INTRODUCTION

The documents edited in this volume were written during or shortly after missions from Elizabethan England and Jacobean Scotland to the Protestant princes of the Holy Roman Empire and Denmark. Through the particular perspectives of their authors, these accounts provide helpful if general descriptions while offering minute but critical details of two countries hitherto relatively unfamiliar to most sixteenth-century Englishmen and Scots.[1] Much of the intelligence and many of the observations contained in these materials also remain obscure to modern scholarship. This edition is intended to highlight the importance of such information not only to the formation and execution of government policy but also to the intellectual formation and professional trajectory of the authors themselves. Because these documents are relevant to a number of distinct yet related fields of current scholarship, the following introduction offers an overview of English and Scottish diplomacy with Germany and Denmark before addressing the specific missions and authors, trends in diplomatic history, and the nature and purpose of travel writing during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The introduction closes with a discussion of the documents as sources of intelligence, their significance, their locations, the editorial conventions, and the critical apparatus.

Elizabethan and Jacobean Diplomacy with Germany and Denmark

The extraordinarily complex nature of politics and religion in the Holy Roman Empire during the second half of the sixteenth century made for often difficult and sometimes impossible diplomatic relations. The variety of perspectives and motives among the territorial princes at any given time, in addition to the shifts from one generation

[1]The obvious exception here are Marian exiles, who had deep familiarity with various locations in the Empire. As will be seen, two of the three authors (Robert Beale and Daniel Rogers) had spent time in Germany during Mary's reign. On Beale's authorship, see below, pp. 11–16.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

to the next, meant that achieving consensus and unity of purpose was more often an ideal than a reality. Political differences among the Protestant electors, dukes, landgraves, and so on often centred on the degree to which they were involved in affairs outside their own territories; and in this respect the relative proximity to conflicts in France and the Netherlands were a primary criterion. Religious disagreements among these same princes, despite their common Protestantism, dated back to the lack of unity among Lutherans during the 1540s and 1550s; and from the 1560s forward these disputes took a more fractious and severe turn, such that, although strict Lutherans in Saxony would have little to do with French Huguenots or the Dutch Reformed, more Reformed-minded princes in the Palatinate and Hesse were more inclined to lend support to the Protestant cause elsewhere. The labyrinthine, shifting nature of politics and religion in the Empire, therefore, caused considerable problems for any attempts (English, Scottish, or otherwise) to secure the co-operation of – or a confederation with – the princes, who were also prohibited by the imperial constitution from creating alliances with powers external to the Empire itself. Put lightly, establishing and fostering productive diplomatic relations with the Protestant princes of Germany (and to a lesser extent Denmark) was an uphill battle, but these challenges did not mean such a relationship was not worth the undertaking.

English relations with Germany during the reign of Elizabeth built upon foundations laid decades before when her father, Henry VIII, entertained ideas of allying with the Lutherans of the Schmalkaldic League.[2] Although the Elizabethan regime and Lutheran princes were Protestant, and at times vigorously opposed to Catholicism and its political manifestations, Anglo-German diplomacy was most often characterized by general consensus on principles but hesitation on formal, written agreements. Seeing eye to eye and collaborating casually during the wars of religion was one thing; signing names to a treaty and announcing it to the world was another. Nor were religious issues the only matters of contention, for commercial disagreements between the English Merchant Adventurers and German Hanseatic

[2]The fullest account is Rory McEntegart, *Henry VIII, the League of Schmalkalden and the English Reformation* (Woodbridge, 2002); see also Rory McEntegart , 'Towards an ideological foreign policy: Henry VIII and Lutheran Germany, 1531–47', in Susan Doran and Glenn Richardson (eds), *Tudor England and its Neighbours* (Basingstoke, 2005), 74–105. For an overview of studies on Anglo-German relations during the Reformation, see David Scott Gehring, 'From the strange death to the odd afterlife of Lutheran England', *Historical Journal*, 57:3 (2014), 825–844. For the following paragraphs, David Scott Gehring, *Anglo-German Relations and the Protestant Cause: Elizabethan Foreign Policy and Pan-Protestantism* (London, 2013).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

League arose time and again, particularly during the 1590s. Indeed, in some respects commercial disputes were just as significant and consistent a theme as religious collaboration among powers in England, Germany, and Denmark.[3]

Henry Killigrew's embassy of 1569 was but one link in a chain of diplomatic exchanges between Elizabeth and the Protestant princes of Germany. In fact, the queen had sent Killigrew once previously; during the winter of 1558–1559, his charge was 'to win the minds of the German princes, out of their affection to the purer religion', and to negotiate 'touchinge a league to be made betwene her Majestie and them'.[4] During the ten years between Killigrew's missions, embassies and a string of correspondence continued to build bridges, as did regular letters of intelligence from the queen's resident agent in Germany, Christopher Mundt, and the general and sincere agreement to oppose the Council of Trent. After the lack of concrete agreement in 1569, Anglo-German diplomatic relations became increasingly complex due to the hardening of Lutheran orthodoxy among many (though not all) of the Protestant princes. As some in Saxony, Brandenburg, and Württemberg became more theologically and politically exclusive, others in the Rhenish Palatinate and Hesse continued a moderate and collaborative perspective open to dialogue with Protestants outside a theologically narrow furrow.[5] The culmination of theological disputes and political wrangling among the German princes culminated in the Formula of Concord (1577) and Book of Concord (1580), but the English did not cease in their efforts to ally and work with Protestants in the Empire on behalf of Protestants in France and the Netherlands. Although the authors of the Formula of Concord had intended primarily to be unitive (while condemning outsiders), others saw it as discordant. Daniel Rogers relayed in 1578

[3]T.H. Lloyd, *England and the German Hanse, 1157–1611: A Study of their Trade and Commercial Diplomacy* (Cambridge, 1991), 292–362, esp. 341–343. See also below, pp. 5–6 n. 10 and 32–33 n. 98.

[4]William Camden, *The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth Late Queen of England, Selected Chapters*, ed. W.T. MacCaffrey (Chicago, IL, 1970), 12. Killigrew's service record, BL, Lansdowne MS 106, item 32, fo. 132r.

[5]For an excellent and up-to-date discussion, see Irene Dingel, 'The culture of conflict in the controversies leading to the Formula of Concord (1548–1580)', in Robert Kolb (ed.), *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture, 1550–1675* (Leiden, 2008), 15–64. Dated but still useful, Robert Kolb, 'Dynamics of party conflict in the Saxon late Reformation: Gnesio-Lutherans vs. Philippists', in *Luther's Heirs Define his Legacy: Studies on Lutheran Confessionalization* (Aldershot, 1996), ch. 1. For a longer chronological overview, Henry J. Cohn, 'The territorial princes in Germany's second Reformation, 1559–1622', in Menna Prestwich (ed.), *International Calvinism, 1541–1715* (Oxford, 1985), 135–165.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

that some in Germany were talking not of the *Formula Concordiae* or *Corpus Doctrinae*, but of the *Porcus Doctrinae*, so it made sense from the English perspective to continue diplomatic links and dialogue with those willing to listen.[6]

During the 1580s and early 1590s, Elizabethan foreign policy as directed towards Germany adapted to the new and ever-changing situation; and the queen, her councillors, and her ambassadors learned the best avenues to pursue. Embassies in both directions between England and Protestant Germany continued, as did friendly correspondence and useful intelligence. Some Germans helped the cause in France and the Netherlands directly by way of cash, supplies, and their own forces, while others preferred indirect involvement by prohibiting Catholic powers' levying troops and securing loans in Germany. A full confederation and formal league was usually the goal (from Killigrew's first mission to the 1590s); this alliance, however, was not an end in and of itself but rather a means to support other Protestants in France and the Netherlands. If parties could not agree on the particulars of a written agreement, then less co-ordinated means of support would (and did) serve the same purpose.[7] In many respects the Cologne War, 1583–1589 (the longest time span suggested, though various historians date the end of the war differently), brought Europe's wars of religion home to the Empire; and after the death in 1586 of the champion of the Formula and Book of Concord, August, Elector of Saxony, a renewed sense of purpose came to a greater number of Protestant princes than had been so inclined previously. The result of these developments during the 1580s was a meeting and agreement in January and February 1591 at Torgau, just north-west of Dresden, where English hopes dating back to Killigrew's first mission equalled German resolve among a new set of confederates alongside long-time stalwarts. Due to various logistical and financial problems, however, what the English ambassador, Horatio Palavicino, dubbed 'the finest army Europe had seen for fifty years' turned out to be little more than a distraction for the Catholic League in

[6]Rogers to Walsingham, 6 April 1578, TNA, SP 81/1/54.

[7]This admittedly brief synopsis cannot possibly do full justice to the complexity of diplomacy with German powers in the context of wider European relations. Franco-German ties in the west of the Empire were more established than Anglo-German contacts under Elizabeth (particularly early in the reign), while the Prince of Orange had his own family relations and contacts. English negotiations, therefore, always needed to take into account existing relationships among the Protestant princes in Germany, the French king and nobility, and the Dutch.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

France.[8] The young elector of Saxony, Christian, died during the campaign and his death was compounded shortly afterwards by the expiry of Queen Elizabeth's two key allies dating back to the 1560s – Wilhelm, Landgrave of Hesse, and Johann Casimir, Count Palatine and Administrator of the Palatinate. Although the war raged in France for several more years, the sour experience of 1591–1592, along with a more settled situation for the Dutch Republic, meant that Anglo-German diplomacy for the cause of religion fell into abeyance. Regarding the first document edited below, 'the state of Germany', the importance of German allies to English efforts elsewhere on the European mainland after 1569 ensured that intelligence like that contained in the account was integrated into the formulation and implementation of Elizabeth's foreign policy. Anglo-Danish relations similarly warmed during the 1580s, but the lasting significance of 'the state of Germany' cannot be applied to the second document below, the 'discourse' on Denmark, after 1588.

Denmark was one of the first countries to send an ambassador to Queen Elizabeth after her accession on 17 November 1558. The envoy, Johannes Spithovius, had formerly been tutor of Greek and Latin to Princess Elizabeth, but he was now Professor at the University of Copenhagen. He came to convey congratulations from Queen Dorothea of Denmark and to assess the likelihood of an alliance between the two countries. In London in 1559 on two separate missions, Spithovius renewed friendships with William Cecil and others while sending back intelligence to Denmark and hinting at (then proposing) the marriage suit of the young King Frederik II. Nothing concrete came of the proposal and these two embassies, though they are to some extent suggestive of later Anglo-Danish relations.[9]

After the auspicious beginnings in Elizabeth's reunions with her tutor, diplomacy with Denmark for the next two decades was most often concerned with commercial disputes, fishing rights, maritime piracy, and the Sound dues payable to the Danish king.[10] The last

[8]Palavicino to Burghley, 13 June 1591, TNA, SP 81/7, fos 29r–30v; quotation from Lawrence Stone, *An Elizabethan: Sir Horatio Palavicino* (Oxford, 1956), 173.

[9]On Spithovius, see *ODNB*; Simon Adams and David Scott Gehring, 'Elizabeth I's former tutor reports on the parliament of 1559: Johannes Spithovius to the chancellor of Denmark, 27 February 1559', *English Historical Review*, 128:530 (2013), 35–54.

[10]For overviews of these diplomatic difficulties, see Walther Kirchner, 'England and Denmark, 1558–1588', *Journal of Modern History*, 17:1 (1945), 1–15; Edward P. Cheyney, 'England and Denmark in the later days of Queen Elizabeth', *Journal of Modern History*, 1:1 (1929), 9–39; NB Cheyney confuses Daniel Rogers with his brother, Dr John Rogers on pp. 2–4 and 12–13. For the evolution of, and negative international reaction to, the Sound dues, see Paul Douglas Lockhart, *Frederik II and the Protestant Cause: Denmark's Role in the Wars of Religion, 1559–1596* (Leiden, 2004), 25, 41–42; and Paul Douglas Lockhart *Denmark,*

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

of these issues was the most troublesome, particularly after 1567, when King Frederik finalized the *lastetold*, which resulted in English and Dutch cloth merchants' being taxed at a significantly higher rate. The 1560s and most of the 1570s represented a hiatus in warm relations and diplomacy from religious causes, but from 1577 onwards Anglo-Danish connections found renewed vigour in Frederik II's inclination to stand with Elizabeth in opposition to the Formula of Concord.[11] Just as Elizabeth's Church of England was broadly and inclusively Protestant, Frederik's Church was moderately Lutheran; and just as Elizabeth looked to quell discord among Protestants, so too did Frederik. Accordingly, the king viewed Gnesio-Lutheran theological innovations (such as the Ubiquity of Christ, a doctrine espoused by Luther and later developed by Johann Brenz) and confessional condemnations (against other Protestant denominations) as destructive to the unity of the Holy Roman Empire, of which he was a prince due to his territories in Holstein. During the 1580s Anglo-Danish diplomacy continued to be troubled with financial and maritime disputes, but the bond of religious solidarity grew into an increasingly personal warmth between the two countries.

Frederik II was invested with the Order of the Garter in 1582 by Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby. Bertie again visited the king and negotiated particulars of military collaboration with some success in the winter of 1585–1586. The embassy of Thomas Bodley earlier in 1585 was also suggestive of the increasingly friendly ties between England and Denmark. Bodley's mission, like Bertie's second, was to secure military aid to the king of Navarre by warning Frederik of the dangers to the Protestant International and urging him to forge a more specific agreement.[12] As Bodley's letters back to England detailed, his experience in Denmark was a good one and representative of the culture of the king's court. He had been feted with banquets, cannon shot, and lots of alcohol; for as Lockhart notes, 'as was customary at

1513–1660: The Rise and Decline of a Renaissance Monarchy (Oxford, 2007), 106–111. For calendars of relevant items in Rigsarkivet, Statens Arkiver, Copenhagen, TKUA, SD, England AI, AII; TKUA, AD, Kopibog Latina 7–8, see William Dunn Macray, 'Report on the royal archives of Denmark', *The Forty-Fifth Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (London, 1885), Appendix ii, 1–59; and *The Forty-Sixth Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (London, 1886), Appendix ii, 21–41.

[11] On Frederik, the Formula of Concord, and Protestant alliance, see Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 157–189.

