

*Elizabeth I's Former Tutor Reports on the Parliament of 1559: Johannes Spithovius to the Chancellor of Denmark, 27 February 1559**

THE fragmentary nature of the evidence for the proceedings of the Parliament of 1559 is one of the more obvious reasons for the continuing debate over the Elizabethan religious settlement. Philip II's representative, the count of Feria, whose reports have been in print for more than a century, has been the primary diplomatic source.¹ As a consequence of the war with France, there was no French diplomatic representation at the English court. However, in February 1559 three further envoys arrived on relatively brief missions. George, count of Helfenstein, the Emperor Ferdinand I's ambassador in Brussels, was commissioned to greet Elizabeth I on her accession, but also to assess her intentions over religion and marriage. He has left a reasonably well-known series of reports.² The other two envoys are more or less unknown, but both were Lutherans. One was Ludovico Vergerio, nephew of Pier Paulo Vergerio, spiritual advisor to Christopher, duke of Württemberg.³ The last envoy was sent by Dorothea, the recently widowed queen of Denmark.⁴ His sole surviving report is the only known commentary on the situation in England in February 1559 by a foreign Protestant observer. But he was not a stranger; he had previously been one of Elizabeth's tutors.

I

In most of his Danish correspondence this envoy signed himself Johannes Monasteriensis, although when writing to Sir William Cecil he used

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1. Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, fifth count and first duke of Feria (1520?–71). His awkward status after 17 November 1558 is discussed in 'The Count of Feria's Dispatch to Philip II of 14 November 1558', ed. M.J. Rodríguez-Salgado and S. Adams, *Camden Miscellany XXVIII*, Camden Society, 4th ser., xxix (1984), pp. 302–44. The Mantuan II Schifanoja, whose correspondence is as valuable as that of Feria, was not the Venetian ambassador (as is frequently stated), but a servant of the Master of the Knights of St John, Sir Thomas Tresham.

2. Much of his correspondence is found in translation in V. von Klarwill, ed., *Queen Elizabeth and some Foreigners; Being a Series of Hitherto Unpublished Letters from the Archives of the Habsburg Family* (London, 1928), pp. 26–66. K. Diemer, 'Die Heiratsverhandlungen zwischen Königin Elisabeth I. von England und Erzherzog Karl von Innerösterreich, 1558–1570' (Univ. of Tübingen Ph.D. thesis, 1969), pp. 4–19, provides a superbly researched discussion of his embassy.

3. The younger Vergerio's mission is mentioned briefly in H. Horie, 'The Lutheran Influence on the Elizabethan Settlement, 1558–1563', *The Historical Journal*, xxxiv (1991), p. 523.

4. Dorothea of Saxe-Lauenberg (1511–71), who married Christian III (1503–59) in 1525.

Johannes Spithovius Monasteriensis.⁵ Thanks to his distinguished academic career in Denmark, a brief biography can be found in the *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*.⁶ He was the son of Englebert Spithoff of Münster, hence the sobriquet *Monasteriensis*. His date and place of birth are unknown, but his family had some connection with the Netherlands.⁷ His brothers lived in Amsterdam and he referred to Netherlanders as his countrymen, among them the London printer Reyner Wolfe, who came from Gelderland.⁸ Spithovius was initially a pupil of Philip Melanchthon at Wittenberg, but in 1542 he matriculated at the University of Copenhagen, where he proceeded as *magister* in 1544 and became Professor Paedagogicus in 1545. In 1549, however, he was dismissed from his chair for marrying a woman of dubious reputation.⁹ He did not return to Copenhagen until the autumn of 1554, when he was appointed Professor of Greek and, in 1557, Professor of Physic as well. He died in early middle age on 30 December 1563, possibly from the plague.¹⁰

During the nineteenth century, evidence began to emerge that Spithovius had spent the years 1549 to 1554 as one of the 'flock of Hatfield'. The earliest published source is Princess Elizabeth's only extant household disbursement book (covering Michaelmas 1551 to Michaelmas 1552). Spithovius is named in two entries: a payment for books on 18 May 1552 and a reward of £4 on 4 April.¹¹ Agnes Strickland quoted the first entry in the biography of Elizabeth in the later editions of her *Lives of the Queens of England*, but without further comment.¹² Spithovius is also mentioned in the exchange of letters between Dorothea of Denmark and Elizabeth I in 1559, which is calendared in the first volume of the *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, Elizabeth*. The second and third volumes of the *Calendar* contain three letters from Spithovius to Cecil, written in 1560, in which he recalled his earlier service to the queen.¹³ Thanks to these references, some late nineteenth-century Danish

2.30 5. We employ Spithovius here, rather than Spithoff or Spithove, as it was the international form of his name.

6. *D[ansk] B[igrafisk] L[ex/ksikon]* (1st edn., 19 vols., Copenhagen, 1887–1905), xvi. 227–8; (3rd edn., 16 vols., Copenhagen, 1979–84), iii. 600.

7. *DBL* gives Münster as his place of birth. H.F. Rørdam, *Kjøbenhavens Universitets Historie fra 1537 til 1621* (2 vols., Copenhagen, 1868–9), i. 600, refers to him simply as Hans Mønster.

8. For his brothers' connection with Amsterdam, see Copenhagen, Rigsarkivet, T[yske] K[ancellis] U[denrigske] A[fdeling]/Almindelig Del/Ausländisch Registrant, 32, fos. 315v–7r, 'Vorschrift an den Rhadt der Stadt Münster', 18 Apr. 1561. For the reference to Wolfe, see *C[alendar of] S[tate] P[apers.] F[oreign], [Elizabeth], 1560–61*, no. 96 (Spithovius to Cecil, 15 May 1560). Wolfe's place of birth is given in A. Pettegree, 'Reyner Wolfe [Reginald, Raynold], d. in or before 1574', *O[xford] D[ictionary of] N[ational] B[iography]*. See also Rørdam, *Kjøbenhavens Universitets Historie*, i. 599.

9. *DBL* (3rd edn.), iii. 600.

10. Rørdam, *Kjøbenhavens Universitets Historie*, i. 602.

11. 'Household Expenses of the Princess Elizabeth during her Residence at Hatfield October 1, 1551 to September 30, 1552', ed. Viscount Strangeford, *Camden Miscellany II*, Camden Society, 1st ser., lv (1853), pp. 33 and 39.

12. See, for example, A. Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England* (8 vols., London, 1872), iii. 42.

13. *CSPF 1558–9* (1863), nos. 232 and 502; *1559–60* (1865), no. 806; *1560–61* (1865), nos. 96 and 216.

historians noted that he had been in Elizabeth's employ, but he has been completely overlooked in the extensive literature on her education.¹⁴

Spithovius wrote to Melanchthon from Copenhagen on 30 November 1554. This letter is both the only item of correspondence between them to survive and the fullest account of his English years.¹⁵ He informed Melanchthon that he had just been recalled to Denmark by Christian III, having served Elizabeth as tutor in Latin and Greek for five years. The princess was under great pressure from her sister to violate her conscience by participating in idolatry.¹⁶ Since she was familiar with Melanchthon's works and admired him, Spithovius suggested that he send her a letter of consolation in her adversity. He concluded with his confidence that she would become the means for the restoration of the English Church.

