male witch would be seen as a smarter adversary again authority. To self-fashion himself as the ultimate authority, positioning himself against the top men in the devil's liege would give James widespread credibility. Incorporating this position of thought in the *News from Scotland* pamphlet, gave James the general consensus audience necessary in which to fashion himself as the top, or preferably, the only successor to Elizabeth.

The *Daemonologie* expresses the same attraction to the learned man as the pamphlet. 'As there are two sorts of folks, that may be entysed to this arte, to wit, learned or vunlearned….the learned haue their curiositie wakened vppe; and fedde by that which I call his [Devil's] schoole…'[170] In the section James goes further into the incorrect path of the learned man who is intrigued by witchcraft but does not mention further any ambitions of the unlearned.

Necromancers are also included in this discussion and overall, it seems to suggest that James appeared insecure in the face of learned man who was using learning and wisdom for evil ends. In his preface James states that he will discuss magic in a general term but 'necromancie in special.'[171] In the next line he continues that his second book in the demonology will focus on sorcery and witchcraft. It must be

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[169] Lawrence Normand, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland : James VI's Demonology and the North Berwick Witches* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), n. For entire account of Newes from Scotland, refer to Document 27.
[170] James, Daemonologie, p. 10.
[171] Ibid. p.2.

noted that sorcerers were usually considered male and witchcraft is what they practiced. Therefore, the book focuses on magic in general and the practice of witchcraft by necromancers and sorcerers rather than mostly focusing on female witches. Why the focus on the learned man? Perhaps James answers his own insecurity when he states, 'witches ar servants onelie, and slaves to the Devil; but the Necromanciers are his maisters and commanders.'[172] James apparently felt that the higher-ranking students of the devil were more of a threat than the normally female minions. This can also be paralleled to him fearing scholarly male opposition in Scottish government. The Earl of Bothwell, Andrew Melville, even James Carmichael, were or could have been seen as worthy opponents to James because they were extraordinary leaders in their own right. James needed a way to remove or use sapient men to keep himself as the figurehead of authority and intelligence; the witches (female) were merely scapegoats.

When considering demonology and masculinity issues, research on James's relationship with both can be helpful in answering the question of why James focused more upon the learned man in *Daemonologie* than female witches. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the North Berwick trials have strong ties with the *Daemonologie*. Deborah Willis analyses the North Berwick trials and the masculinity of James, arguing that his personal involvement in the witch-trials 'may have been significantly shaped by his difficult relationships with his two powerful "mothers," Mary, Queen of Scots and Elizabeth I, who frequently "betrayed" him in his confrontations with an unruly Scottish aristocracy'[173]. Therefore the witches gave James an outlet onto which to project his

[172] Ibid. p. 9.
[173] Willis, pp. 94–95.

confused and conflicting residual feelings for his ‘mothers’ and implement a patriarchal shield of sorts over the trials and Scotland. Although Willis’s claim does focus a gendered lens on James, witchcraft, and demonology, she does not examine the possibility that aristocratic male expectations requiring James to be athletic, virile, a good husband and father, politically adept, a scholar, and a leader could possibly also motivated James’s involvement in the trials, as discussed in Chapter Four. However, Willis does hint at masculinity issues.