[12] The final instructions for Bodley, 27 April 1585, BL, Cotton MS Titus, F. XII, fos 46r–49r; cf. Robert Beale's preparatory notes for 'the gent that goethe to the kinge of Denmarke', April 1585, TNA, SP 81/3/65. For discussions of the missions of Bodley and Willoughby, see Gehring, *Anglo-German Relations*, 97–105, nn. on 194–197); Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 227–230, 235–241. On Willoughby and Frederik's investiture, Gehring, *Anglo-German Relations*, 85–87, nn. on 189–190.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

the Danish court, alcohol – provided in literally staggering quantities – served as both equaliser and social lubricant'.[13] In addition to Bodley's 'drunk talk' with Frederik, current and useful information on the king and his councillors was conveyed in Bodley's reports. Although Anglo-Danish spirits were at an all-time high, and despite an increasing number of embassies between the two countries since 1577, the amount of information on Denmark possessed by English authorities was significantly less than what they had on Germany. This deficit was a major reason Daniel Rogers wrote his 'discourse' in September 1588, but circumstances outside English control – Frederik II's death and the Danish regency's retreat from foreign affairs – meant that his account simply was not as useful during the 1590s as 'the state of Germany' had been during the 1570s. Indeed, if 'the state of Germany' was the harbinger of Anglo-German diplomacy to come, then the 'discourse' on Denmark signalled the conclusion of Anglo-Danish relations during the reign of Elizabeth.[14] Looking to the north, however, James VI of Scotland was only getting started.

Scotland's international relations during the 1580s and 1590s have not attracted the same attention as England's, but as Cynthia Fry has correctly noted, 'whilst a comprehensive survey of James's foreign policies is lacking, the waters are not altogether uncharted'.[15] Due to James's eventual accession as king of England, his relationship with Queen Elizabeth has long attracted interest, as have his relations with Denmark, especially in the context of his marriage with Anne of Denmark late in 1589.[16] Scottish military involvement and diplomatic contacts with the Dutch Republic have also been of interest to scholars in both the nineteenth and twenty-first centuries, though links with Germany have been comparatively little studied outside trade or

[13]Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 228. Bodley to Walsingham, 28 June 1585, TNA, SP 75/1/55.

[14]On the potential circulation of these accounts, see below, pp. 37–39.

[15]Cynthia Fry, 'Diplomacy and deception: King James VI of Scotland's foreign relations with Europe (*c.*1584–1603)', PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2014, 12.

[16]See for examples, Helen Georgia Stafford, *James VI of Scotland and the Throne of England* (New York, 1940); Susan Doran 'Loving and affectionate cousins? The relationship between Elizabeth I and James VI of Scotland 1586–1603', in Doran and Richardson, *Tudor England and its Neighbours*, 203–234; David Stevenson, *Scotland's Last Royal Wedding: The Marriage of James VI and Anne of Denmark* (Edinburgh, 1996); for a longer chronological view, see Thomas Riis, *Should Auld Acquaintance be Forgot: Scottish-Danish Relations c.1450–1707*, 2 vols (Odense, 1988). On other Scottish links with Scandinavia, see also works by Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch, including their edited volume, *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden, 2005). Currently less well known is Frederik Bredahl Petersen's doctoral thesis on John Macalpine, who (it is argued) was the initiator of the Melanchthonian tradition in Danish theology and spiritual father of Niels Hemmingsen, 'Dr. Johannes Macchabæus, John MacAlpin: Scotland's contribution to the Reformation in Denmark', PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1937; summarized briefly in Thorkild Lyby Christensen, 'Scots in Denmark in the sixteenth century', *Scottish Historical Review*, 49:148 (1970), 125–145, at 138.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

special case studies.[17] The third document included below, the journal written by John Skene in 1590, relates to many of these issues due to the nature of his mission.

James's long entertainment of the idea of a marriage with Anne of Denmark needs little rehearsing here, but worth bearing in mind are his discussions with Danish and German powers while he was in Denmark, as well as the fact that marriage to Anne meant that James was brother-in-law not only to her brother, Christian IV, but also Heinrich Julius, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, who married Anne's older sister, Elizabeth, early in 1590.[18] From 1586 forward, James's dealings with foreign powers cautiously attempted to situate the young king as an up-and-coming advocate for the Protestant cause, a supporter who would and then did marry into one of the wealthiest and strongest royal families in Protestant Europe, corresponded with the Dutch and Henri of Navarre (including letters about a match with Catherine de Bourbon, Henri's sister, in 1587), and eventually would accede to the English throne upon Elizabeth's death.[19]

Before Skene's mission, much of James's energy was directed towards Denmark, but James viewed King Frederik's mediation efforts during the 1580s, when the Dane tried to bring peace to the Anglo-Spanish war, as a model of sorts for his own involvement in 1590. Indeed, just as Frederik had wanted (with decidedly Protestant sympathies) to bring peace to the conflict between England and Spain, so too did James.[20]

[17] On the Netherlands, see James Ferguson (ed.), *Papers Illustrating the History of the Scots Brigade in the Service of the United Netherlands, 1572–1782* . . . , 1: *1572–1697* (Edinburgh, 1899); Katrien A.L. Daemen-De Gelder, 'The letters of Adriaan Damman (†1605), Dutch ambassador at the court of James VI and I', *Lias: Sources and Documents Relating to the Early Modern History of Ideas*, 31:2 (2004), 239–248. On Germany, Kathrin Zickermann, *Across the German Sea: Early Modern Scottish Connections with the Wider Elbe-Weser Region* (Leiden, 2013); and Kathrin Zickermann, '"Britannia ist mein patria": Scotsmen and the "British" community in Hamburg', in Grosjean and Murdoch (eds), *Scottish Communities Abroad*, 249–276.

[18] *NDB*, VIII (1969), 352–354; online at *DB*.

[19] A convenient if incomplete miscellany of James VI's correspondence and foreign policy materials between 1587 and 1603 can be found in Annie I. Cameron (ed.), *The Warrender Papers*, II (Edinburgh, 1932). For an example of how James's writings of the 1590s were received on the European mainland – and how he embraced his reputation as a potential leader among Protestants – see Astrid Stilma, *A King Translated: The Writings of King James VI & I and their Interpretation in the Low Countries, 1593–1603* (Farnham, 2012).

[20] For the militant Protestantism of the young James, see Malcolm Smuts, 'The making of *Rex Pacificus*: James VI and I and the problem of peace in an age of religious war', in Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier (eds), *Royal Subjects: Essays on the Writings of James VI and I* (Detroit, MI, 2002), 371–387; Lukas M. Schneider, 'Der Zweifrontenkrieg als Damoklesschwert über England? Schottland in der spanischen Konfliktstrategie während des ersten Armada-Feldzuges von 1588', *Militärgeschichtliche Mitteilungen*, 57 (1998), 1–22. James's relations with Spain grew increasingly important during the 1590s as King Philip II's daughter, Isabella,

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

The mission by Skene and Colonel William Stewart was explicitly intended to bring peace to the Netherlands and France; if a coalition of Scots, Danes, and Germans could not broker an end to conflict, though, a Protestant alliance was then to serve Henri IV and Elizabeth of England. Implicit though hardly less important was James's desire to secure Danish and German support for his eventual accession. Skene's collaboration with the English was therefore intended to show the queen that James was on her side from the very beginning of the mission, and the daily account of the embassy illustrates this very point. Later during the 1590s, two key episodes demonstrate James's continued fostering of relations with Denmark and Germany while displaying his Protestant credentials. First, in 1594, the baptism of his firstborn son, Henry Frederick, drew representatives from Denmark, Germany, and England to Edinburgh and Stirling to enjoy the celebrations. Second, in 1598, James sent ambassadors to Denmark and Germany in an effort to (re-)secure their support for his right to the English throne and against any claim from Spain.[21]

Relations and diplomatic contacts between Elizabethan England, Jacobean Scotland, Oldenburg Denmark, and the various princes of the Holy Roman Empire were necessarily intertwined with the Protestant cause elsewhere in Europe. The documents included in this volume help to demonstrate these internal and external complexities, and they show how the experiences and perspectives of individuals could be rendered useful to the state. The value of these accounts to future foreign policy studies conducted in a rather traditional mould will be clear, but those engaged with more recent scholarly trajectories will also find useful the details of diplomacy and personal contacts.

was positioned as (an admittedly weak) claimant to the English throne; she was a distant descendant of Edward III. In 1595 James sent an ambassador to Madrid and Rome to discourage any Spanish attempts after Elizabeth's death. James's relations with Spain and the Papacy are too complex to explore further here, but as Fry observes, the king did at times employ some 'coy diplomatic posturing' with Spain. Fry, 'Diplomacy and deception', 22. See also Concepción Saenz-Cambra, 'James VI's *ius suum conservare*: His intrigues with Spain, 1580–1603', *International Review of Scottish Studies*, 30 (2005), 86–107.

[21] For sources and discussion of the baptism in an international context, see Cameron, *Warrender Papers*, II, 232–262; Fry, 'Diplomacy and deception', 98–105. For all the international intentions of King James, it is curious that his propaganda piece by William Fowler, *A True Reportarie of the Most Triumphant, and Royal Accomplishment of the Baptism of* [. . .] *Frederik Henry* (Edinburgh and London, 1594) (STC 11214.6–11214.8), was neither translated into Latin nor printed abroad. On the embassy by David Cunningham and Peter Young in 1598, Cameron, *Warrender Papers*, II, 358–380; Fry, 'Diplomacy and deception', 118–121. Henry Frederick's wide international connections from a tender age are evident in BL, Harley MSS 7007 and 7008.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

Missions and Authors

The first account was written between June and November 1569, when the author was unofficially attached to Henry Killigrew's embassy to the Protestant princes of Germany. Killigrew's mission to forge a Protestant league among the German princes and Queen Elizabeth is well known, so there is little need to go into detail here.[22] To rehearse the outlines, though, Elizabeth sent Killigrew to the Palatinate early in 1569 in response to initiatives taken in Germany the previous year, when the Elector Palatine's representative, Johannes Junius, had been sent to England and sought funding from the English for sending an army into France; this army was to be led by Johann Casimir, the second son of Elector Friedrich III. Killigrew, along with Christopher Mundt, spent much of the year negotiating with German princes and their representatives in the Palatinate and Saxony. Although the longed-for military confederation with written articles did not come to fruition, some positive results emerged, and the Elizabethan regime continued to learn a good deal about the contours and fractures among the German Lutherans and Reformed.

The base of English intelligence on Germany prior to 1569 was not inconsiderable: Killigrew had previously served in Germany for the Marian and Elizabethan governments, so the territory was not new to him, while Mundt (a native of Cologne with a Koblenz accent) had been the English agent in Germany since the 1530s; additionally, although Roger Ascham's knowledge of the Empire was dated (and Ascham died in 1568), a precedent had been established in his letters of intelligence.[23] Similar to a previous mission in 1562 from Elizabeth to the Germans (when union in opposition to the Council of Trent and support of the Huguenots were the primary motives), Killigrew's and Mundt's charges in 1569 were to negotiate with the Protestant princes regarding an anti-Catholic league and

[22] For the most exhaustive account, see E.I. Kouri, *England and the Attempts to Form a Protestant Alliance in the Late 1560s: A Case Study in European Diplomacy* (Helsinki, 1981). For Killigrew's role, A.C. Miller, *Sir Henry Killigrew: Elizabethan Soldier and Diplomat* (Leicester, 1963), 101–122. For a more recent overview, Gehring, *Anglo-German Relations*, 44–47, nn. on 176–177.

[23] Killigrew travelled to France in December 1553 to gain support for an uprising against Mary, but after the failed Wyatt rebellion he entered the household of the Protestant François de Vendôme, vidame de Chartres, and later moved to Strasbourg where he met Thomas Randolph. *ODNB*. On Killigrew's service in 1558 and 1559, see, with caution, the narrative in Miller, *Sir Henry Killigrew*, 32–38. On Mundt's service (which was suspended during Mary's reign), Esther Hildebrandt, 'Christopher Mont, Anglo-German diplomat', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 15:3 (1984), 281–292. For additional English activity during the 1560s, Gehring, *Anglo-German Relations*, 28–44, nn. on 167–176. On Ascham, see below, pp. 24–25, 33–34 n. 100.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

learn as much as possible about the inclinations and administrations of the princes, while assessing how much cash they were willing to contribute. According to Killigrew's instructions, after meeting Elector Friedrich III, Killigrew was to 'remember in this parte the continuall good reportes that our servante and agent Doctor Mounte ordinarelie maketh vnto vs of the ouertures of the said Palsgrave and of the like good offers which Casimire his sonne hath made vnto vs at his last being in fraunce'. After laying out the call for 'a common league' with the Protestant princes to support the cause of religion in France and the Netherlands, the instructions directed Killigrew to inform the elector that Elizabeth was 'well content to consente to haue a good league and confederation' including the elector of Saxony; landgrave of Hesse; dukes of Württemberg, Zweibrücken, and Brunswick; the Free Cities of the maritime coasts; and the kings of Denmark and Sweden. Additionally, Killigrew was to see what assurances Elizabeth would have from the elector regarding her loan (of 200,000 or 300,000 crowns).[24] The desired league with the German princes did not ultimately come about because of theological and political disagreements among the princes, and due to the fact – ever in the background – that the regional princes of the Empire were officially forbidden from concluding treaties with foreign powers. In sum, however, the mission of 1569 represented the most significant Anglo-German effort to build the alliance during the first decade of Elizabeth's reign. Similarly, the first treatise below, 'the state of Germany', moved beyond previous reports of news and intelligence; just as Killigrew's embassy was the most systematic and thorough to date, so too was the treatise written during it. 'The state of Germany' also differed because it was written by neither Killigrew nor Mundt, nor any other English ambassador of the 1560s. The authorship of this account, unlike the later two in this volume, has not been previously established and needs discussion here.

Although the author did not leave his name, it was almost certainly Robert Beale. The vast majority of scholarship on Beale has focused on his various roles as 'parliamentarian', 'puritan', 'citizen', and 'librarian' during the 1570s and later.[25] Beale's

[24]Killigrew's instructions, January 1569, BL, Harley MS 36, fos 91r–95r; other copies abound, but see especially Cecil's comments (emphasizing the widest possible alliance with the Germans) in an early draft of the instructions, BL, Cotton MS Galba, B. XI, fos 281r–284v. Elizabeth's offering of such an enormous loan (roughly £60,000 to £90,000) was only possible after the seizure of Spanish payships. Conyers Read, 'Queen Elizabeth's seizure of the Duke of Alva's pay-ships', *Journal of Modern History*, 5:4 (1933), 443–464.