A few further details of Spithovius' membership of Elizabeth's household can be supplied.¹⁷ Thanks to his reference to his five years in her service, it can be suggested that he was the unidentified tutor recommended by Martin Bucer to Elizabeth's chaplain Edmund Allen on 27 August 1549.¹⁸ Bernardino Ochino had recently proposed a tutor for her, who had not proved satisfactory, and in his stead, Bucer suggested a young man who had arrived in England 'some weeks since'.¹⁹ This man had letters of recommendation to Archbishop Cranmer from Melanchthon and another 'man of great learning'.²⁰ Since Cranmer was unable to employ him, and Bucer doubted whether a university post could be found, he might well suit Elizabeth's purpose. Spithovius replaced her best-known tutor, Roger Ascham, who left her service early in 1550 after trying to do so earlier. A single surviving letter from Spithovius to Ascham (25 December 1561), referring to their friendship and previous correspondence, suggests that, whatever the circumstances of his departure, Ascham did not

14. See Rørdam, *Kjøbenhavens Universitets Historie*, i. 600, n. 3, and ii. 753, and C. de Treschow, *Contributions to the History of Queen Elizabeth Derived from Documents in the Danish State Archives* (London, 1871), p. 3.

15. Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 1458, fos. 114v–6v (a copy), calendared in H. Schlieble and W. Thüringer, eds., *Melanchthons Briefwechsel* (12 vols. to date, Stuttgart, 1977–), vol. vii, no. 7348, noted in J. Schofield, *Philip Melanchthon and the English Reformation* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 174–5.

16. He was apparently unaware that Elizabeth had begun to receive the sacrament according to the Roman rite at Woodstock on 26 August 1554.

17. Simon Adams will be addressing the wider issues in his forthcoming biography of Elizabeth I.

18. H. Robinson, ed., *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation ... Chiefly from the Archives of Zurich*, Parker Society, xxvi (2nd edn., 2 vols., 1846–7), ii. 541–2, noted in F. Heal, 'Edmund Allen (1510s–1559)', *ODNB*.

19. Ochino assumed the post of preacher to the Italian Church in London in January 1548; his candidate has still to be identified.

20. Assuming that the young man was Spithovius, the second man could have been Jacob Bording, whom Spithovius knew intimately and mentions in the text. Bording (1511–60) was a close correspondent of Melanchthon, a professor at Copenhagen and eventually chancellor to the duke of Mecklenburg. Spithovius memorialised Bording upon the latter's death in the *Oratio in Fovene Viri Doctrina et Virtutibus Clarissimi, Doctoris Iacobi Bordingi* (Wittenberg, 1562).

regard Spithovius as a rival.²¹ In May 1560, Spithovius asked Cecil to remember him to his old friend 'the Treasurer' (of the Household), Sir Thomas Parry, who had been Elizabeth's cofferer during the decade prior to her accession.²²

4.5 Apart from his statement to Melanchthon that he had only recently arrived in Denmark and that it was at Christian III's request, we know nothing of the circumstances of Spithovius' departure from Elizabeth's service. Mary's proclamation of 17 February 1554 ordered all alien heretics to leave the realm, and any immunity that membership of
4.10 Elizabeth's household might have conferred would have been annulled by her imprisonment following Wyatt's Rebellion. In April, Christian III appealed to Mary to release Miles Coverdale, and he may have recalled Spithovius at the same time.²³

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II

Spithovius was sent to England twice in 1559. His second mission (July 1559 to January 1560) was a more formal one and generated an extensive correspondence, now filed in the Rigsarkivet in Copenhagen. It is reasonably well known in Danish scholarship.²⁴ The letter published
4.20 here is the only survival from the more informal first mission; but, although it is filed with the correspondence from the second, it has hitherto escaped notice.²⁵ So too has the mission itself, despite references to Spithovius as the bearer in Dorothea's letter to Elizabeth of 15 January 1559 and Elizabeth's reply of 6 April.²⁶

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The two royal letters provide *termini* for the mission, and Spithovius implies in his own letter that he arrived in London on 12 February. The letter covers his first reception by Elizabeth on the 16th and a second frustrated by the reception for the count of Helfenstein on the 25th, and mentions the famous series of nine Lenten sermons in the Sermon Court at Whitehall that began on 8 February. Thanks to the paucity of evidence, much about the background to, and purpose of, the mission remains speculative. As a result, the better-documented mission of

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21. *Rogeri Aschami epistolarum, libri quatuor*, ed. W. Elstob (Oxford, 1703), pp. 411–13.

22. *CSPF 1560–61*, no. 96.

23. She eventually allowed Coverdale to leave for Denmark in 1555. See D. Daniell, 'Miles Coverdale (1488–1689)', *ODNB*, and G. Donaldson, "'The Example of Denmark" in the Scottish Reformation', in his *Scottish Church History* (Edinburgh, 1985), p. 64.

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24. See Rigsarkivet, TKUA/S[pecial] D[el]/England A.II.9 [Politiske Forhold til England 1559–1588]. The Danish crown employed two chancelleries in the sixteenth century. The Danish Chancellery was responsible for the kingdom itself and relations with Sweden; the German Chancellery (Tyske Kancellis/TK) for relations with the Holy Roman Empire and, by extension, the rest of Europe. The second mission is discussed in Treschow, *Contributions*, pp. 1–26, and P. Colding, *Studier i Danmarks politiske Historie i Slutningen af Christian III.s og Begyndelsen af Frederik II.s Tid* (Copenhagen, 1939), pp. 62–3 and 135–6.

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25. In his survey of the Danish archives for the Public Record Office, W.D. Macray noted only the correspondence from the second mission and a few other 'letters of no importance', *Forty-Fifth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (London, 1885), appendix ii, p. 46.

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26. *CSPF 1558–9*, nos. 232 and 502. Neither Treschow nor Colding mention the first mission.

Ludovico Vergerio is of considerable importance in clarifying the wider context.²⁷

On 5 December 1558, after learning of Mary's death, Christopher, duke of Württemberg, informed the Elector Palatine Ottheinrich that he hoped the returning English exiles (to whom he had been a generous benefactor) would persuade Elizabeth to ally with the Lutheran German states, adopt the Confession of Augsburg and marry the orthodox Lutheran John William, duke of Saxe-Weimar.²⁸ Doing so would afford her protection against Henry II and Philip II.²⁹ At the end of January 1559, however, he revealed an ulterior motive to Landgrave Philip of Hesse. If she adopted the Confession, Elizabeth could not permit any 'strange opinions or sects', which would certainly include the Swiss Reformed.³⁰

In mid-December, an agent from Elizabeth, Henry Killigrew, made contact with Pier Paolo Vergerio at Heidelberg.³¹ Precisely what Killigrew was instructed to obtain is not entirely clear, but it appears to have been some form of military alliance with the Lutheran princes, possibly to take effect in the event that the peace negotiations failed and war with France resumed.³² However, neither Württemberg nor Ottheinrich wanted a formal military alliance at the time, although Württemberg still hoped to persuade Elizabeth to adopt the Confession and ban both popery and strange opinions.³³ At the end of January, Württemberg and Vergerio decided to send Vergerio's nephew Ludovico to see her. Precisely when Ludovico Vergerio arrived in England is unclear, but he returned to Tübingen early in April simultaneously with the conclusion of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. It is probable that he arrived before 27 February, but Spithovius does not mention him.