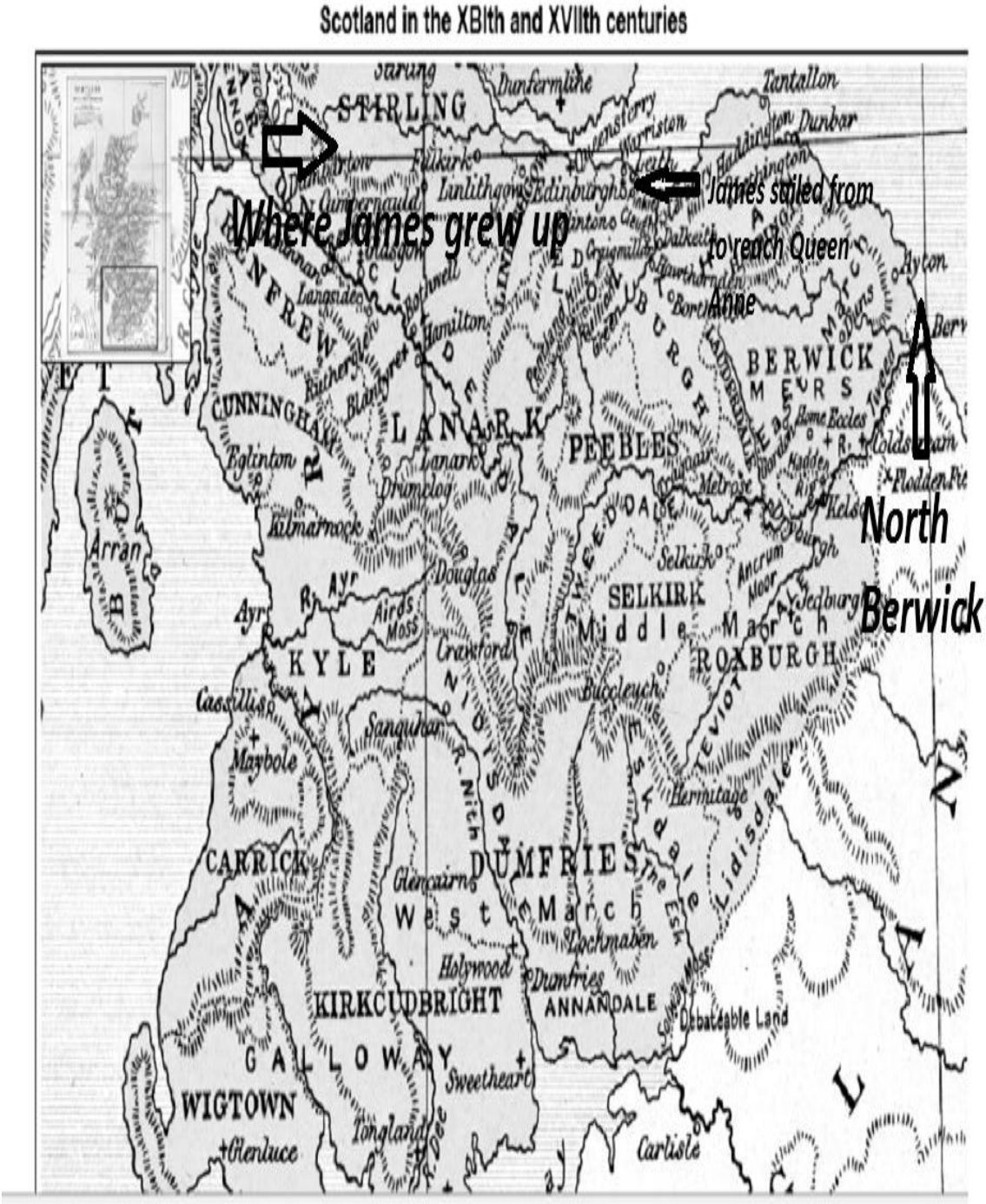
Willis claims that James’s power was significantly limited by his mother and Queen Elizabeth yet there was a dependency upon them. These complex relationships created bitterness in James against his mother and cousin. According to Willis, James projected his anger and frustrations onto the accused witches, subordinating their powers and defeating them by portraying and persecuting them as the devil’s minions. In contrast to Willis, evidence shows that the Kirk and Catholic earls actually had more power in limiting James than Mary, Queen of Scots or Elizabeth I; for example, the uprising of the Earl of Bothwell and the scathing sermons of John Knox as discussed in chapters 4 and 5. After all, James was the King of Scotland and he did not need Mary or Elizabeth to securely hold the throne. Women, no matter their socio-economic status, were still only women and in early modern Europe their importance in religious-political circles were not a great threat to men. A learned man, especially one who appeared more charismatic and powerful, would be a greater threat to James.

Conclusion

For James, publishing the *Daemonologie* in 1597 was more than a simple treatise of ideal kingship, a symbolic inversion of God, or a guide to prove the existence of witches—*Daemonologie* is a book written by a man who wants his readers to believe he is the logical choice—the divine choice, for the throne of England. If James's demonology is shifted slightly from the context of absolutism and inversion, moving towards James's construction of ideal masculinity, through self-fashioning, then it becomes evident that not only did the *Daemonologie* contain self-fashioning concepts in its words, but the publishing of it in 1597 was a fashioning technique as well. He was focused on succeeding Queen Elizabeth I more than anything else. When Jane Rickard pointed out how James as a boy had a 'desire to control not only the creation of a text but also its interpretation'[174], she helped to unlock the essence of James through his unique skill to self-fashion through words. *Daemonologie* says more about him than any portrait of himself ever could and King James VI & I knew this to be true.

[174] Rickard, p. 2.

Appendix



*Via the Cambridge Modern History Atlas

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