[25]Beale's entry in P.W. Hasler, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1558–1603* (London, 1981), I, 411–412; online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/beale-robert-1541-1601. Christopher Wilson Brooks, 'A

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

international movements and activities prior to becoming one of Francis Walsingham's secretaries in Paris in 1570, however, were crucial to that appointment, and as has been pointed out, 'It is the beginning of wisdom to understand that Beale was anything but a little Englander.'[26] Beale's educational pursuits during the 1550s included a period in Strasbourg learning at the feet of men like John Hales and John Aylmer, as well as Peter Martyr and Johannes Sturm. At the University of Wittenberg, where he matriculated in 1560, Beale met among others, Hubert Languet, one of the best-connected scholar-administrators of his age internationally, and who would become Beale's 'intellectual and spiritual mentor'.[27] These pursuits were complemented by his unofficial training in Paris during the 1560s. Although he had returned to England at some point in the early 1560s at the behest of Hales, Lord John Grey, or the earl of Hertford, he was soon back in France as a casual informant unofficially attached to the English embassy.[28]

puritan collaboration in defence of the liberty of the subject: James Morice, Robert Beale, and the Elizabethan campaign against ecclesiastical authority', in Paul Scott (ed.), *Collaboration and Interdisciplinarity in the Republic of Letters: Essays in Honour of Richard G. Maber* (Manchester, 2010), 3–16. Patrick Collinson, 'Servants and citizens: Robert Beale and other Elizabethans', *Historical Research*, 79:206 (2006), 488–511. Patricia Basing, 'Robert Beale and the Queen of Scots', *British Library Journal*, 20 (1994), 65–82. Patricia Ann Brewerton, 'Paper trails: Re-reading Robert Beale as clerk to the Elizabethan privy council', PhD thesis, Birkbeck College, University of London, 1998. Beale also figures largely in Jacqueline D. Vaughan, 'Secretaries, statesmen and spies: The clerks of the Tudor privy council, *c.*1540–*c.*1603', PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2007. The most comprehensive work on Beale remains Mark Taviner, 'Robert Beale and the Elizabethan polity', PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2000.

[26]Collinson, 'Servants and citizens', 502. For biographical information and time in Paris to 1572, see Taviner, 'Robert Beale', 46–103. See also *ODNB*.

[27]In Strasbourg Beale was staying with his uncle, Richard Morison, who appears to have been a crucial early link to later associates and patrons of Beale. Brewerton, 'Paper trails', 111–116. *AAVitebergensis*, II, 4 lists Beale for 17 May. Noted correctly as 17 May in Preserved Smith and Robert Bar, 'Englishmen at Wittenberg in the sixteenth century', *English Historical Review*, 36:143 (1921), 422–433, at 429. Erroneously '1 May' in Béatrice Nicollier-de Weck, *Hubert Languet (1518–1581): Un Réseau Politique International de Melanchthon à Guillaume d'Orange* (Geneva, 1995), 17, but see also 226–227 on Languet and Beale, Mundt, and Daniel Rogers. Simply 'May' in Taviner, 'Robert Beale', 53. Quotation from Taviner, 'Robert Beale', 53–4. Correspondence between Beale and Languet survives in BL, Egerton MS 1693.

[28]Tracing Beale's whereabouts during the early 1560s is difficult, though his travels may have also included a trip to Padua to study law. Taviner, 'Robert Beale', 54, 59, 78. Beale was recruited at this time to canvass the opinions of German legal authorities regarding the marriage of Edward Seymour, 1st Earl of Hertford, to Lady Katherine Grey (Lord Grey's niece). Beale's 'discourse' on the marriage's legitimacy was essentially correct. Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.5.3, art. 4. *ODNB*, but see also the discussion in Brewerton, 'Paper trails', 119–121.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

In Paris Beale frequented the house of André Wechel (the publisher later responsible for an anthology of Spanish writings in Beale's library[29]), and Beale started taking cues from the serving English ambassador, Sir Thomas Smith, whose 'the state of the realme of ffrance' Beale received from Smith himself in 1566.[30] During the next couple of years, when religious conflict in France and the Netherlands forged evermore vitriolic anti-Catholicism and drives for pan-Protestant alliance, Beale wrote to Elizabeth's Principal Secretary, William Cecil, and sometimes travelled into Germany and sent newsletters back to Hales in England, where Hales shared them with Cecil.[31] One report from January 1568 is worth considering here because it provides context for 'the state of Germany'.[32] After assessing the situation in France, these 'advertisements from Germany' detailed the potential roles that the German Protestant princes could play in the struggle. Beale noted the considerable military capabilities of August,

[29] *Rerum Hispanicarvm Scriptores Aliqvot, quorum nomina versa pagina indicabit. Ex Bibliotheca clarißimi viri Dn. Roberti Beli Angli* . . . (Frankfurt, 1579). For context, see R.J.W. Evans, 'The Wechel presses: Humanism and Calvinism in central Europe 1572–1627', *Past & Present*, Supplement 2 (1975), noting Beale at p. 43. Cf. the observation that for informal travellers without official governmental charge, 'it was a good plan to take up lodgings with an eminent bookseller. For statesmen, advocates and other sorts of great men came to the shop, from whose talk much could be learned', Clare Howard, *English Travellers of the Renaissance* (London, 1914), 43.

[30] Taviner, 'Robert Beale', 64, 61. Smith's account given to Beale (BL, Additional MS 48026, fos 29v–31v) dealt predominantly with taxes in France, but see also the lot of documents regarding Smith and France in BL, Additional MS 48085, fos 352r–375v. Smith later recommended Beale to Cecil as 'a rare man & of excellent giftes' in a letter from Blois on 9 March 1572, TNA, SP 70/146, fo. 55r; Beale was the bearer.

[31] Taviner, 'Robert Beale', 61, noting also that what exactly 'Beale was doing in Paris is hard to pin down. [. . .] Beale was not a secretary, servant or member of the household of any of the resident English ambassadors Sir Thomas Hoby, Hugh Fitzwilliam or Sir Henry Norris.' See also, however, Beale's discussion of the attributes necessary for an ambassador in France, with reference to all three and his 'better' hope for Norris: Beale to Cecil, November 1566, TNA, SP 70/87, fos 75r–76v; cf. Beale's copies of Norris's and Smith's materials from Paris in May 1567, BL, Additional MSS 48023, fos 340r–349r; 48024, fos 209v–213v. Kouri, *England and the Attempts*, 176, noting that 'every now and then [Beale] visited the German courts'. In 1565 Hales was imprisoned in the Tower for writing a book arguing the validity of the marriage between Hertford and Lady Grey (and therefore incorporating Beale's 'discourse'), but he was released the following year (with Cecil's help) and lived under house-arrest for the next four years. *ODNB*. See also materials (much in Cecil's hand) with reference to Beale's role during to the interrogation of Hales and Francis Newdigate in April–May 1564, CP 154/57–65.

[32] Advertisements from Germany, 15 January 1568, TNA, SP 70/96, fos 65r–66v; the document is missing initial leaf/leaves, but the hand is clearly Beale's. Sending intelligence back to England may have been a way Beale had thought to regain favour after the fallout of his 'discourse' and Hales's book on the succession. Later in his career Beale would take writing such reports and treatises to another level entirely, writing at least 11 between 1571 and 1597. Vaughan, 'Secretaries, statesmen and spies', 171, with a list of the treatises, n. 37.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

Elector of Saxony, and the position of Friedrich III, Elector Palatine, as the 'arbiter of the hole cause' in France.[33] Additionally, he relayed that Christoph, Duke of Württemberg, regularly informed other princes of his correspondence with the duke of Alba, particularly when any threat to Protestants was likely. Beale then commented on the activities and persuasions of various other Lutheran princes in Saxony, the Rhineland, Zweibrücken, Holstein, and Brunswick; throughout, his focus remained the likelihood of their assisting Protestants in France during the second War of Religion – despite the princes' own political rivalries and the fact that, in Beale's words, 'the princes agre not very well about religion, as Wurteburg [and] Bipont with the Paltsgrave'. Overall, and considering the possibility of a long-drawn-out battle across Europe, Beale felt that, 'As the papists have theiyr ligue, so were yt not amiss that the princes protestants for theyr defence had the like.'

It seems almost certain that Beale knew something of the Palatine proposals in England in December 1568, for he was in Heidelberg in February 1569. When Killigrew arrived on 31 March, it is likely that Beale was staying with his friend, Girolamo Zanchi, and although he was not officially part of Killigrew's mission (just as he was not formally attached to the English embassy in Paris), it is clear that he was deeply interested.[34] In Heidelberg at the beginning of Killigrew's mission, Beale was also with the Elector Palatine at the end of it. In fact, Killigrew had left weeks before Beale carried Elector Friedrich's letter to Elizabeth dated 28 September 1569 at Neuschloß, just north of Heidelberg.[35] By the middle of October, Beale was back in England,

[33]For overviews, see the studies by Bernard Vogler, 'Le rôle des électeurs palatins dans les guerres de religion en France (1559–1592)', *Cahiers d'histoire*, 10 (1965), 51–85; and Bernard Vogler, 'Henri IV et les princes allemands', in *Henri IV: Le Roi et la Reconstruction du Royaume, Volumes des actes du colloque Pau-Nérac 14–17 Septembre 1989* (Pau, 1990), 373–383.

[34]Louis Frennes, Seigneur de Lumbres, to Beale, February 1569, Aberdeen University Library, MS 1009/1/22. Taviner, 'Robert Beale', 65–67. For Killigrew in Heidelberg in March and April, see Kouri, *England and the Attempts*, 90–96. Having sailed with Junius from Harwich on 20 February, Killigrew had previously been in Hamburg for a week from 6 March to discuss the Merchant Adventurers' cloth market, and he made his way to Heidelberg via Kassel, where he met with Landgrave Wilhelm. Kouri, *England and the Attempts*, 86–88.

[35]Friedrich to Elizabeth, 28 September 1569, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ashmole MS 1729, fos 126r–127v (item 68), noting *per praesentium latorem Robertum Beel*; followed by Friedrich to Killigrew (fos 128r–131v, item 69), same date, noting discussions at Erfurt. Contemporary copies of Friedrich to Elizabeth among Cecil's papers, CP, MS 156, fo. 145r–v; printed in August Kluckhohn (ed.), *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen Kurfürsten von der Pfalz mit verwandten Schriftstücken* (Brunswick, 1870), II, i, 362–363; Friedrich's letter to Killigrew, Kluckhohn, *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen*, II, i, 360–362; the place of writing is clearly noted in the edns by Kluckhohn. In his discussion in *England and the Attempts* on 176, Kouri does not clearly differentiate between two separate missives from the Elector Palatine to Elizabeth, one dated

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

but like Smith's 'the state of the realme of ffraunce', and building upon his own 'advertisements from Germany', 'the state of Germany' was written both during the summer and after Beale's return to England.[36]

The case for Beale's authorship of 'the state of Germany' can be summed as follows. Beale was in Germany and in exactly the same places as Killigrew at several points, and he had training in (and a history of) writing pieces of intelligence for English policymakers back home. In addition, the religious persuasions evident in the treatise cohere with Beale's religious formation in exile during the reign of Mary, and they are consistent with his later convictions in favour of a pan-Protestant alliance.[37] Furthermore, internal evidence on mining connects Beale explicitly, as he wrote a discourse on mining in Saxony for Sir Thomas Smith in 1573.[38] The extant manuscript versions of 'the state of Germany' can also be indirectly linked to Beale, for a later copy survives among Beale's papers in the British Library, while another imitating Beale's hand survives among the papers of George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury, in Lambeth Palace Library; it is important to note, however, that these later copies were probably added to these collections after Beale's and Talbot's deaths.[39] Finally, no other candidate is as probable as Beale. The author was not Killigrew, as he is named explicitly as someone with whom the author visited a mine; nor was it Mundt, who was not in all the locations named in the account, and who would have certainly mentioned this treatise in

10 September (the official reply of the German princes to Killigrew's mission, in Latin and German, BL, Cotton MS Galba, B. XI, fos 288r–296v) and the other 28 September (Kouri cites copies in Germany). As noted in Friedrich's of 28 September, Beale in fact carried both missives. On the convention at Erfurt, where Palatine proposals for religious unification and English plans for alliance were discussed, see Kouri, *England and the Attempts*, 137–164.

[36]On the issue of dating the composition, see p. 90 n. 433.

[37]On Beale's later diplomatic activity in 1577, see p. 19, n. 48. For others who shared a pan-Protestant outlook for diplomatic purposes in a different context, while privately holding to more Reformed tendencies, see Daniel Riches, *Protestant Cosmopolitanism and Diplomatic Culture: Brandenburg-Swedish Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden, 2013), 61–66.

[38]See below, p. 73 n. 238.

[39]Details of the existing versions are discussed below, pp. 42–43. For examples of later additions to the Beale papers in the Yelverton collection, see below, p. 37 n. 112. Beale and Shrewsbury became necessary associates given Talbot's role as custodian of Mary, Queen of Scots, and Beale's own role in the imprisonment and execution of the queen. See Taviner, 'Robert Beale', 185–243. Additionally, Shrewsbury would have been interested to know more of mining techniques in Germany, particularly because of his development of the mineral resources on his own lands. Shrewsbury's interest is evident in the same papers at Lambeth (e.g. Anthony Barly to Shrewsbury, 23 June 1570, MS 697, fos 83r–84r), with some documentation of his exporting lead to the European mainland in exchange for wine from Gascony or weapons from Germany. Catherine Jamison, rev. E.G.W. Bill, *A Calendar of the Shrewsbury and Talbot Papers in Lambeth Palace Library and the College of Arms*, I: *Shrewsbury MSS in Lambeth Palace Library* (MSS 694–710), (London, 1966), x.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

his correspondence with Cecil.[40] Although we hesitate to confirm with 100 per cent confidence that Beale was the author, the current editor is all but certain.

The second account edited in this volume was written in September 1588 by Daniel Rogers after returning from his embassy to Denmark. Rogers's charge that summer had been to deliver Queen Elizabeth's condolences for the death of King Frederik II, to negotiate matters of commerce and piracy with the regency government (Christian IV then yet a minor), and – by Elizabeth's private command – to assess the likelihood of military aid from Germany; an added issue during the summer of 1588 was, of course, the Spanish Armada.[41] As with several of the previous missions Elizabeth had sent to Denmark, the embassy of 1588 was to stress the amity between England and Denmark and their informal league, as well as how Denmark could play a role in getting the more cautious (and theologically divisive) Lutheran princes of Germany to shrug off the prohibitions of the Empire against such alliances. During the course of Rogers's negotiations that summer, he discussed these issues with a wide range of Danish councillors and other ambassadors from the German princes and elsewhere, and in doing so he was echoing many of the same arguments he had made the previous winter when he met with King Frederik at Haderslev.