No instructions have survived from this mission, only a letter from Pier Paolo Vergerio to Elizabeth, dated 30 January, in which he rehearsed Württemberg's preference for an informal understanding based on a shared religious allegiance rather than a military alliance and his opinion that neither Ferdinand I nor Philip II would object if Elizabeth adopted the Confession of Augsburg, but would do so if she adopted

27. There is a limited survey of the background to the Vergerio mission in Horie, 'Lutheran Influence', pp. 520–3.

28. John William (1530–73) was the second son of the deposed Elector of Saxony, John Frederick. Ironically, he was a French pensioner in 1559. Although the subject of wide speculation as a potential Lutheran candidate for Elizabeth's hand, he does not himself appear to have shown much interest, and married the Elector Palatine Frederick III's daughter Dorothea Susanna on 10 December 1560.

29. V. Ernst, ed., *Briefwechsel des Herzogs Christoph von Württemberg* (4 vols., Stuttgart, 1899–1907), vol. iv, no. 490.

30. *Ibid.*, no. 514 (28 Jan.).

31. Vergerio noted his presence on 14 December, but there is no evidence that Killigrew had any influence on Württemberg's initial proposal.

32. See A.C. Miller, *Sir Henry Killigrew: Elizabethan Soldier and Diplomat* (Leicester, 1963), pp. 30–7.

33. Ernst, ed., *Briefwechsel*, vol. iv, no. 511 and n. 4 (Württemberg to Ottheinrich, 23 Jan. 1559, and Ottheinrich's reply, 31 Jan.).

another doctrine.³⁴ He returned with two letters for his uncle—a long one written by Cecil in the queen's name and a briefer one from Cecil's father-in-law Sir Anthony Cooke, who had been a prominent exile and played a leading role in the House of Commons in 1559.³⁵

6.5 Cecil's letter is the sole extant expression of Elizabeth's views on the Confession of Augsburg during the first weeks of the Parliament of 1559. It is also a complicated document: the letter now in Stuttgart is dated 2 March, but a draft survives at Kew with the endorsement 6 February.³⁶ The overall content is the same, but there are some significant differences. Both note that Cecil is replying to Vergerio's communication of 30 January, but while Cecil's letter refers to Vergerio's as having been brought by his nephew, the draft does not, which is a major reason why Ludovico's presence in England has been overlooked. More significant is Elizabeth's response to 'those persons' who advised her to adopt the Confession of Augsburg. She did not intend to depart, according to the draft, from the mutual agreement of Christian churches, among which the Confession appeared to her to be the most weighty (*videtur propondere*). In the final version, the description of Augsburg was revised to note how Augsburg appeared to concur with the mutual agreement most closely (*proxime videtur accedere*).³⁷ Precisely what was meant by the change is unclear, but both forms are polite, diplomatic and evasive.

6.20 The news of Elizabeth's accession reached Denmark at roughly the same time as it reached Württemberg. At the accession, there was a proposal to send Sir Thomas Chaloner to inform Christian III, but Chaloner was sent to Ferdinand I instead, and no one went to Denmark.³⁸ However, there was a Dane in London on 17 November—the chancellor of Christian III's half-brother Adolph, duke of Holstein-Gottorp (1526–86), who had been sent earlier in the autumn to conduct trade negotiations. He returned in December with a request from Elizabeth for Holstein to continue the military alliance with England

6.35 34. Draft in E. von Kausler and T. Schott, eds., *Briefwechsel [zwischen] Christoph, [Herzog von Württemberg, und Petrus Paulus] Vergerio*, Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, cxxiv (1875), no. 73b; the original has not survived. Vergerio outlined the letter in two to Henry Killigrew on 1 Feb., *CSPF 1558–9*, nos. 297–8.

35. *Briefwechsel Christoph-Vergerio*, nos. 73c–d.

6.40 36. Württembergische Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, Bestand A 114, Bü 4, fos. 5–6v, printed in *Briefwechsel Christoph-Vergerio*, no. 73c. The draft is T[he] N[ational] A[rchives], P[ublic] R[ecord] O[ffice], S[tate] P[apers] 70/2/99–100, calendared in *CSPF 1558–9*, no. 304. Horie thought they were two different letters: 'Lutheran Influence', p. 522. Because it is highly unlikely that Ludovico Vergerio could have reached London by 6 February, the most likely explanation for the date of the endorsement is that it is an error by Cecil or his clerks in filing his correspondence later. There are a number of other significant examples discussed by Simon Adams in his forthcoming biography of Elizabeth I.

6.45 37. The difference is noted in D.S. Gehring, 'International Protestantism Unties "the Catholique Knotte": Anglo-German Relations under Elizabeth I' (Univ. of Wisconsin-Madison Ph.D. thesis, 2010), p. 71, n. 108. That care was taken to revise (however minimally) Elizabeth's position on Augsburg suggests that she and Cecil recognised the gravity of the issue.

6.46 38. Gehring, 'International Protestantism', pp. 68–9.

that he had made with Philip II. Holstein replied with his willingness personally to visit England to formalise it.³⁹ Christian III's response is more difficult to establish because he died on New Year's Day 1559 and his physical state in December is unclear.

In 1558, relations between Christian III and Dorothea and their heir, the future Frederick II, were distant, and the prince-elect did not reach the court until 7 January.⁴⁰ Since neither Christian III nor Frederick II is specifically mentioned in any of the three letters surviving from Spithovius' mission, the mission would appear to have been an initiative by the queen mother. Yet Spithovius reported to the German Chancellor, Andreas von Barby, bishop of Lübeck, rather than directly to Dorothea, which suggests that Barby—who presided over Denmark's wider foreign relations—may have played a role in his nomination.⁴¹ In the letter printed below, however, it seems that Barby and Dorothea were working together in early 1559. The references to Spithovius as Elizabeth's 'faithful minister' in Dorothea's letter and as her own servant in Elizabeth's reply, together with the informality of his reception by Elizabeth, leave little doubt that he was chosen because his previous employment would enable him to visit her privately.⁴²

The purpose of the mission has to be deduced from the two royal letters. Dorothea's letter began by congratulating Elizabeth on her accession. She then expressed her confidence that Elizabeth would follow the example of Edward VI over religion and concluded by proposing an alliance. She made no reference to Elizabeth's request to Holstein, but claimed that her confidence was founded on Elizabeth's earlier expressions to her of her commitment to true religion—although no trace of a correspondence between them has been found in either England or Denmark. In her reply, Elizabeth stated that Spithovius was returning with her verbal answer to Dorothea's verbal instructions and concluded with an expression of goodwill towards an alliance with Dorothea and her children based on true religion.

These vague statements do not reveal much about the terms of the proposed Danish alliance. Christian III had followed a very cautious foreign policy during the 1550s, thanks not least to the Lorraine claim to the Danish throne, which made him unwilling to antagonise Charles V. Nevertheless, and despite his cultivation of Melanchthon, he shared the duke of Württemberg's worries about the growth of Swiss and Anabaptist influence. In 1553, he had forbidden foreigners to settle in

39. *CSPF 1558–9*, nos. 90–1 (Adolph to Elizabeth and Cecil, 17 Dec. 1558). He did eventually visit England in the spring of 1560.

40. P.D. Lockhart, *Frederik II and the Protestant Cause: Denmark's Role in the Wars of Religion, 1559–1596* (Leiden, 2004), pp. 29–30.

41. Spithovius referred to Barby as his 'Patrone' in this letter and as his 'Maecenati' in one of 25 August 1559: Rigsarkivet, TKUA/SD/England A.II.9, no. 5. Barby died on 3 August during Spithovius' second embassy.

42. Compare his account of his own reception with that of Helfenstein: see n. 79 below.

Denmark unless they could prove their Lutheran orthodoxy, a prohibition he reissued in 1555 after the former London Dutch congregation took refuge in Denmark.⁴³ However, there is no evidence that the Danes were aware of Württemberg's negotiations with Elizabeth.

8.5 The obvious question is whether the alliance was to include a marriage between Frederick and Elizabeth. A Danish match for her had been discussed for more than a decade. Henry VIII had proposed one with Adolph of Holstein in 1545, and the duke of Somerset one with Frederick several years later, but the negotiations had petered out

8.10 in 1551.⁴⁴ Ferdinand I took seriously the possible revival of an Anglo-Danish marital alliance at the beginning of 1559, because it might pose a threat to the Empire, and worried that if Philip II did not move quickly with his own suit the Danes might pre-empt him.⁴⁵ Feria reported gossip about Holstein at the end of December 1558, although

8.15 he dismissed it.⁴⁶ However, marriage to Elizabeth would have been a reversal of Christian III's recent policy, for in 1557–8 he had been seeking a Habsburg or Lorraine marriage for Frederick to counter the Lorraine claim. But there was also a new issue: Frederick's open interest in Anna

8.20 Hardenberg, a noblewoman of his mother's household. It was an equally open secret that Dorothea was opposed to her son marrying beneath his rank, and this would give her an obvious motive for discreetly probing Elizabeth's interest.⁴⁷ Spithovius states in the letter that to date, he had not raised the subject of a marriage to Frederick, which suggests—at

8.25 the minimum—that he was aware that it was under consideration in Denmark. A cursory statement in the letter leaves it unclear whether he knew of Elizabeth's response to the parliamentary petition on marriage on 10 February.⁴⁸ Nor is it clear from Elizabeth's general expression of goodwill in her letter to Dorothea whether Spithovius raised the match after the 27th.

8.30 Spithovius presumably left London soon after the date of Elizabeth's letter (6 April). He returned to England in July, specifically to propose a marriage to Frederick, if he found the English interested, and to counter a Swedish proposal putting forward Prince Eric as a potential match.⁴⁹ On 10 November, Elizabeth presented him to the prebend of

8.35 Gillingham Magna in Salisbury Cathedral, presumably as a reward for

43. O.P. Grell, ed., *The Scandinavian Reformation* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 118–19.

44. For the Holstein match, see J.S. Brewer, R.H. Brodie and J. Gairdner, eds., *Letters and Papers, Domestic and Foreign, of the Reign of Henry VIII* (23 vols. in 38, London, 1862–1932), vol. xx, pt. 1, no. 91. For the subsequent Danish negotiations, see S. Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth* (London, 1996), p. 15.

45. Diemer, 'Die Hieratsverhandlungen', pp. 8 and 16.

46. *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish, 1558–67*, p. 19 (29 Dec. 1558).

47. Lockhart, *Frederik II*, pp. 32–3, 88–93 and 101–3.

48. See below, n.86.

49. Treschow, *Contributions*, supplies a good narrative. On p. 4, he cites a letter from Frederick II dated 1 July that was never delivered due to circumstances Spithovius encountered in London, now Rigsarkivet, TKUA/SD/England A.I.1. See also TKUA/SD/England A.II.9, no. 2, Spithovius to Frederick, 8 Aug. 1559, and Gehring, 'International Protestantism', pp. 62–3.

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his former services.⁵⁰ He appears to have reciprocated with a copy of the 1552 edition of *De Nobilitate Christiana Librii III* by the well-known Portuguese humanist Jerónimo Osório da Fonseca, bishop of Sylva.⁵¹ According to his letter of presentation, the book was both a gesture of gratitude and a commemoration of the second year of her reign.⁵²

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He returned to Denmark with letters from Elizabeth dated 16 January 1560 and delivered them to Frederick II and his mother at Nyborg on 22 February.⁵³ The second mission marks the end of his direct involvement in English affairs. The final reference to him in English records concerned his prebend. Since the remoteness of Salisbury made it difficult for him to collect his income, he requested in 1561 that it be exchanged for one at Westminster or Canterbury. Frederick II supported his appeal, but nothing was done before Spithovius died.⁵⁴

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The most important section of the letter is Spithovius' brief account of the visit of 'Dr Smith' and their conversation about orders of worship. Dr Smith can only be the former principal secretary Sir Thomas Smith, who was both a Doctor of Civil Law and a Doctor of Laws. Their meeting resolves the running debate over the 'Smith committee', and with it some of the problems surrounding the religious settlement of 1559.

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The anonymous memorandum, 'The Device for Alteration of Religion' (dated by general agreement to mid-December 1558) included quite detailed proposals for the establishment of a committee, under Smith's chairmanship, of seven prominent protestant clergymen: William Bill, Matthew Parker, William May, Richard Cox, David Whitehead, Edmund Grindal and James Pilkington. The committee's purpose is not entirely clear because it was described in two different ways. Initially it was to prepare 'a plat or book' on the alteration of religion to be submitted to Elizabeth and then, with her approval, to Parliament. Later it is stated that the committee was 'to review the book of common prayer and order of ceremonies and service in the church'.⁵⁵ The procedure itself was not a novel one. A similar committee had met in 1548 to draft the 'Order of Communion' and the 1549 prayer-book. Although evidence

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50. J.M. Horn, ed., *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1541-1857*, VI: *Salisbury Diocese* (London, 1986), p. 41.

51. (Florence, 1552); now in the B[ritish] L[ibrary], pressmark 521.d.2.

52. The BL catalogue states that the book was presented to Mary, but it is undated, there are no internal references either way and no evidence exists that Spithovius had any connection to her. See L. Bourdon, 'Jerónimo Osório et les Humanistes Anglais', *L'humanisme portugais et l'Europe: Actes du XXIe Colloque international d'Études humanistes, Tours, 3-13 juillet 1978* (Paris, 1984), p. 269, and S. Anglo, *Machiavelli: The First Century* (Oxford, 2005), p. 155.

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53. *CSPF 1559-60*, no. 806 (Spithovius to Cecil, 1 Mar. 1560). The calendar entry erroneously dates Elizabeth's letter to 22 February; see *CSPF 1560-61*, no. 96 (Spithovius to Cecil, 15 May 1560).

54. *CSPF 1561-2*, no. 123 (Frederick to Elizabeth, 20 Apr. 1561).

55. Printed in H. Gee, *The Elizabethan Prayer-Book and Ornaments* (London, 1902), appendix i, pp. 202-3.

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of a committee to prepare the 1552 prayer-book is lacking, drafts of both prayer-books were presented to Parliament before the two Acts of Uniformity were passed.⁵⁶ Smith had been involved in the preparation of the 1549 prayer-book, and two members of the proposed committee (May and Cox) may have been members of the 1548 committee.⁵⁷

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William Camden, who possessed a mid-sixteenth-century copy of the 'Device', claimed it was a formal advice by the Privy Council and attributed to the Smith committee the revision of the 1552 prayer-book into that of 1559.⁵⁸ However, by 1902, when Henry Gee published *The Elizabethan Prayer-Book*, no evidence of the committee's proceedings had been discovered and doubts were expressed as to whether it had ever met at all.⁵⁹ The only evidence for the process of revision was the 'Guest letter'—an anonymous and undated commentary on services attributed to Edmund Ghest or Guest. Gee argued that the Guest letter was not relevant to 1559 and probably belonged to the preparation of the 1552 book.⁶⁰

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While admitting there was no direct evidence of its proceedings, Gee still considered that the committee had met in early 1559. He also made three important observations about its members. Cox, Grindal, Whitehead and Pilkington were in exile at the accession and some of them did not return until late January—therefore, the committee could not have met in advance of the Parliament. Secondly, Cox, Grindal, Whitehead and Parker were among the seven identified Lenten preachers.⁶¹ Lastly, given their histories and later careers, it is difficult to believe they would have agreed to anything other than the 1552 prayer-book.⁶²

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In his famous reinterpretation of the settlement in 1950, Sir John Neale reversed Gee by arguing that the 'Device' as a whole had been rejected, in favour of an interim settlement in which publication of a liturgy was not necessary. But, having argued that Elizabeth subsequently abandoned that interim settlement during the Parliament, he speculated that a committee of unknown composition met between 3 and 18 April 1559 to prepare the new prayer-book, citing the Guest letter as evidence.⁶³ In revising Neale, Norman Jones restored the

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56. D. MacCulloch notes the limited sources for these committees, particularly that of 1552, in *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven, CT, and London, 1996), pp. 396–7 and 504–5.