Rogers, having been the most recent English envoy to Denmark, was the most logical choice of ambassador in summer 1588. He also, however, possessed a literary talent that previous Elizabethan ambassadors to Denmark simply could not claim, notwithstanding Peregrine Bertie's scientific interests and Thomas Bodley's later bibliophilia.[42] Rogers's earlier international experience and education are important here. Like Beale, Rogers had spent time in Wittenberg before entering public service; indeed, Rogers's links were more intimate because he had been born there and studied under his father's friend, Philip Melanchthon – in addition to Languet and Sturm.[43] Also, owing to the family connections of his mother, Adriana van der Weyden of Antwerp, Rogers was related to Abraham Ortelius, whose

[40] When the author of 'the state of Germany' was in Dresden on 24 June 1569, for example, Mundt wrote to Cecil from Speyer, having been in Heidelberg the previous day. *CSPF*, IX, items 305–306.

[41] On Frederik II's final months and Rogers's mission, see Gehring, *Anglo-German Relations*, 121–124, nn. on 202–203; Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 290–311. See also but use with caution, Arthur J. Slavin, 'Daniel Rogers in Copenhagen, 1588: Mission and memory', in Malcolm R. Thorp and Arthur J. Slavin (eds), *Politics, Religion and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honor of De Lamar Jensen* (Kirksville, MO, 1994), 245–266.

[42] See above, pp. 6–7.

[43] Slavin, 'Daniel Rogers in Copenhagen', discusses Rogers's experience in Wittenberg and elsewhere during the Marian exile.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

map of Denmark (included in the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*) Rogers apparently did not think much of in his 'discourse'.[44] Also, like Beale (and Killigrew), Rogers had served in Walsingham's household in Paris during the early 1570s and cultivated a wide circle of friends and correspondents sharing his generally Reformed but broadly pan-Protestant proclivities, not the least of whom was the poet-courtier, Philip Sidney. Further continuing the parallel with Beale, Rogers had served as one of Queen Elizabeth's ambassadors to Germany in 1577 and again in 1580. In both instances he had been sent for the purpose of solidifying an Anglo-German Protestant alliance, though in the latter mission he was arrested by soldiers in Spanish pay and held captive by Captain Martin Schenk's men for four years.[45] In 1587 Rogers joined Beale as one of the clerks of the privy council.[46] In 1588 Rogers was aware that, until his own 'discourse touching ye present estate and gouuernement of the kingdomes of Denmarke and Norwegen', the English government had little systematic information on Scandinavia. During his time in Denmark that summer, he sent intelligence and lists of councillors to Walsingham and Burghley, but the 'discourse' was

[44]Rogers signified his Wittenberg origins by styling himself *Albimontani* in his Latin epigram at the beginning of the great work by his kinsman, Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp, 1570), which is discussed in the notes to the account, p. 112 n. 7 *et passim*. Similarly, in a collection of Rogers's poems written predominantly during the 1560s and 1570s but later compiled largely in his own hand, he styled himself *Albimontij Angli*, or 'of Wittenberg [and] of England'. HEHL, HM 31188; see the incomplete list of addressees (omitting the 'obscure' foreigners) in *Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London, 1874), Appendix, 251–254. For a brief summary of Rogers's international education and contacts, *ODNB*; for his connection with Leiden, J.A. van Dorsten, *Poets, Patrons, and Professors: Sir Philip Sidney, Daniel Rogers, and the Leiden Humanists* (Leiden, 1962), 9–75; cf. the wider context in Daniela Prögler, *English Students at Leiden University, 1575–1650: 'Advancing your abilities in learning and bettering your understanding of the world and state affairs'* (Farnham, 2013). Rogers graduated BA in 1561 at Oxford. Apparently he did not finish his studies at Wittenberg; nor does his name appear in the *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, so his study with Melanchthon may have been informal. Daniel's father, John Rogers matriculated at Wittenberg on 25 November 1540, the same day as Jo[h]annes Macc[h]abeus (i.e. John Macalpine). *AAVitebergensis*, I, 186. See the numerous poems regarding Melanchthon in HEHL, HM 31188, e.g. fos 114v, 342r; on Languet on fos 363v–364v; on Sturm on fos 71r, 298r–299r.

[45]The fullest account of Rogers's captivity remains J.N. van den Brink, 'Daniel Rogers, Engelsche gevangene te Breedevoort, 1580–1584', *De Gids*, 1 (1943), 26–37, 82–96. In 1580 Rogers's mission was to include visits and negotiations not only with Protestant princes such as Elector August and Landgrave Wilhelm but also Emperor Rudolf II to 'treat with him for stay of a decree to be mad against oure marchantes residinge at Embdene'. See Rogers's instructions, 7 September 1580, BL, Harley MS 36, fos 250r–252r.

[46]For a more personal connection between Rogers and Beale, see the poems addressed to Beale in HEHL, HM 31188, fos 85v, 99r, 104r (noting Beale's library), 116v, 184v, 188v, 216v, 228v, 234r, 301r. Beale had fallen out of Elizabeth's favour after his involvement in the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots in 1587. On Beale as Clerk, see Brewerton, 'Paper trails'; Vaughan, 'Secretaries, statesmen and spies', esp. p. 38 for Rogers effectively replacing Beale, though Beale did remain a clerk until his death in 1601.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

his final attempt at a summary of these lands. It is clear that he took this relation very seriously, as the sole surviving manuscript includes minute emendations as well as marginal annotations, and the final signature in his own hand.

The third account in this volume was written during the summer and autumn of 1590 by John Skene during his mission from Scotland to Germany and Denmark (and the Dutch Republic). Skene, along with Colonel William Stewart, was sent by King James VI to negotiate with the Protestant princes on how to bring peace to the conflicts in the Netherlands and France, and central to the mission was the construction of an alliance against Philip II of Spain. The Scottish ambassadors were to open discussions with Christian IV of Denmark and the regency government, then to proceed to Brunswick to meet with several German princes celebrating the marriage of Duke Heinrich Julius to Anne of Denmark's older sister (and thus James's sister-in-law), and then to continue to other princes' courts. The instructions for the embassy relayed the traditional threats posed by Catholics – going back to the Council of Trent – as well as the notion that King Philip was the principal menace. If possible, Skene and Stewart were to arrange mediation among Protestant and Catholic forces in the Netherlands and France, but the instructions were clear in the anti-Catholic tone employed; clearly this mission would not be as even-handed or moderate as James's later, more 'pacific' inclinations. It may be obvious that this embassy was a manifestation of King James's stepping onto the international stage – and an opportunity to gain support for his eventual accession to the English throne – though it is also important to note that this embassy from Scotland was in collaboration with Elizabeth and Burghley. Indeed, the queen had full authority to alter the instructions and advise Skene and Stewart as she saw fit. Overall, and emphasizing the militant Protestantism and anti-Catholicism of the mission, James informed his ambassadors that they should 'lett your chiefe travell be that a league, at least defensive, if forder maie not be obteyned, be firmelie promitted'.[47]

[47]Burghley's copy of the instructions, with observations, June 1590, BL, Cotton MS Caligula, D. II, fos 1r–4v; printed in Thomas Rymer (ed.), *Foedera, Conventiones, Literae, Et Cujuscunque Generis Acta Publica, Inter Reges Angliae, Et Alios quosvis Imperatores, Reges* . . . , 2nd edn (London, 1727), XVI, 68–71, quotation at 71. On the mission, the most recent and fullest account is Gehring, *Anglo-German Relations*, 133–138, nn. on 206–208. W.B. Patterson, *James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge, 1997), 29, ignores the anti-Catholicism explicit in the sources, while Stafford, *James VI of Scotland*, 124–131, does not incorporate the English involvement. The most recent notice is Fry, 'Diplomacy and deception', 9, 78, and *passim* in Appendix II. During the embassy Skene received additional instructions for a 2nd mission (without Stewart) to the Dutch Republic to secure repayment of debts owed to

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

Skene and Stewart were to travel significantly farther than almost any previous ambassador from England (or Scotland) to Germany or Denmark – save perhaps Beale when he visited several courts in 1577.[48] Unlike the previous two documents edited below, Skene's is not a synthetic discussion or overview of German or Danish politics and religion. Rather, it is a day-by-day journal (or report) of his travel from Edinburgh to London, to the Danish regents and council, to an array of territories in Germany, to the Dutch Republic, back to London, and finally home to Edinburgh. Along the way Skene and Stewart negotiated with the princes and their representatives at their courts, where the Scots were sometimes entertained with large banquets and given lavish gifts; but as with earlier English attempts to confer and ally with the Protestants of Germany and Denmark, the Scottish mission did not bear the full fruit longed for. The insights and experiences noted in Skene's journal, however, offer the perspective of still another ambassador who had significant international experience prior to his public service.

Skene's education and travel before his mission of 1590 were similar in many ways to Beale's and Rogers's.[49] After beginning his studies at Aberdeen during the 1550s, he moved on to earn his MA at St Andrews, where he became the Regent of St Mary's College. Starting in 1567, he travelled widely on the European mainland, visiting Norway, Denmark, Poland, and Switzerland, and studying law briefly at the University of Paris. Like Beale and Rogers, he settled for a time at the University of Wittenberg, where he matriculated in 1570.[50] In 1574 Skene returned to Scotland, and it seems likely that

Col. Stewart for previous military service. This second mission is included in the report below on pp. 190–209.

[48] Beale travelled with Elizabeth's letters to 9 princes, plus one to the Electress of Saxony. His mission was the culmination of previous attempts that year by Philip Sidney, Daniel Rogers, and Dr John Rogers (Daniel's brother). On the embassies of the Rogers brothers and Beale in the context of the Lutheran Formula of Concord, Gehring, *Anglo-German Relations*, 61–74, nn. on 82–186. Another, perhaps better comparison is the mission of Jacques de Ségur-Pardaillan on behalf of the king of Navarre in 1583–1584, when he canvassed the German Protestant princes for military aid and (less directly) support for Navarre's right of succession. For an overview, Gehring, *Anglo-German Relations*, 92–97, nn. on 192–194.

[49] For biographical information, *ODNB*; William Forbes Skene (ed.), *Memorials of the Family of Skene of Skene* (Aberdeen, 1887), 106–113; see also the letters between 1586 and 1598 to Skene from a number of men in Germany, including Caspar Peucer and Hermann Rennecher, 155–179. Skene's links to Germany also continued when his second, eponymous, son enrolled at the University of Helmstedt, where several other Scots learned at the feet of Duncan Liddel. See the matriculation lists online at http://uni-helmstedt.hab.de/index.php?section=matrikel.

[50] *AAVitebergensis*, II, 170, under 16 March.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

he left Wittenberg because August, Elector of Saxony, was purging his territories of Melanchthonian and crypto-Calvinist theologians and councillors like Hubert Languet, and giving more power to the hard-line or strict Lutherans.[51] This development was significant and representative of how many English and Scots would come to view more obstreperous Lutherans: as Henry Killigrew wrote from Scotland, 'by one that came from Wittenberg [possibly Skene himself] yt is brought that thelector of Saxon hath baunished out of his court & councell [. . .] his chief ministers for Calvenisme by the curches perswasion, & much discord [has arisen] in those partes about the sacramentaries as they terme them'.[52] Before he left Saxony, Skene had become fluent in German and befriended several princes and the learned men at their courts.[53]

Before selecting Skene for the mission in 1590, King James called on him in 1589 to negotiate with the Danes regarding the royal marriage contract. James had been assured of Skene's qualifications as well as linguistic and legal knowledge by Sir James Melville (another Scot with extensive knowledge of Germany), who stated that Skene 'was best acquanted with the conditions of the Germanes, and culd mak them lang harrangues in Latin, and was a gud trew stout man, lyk a Dutche man'.[54] James clearly thought highly enough of Melville's recommendation, as Skene's signature is on the contract dated at Kronborg.[55] After Skene's first high-pressure mission to the Danes for marital causes, James's choice of Skene for matters martial was easy.

The 'New Diplomatic History'

A good deal of scholarly attention has been paid to the 'new diplomatic history', a phrase popularized in 2008 by John Watkins.[56] Put another way in 2008, 'the revitalization of diplomatic history' has focused less on high politics, watershed events, significant treaties, and wars than did more traditional diplomatic history as represented by Garrett

[51] On Languet at this time, see Nicollier-de Weck, *Hubert Languet*, 273–310, 345–367.

[52] Killigrewto Walsingham?, 18 July 1574, BL, Cotton MS Caligula, C. IV, fo. 272r.

[53] Bowes to Burghley, 31 May 1590, TNA, SP 52/45, fos 51r–52v.

[54] *Memoirs of his own Life by Sir James Melville of Halhill. M.D.XLIX–M.D.XCIII* (Edinburgh, 1827), 366.

[55] Marriage contract, signed original of 20 August 1589, National Archives of Scotland, SP 8/7.

[56] John Watkins, 'Toward a new diplomatic history of medieval and early modern Europe', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 38:1 (2008), 1–14.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

Mattingly and M.S. Anderson.[57] As one of the practitioners of the new approach put it in 2014,

> The new diplomatic history is grounded in the investigation of foreign relations and diplomatic practice via the insights of social, intellectual, and cultural history, as well as the engagement with social scientific and literary theory. [. . .] [And it] views diplomacy as a culturally inflected activity carried out by multifaceted individuals whose own biographies, priorities, and personal relationships shape their understandings of the world and how its various parts should fit together, affecting in turn their diplomatic activities in fundamental ways.[58]

Incorporating aspects of social and cultural history in studies of diplomacy and international relations is not quite as 'new' as some may claim, but recent efforts have more explicitly highlighted issues only implied in the 'old' diplomatic history, one of the most important being inter- and transnational views and developments.[59]

A key distinction between the 'old' and 'new' approaches is that the latter emphasizes broader cultural developments and affiliations among intellectuals across national boundaries rather than more narrowly conceived priorities or structures of the state. Put another way, instead of focusing on nationalistic attitudes and the results of diplomatic activity, most studies are now interested in the international character and processes of diplomacy. It is no longer so much a question of how a particular treaty favoured one country or another, for example, but rather which personalities were involved in reaching the agreement, through what mechanisms negotiations were carried out, and what the treaty suggests about ideologies and identities of the period. Such studies are sometimes interested in the international networks and budding 'cosmopolitanism' of particular princes, ambassadors, or courts; but they have also shown that the early modern period was characterized by both national

[57]Karl W. Schweizer and Matt J. Schumann, 'The revitalization of diplomatic history: Renewed reflections', *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 19:2 (2008), 149–186. Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (London and Boston, 1955; citations from reprint, Harmondsworth, 1965). M.S. Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy, 1450–1919* (London, 1993).