57. M. Dewar, *Sir Thomas Smith: A Tudor Intellectual in Politics* (London, 1964), p. 39. For May and Cox, see the list of the 1548 committee discussed in G. Constant, *The Reformation in England* (2 vols., London, 1941), ii. 61–2.

58. W. Camden, *The History of ... Princess Elizabeth*, ed. W.T. MacCaffrey (Chicago, 1970), pp. 14–15. BL Cotton MS Julius F VI, where the text printed by Gee is found, belonged to Camden.

10.40

59. Gee, *Elizabethan Prayer-Book*, pp. 28–9.

60. *Ibid.*, pp. 40–1.

61. It is quite possible that the two unidentified preachers may have been drawn from the other three members.

62. Gee, *Elizabethan Prayer-Book*, pp. 67–77.

63. J.E. Neale, 'The Elizabethan Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity', *ante*, lxxv (1950), p. 326. Dewar followed Neale in dismissing the committee, *Sir Thomas Smith*, p. 81, as did W.P. Haugaard, who did not mention it in his *Elizabeth and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 1968).

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10.46

'Device' to a central position in the planning of the settlement. Given the nature of the evidence, he was unsure about the Smith committee, but concluded 'there is no good reason for thinking that the committee did not meet'. He also decided to eliminate the Guest letter from the discussion.⁶⁴ Roger Bowers, in the most recent interpretation of the settlement, did not discuss the 'Device' at all, because he considered that he had 'nothing germane to add' on the subject. On the other hand, he saw the Guest letter as evidence for some process of prayer-book revision at the beginning of 1559.⁶⁵

II.5

Spithovius' letter provides the first clear evidence that the Smith committee did meet, as can be seen in his reference to Smith and 'the others'. The proposed membership cannot, of course, be confirmed, but the very existence of the committee transforms the historiography of the settlement. The implication of the 'Device' was that the committee would have completed its work before Parliament met; yet, presumably owing to the slow return of the exiles, it was still meeting in February. This may provide the explanation for one mystery of the Parliament. Having opened on 25 January, it did nothing of substance on the religious settlement until 9 February, when a supremacy bill was introduced. A uniformity bill was introduced on the 15th, and a new service-book tabled on the 16th. The identity of the service-book of 16 February has become a central issue. Gee, Neale and Jones agreed that it was the 1552 prayer-book or something similar, but for different reasons. For Gee and Jones, it was part of the crown's legislative programme; Neale, assuming that Elizabeth intended an interim settlement, attributed it to Protestants in the House of Commons.⁶⁶ Bowers has argued a slightly different case: a prayer-book was part of the Crown's programme, but it was the 1549 book, which Elizabeth abandoned later in the session for the 1552 book. Gee and Jones agree that the revisions to the book were made by 16 February, but Neale was forced by his general argument to invent the April revision committee. Bowers' argument also needs some form of later revision committee to explain the modifications to the 1552 book outlined in the Act of Uniformity, but he does not discuss it.

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On 12 February, Sir Anthony Cooke complained about the slow progress made, but the explanation for the delay may simply be that it was not until the 15th that the committee had completed its work. Gee noted that the small number of changes made to the 1552 prayer-book in the Act of Uniformity cannot be termed a full-scale revision.

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64. N. Jones, *Faith by Statute: Parliament and the Settlement of Religion, 1559* (London, 1982), pp. 24–5 and 46–8.

65. R. Bowers, 'The Chapel Royal, the First Edwardian Prayer Book, and Elizabeth's Settlement of Religion, 1559', *The Historical Journal*, xliii (2000), pp. 320, n. 6 and 331–2.

66. We follow here Jones's dismissal of Neale's argument that a different service book had been introduced on the 15th.

II.45

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12.5 This brings us back to what the committee was supposed to do, which is not helped by the ambiguous statements in the 'Device'. Had the Crown's intention been simply to restore either one of the Edwardian prayer-books, a committee would not have been necessary. The second statement 'to review the book of common prayer' suggests that the 1552 book was the starting point for something wider. Gee also pointed out that further amendments were made to the printed version of the new prayer-book after the conclusion of the Parliament. These subsequent changes, together with articles in the Injunctions of the summer of 1559 that reversed the status quo of 1552, have been interpreted as Elizabeth's attempt to claw back concessions she had been forced to make in the face of pressure from the Commons.⁶⁷ However, if it was the 1552 prayer-book that was being revised from the start, it may simply be that the committee was working in haste in early February and settled on limited modifications to the book with further details still to be worked out.

12.10 Smith was authorised by the 'Device' to consult 'other men of learning and gravity' as well as the committee. In view of the sequence of events in February, it is unfortunate that the precise date of his visit to Spithovius cannot be established from the internal chronology of the letter. It is possible that they met between Spithovius' arrival on the 12th and the 15th, but, if it was later, then their conversation could have had no influence on the book tabled on the 16th. There are two tempting questions about the conversation. One is whether it was a source for Cecil's advice to the Lords of the Congregation on 28 July 1559 that he knew of 'no better example in any reformed state than I have hard to be in Denmark'.⁶⁸ The other is whether Spithovius' advice to avoid contentious disputes over the sacrament had any influence on the famous compromise eucharistic formula of the 1559 prayer-book. The more difficult questions are what lay behind Smith's interest in the Danish and Saxon church orders at that date—other than as part of the proposed wider 'review' of the prayer-book—and whether Spithovius had any instructions to advise the English to follow Denmark or Saxony. His diffidence about meddling suggests not, and he does not appear to have brought with him a copy of the Danish Church Ordinances of 1537. He had to search for such Lutheran literature as he could find in London, which, in the aftermath of Mary's reign, could not have been plentiful. The two works he mentions were survivors from Archbishop Cranmer's extensive sponsorship of translations of continental religious works during Edward

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67. Particularly by Bowers, 'Chapel Royal', pp. 339–40, following Haugaard, *Elizabeth*, pp. 109–10.

68. TNA, PRO, SP 52/1/147v. It is also possible that Spithovius discussed Denmark with Cecil after 27 February or after he arrived on his second mission on 21 July. Spithovius noted his date of arrival in his letter to Frederik, 8 August 1559, now Rigsarkivet, TKUA/SD/England A.II.9, no. 3; he also wrote to Barby at greater length the same day, no. 4. Elizabeth met him twice soon after he arrived.