[58]Riches, *Protestant Cosmopolitanism*, 4; pp. 4–16 offer a summary of the 'new diplomatic history' vis-à-vis European cosmopolitanism and diplomatic culture, but see also the useful discussion and bibliography in Tracey Sowerby, '"A memorial and a pledge of faith": Portraiture and early modern diplomatic culture', *English Historical Review*, 129:537 (2014), 296–331.

[59]Diana Carrió-Invernizzi, 'A new diplomatic history and the networks of Spanish diplomacy in the Baroque Era', *International History Review*, 36:4 (2014), 603–618, at 609; at 606 the new diplomatic history is referred to as 'a simple variation of the old diplomatic history, from which of course it draws deeply'. These new directions, however, cannot be dismissed as old wine in new bottles.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

interests (sometimes for concrete political purposes) and international allegiances (often for religious and ideological purposes).[60]

Additional aspects stressed by scholars in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries include art and material culture, the role of women, diplomatic ceremonial and performance, literary adaptations and translations, and gift exchange.[61] Also, in contrast to more conventional foreign policy studies and international relations studies focusing on Europe's great powers, interests have now migrated to smaller or second-tier territories, as well as non-Western states. Osborne's study of Savoy and that by Riches on the electorate of Brandenburg and Sweden are exemplary, as are Daniela Frigo's edition of essays on Italian city-states and the volume edited by Gábor Kármán and Lovro Kunčević on Europe and the Ottoman Empire.[62] The attention paid to these territories is mirrored by some scholars' concentration on second-tier personalities such as the ambassadors themselves, other members of their embassies, and travellers as cultural mediators. By focusing on the mental and material worlds of the envoys, their correspondents, and other hangers-on, a fuller and sharper picture of early modern European diplomacy is emerging.

The documents edited below help to illustrate some of these points. 'The state of Germany' was written by a lower-than-second-tier member of Killigrew's entourage, and it was the result of the author's own interest and initiative. It includes insights into court ceremony and administration in the Palatinate and Saxony, illuminating the role of these two territories in wider European affairs in 1569. The 'discourse' on Denmark was penned by the ambassador himself, and it incorporated an impressive amount of research conducted while negotiating with the Danes. Furthermore, it demonstrates

[60]For a wide-ranging collection of studies on various aspects of networks and personalities, see Hillard von Thiessen and Christian Windler (eds), *Akteure der Außenbeziehungen: Netzwerke und Interkulturalität im historischen Wandel* (Cologne, 2010). For examples of studies centred on a specific court or person, see Toby Osborne, *Dynasty and Diplomacy in the Court of Savoy: Political Culture and the Thirty Years War* (Cambridge, 2002); Ruth Kohlndorfer-Fries, *Diplomatie und Gelehrtenrepublik: Die Kontakte des französischen Gesandten Jaques Bongars (1554–1612)* (Tübingen, 2009). For the both/and argument, Riches, *Protestant Cosmopolitanism*, 16–17.

[61]The vigorous interdisciplinarity and international scope of the 'new diplomatic history' has been evident not only in publications but also at various conferences.

[62]Daniela Frigo (ed.), *Politics and Diplomacy in Early Modern Italy: The Structure of Diplomatic Practice, 1450–1800* (Cambridge, 1999). Gábor Kármán and Lovro Kunčević (eds), *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden, 2013). On northern Europe, see also Lockhart, *Frederik II*; Jason Lavery, *Germany's Northern Challenge: The Holy Roman Empire and the Scandinavian Struggle for the Baltic, 1563–1576* (Boston, MA, 2002).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

the importance of not only geographical but also historical and broader cultural knowledge (or 'chorographical' descriptions) to English foreign policy during the 1580s. Finally, the journal of 1590 was kept by the ambassador himself, but it too was intended to serve as a formal report for his superiors in Edinburgh. It describes instances of international networking, privately motivated travel and education, court protocol and gift giving, and the importance of covert Anglo-Scottish collaboration. Insights into the evolving nature of European diplomacy, however, represent only part of these documents' significance. Because of the prior experiences and motivations of all three of the authors, these accounts also fit into the wider genre of early modern travel.

Travel, Travel Writing, and the Beginnings of a Tradition

The 'Grand Tour' of young aristocrats and other well-to-do wanderers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has long attracted scholarly attention, as have the printed publications that sometimes arose from such peregrinations.[63] Rather early in the genre was Fynes Moryson's massive *Itinerary* of travels throughout much of mainland Europe (and elsewhere), published early in the seventeenth century and in some ways representing a harbinger of things to come.[64] In England as elsewhere, the affluent and fashionable often would take an early modern 'gap year' (or significantly more) to leave their native land and sample the fruits, witness the customs, and see the sights of foreign countries. Similarly suggestive of English and wider European currents were the publications by Richard Hakluyt, especially his collection of others' materials, *The Principall Navigations*, which catalogued the exploration and travels by Englishmen for the '1500 yeeres' preceding its publication in 1589.[65] Hakluyt's *magnum opus* looked forwards and inspired countless young travellers of the

[63]For the classic discussions, see John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604–1667: Their Influence in English Society and Politics*, rev. edn (New Haven, CT, 1989), which focuses on France, Italy, the Low Countries, and Spain, with no discussion of travellers to (or from) the Holy Roman Empire; Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1992), which offers a more thematic approach.

[64]Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary vvritten by Fynes Moryson* (London, 1617) (STC 18295).

[65]Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English nation made by Sea or ouer Land* (London, 1589) (STC 12625). The book was greatly expanded and published again in 1598–1600 (STC 12626, 12626a).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

seventeenth century, but as a compilation of existing sources it also represented the apogee of Elizabethan travel and travel literature.[66]

The resurgence of scholarly attention paid to early modern travel is analogous to the focus on international networks and interdisciplinarity in the 'new diplomatic history'.[67] These works, addressing issues such as identity and rhetoric, often aim to dive more deeply into the sources to uncover more than simply the itineraries travelled and personalities met. Sources consulted by scholars often include the printed publications of the period, and in this regard Germany was not entirely terra incognita to the English during the 1590s and later. William Phiston's book on Germany, published in 1595, was a compilation of two other works in Italian and Latin, but its general, didactic information on the history and administration of the Holy Roman Empire was of the sort that previous English ambassadors sometimes noted in their correspondence.[68] A more genuine English source originally composed for purposes of intelligence, the account of Germany by Roger Ascham was written as a series of letters during the early 1550s, published about 1570, and took the form of a political history evaluating the key princes and their courts.[69] Throughout

[66]On Hakluyt and the genre, see the long-standing series by the Hakluyt Society and the more recent Peter Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America* (New Haven, CT, 2007); Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (eds), *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham, 2012).

[67]For England, see for examples, Anna Suranyi, *The Genius of the English Nation: Travel Writing and National Identity in Early Modern England* (Newark, DE, 2008); Melanie Ord, *Travel and Experience in Early Modern English Literature* (New York, 2008); Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion 1560–1660* (Oxford, 2008), on 'the domestication of travel' before the Grand Tour on 17–46, nn. on 304–312; Jonathan P.A. Sell, *Rhetoric and Wonder in English Travel Writing, 1560–1613* (Aldershot, 2006); Evi Mitsi, ' "Nowhere is a place": Travel writing in sixteenth-century England', *Literature Compass*, 2 (2005), 1–13. On Europe more widely, see Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge, 2002); Thomas Betteridge (ed.), *Borders and Travellers in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 2007).

[68]William Phiston, *The Estate of the Germaine Empire, with the description of Germanie* (London, 1595) (STC 10922).

[69]Roger Ascham, *A Report and Discourse written by Roger Ascham, of the affaires and state of Germany and the Emperour Charles his court, duryng certaine yeares while the sayd Roger was there* (London, *c.*1570) (STC 830). Ascham wrote his letters as reflections and diplomatic intelligence rather than as a coherent account of travel, but by the time of publication their purposes had changed to reflect a renewed interest in Germany. The exact timing and circumstances of *A Report*'s publication by John Day remain unclear, despite *The Scholemaster*'s publication in 1570. It is tempting to suggest that 'the state of Germany' may have had something to do with it in late 1569. If Cecil knew of or had seen 'the state of Germany' late in 1569, he may have pushed Day to publish Ascham's *Report*. For discussion, see Lawrence V. Ryan, *Roger Ascham* (Stanford, CA, 1963), 156–192. A similar snapshot (and history) of Italy was William Thomas's *The historie of Italie* (London, 1549, 1561) (STC 24018–24019). Ascham's

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

the sixteenth century, Englishmen and Scots had been drawn to Germany because of the University of Wittenberg (and here Beale, Rogers, and Skene were not exceptional), but increasingly during the reign of Elizabeth these men travelled equally for non-academic reasons.[70]

In addition to those who wished to learn at the original citadel of Protestantism, Wittenberg, others were involved in musical or theatrical groups, while still others were simply curious about the Empire and the lands to the north and east. English musicians and actors, some with noble support, were well known in Germany during the later decades of Elizabeth's reign, and their presence in northern cities and Denmark has long provided fodder for speculation about Shakespeare's sources for *Hamlet*.[71] Philip Sidney, it has been claimed, performed 'what might be considered the first fully-formed Grand Tour by an Englishman, and one which included, in its wide geographical range, excursions to Vienna, Prague, and Cracow'.[72] Like Moryson's fame, Sidney's travels and career as poet-courtier are well known, but slightly less so are the activities and writings of men like

The Scholemaster included more critical thoughts on educational travel, particularly in Italy. On enthusiasm for travel, *The Scholemaster*, and the critical reaction, see Sara Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England* (Leiden, 1995), 41–73. The chronological divide in 1570 between Warneke's first and second chapters is significant.

[70]For a convenient collection of the English, see Smith and Bar, 'Englishmen at Wittenberg'. For the official lists, *AAVitebergensis*.

[71]Older historiography is discussed in Cay Dollerup, *Denmark, Hamlet, and Shakespeare: A Study of Englishmen's Knowledge of Denmark towards the End of the Sixteenth Century with Special Reference to Hamlet*, 2 vols (Salzburg, 1975), see esp. II, 173–199; but see also Julie Maxwell, 'Counter-Reformation versions of Saxo: A new source for *Hamlet*?', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 57:2 (2004), 518–560; Gunnar Sjörgren, 'Thomas Bull and other "English instrumentalists" in Denmark in the 1580s', *Shakespeare Survey*, 22 (2007), 119–124. For players with political or noble support, see Sally-Beth MacLean, 'Leicester and the Evelyns: New evidence for the continental tour of Leicester's men', *Review of English Studies*, 39:156 (1988), 487–493; Arne Spohr, *'How chances it they travel?': Englische Musiker in Dänemark und Norddeutschland* (Wiesbaden, 2009), 90–141; on Leicester, 127–130. See also Simon Adams (ed.), *Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester*, Camden Fifth Series, VI (Cambridge, 1995), 11, 353, on the players sent to Denmark. I am grateful to Dr Andras Kisery for sharing Ch. 2 ('Some travellers return: Diplomatic writing, political careers, and the world of *Hamlet*') from his forthcoming book, *Hamlet's Moment: Drama and Political Knowledge in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2016).

[72]David Worthington, *British and Irish Experiences and Impressions of Central Europe, c.1560–1688* (Farnham, 2012), 29. On Sidney, see Robert E. Stillman, *Philip Sidney and the Poetics of Renaissance Cosmopolitanism* (Aldershot, 2008). For Sidney's thoughts on travel in 1579, see his letter to his brother, Robert, printed in Steuart A. Pears (ed.), *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet* (London, 1845), 195–198; the letter was first printed in 1633 (see p. 28, n. 80).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

Stephen Powle, Henry Wotton, John Peyton, William Smith, Edwin Sandys, and Edmund Tilney.[73]

During the second half of the sixteenth century, it became clear to many that a position in the ranks of government could be earned by privately motivated foreign service. The authors of the accounts edited below were not exceptional in this regard.[74] From a small sample of others, a distinct pattern emerges: By travelling overseas, learning other languages and about other cultures, and by writing newsletters, wide-ranging accounts, and histories that were then sent back to their friends or patrons in England, these men sought to prove their abilities and loyalties to the powerbrokers in the government who could supply them with jobs after their travels; after their return home, their expertise and personal networks on the mainland would provide the government – it was hoped – with intelligence otherwise unavailable.[75] Stephen Powle wrote to Burghley while touring Switzerland, the Rhineland, and Paris between 1579 and 1582, and upon his return to England he entered Burghley's employ. Henry Wotton spent the early 1590s in Vienna, Geneva, and Italy, where he built an impressive network of contacts and intelligencers, and for his expertise and ability to digest considerable information into comprehensive surveys he was eventually employed by Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex.[76] John Peyton (b.1579, d.1635) also went on the Elizabethan Grand Tour, 'a peculiar

[73]This group of men – save Peyton – has also been analysed by Dr Nicholas Popper, though the present editor is happy to report that we have come to similar conclusions independently.

[74]See, e.g., Robyn Adams, 'A most secret service: William Herle and the circulation of intelligence', in Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (eds), *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture* (Basingstoke, 2011), 63–81.

[75]The pattern of the early modern traveller is similar to the aspirations of the ambassador, though the former often started their travels based on their own initiative, whereas the latter already possessed a strong degree of connection to the state. Of course, a career path of traveller to minor secretary, to ambassador, to major secretary was entirely possible; such was Beale's. For the argument on the relative novelty of the 'laicization' and professional restructuring, see Gary M. Bell, 'Elizabethan diplomacy: The subtle revolution', in Thorp and Slavin, *Politics, Religion and Diplomacy*, 267–288. On information flows between aspiring servants and the state, see Lisa Jardine and William Sherman, 'Pragmatic readers: Knowledge transactions and scholarly services in late Elizabethan England', in Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts (eds), *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Honour of Patrick Collinson* (Cambridge, 1994), 102–124. A far more detailed and wide-ranging discussion of travel and career development is found in Elizabeth Rachel Williamson, 'Before "diplomacy": Travel, embassy and the production of political information in the later sixteenth century', PhD thesis, Queen Mary, University of London, 2012, 22–83. I am also grateful to Dr Nicholas Popper for sending me a draft of his work-in-progress, 'The social production of political knowledge in early modern England', which discusses these issues.

[76]On Powle and Wotton, the *ODNB* provides the outlines, but the discussion in Popper, 'The social production' is better and follows the argument of Warneke, *Images*, 48.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

mixture of visiting European countries for culture, education and intelligence', and travelled widely in central Europe during the late 1590s before writing his multiple accounts of Germany, Bohemia, and Poland; like Powle and Wotton, Peyton found patronage in the government, this time under Robert Cecil.[77] William Smith, who had lived in Nuremberg during the early 1580s, held deep interests in topography and chorography, so when during the 1590s he sought a position in the College of Arms, he wrote a description of Nuremberg including discussions of the customs and ceremonies of the city; he was wise to dedicate one copy to Sir George Carey, who helped to secure Smith as Rouge Dragon Pursuivant.[78]

Two further examples help to make the point that writing detailed accounts of foreign lands could secure government employment. Sir Edwin Sandys (b.1561, d.1629) was the son of the Archbishop of York and served as a minor MP during the early and mid 1590s, but his public service picked up considerably after his journey to France, Geneva, and Italy between 1596 and 1599. Upon his return, Sandys wrote an account of the state of religion in Europe (rather than a particular country) and dedicated it to John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1599. Sandys's moderation in religious matters was evident throughout the account, but his thoughts on divides between Gnesio-Lutherans (or *Lutherani rigidi*) and Philippists (or *molles Lutherani*) made it clear that his sympathies lay with the latter.[79] Finally,

[77] Sebastian Sobecki, 'John Peyton's *a relation of the state of Polonia* and the accession of King James I, 1598–1603', *English Historical Review*, 129: 540 (2014), 1079–1097; and Sebastian Sobecki, '"A man of curious enquiry": John Peyton's Grand Tour to central Europe and Robert Cecil's intelligence network, 1596–1601', *Renaissance Studies*, 29 (2015), 394–410, quotation at 407.

[78] 'A breef description of the famous Cittie of Norenberg in High Germany', LPL, MS 508, includes separate dedications to Carey (dated 20 November 1594), Burghley (20 August 1594), and Edward, 11th Baron Zouch (dated 20 September 1594). Another copy, BL, Additional MS 78167, is dated 20 August 1594 and includes the dedication to Burghley alone. A third copy exists without dedications in the Nürnberg Stadtbibliothek and has been published as 'William Smith: "A description of the cittie of Noremberg" (Beschreibung der Reichsstadt Nürnberg) 1594', William Roach and Karlheinz Goldmann (eds), *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg*, 48 (1958), 194–258. Francis Davison, son of William, also wrote a relation on Germany during the 1590s, though his (on Saxony) no longer survives. See the letters printed in the introduction to Francis Davison, *The Poetical Rhapsody: To which are Added, Several Other Pieces*, Nicholas Harris Nicolas (ed.), 2 vols (London, 1826).

[79] 'A relation of the state of religion', presentation MS given to Whitgift, with the latter's annotations, LPL, MS 2007, on Lutherans at fo. 193v; printed in 1605 (STC 21716), sig. Q4v. Additional copy in the Queen's College, Oxford, MS 280, fos 91r–142v. Cf. Henry Wotton's *The State of Christendom*, written before 1594 but only published in 1657 (Wing W3654). MS copy, BL, Harley MS 3499. For biographical information on Sandys, *ODNB*.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

Edmund Tilney's case is atypical due to his lack of extensive travel (if any at all) outside England and his failure to secure a desired position after writing his own 'topographical descriptions' of several countries.[80] Nevertheless, his encyclopaedic account was intended to serve as a diplomatic manual or reference book of sorts for English foreign policy during the late 1590s and upon James I's accession, when Tilney presented a second, finished copy to the king.[81] That the account was never disseminated or published should not detract from its suggestive position alongside the accounts by Peyton and Sandys representing the maturity of a tradition of writing on foreign states.

Tilney's access to a range of materials on foreign countries highlights the international character of the book trade in London and beyond, and manuals for budding travellers are no exception. By the early seventeenth century, enough instruction had been published in England for people from a range of backgrounds to make trips abroad with sufficient knowledge and, failing that, confidence. Indeed, an early modern cast of travelling characters could include editors, pilgrims, errant knights, merchants, explorers, colonizers, captives or castaways, ambassadors, pirates, scientists, and more.[82] One example of a travel manual written in English was by Thomas Palmer, who sought in 1606 to help make his countryman's travels 'more profitable and honourable' not only to the traveller himself but also to his country,

[80]Cf. the comment of Thomas Platter, the Swiss physician who travelled to England in 1599, 'the English for the most part do not travel much, but prefer to learn foreign matters and take their pleasures at home'. Clare Williams (ed.), *Thomas Platter's Travels in England 1599* (London, 1937), 170. Contrast the argument against such armchair-travellers in the preface by Benjamin Fisher to *Profitable Instructions; Describing what speciall Obseruations are to be taken by Trauellers in all Nations, States and Countries* (London, 1633) (STC 6789); the 'instructions' were by William Davison *c.*1595 (for his son, see p. 27 n. 78), by Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, in 1596, and Philip Sidney in 1579 (see p. 25 n. 72).

[81]On Tilney's book, see W.R. Streitberger, *Edmond Tyllney, Master of the Revels and Censor of Plays: A Descriptive Index to His Diplomatic Manual on Europe* (New York, 1986); and W.R. Streitberger (ed.), *Edmond Tyllney, Topographical Descriptions, Regiments, and Policies: Book VI: England and Wales, Book VII: Scotland, Book VIII: Ireland* (New York, 1991). The unfinished Elizabethan text, Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.b.182. The complete version for James, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Pre-1650 MS 0109. On Tilney generally, W.R. Streitberger, 'On Edmund Tyllney's biography', *Review of English Studies*, 29 (1978), 11–35. On Tilney and his use of history, Nicholas Popper's forthcoming, 'European historiography in English political culture', in Malcolm Smuts (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Age of Shakespeare* (Oxford, 2016). I am grateful to Dr Popper for sharing his work and thoughts before publication. Noteworthy here is the distinct possibility that Tilney did not incorporate much printed material from beyond the English market apart from maps and images.

[82]This typology is laid out in William H. Sherman, 'Stirrings and searchings (1500–1720)', in Hulme and Youngs, *Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, 17–36. For an overview of the methodization and primary authors of early travel manuals, see Justin Stagl, *The History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel, 1550–1800* (Chur, 1995), 47–94.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

particularly if he were an 'intelligencer'.[83] If one searches for earlier English manuals or models for the peregrine, the most significant would be translations from other languages from the 1570s forward; worth remembering here are Hakluyt's first two publications, both of which were drawn from foreign sources.[84] The first guidebook was Jerome Turler's *The Trauelier* of 1575, and it is suggestive that manuals for travel like this one (and the genre known as *ars apodemica*) originated in Germany.[85] Turler, a Saxon, had previously travelled around Germany, Italy, France, and England, and it seems likely that after the publication of his book in Strasbourg, he sent a copy of the Latin text to a contact in London. The second manual was Albrecht Meyer's *Certaine briefe, and speciall Instructions for Gentlemen*, published in 1589.[86] Meyer had been supported and commanded by the German-born Danish Statthalter in the Duchies, Heinrich Rantzau, to write the book in 1587, and given Daniel Rogers's close contacts with Rantzau the next year, Rogers (or someone in his retinue) probably brought the book back to London, where Philip Jones then translated it under Francis Drake's patronage. Indeed, from even a brief survey of the

[83]Thomas Palmer, *An Essay of the Meanes hovv to make our Trauailes, into forraine Countries, the more profitable and honourable* (London, 1606) (STC 19156).

[84]*Divers voyages touching the discouerie of America* (London, 1582) (STC 12624). *A Notable Historie* (London, 1587) (STC 15316). William Bourne's *A booke called the Treasure for traueilers* (London, 1578) (STC 3432) was not intended as a general book for travellers as much as it was designed specifically to help in navigation by using tools and calculating distances and latitudes. For a discussion of early English books on navigation, exploration, and travel, see John Parker, *Books to Build an Empire: A Bibliographical History of English Overseas Interests to 1620* (Amsterdam, 1965). See also the definitive reference work, Edward Godfrey Cox, *A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel*, 3 vols (Seattle, WA, 1935–1949).

[85]London, STC 24336, but published a year earlier as *De Peregrinatione et Agro neapolitano Libri II* (Strasbourg, 1574) (VD16 T 2315). For brief discussion and extracts of Turler's observations on England, see William Brenchley Rye (ed.), *England as seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James the First* (London, 1865), xxvii–xxviii, 83–84. On English translations of early German manuals and the comparison between Germany and England as 'somewhat removed from the older and more civilized nations [making it] necessary for them to make an effort to learn what was going on at the centre of the world', Howard, *English Travellers*, 22–27, quotation at 22. Additional publications of the 1570s, though not translated into English, include Theodor Zwinger, *Methodvs Apodemica: In eorvm gratiam, qvi cum fructu in quocunque tandem uitae genere peregrinari cupiunt* (Basle, 1577) (VD16 Z 748); Hilarius Pyrckmair, *Commentariolus de Arte Apodemica, sev Vera Peregrinandi Ratione* (Ingolstadt, 1577) (VD16 P 5423). Turler and Pyrckmair (among others) were reprinted in *De Arte Peregrinandi Libri II* (Nuremberg, 1591) (VD16 P 5424).

[86]London, STC 17784, but earlier publications were *Methodvs Describendi regiones, vrbes & arces, & quid singulis locis praecipue in peregrinationibus homines nobiles ac docti animaduertere, obseruare & annotare debeant* (Helmstedt, 1587) (VD16 M 2301); *Methodus Apodemica, sev Peregrinandi, Perlvstrandique regiones, vrbes & arces ratio* (Leipzig, 1588) (VD16 M 2302).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

book, it almost looks as if Rogers had it close by when he wrote his 'discourse' on Denmark and Norway in September 1588.[87]

As with publications on travel, so with roadmaps and cartography. The English trailed the Germans when it came to aids for the traveller. Richard Rowlands (alias Verstegan) translated and adapted a German travel guide that included routes between various cities, publishing it as *The Post of the World* in 1576.[88] The original 'high Almaine' text appears not to have been reissued, but another German travel guide with routes started at Dresden and covered 'gantz Deudschlandt' as well as other realms and lands. First published in 1577, this text was improved and reissued a dozen times by the end of the century, and it seems likely that English ambassadors to Germany would have had access to it from 1577 onwards.[89] Although printed maps were not used much by ambassadors or travellers, Daniel Rogers's comment in his 'discourse' on the dearth of accurate 'geographicall Cardes' of Denmark suggests an awareness of the information lacking in England.[90] Again German models led the way and – over time

[87]Meyer's topics included cosmography, astronomy, geography, chorography, topography, husbandry, navigation, political affairs, scholastic and academic interests, the Church, literature, history, and chronicles. In the English version, section 'IX Scholastica' became 'The tenth Section. Literature wherein is to be noted.' A previous work with a connection to Drake was Nicholas Breton's *A Discourse in commendation of the valiant as vertuous minded Gentleman, Maister Frauncis Drake, with a reioysing of his happy aduentures* (London, 1581) (STC 3646.5, but not in EEBO), which was primarily a celebration of Drake's circumnavigation but also a commentary on the merits of travel at sigs Aii[i]v–Aiiiir, [Aviiir]. Other possible influences on Rogers's 'discourse' are discussed below, pp. 37–38.

[88]London, STC 21360 included descriptions of the cities and changed the order of the locations listed, but the distances and locations were the same as in the original. The as yet unidentified original was Jörg Gail, *Ein neüwes nützliches Raißbüchlin der fürnemesten Land vnnd Stett* (Augsburg, 1563) (VD16 G 74), which did not include descriptions of the cities. This very rare book is available in facsimile in Herbert Krüger (ed.), *Das älteste deutsche Routenhandbuch: Jörg Gails "Raißbüchlin". Mit 6 Routenkarten und 272 Originalseiten im Faksimile* (Graz, 1974), 357–424. The earliest printed German roadmap dates from 1501 but appears never to have been reproduced in England. Brief discussion of Rowlands and allusion to Wintzenberger's book of 1577 in H. George Fordham, *The Earliest French Itineraries 1552 and 1591: Charles Estienne and Théodore de Mayerne-Turquet* (London, 1921), 197, 212–213.

[89]Daniel Wintzenberger, *Ein Naw Reyse Büchlein von der Stad Dreßden aus durch gantz Deudschlandt* (Dresden, 1577) (VD16 W 3558) was the 1st part of a book completed with the 2nd part describing routes from Leipzig (Dresden, 1579) (VD16 W 3560). On such routes in and diplomacy between France, Spain, and England, see E. John B. Allen, *Post and Courier Service in the Diplomacy of Early Modern Europe* (The Hague, 1972).

[90]Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* was enormously influential after its initial publication in 1570. In more ways than can be enumerated here, the work became the gold standard for cartography on a large scale, and almost all subsequent works were largely dependent on Ortelius. On Rogers and Ortelius, see above, pp. 16–17, and below, p. 112 n. 7. On the use of manuscript, not printed, maps, see Robyn Adams, 'Sixteenth-century intelligencers and their maps', *Imago Mundi: The International Journal for the History of Cartography*, 63:2 (2011), 201–216.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

– were adopted in England and elsewhere.[91] To take one example most relevant to Rogers, the map of Denmark completed by Marcus Jordanus in 1585 had been commissioned by Heinrich Rantzau, the same nobleman behind Albrecht Meyer's book, and its inclusion in the fourth part of Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* in 1588 would have served to vindicate Rogers's narrative descriptions of the isles of Denmark.[92]

International travel is, at least, a two-way street. Travel by Englishmen and Scots in the Empire and Denmark was in some ways matched by Germans and Danes who made their way to England and Scotland. In addition to the usual ambassadors from the German princes and king of Denmark, occasionally princes themselves came to tour the country and, if possible, meet Queen Elizabeth. Johann Casimir, Count Palatine of the Rhine, came to London for his investiture into the Order of the Garter in 1579. Over the course of nearly a month in the capital, the count enjoyed great entertainment, the defraying of all his charges, and countless other courtesies from the queen, various nobles, and the City of London.[93] In 1584 and 1585 the Pomeranian noble, Lupold von Wedel, took a detour from his mainland European travels to visit England and Scotland.[94] In 1592 the soon-to-be duke of Württemberg, Friedrich, toured London, Windsor, Oxford, Cambridge, and elsewhere, and five years later he too was invested into the Order, though under

[91]On Germany, Peter H. Meurer, 'Cartography in the German lands, 1450–1650', in David Woodward (ed.), *The History of Cartography*, III: *Cartography in the European Renaissance, Part II* (Chicago, IL, 2007), 1172–1245; on England, Peter Barber, 'Mapmaking in England, ca. 1470–1650', ibid. 1589–1669. A more detailed discussion of regional chorography in Germany is found in Gerald Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany: Its Topography and Topographers* (Madison, WI, 1959), 60–85.