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VI's reign, and the *Consultation* had already been embodied in the 1548 Communion Order. Ironically, the Edwardian translations included the Danish Church Ordinances, which were published in an appendix to an edition of Calvin's *Treatise on the Sacrament*.⁶⁹

Spithovius' membership of Elizabeth's Edwardian household, together with his conversation with Smith, will undoubtedly revive the question of Elizabeth the quasi-Lutheran. Certainly, her direct exposure to Germanic Lutheranism was—at the minimum—far more extensive than heretofore thought. Yet, whatever Smith's wider review of the prayer-book involved, it was not embodied in the settlement. Any conclusions about the conversation must also take into account the two important statements Elizabeth made on the future settlement in February: the evasive response to Vergerio on the Confession of Augsburg and the Lenten sermons. The choice of the Lenten preachers was not a casual one, and Spithovius was not alone in seeing the sermons, delivered before Elizabeth and a large public audience, as a declaration that no compromise with Catholicism was intended.⁷⁰

Edinburgh
Durham University

SIMON ADAMS
DAVID SCOTT GEHRING

13.20

Appendix: Johannes Spithovius to Andreas Barby, Chancellor of the King of Denmark and Bishop of Lübeck, 27 February 1559

13.25

Copenhagen, Rigsarkivet, TKUA/SD/England A.II.9, art. 1

Text⁷¹

13.30

[fo. 1 recto]

Serenissime Patrone Magnifice domine Cancellarie, Die dominica Inuocauit diligenter tuam ad magnificenciam scripsi Londini, ijs de rebus, quas

13.35

69. *A faythfull and most Godlye treatyse concernyng the most sacred sacrament ... Whereunto the order that the churche ... in Denmark doth use ... is added* (London, 1548?; STC 4411). Although undated, internal references to 'his majesty' suggest Edward's reign. We owe this reference to Neil Younger.

70. See P.E. McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 59–61. Cecil is the obvious person to have acted as the nominator of the preachers, but it is difficult to believe, given the political context, that Elizabeth was not consulted.

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71. Two folios, holograph, in a hurried informal italic hand. A slight fold has obscured two words [indicated in bold] towards the bottom of folio iv, see nn. 90–91 below. We have maintained the capitalisation found in the manuscript, but have silently expanded all abbreviations ('&' excepted) and have inserted punctuation in brackets where it appears a full stop has rubbed away. Spelling has been preserved, where for example 'v' is rendered as 'v' and 'u' as 'u'; accent marks such as those found in è, â and û, however, have been dropped.

13.45

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- 14.5 tam paruo temporis spacio explorare potui. Literas misi Rostochium per hominem fidum, qui promisit diligenter curaturum, vt inde Hafniam in dimum Doctoris Bordingi perferrentur. Nunc quid interea temporis potissimum acciderit, scribam. Quarto die, posteaquam Londinum venissem, serenissimam reginam conueni. Ea clementer me excepit, simulque gratias egit quod quasi postliminio ad ipsius Majestatem reuerti voluissem. Horam aut circiter mecum sub coelo sereno ambulando & colloquendo consumpsit, de varijs rebus, & maxime statu regni istius diligenter perconctata est; & cum serenissimae reginae Daniae nomine istius regni officia ad religionem veram restaurandam, & dignitatem istam suam ornandam, eius Majestati obtulissem, maximas egit gratias pro benevolentia ista reginae & officijs oblati. Cum istius regni statum pacatum, & quomodo rex ipse cum omnibus regibus & principibus concordiam pacemque seruasset, exponerem, ipsa classem tamen isthic instrui affirmauit, & eius instruendae causam se admirari, si cum vicinis principibus istud regnum tam diligenter pacem coleret. Ego vero cum respondiissem eam non ad taedendum quenquam sed ad defensionem instrui, si qua fortasse vis in ista immutatione inferretur, simulque dicerem; pacis tempore de bello maxime esse cogitandum, illa assensit id esse verissimum. Colloquio finito, dimisit me & dixit se alias latius mecum commodiore tempore esse locuturam. Aliquanto tempore post equitem quendam auratum ad me misit qui me ad eius Majestatem accerseret, admissus sum in hortum Westmonasteriensem vbi ambulabat. Ostendi me conspiciendum. Sed occupationes primum cum consiliarijs de negotijs regni, deinde aduentus Legati Imperatoris Ferdinandi Comitis Helfenstein, qui triduo ante primum Londinum appulerat, colloquium cum eius Majestate impediuit. Nam erat hora circiter vndecima, & legatus statim a prandio me vidente ad ipsius Majestatis colloquium admissus, tandem intra dimidiam horam & citius honorifice in diuersorium deductus est. Quid negotij tractet necdum possum cognoscere. Id certum est Legatum Philippi, Comitem Ferres Hispanum, & legatum Ferdinandj honorifice admodum tractari, & magnam, spem fiduciamque hosce homines in Philippo & Ferdinando collocare, quantum quid ego possum subodorari. Gallus vehementer hic metuendus est. Habet enim Scotiam per matrimonium filij sui & reginae mmoris Scotiae, Scoti aperti sunt hostes, Boloniam, Caletum & alia loca munitissima Gallus occupat, a pontifice irritatur, vt si pacem cum Philippo Gallus ineat, ab eadem Anglos excludat, & occasionem tantam sibi nunc datam non negligat. Ob religionis in hoc regno unitationem futuram pontifex omnem mouebit lapidem vt non Gallj modo, verumetiam Ferdinandi & Philippi animum ab hisce hominibus alienet. Et si Ferdinandus ac Philippus cum hisce hominibus amicitiae aliquod foedus ineant, suppetias ijsdem hominibus contra Gallum hostem acerrimum & potentissimum ferant, pontifex sub poena excommunicationis vtrosque terrebit. Scit autem tua dignitas quanti excommunicatio in animis istorum principum valeat. Aut itaque Philippus & Ferdinandus metu excommunicationis continebuntur in officio, aut pontificis autoritate plane abiecta & contempta, papisticoque iugo excusso, Angli subuenient. Quod vix erit verosimile[.]

[fo. I verso]

- 14.45 Herent itaque religionis mutandae nomine in grauissimis periculis,
14.46 si humano more iudicandum est. Etsi nullam plane Angli in religione