[92]William R. Mead, 'Scandinavian Renaissance cartography', in Woodward, *The History of Cartography*, 1781–1805, Jordanus's map on pp. 1790–1791, but note that part 4 of *Civitates* was first published in 1588, not 1617. See below on p. 134, Figure 5.

[93]Johann Casimir arrived in England on 21 January and left on 17 or 18 February. *CSPF*, XIII, items 530, 564, 571. His time in London has not yet been fully examined, but see for contemporary comment Walsingham to Davison, 20 February 1579, *CSPF*, XIII, item 569. Some discussion in Lee Piepho, 'Paulus Melissus and Jacobus Falckenburgius: Two German Protestant humanists at the court of Queen Elizabeth', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 38:1 (2007), 97–110; Raymond B. Waddington, 'Elizabeth I and the Order of the Garter', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 24:1 (1993), 97–113, at 106; Gehring, *Anglo-German Relations*, 77, n. at 187. In Cox, *A Reference Guide*, I, 93, a work apparently no longer extant but listed in the stationer's register appears: *A Discourse of ye Lowe Cuntries since Don Jhons Deathe with ye estate and particularities of ye last yere there. With A briefe Declaration of ye commynge of Duke Casimyr thither, and his honourable enterteynment in England*. London, 1579.

[94]Gottfried von Bülow (trans.), 'Journey through England and Scotland made by Lupold von Wedel in the years 1584 and 1585', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, New Series, 9 (1895), 223–270.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

very different circumstances.[95] About the turn of the century a series of travellers from greater Germania came to England and recorded their journeys. Paul Hentzner visited in 1598; Thomas Platter did so in 1599; the baron of Waldstein, a Bohemian nobleman, saw the sights in 1600; and in 1609 with Camden's *Britannia* in hand, Georg von Schwartzstät, Baron of Offenbach, covered much of the same ground as the others had.[96]

English and Scottish travellers on the European mainland used the sources available to them, as well as personal contacts and networks, and often the latter involved visiting or collaborating with expatriates who had settled abroad. For some Elizabethans, their familiarity with German lands was aided by the experience of the Marian exiles, most though not all of whom rushed home to England shortly after Elizabeth's accession. (Beale, for example, appears not to have been in a rush.[97]) For Germans of the period, the impact of emigration to England during the Interim was not as significant, but a German presence in Elizabethan England was another matter. In addition to the Hanseatic merchants who had long been in London and elsewhere, groups of miners and other technical experts from German lands settled in various pockets of England. Indeed, the English government actively sought such expertise, and from its very beginnings, the Company of Mines Royal relied heavily on skilled German labour (here Beale's involvement should be remembered).[98] The significance of British contacts in Germany and German ones

[95]The account of Friedrich's travels, Rye, *England as seen by Foreigners*, 1–53; discussion of the circumstances in the Introduction, lv–xciv. Friedrich's son, Ludwig Friedrich, also travelled to England in 1610; see ibid. cxii–cxx, 55–66. Friedrich's experiences in England were published as *Kurtze vnd Warhaffte Beschreibung der Badenfahrt* (Tübingen, 1602) (VD17 39:130958M).

[96]Hentzner's travels published as *Itinerarivm Germaniae, Galliae, Angliae, Italiae* (Nuremberg, 1612) (VD17 23:246746L), with section on England translated by Richard Bentley (and published by Horace Walpole) as *A Journey into England* (Strawberry Hill, 1757); extracts revised, enlarged, and annotated in Rye, *England as seen by Foreigners*, 103–113. Williams, *Thomas Platter's Travels* worked from the MS in the Universitätsbibliothek Basel. G.W. Groos (ed.), *The Diary of Baron Waldstein: A Traveller in Elizabethan England* (London, 1981), working from the original MS, Vatican Library Reg. lat. 666. G.P.V. Akrigg, 'England in 1609', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 14:1 (1950), 75–94, working from Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.a.316; like Offenbach, Hentzner used Camden when writing his account.

[97]Beale's matriculation at Wittenberg in May 1560 suggests both that he did not return to England immediately after Elizabeth's accession, and that he might have contemplated staying in Germany indefinitely. Contrast Taviner, 'Robert Beale', 53 with Beale's entry in Hasler, *The History of Parliament*. See above, p. 12.

[98]On the Hanse, see Lloyd, *England and the German Hanse*, and Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz and Stuart Jenks (eds), *The Hanse in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2013). See the overview of German immigration in Raingard Esser, 'Germans in early modern Britain', in Panikos Panayi (ed.), *Germans in Britain since 1500* (Hambledon, 1996), 17–27, at 22; nn. on 214–217. Daniel Höchstetter, a member of the Augsburg firm,

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

in England, however, should not be overstated, for these were small numbers compared with a later period, and immigration from other countries, like France and the Netherlands, had a more direct impact on London and wider English society.[99]

Overall, the travels and writings of the authors below should be considered alongside other peregrinations and accounts of the period. The documents edited here were produced by men with similar, cosmopolitan inclinations to those who travelled later in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These accounts were produced in (and cannot be taken completely out of) their diplomatic contexts, but they also reflected certain motivations and perspectives common to others who wrote back only to family and friends, or kept private diaries strictly for their own purposes. The treatises by Beale (if indeed he was the author), Rogers, and Skene thus contribute to the history of travel just as they do to the study of international networks, but let us turn to the documents and their primary function as sources of government intelligence.

The Documents as Intelligence and their Significance

The principal context for these documents was international support among Protestants, and each one is a fine example of early modern information gathering. The Elizabethan accounts are of one particular genre, the Jacobean of a different kind. Elizabethans were hardly the first to write surveys of foreign lands while travelling for this purpose. William Thomas and Roger Ascham had written on Italy and Germany during the 1540s and 1550s, as others had done for still other lands.[100] During the Wars of Religion in France and

Langnaur and Haug, was the manager of the mines and smelting works in Keswick, Cumberland. See Beale's connection to mines in Cockermouth, Cumberland below at p. 73 n. 238.

[99]During the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Anglo-German connections grew increasingly complex due to trade and dynastic issues. See the translated study, Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, trans. Cynthia Klohr, *The Forgotten Majority: German Merchants in London, Naturalization, and Global trade, 1600–1815* (New York, 2014). On French and Dutch immigrants, Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford, 1986), is the classic study but has little to say of German immigrants. On immigration more generally, see the wide-ranging studies in Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (eds), *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550–1750* (Brighton, 2001).

[100]See above, pp. 24–25 n. 69. In some ways Ascham's letters on Germany during the 1550s could be seen as offering inspiration for 'the state of Germany' in 1569, but a more immediate influence and context was Sir Thomas Smith and Beale's newsletters of the late 1560s. In any event, Ascham's letters were published after, not before 'the state of Germany'

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

the Netherlands, however, the pressing need for intelligence and the development of espionage reached new heights in England and across Europe. Ambassadors, agents, and spies were sent to international friends and foes alike, and networks of intelligence reported regularly on military movements, political proceedings, and religious rivalries. In England, the expansion of observation of foreign affairs was best represented by the network organized by Francis Walsingham, but intelligence gathering in the field was never an easy process no matter where an operative was working.[101]

Another factor in how intelligence was gathered, synthesized, and delivered to the state was the Venetian model, the *relazione*, which was an explicit exercise of a state-appointed ambassador rather than a narrative or account written by a traveller or agent on his own initiative. Although the overlapping purposes of *relazioni* and some travel writings – especially those for purposes of secret intelligence – is plain, the origins of the documents themselves are distinct. As Mattingly argued decades ago, the beginnings of 'modern diplomacy' began in Italy. His emphasis was predominantly on the office of the resident ambassador, but the evolution and spread across Europe of the report or 'relation' of the ambassador was no less important, for 'by way of emulation, diplomats of other powers were moved to try their hands at something like the Venetian model'.[102] Sir John Neale's assertion that George Carew's relation on France in 1609 was the first English imitation of the *relazione* tends to confirm that English foreign policy and intelligence gathering lagged significantly behind the trends and techniques of mainland Europe.[103] Finding a genuine Elizabethan example of an Englishman imitating the Venetian model would,

was written. See also Thomas Chamberlain's report on the Low Countries in 1553, BL, Cotton MS Galba, B. XII, fos 238r–239v. For discussion of such writings under Edward VI and Mary, and in the early years of Elizabeth's reign, see David Potter, 'Mid-Tudor foreign policy and diplomacy: 1547–63', in Doran and Richardson, *Tudor England and its Neighbours*, 106–138.

[101]For a scholarly treatment of the Elizabethan era, see Stephen Alford, *The Watchers: A Secret History of the Reign of Elizabeth I* (New York, 2012); for a more popular perspective, Robert Hutchinson, *Elizabeth's Spymaster: Francis Walsingham and the Secret War that Saved England* (London, 2006). For an international perspective over a longer period, see the studies in Daniel Szechi (ed.), *The Dangerous Trade: Spies, Spymasters and the Making of Europe* (Dundee, 2010).

[102]Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, on reports and *relazioni* on 105–107, quotation at 107.

[103]J.E. Neale, 'The diplomatic envoy', in *Essays in Elizabethan History* (London, 1958), 125–145, at 142. Probably not by coincidence, a copy of Carew's account of France precedes 'the state of Germany' in BL, Additional MS 48062, on fos 60r–133v.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

therefore, be striking. The accounts of 1569 and 1588 reproduced below fit precisely this pattern.[104]

The evolution of the Venetian *relazione* occurred between the late fifteenth and late sixteenth centuries, as did more general treatises on the office of the ambassador. The latter aimed to describe the functions, privileges, and duties of the official ambassador, as well as what could make one envoy better than another; his behaviour, education, and manners were of the utmost importance.[105] These general treatises on the diplomatic representative were often printed, were popular among statesmen across Europe, and represented to some extent the maturation of specialized diplomacy in early modern Europe, just as similar accounts by Robert Beale and Nicholas Faunt crystalized the office of Principal Secretary in England.[106] The works on the ambassador sometimes touched on diplomatic dispatches and final reports. The written report of the ambassador upon his return from duty abroad, the *relazione* as it was in Venice, was not simply a detailed retelling of what the envoy did and with whom he spoke while abroad, but a more synthetic survey of the country and prince to whom he was sent. As Ottaviano Maggi advised in his book published in Venice in 1566, of particular importance was the strength or power of the country relative to others; its jurisdiction, administration, and finances; marriages, rivalries, and other significant relationships; and the nature and customs of the prince, along with an assessment of how other princes viewed him.[107] The typology of this final relation,

[104]On Rogers's account and Albrecht Meyer's treatise on travel, see above, pp. 29–30. The blending of secret, governmental intelligence with open, public discussion on travel during the 1580s is a development not yet fully appreciated in existing scholarship.

[105]B. Behrens, 'Treatises on the ambassador written in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries', *English Historical Review*, 51:204 (1936), 616–627; 8 of the 10 treatises surveyed by Behrens were printed in the mid to late 16th c. In this same genre was Ottaviano Maggi, *De Legato Libri Dvo* (Venice, 1566). For publications in England, see Alberico Gentili, *De Legationibus Libri Tres* (London, 1585) (STC 11737); Jean Hotman, *The Ambassador* (London, 1603) (STC 13848), expanded and published in French in Paris in 1604 and in Düsseldorf in 1613 (VD17 1:009487Y). On such treatises, see Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 201–212.

[106]Robert Beale, 'A treatise of the office of a councellor and principall secretary to her majestie', 1592, BL, Additional MS 48149, fos 3v–9v; printed in Conyers Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth* (Oxford, 1925), I, 423–43. Charles Hughes (ed.), 'Nicholas Faunt's discourse touching the office of the Principal Secretary of estate, &c. 1592', *English Historical Review*, 20:79 (1905), 499–508. Still another example is Thomas Wilkes's 'A Briefe and Summary T[r]actate shewing what appertaineth to the place dignitie and office of a Councellor of state in a Monarchie or other Commo[n]wealth', *c.*1595–1597, BL, Stowe MS 296, fos 7r–20r. For a discussion of Beale's and Wilkes's (and to a lesser extent Faunt's) accounts, Brewerton, 'Paper trails', 202–236.

[107]As summarized in Donald E. Queller, 'The development of ambassadorial *relazioni*', in J.R. Hale (ed.), *Renaissance Venice* (Totowa, NJ, 1973), 174–196, at 180.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

along with its humanistic influence, was described during the 1560s or 1570s, and can be summed up as follows:

> First, the orator should discuss the site, giving the ancient and modern names of the place, its boundaries and subdivisions, its most important cities, famous ports, fortresses, episcopal sees, principal rivers, mountains and forests. He should then proceed to deal with the climate, temperature and rainfall, fertility of the land, its mineral resources, the animals found there, the distribution of population, mountains, plains, woods and swamps, and any other noteworthy effects of nature. The people should also be described at length, their customs and habits, their appearance and stature, their attitudes and religion, their organization and preparation for war by land and sea, their crafts, commerce, exports and imports, and the riches of the nobility and people. Finally, of course, he must not forget the prince, his ancestry, his person, his life and customs, whether he is loved by his subjects, his income and expenses, and the guard that he keeps, the grandeur of his court, and with what princes he has friendships and enmities.[108]

This range of topics could be addressed in a flexible manner and in as much or little detail as the author wished, for each ambassador (Venetian or otherwise) exercised considerable freedom concerning the form and flow of his *relazione*. Most important, though, was the general, synthetic, and didactic nature of the information. This sort of intelligence was – if seemingly puerile today – crucial to the formulation and execution of foreign policy (again, in Venice or elsewhere).