mutationem admitterent, tamen Gallus tantas occasiones sibi nunc contra hosce homines sponte oblatas non negligeret. Immiscuerunt enim se bello Philippi contra Gallum non necessario, in quo Caletum amiserunt, vt interim non dicam quantopere hoc regnum maximis opibus iam hoc quinquennio toto sit spoliatum. Parliamentum die 23 Januarij inchoatum adhuc durat, duraturum hac quadragesima, vt opinantur plerique. Quid hactenus actum sit, ignoratur, sed in lucem breui proferetur. De religione mutanda iam actum esse certum est[.] Fuit apud me Doctor Smitthus, qui nostrae serenissime regine de ceremonijs isto in regno & Ecclesijs Saxoniae vsitatis mecum egit, simulque rogauit, vt ordinationem aliquam Saxoniam inuenirent. Ego suasi vt in ceremonijs ordinationem Saxoniam sequerentur, quoad fieri posset, & de sacramento contentiosas disputationes & parum vtilis cohiberent. Ordinationem a Spangenbergio conscriptam, item Coloniensem siue Bonnensem a Bucero & Philippo Melanchthono approbatam conquisiui, vtranque traditurus vt ipse, aliiue videant. Neque enim ausim in aliena republica nimium esse curiosus, maxime in ea, vbi quisque vult esse oculatissimus. De reginae matrimonio futuro nihil adhuc est certi. Multi multa loquuntur sed que proxime scripsi, ita se habent. Si testamento patris obsequetur regina, id quod cupit populus, intra regnum nubendum est; Sed vbi parem inueniet hic, styrpe mascula regia penitus extincta? Caetera nobilitas eaque pauca, & impar est, & ea prudentia destituta, quae in regni administratione requiritur. Alij prudentes quidem sunt, sed generis carent nobilitate, quae addit auctoritatem. Auctoritas autem potentia & prudentia sunt necessaria ad foeliciter imperandum[.] Multi quidem currunt hic, & quorum numero qui acceperit brauium postea a caeteris vix debito honore affieretur. Si ad externum aliquem cumque potentem animum adijceret, sibiue iungeret, populus indignaretur, quem vetera terrent vestigia, & is princeps, quisquis tandem esset, graui bello, quod a Gallo metuendum est, sese implicaret. Quare vtut res cadat, haec mutatio vix futura est sine maximis malis & periculis. Ego in genere quaedam egi, expresse adhuc nihil: Nulla enim data est hactenus oportunitas commoda. Si quid erit in quo istis prodesse me posse sperem, id nullo vnquam tempore a me praetermittetur. Fidem & diligentiam, quam possum & debeo, praestabo. & id vna cum caeteris serenissimae reginae quaeso tua dignitas latius exponat. Hoc enim perinde erit, ac si ipse prolixè ad eius Majestatem scripsissem. Oro quoque vt tua magnifica curet ne haec absentia mea isthic mihi detrimento sit. Si ex verbis plane praescriptis agendum esset mihi, aut agere possem, nunc me rursus itineri accingerem. Sed momenta singula expectanda sunt[.] Quanta hic cotidie sint negotia vix dici potest. Et eorum Finis erit nullus ante finitum parliamentum, in quo de singulis ad tranquillitatem constituendam pertinentibus cotidie tractatur. **Caeremoniae** papisticae necdum sublatae sunt; Quisque enim quam vult **itussificat/missificat**. Et qui ex Germania reuersi sunt libere quoque etiam coram regina ter septimanis singulis contra antichristianam doctrinam concionantur. Regina totius parliamenti & sua auctoritate puram religionem cupit restaurare. Quare praesentem fert statum, donec parliamenti acta & decreta in lucem veniant. Habet tua amplitudo, quae hoc tempore scribere possum, quae oro vt serenissimae reginae exponas, & me meamque operam qualemcumque eius Majestati commendes.

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[fo. 2 recto]

16.5 Si fieri posset, vellem cum eius Majestate hisce de rebus ageres, & illius voluntatem apertam, tuumque in agendo consilium ad me perscriberes litteris Londinum missis vpt [apvt] Stalhoff ad Baltazarum Remstorp Luneburgensis qui fideliter eas traditurus est. Literae commodissimae mittentur Antverpiam, & inde per postam (vt vocant) facile & cito Londinum perferentur. Ignoscat quaeso tuo Amplitudo, quod ea vtar ad tuam Amplitudinem scribendj audacia, & haec raptim & tumultuario scripta aequae bonique consulat. Bene valeat Tuae amplitudo. Londini 27 Februarij Anno 1559[.]

16.10

Tuae dignitati semper obseruantissimus,

Johannes Monasteriensis

16.15 Translation⁷²

[fo. 1 recto]

16.20 Most serene patron and magnificent Lord Chancellor, on *Invocavit* Sunday I diligently wrote to your magnificence from London about what I had been able to discover in the short time I had been here.⁷³ I sent my letters by way of a faithful man of Rostock, who promised to arrange that they would be delivered from there to Doctor Bording's house in Copenhagen.⁷⁴ Now I shall address what has happened of note in the meantime. On the fourth day, after I came to London I met the most serene queen.⁷⁵ She received me happily, and the same time gave thanks that I had wished to return to her, as if I were returning to my homeland after exile.⁷⁶ We spent an hour or so walking under a fair sky and talking about various matters. She diligently enquired about the state of that realm [i.e. Denmark] in particular. After I had presented the queen's offer of service to her in the name of Denmark for the restoring of true religion and adorning its dignity, she was extremely thankful for the queen's goodwill and offer. When I remarked on the peaceful condition of the realm and the manner in which the king had preserved peace and concord with all kings

16.35 72. Owing to Spithovius' liberal use of honorific adjectives and his inversions, translation is not straightforward. While we have attempted to be as literal as possible, some passages have been slightly paraphrased.

73. The first Sunday of Lent, 12 February. Presumably this letter, which has not been located, was written immediately upon his arrival in London.

74. For Bording, see above, n. 20.

16.40 75. Assuming Spithovius arrived on the 12th, this would have been 16 February. Elizabeth spent the first months at Whitehall (still regularly termed Westminster). She regularly used the privy garden for informal audiences, the best-known example being with James Melville in September 1564; see *Memoirs of his own Life by Sir James Melville of Halhill*, ed. T. Thomson, Bannatyne Club, xviii (1827), p. 116.

16.45 76. They probably conversed in Latin, for how much English Spithovius had learnt is unknown. He was probably responsible for Elizabeth's limited knowledge of German. Early in 1564, she told an envoy from Württemberg in French: 'car j'entend asses bien l'aleman ... encore que je ne le parle point', Diemer, 'Die Heiratsverhandlungen', p. 353 (cf. Klarwill, *Queen Elizabeth*, p. 194). Sir James Melville, who could speak German, described her 'Dutche' as 'not gud': *Memoirs*, ed. Thomson, p. 125.

16.46

and princes, she asserted nevertheless that a fleet was being constructed for some purpose.⁷⁷ She wondered why it was being constructed if that realm were persistently fostering peace with neighbouring princes. But when I had answered that it was being prepared for defence not offence in case some force might be brought to bear during that change, and said at the same time that war is especially to be thought of in time of peace, she agreed that that was very true. With the conversation finished, she dismissed me and said she would speak more fully at a more convenient time. Some time afterwards, she sent a certain knight bachelor to summon me to her, [and] I was admitted into the garden at Westminster where she was walking. I presented myself, but preoccupations with her councillors on the affairs of the realm and then the arrival of the Emperor Ferdinand's ambassador count Helfenstein, who had landed near London three days previously, prevented me from conversing with her.⁷⁸ It was then about 11 o'clock, and the ambassador having dined in my presence, immediately afterwards was admitted to an audience with her Majesty and within half an hour was led honourably into the lodgings.⁷⁹ I have not yet been able to learn the matters he spoke of.⁸⁰ It is certain that Philip's ambassador, the Spanish count of Feria, and Ferdinand's ambassador are to be treated very honourably, and so far as I can ascertain these men [the English] place great hope and trust in Philip and Ferdinand. The Frenchman is greatly feared here. Indeed, he controls Scotland through the marriage of his son and the so-called queen of Scots, the Scots are open enemies, and he holds Boulogne, Calais and other well-fortified places. He is urged by the Pope to exclude the English if he enters into a peace with Philip; and given such an occasion now, he would not disregard it. For the sake of future unity of the religion of this realm, the Pope will move every stone to turn not only the Frenchman, but also Ferdinand and Philip against these men. And if Ferdinand and Philip enter into any alliance of friendship with these men for aid against their vigorous and powerful French enemy, the Pope will frighten them both with excommunication. However, your honour knows how much excommunication weighs on the minds of those princes. Therefore, either Philip and Ferdinand will be constrained in their duty by fear of excommunication, or, with the authority of the Pope plainly cast away and held in contempt and with the papal yoke shaken off, they will assist the English. The latter seems hardly likely.

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77. The king in question was Christian III, not Frederick II, who was not crowned until the summer. Christian III's expansion of the navy is discussed in Lockhart, *Frederik II*, pp. 18 and 56–7.

78. Helfenstein arrived in London on 22 February, and his first audience took place on the 25th.

79. On the 26th, Helfenstein sent Ferdinand a detailed account of his audience. It was arranged for 2 p.m. He was escorted to Whitehall and then after waiting in the watching chamber was taken into the presence chamber where Elizabeth received him; see Klarwill, *Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 34–5. Spithovius uses *prandium* (lunch) rather than *cena*; according to English usage this would have been dinner rather than supper.

80. Helfenstein was widely believed to be bringing a proposal for one of the Austrian archdukes, but (like Spithovius) he was only sent to assess English receptivity to a proposal: Klarwill, *Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 35 and 38.

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[fo. 1 verso]

As a result, the alteration of religion remains in the gravest of dangers, if one is to judge from a human perspective. Even if the English were to adopt no clear change in religion, nevertheless the Frenchman would not disregard the opportunities that are now freely presented to him against these men. Indeed, they involved themselves unnecessarily in Philip's war against the French, in which war they lost Calais, such that in the meantime I cannot say how greatly this realm has been despoiled of its resources during these past five years.⁸¹ The Parliament that opened on 23 January still continues and will continue throughout Lent, as many suppose.⁸² What has been done thus far is unknown, but will be brought to light shortly. It is certain that the alteration of religion has been concluded.⁸³ Doctor Smith has visited me and spent some time regarding the ceremonies used there in our queen's realm [Denmark] and in the churches of Saxony and asked at the same time whether they might find a particular Saxon church order. I urged that they follow the Saxon order in their ceremonies as far as possible and that they restrain contentious and useless disputations on the Sacrament. I have acquired the order written by Spangenberg,⁸⁴ and also the Cologne or Bonn order approved by Bucer and Philip Melancthon, each of which I will hand over so that he and the others can see them.⁸⁵ Indeed, I do not dare to be overly meddlesome in a foreign country, especially in this one, where everybody wishes to be most observant of the situation. On the future marriage of the queen, nothing is yet certain. Many people are saying many things, but matters remain as I wrote in my last letter.⁸⁶ If the queen observes the will of her father, which is what the people desire, she ought to be married within the kingdom.⁸⁷ But where will she find an equal here, the male royal lineage having died out entirely? The remaining nobility, what

81. These claims had been in circulation since Elizabeth's accession; see 'Feria Dispatch', 311 and 333.

82. In the writs of summons, Parliament was to open on 23 January, but it was delayed for two days owing to Elizabeth's indisposition: T.E. Hartley, ed., *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I, 1558–1581* (Leicester, 1981), p. 3. The belief that it would be a short session was belied by the slow process of the bills through the Commons.

83. The day after Spithovius wrote, the Commons' 'composite bill' had its first reading in the Lords: Jones, *Faith by Statute*, p. 95.

84. Johann Spangenberg (1484–1550), pastor of Nordhausen. His only work translated into English was *The Sum of Diuinitie Drawn out of the Holy Scripture very necessary, not only for Curates & Yong students in Diuinitie: but also for al Christen Men and Women what soeuer age the be of* (London, 1548; STC 23004).

85. This was presumably the church order for Cologne drafted by Bucer with Melancthon's assistance, circulated in manuscript in 1543 as the 'Einfeltiges Bedenken' and published the following year under the name of Hermann von Wied, Archbishop of Cologne (1477–1552) as the *Simplex ac Pia Deliberatio*. Two editions of an English translation, *A Simple, and Religious Consultation of vs Herman by the Grace of God Archebishop of Colone, and Prince Electour* (London, 1547 and 1548; STC 13213–4) were published in 1547–8 and heavily influenced Archbishop Cranmer's 'Order of Communion' of 1548. See Constant, *Reformation*, ii, 60–1, and MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 385.

86. Presumably the letter he wrote upon his arrival on 12 February, which may have included a reference to Elizabeth's response to the parliamentary petition on marriage on the 10th.

87. Assuming Spithovius meant the will of Henry VIII, he was misinformed; for, although Henry had not prohibited domestic marriages for his daughters, the dowries he bequeathed them were to be bestowed on their 'being maryed to any outward Potentate': T. Rymer, ed., *Foedera: Conuentione, literae, et cujuscunq[ue] generis acta publica* (20 vols., London, 1704–35), xv, 116.

few there are, are of inferior rank, and are without the prudence required for the administration of the realm. There are certainly others who are prudent, but they lack nobility of descent, which brings authority. Authority, power and prudence, however, are all necessary for the good running of a state. To be sure, many are hastening to this place, and from that number he who will take the prize will afterwards hardly be recognised with due honour by the others.⁸⁸ If she were to look upon someone foreign, and one with a capable character, to join him to herself, the people would be indignant, for they are frightened by the remains of the past, and this prince, whoever in the end he might be, would be implicating himself in a serious war which is to be feared from the Frenchman. Hence however the affair should fall out, this change will hardly take place without the greatest evils and dangers. I have done a few things in a general way, but as yet nothing specific. Indeed, no convenient opportunity has yet been given. If anything occurs in which I might hope to be successful in this matter, it will at no time be omitted by me. I shall exhibit fidelity and diligence as much as I am able and ought to do.⁸⁹ And so I ask that Your Honour explain this and the other matters more fully to the queen. Indeed, it will be just as if I had written at length to her Majesty. I beg also that your magnificence take care, lest my absence from where you are is to my detriment. If from the words plainly written above there might be something for me to do, or that I might be able to urge, I would prepare myself now to return [i.e. to Denmark]. But every moment is one of expectation. The greatness of what goes on here daily can hardly be expressed, and there will be no end before this Parliament is finished, in which every issue pertaining to the establishment of tranquillity is discussed daily. [The ceremonies]⁹⁰ of the Papists are not yet taken away; for everybody [does/celebrates the mass] as he wishes.⁹¹ And those who have returned out of Germany also are preaching in public freely, even before the queen three times per week, against the doctrine of the Antichrist.⁹² The queen desires to restore the pure religion by her own authority and that of the whole Parliament. Therefore, this represents the present situation until the acts and decrees of Parliament come to light. Your honour has all that I am able to write at present, which I beg that you relate to the queen and that you commend me and my service to her Majesty.

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[fo. 2 recto]

If it could be arranged, I wish that you could spend some time with her Majesty on these matters, and once her desire is known, that you inform me in full of her clear desire and of your advice on a course of action by way of a letter sent to Balthazar Remstorp of Luneburg at the Steelyard in

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88. From the previous sentences it seems Spithovius was still referring to possible domestic candidates.

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89. If cryptic, these sentences suggest Spithovius was to raise a candidate, presumably Frederick.

90. Owing to the two illegible words in the MS, this sentence poses difficulties. The first word is most likely *Caeremoniae*, 'ceremonies', 'practices' or 'traditions'.

91. The final verb could be either *itussificat* ('does what he pleases') or *missificat* ('celebrates the mass'). Either reading echoes Il Schifanoja's comments of 6 February, *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1558-80*, pp. 26-7.

19.45

92. I.e. the Lenten sermons.

19.46

London, who will faithfully deliver them. That most desirable letter should be sent to Antwerp, from where it will be brought easily and quickly to London through the post (as they say). I beg your honour's pardon that I have used such audacity in writing to you and beg that you might fairly and justly consider this hasty and haphazard writing. Farewell your honour. From London, 27 February in the year 1559.

Ever most observant to your honour,

Johannes Monasteriensis

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