Despite the fact that the Venetian government was one of the most secretive and protective of its records during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, documents leaked and found wide circulation. In one instance from 1616, the Venetian representative in England was shocked to find a large volume of *relazioni* in manuscript; more astonishing and suggestive was that the volume was in the Bodleian Library at Oxford where many would-be statesmen could consult it at leisure.[109] Long before 1616, however, a black market had existed for those interested in purchasing copies of such relations. Demand was so strong that many and various *relazioni*, along with other diplomatic materials, were compiled into printed volumes of *tesori politici* or

[108] Queller, 'The development', 181, summarizing the final four points of a Venetian *recordi* printed in Donald E. Queller, 'How to succeed as an ambassador: A sixteenth-century Venetian document', in Joseph R. Strayer and Donald E. Queller (eds), *Post Scripta: Essays on Medieval Law and the Emergence of the European State in Honor of Gaines Post* (Rome, 1972), 653–671, on 663–665.

[109] For a discussion of the production and circulation of *relazioni*, see Filippo de Vivo, 'How to read Venetian *relazioni*', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 34:1–2 (2011), 25–59, on Oxford at 33.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

'political treasures', as happened in Cologne and elsewhere.[110] Because relations or reports following the Venetian model were recognized as the 'state of the art', their authors (who were sometimes ghostwriters for the ambassadors to whom they were attached) sometimes wrote them with an eye to advancement within government ranks, just like the ambassadors themselves. Such accounts would demonstrate the political scrutiny and acumen of their authors, as well as their loyalty to the home state and its foreign policy goals.

It will not be surprising to learn that Robert Beale had an especial appreciation of the didactic nature of Venetian *relazioni*. In his treatise on the office of councillor and principal secretary, written in 1592, Beale advised that any prospective councillor should have a sound understanding of the English government, its geography and cities, its noblemen, revenues, lands and customs, as well as various maps of the country. Regarding foreign lands and the sending and receiving of ambassadors, Beale recommended that a councillor or principal secretary know 'how the State wherto [an English envoy] is directed is divided or affected in warr or otherwise. Ande heerin perhapps your Italian *Relationi* may stande you in some steede for the knowledge of forraine Estates'.[111] It is suggestive that Beale felt safe to assume that a prospective principal secretary (Edward Wotton in this case) would have his own *relazioni* to consult, though the assumption seems justified given Beale's own collection.[112]

Like their Venetian counterparts, the authors of the accounts written in 1569 and 1588 (most probably Beale and most certainly Daniel Rogers), sought professional advancement and patronage in exchange for their treatises of intelligence and fidelity to the state. The accounts were based on the best sources available – written, published, or oral – and many of these authorities were only available in Germany or Denmark.[113] The most up-to-date

[110] *Thesoro politico cioè relationi instruttioni trattati, discorsi varii d'ambasciatori: Pertinenti alla cognitione, & intelligenza delli stati, interessi, & dipendenze de più gran principi del mondo: Nuovamente impresso a beneficio di chi si diletta intendere, & pertinentemente discorrere li negotii di stato* (Cologne, 1589) (USTC 806507); 'nuovamente impresso' suggests that the publication of 1589 was not the first, but no earlier printed versions have yet been located.

[111] 'A treatise', BL, Additional MS 48149, fos 5r–v, 7r; 'A treatise', Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham*, 428–430, 435.

[112] See Beale's sixteenth-century *relazioni* in BL, Additional MSS 48080. Most of the other *relazioni* in the Yelverton Collection (e.g. Additional MSS 48089, 48107, 48108, 48112, 48121 48123, 48131, 48144, 48148, 48153) were probably acquired by the Yelverton family during the 17th c. See Patricia Basing, 'Part II – The Yelverton Library', in *The British Library Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts: The Yelverton Manuscripts, Part 1: Descriptions* (London, 1994), xix–xxxv, on xxiv–xxv.

[113] As David Potter has observed, 'the question of the sources drawn on is inevitably highly complex and obscure', and determining every last source used in these accounts would be

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

cartographic information, regional news, and rumours regarding personalities at foreign courts were only available *in situ*, so recording and relaying that intelligence for the Elizabethan state was a key function these envoys arrogated to themselves. Of particular concern to the Elizabethan government were the financial abilities of (and potential contributions from) the Protestant princes of Germany and Denmark, so the inclusion of detailed information along these lines in the accounts of 1569 and 1588 is unsurprising. Because of the considerable amount of work put into these English digests, their authors probably assumed that their accounts would be graciously received and filed along with other state papers relative to Germany and Denmark, made available to counsellors and future ambassadors, and even circulated given sufficient interest. If the current assessment is correct that Beale wrote 'the state of Germany', then Beale's most immediate audience would have been John Hales and William Cecil, this given his previous newsletters on German affairs during the late 1560s. As for Rogers, in light of his letters to Walsingham and Cecil during the summer of 1588 (and closer association with the former for years previous) it seems most probable that his 'discourse' was written principally for Walsingham.[114] In the case of 'the state of Germany', it seems that the account was copied and circulated to some extent, but such appears not to have been the fate of Rogers's 'discourse' on Denmark. The two manuscript copies and one printed version of 'the state of Germany' vary to such a degree as to suggest a wide circulation, and because of the increasingly important role played by the Protestant princes of Germany in Elizabethan foreign policy, this dissemination may not be surprising. Additionally, Beale (if indeed he was the author) lived another thirty-two years after it was composed, and presumably he would have been reasonably eager to inform others of his expertise in German affairs. The one known copy of Rogers's 'discourse', however, reflects Denmark's fall even farther into the background on the international stage after the death of King

impossible, but some have been identified in the notes to the documents. The range of source material on Denmark available to, e.g., Daniel Rogers would have included everything from the published works by Saxo Grammaticus and Sebastian Münster to inside information known only to the highest ranking officials in the regency government. For Rogers's historical interests, see F.J. Levy, 'Daniel Rogers as antiquary', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 27:2 (1965), 444–462. For the analogous French context, David Potter, *Foreign Intelligence and Information in Elizabethan England: Two English Treatises on the State of France, 1580–1584*, Camden Fifth Series, XXV (Cambridge, 2004), 14–17.

[114]Walsingham kept various 'books of matters' on both domestic and foreign affairs. See his 'table book', BL, Stowe MS 162, which includes reference to these books, with material relative to Denmark on fos 107r–108v. Discussion, partial transcription, and list available in Williamson, 'Before "diplomacy"', 215–222, 244, Appendix 4, 303–307, noting 'full publication of this document is suggested' at 303.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

Frederik II. Put simply, Denmark did not matter to English foreign policy after 1588 nearly as much as the Protestants of Germany did after 1569. Furthermore, Rogers died in 1591 and had been unable to advance further than clerk of the privy council.[115] The journal of John Skene was a different type of report not intended for a wider distribution than the highest of government officials, such as King James VI's Lord Chancellor, John Maitland (elevated to the peerage as the first Lord of Thirlestane on Anne's coronation day, 19 May 1590).

Unlike the two synthetic overviews of Germany and Denmark, Skene's journal falls into the genre of the diplomatic report known as a *mémoire* or *procès-verbal*. This form of report was particularly characteristic of diplomatic practice in France and the Low Countries, and several (such as Jean Malliet's) survive from the 1580s.[116] During Daniel Rogers's mission in 1588, his French secretary, Josias Mercier, kept a similar journal noting Rogers's negotiations on a daily basis, and this report has been used extensively in the edition of the 'discourse' on Denmark below.[117] The official nature of Skene's report is replicated in Mercier's, as both recite their departures (from Edinburgh and London) and various locations during the embassy, and they both include the specific names (and character evaluations) of key councillors and ambassadors. Because Skene was himself one of the two ambassadors, however, the substance of his and Colonel Stewart's discussions with German princes and personalities is covered in greater detail than in Mercier's account; indeed, Skene's journal is considerably longer than Mercier's. English examples of such reports were similar though not as formulaic in structure and purpose. The earliest relevant journal by an Englishman was Walsingham's kept between 1570 and 1583, but it lacks the specificity supplied in Skene's and the French examples.[118] The earl of Leicester kept a record of daily occurrences during his time in the Netherlands, a short sample

[115]Beale assumed the position of Elizabeth's expert on Denmark during the 1590s. For examples of his extensive materials on Denmark, see BL, Additional MSS 48001, 48094, 48126, 48152.

[116]For an example and discussion, see Simon Adams and Mark Greengrass (eds), 'Memoires et procedures de ma negociation en Angleterre (8 October 1582–8 October 1583) by Jean Malliet, Councillor of Geneva', in Ian W. Archer et al. (eds), *Religion, Politics, and Society in Sixteenth-Century England*, Camden Fifth Series, XXII (Cambridge, 2003), 137–196; on the *mémoire/procès-verbal*, 141–142.

[117]Edited by C. Behrend as 'En dagbog fra en rejse I Danmark 1588', *Danske Magazin*, 6th ser., 1:3 (1912), 334–344.

[118]Walsingham's entry for, e.g., Sunday, 27 May 1571 records simply 'I went to taulke with the Spanish Ambassadour', and the reader does not learn the substance of the conversation. Printed as Charles Trice Martin (ed.), 'Journal of Sir Francis Walsingham, from Dec. 1570 to April 1583', in *The Camden Miscellany*, VI, iii (Westminster, 1871).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

of which 'jornall' exists for December 1585 to November 1586 among Beale's papers. Following Leicester's is Beale's own 'jornall' for his time in the Netherlands in 1587.[119] Simultaneous to Skene's mission were the isolated journal entries of Thomas Wilkes while in serving with Thomas Bodley in the Dutch Republic. Again, these entries are not as complete as the established model nor do they follow it, though Wilkes's entries are best understood to sit alongside various letters and papers of the period.[120] A final example would be Thomas Parry's 'Memoires of occurents and advertisements' written between 1603 and 1605 when he was resident ambassador in Paris.[121] These English journals written during embassies (and the letter-books to which they were intimately connected) were part of a wider set of developments in Elizabethan diplomacy, and as such they can be seen as complementary to the wide-ranging overviews edited below.[122] Skene's journal was different in that it was significantly more official and more refined than these English examples. Like Mercier's and Malliet's accounts, Skene's report was written with the specific intention that it would serve as the formal and signed relation of the embassy from his leaving Edinburgh on 9 June 1590 to his return that December.[123] In addition to the strict purpose of the report, the candid observations from the first-person perspective of the ambassador himself offer a glimpse into the dangers and difficulties, the pleasantries and positives of sixteenth-century diplomacy.

As examples of English imitation of *relazioni*, as a snapshot of the intimate but international world of a Scottish ambassador, these documents are significant both as markers of the authors' professional trajectory in a rapidly changing diplomatic world, and for the information they contain. Scholars have not completely overlooked these documents, so none can claim to be a genuine 'discovery', but the relatively little use of them made thus far signals their wider import. E.I. Kouri noted that, in its description of Dresden, 'the state of Germany' included

> the most detailed description of the Saxon Elector ever written in English. This document would, no doubt, support the idea of the *persönliches Regiment des*

[119]Leicester's 'jornall', BL, Additional MS 48014, fos 149–164v, followed by Beale's on 167r–176v. This volume is a collection of copies of letters and papers relating to the Low Countries during Leicester's expedition and the mission of Beale and Henry Killigrew to the Netherlands in 1587.

[120]TNA, SP 105/91, fos 64r–67v, 70r.

[121]BL, Cotton MS Vespasian, F. X.

[122]See the helpful discussion of diplomatic letter-books and the journals mentioned here in Williamson, 'Before "diplomacy" ', 144–199, esp. 192–194.

[123]On Skene's return, see below, p. 215 n. 487.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

> *Fürsten*. Augustus [. . .] is described as making all the most important decisions alone and consulting one or two of his closest councillors only when strictly necessary. [. . .] As for the conduct of foreign policy, the personal negotiations with him were, due to his poor knowledge of Latin, more difficult than at most other European courts.[124]

Due to the similarly detailed descriptions of the Elector Palatine and his court, Kouri's appreciation for 'the state of Germany' could have extended further.

At the other end of the spectrum is Arthur Slavin's admiration for Rogers's 'discourse' on Denmark. Claiming discovery of the treatise, Slavin refers to the context of 'metaphor of union' that Rogers hoped to bring about, the 'elaborate metonymical praise' of King Frederik's religious policy, the overall 'manner of presentation', and Rogers's position as 'an icon of reformation'.[125] Slavin was certainly not wrong to draw attention to the account, but his emphasis and speculations on Rogers's biography and motivations detract from the wider significance of the 'discourse' in the context of diplomatic history, and from the importance of Denmark as a northern European power during the 1580s.

Finally, Skene's journal of 1590 has attracted notice but limited use. Athol Murray noted its existence but does not appear to have consulted it much for his biography of Skene.[126] Judicious but restricted use of the journal was made by Paul Lockhart, who consulted it for Skene's negotiations with Heinrich Rantzau and Niels Kaas. Considering that Lockhart's discussion focuses on regency Denmark and its retreat from international causes, the limited use is understandable.[127] Cynthia Fry

[124]Kouri, *England and the Attempts*, p. 128. On August's previously limited but increasing knowledge of Latin, the author of 'the state of Germany' recorded as follows: 'Nott longe since his Mynde was to learne the Lattine Tounge, Whereof hee was vtterlie Ignorant, And nowe he hath soe profited in a shorte time therein, that hee is able Comonlie to vnderstand anie thing that is either spoken or written in Lattine.' See below, p. 77. Kouri did not make extensive use of the copy he consulted at Lambeth Palace.

[125]Slavin, 'Daniel Rogers in Copenhagen', 263, 264, 265. *Pace* Slavin, for included in the file for the 'discourse' at the Huntington Library is the long list of other scholars who have consulted it, and the item is included in the catalogue compiled by Conyers Read for the Ellesmere collection; claiming discovery may be a stretch. So too would Slavin's 'discovery' of the journal by Josias Mercier available in a modern edition printed in full, Behrend 'En dagbog'. Slavin's final 'discovery' of Rogers's 'Copenhagen working papers' was probably aided by Macray, 'Report on the royal archives of Denmark' and the Rigsarkivet's manuscript catalogue description for TKUA, SD England, AII, 10: England Politiske Forhold, 1585–91.

[126]*ODNB*. The sentence relating to Skene's embassy of 1590 is general enough to have been based on the sources available in *CSPScotland*, X, which is included among the sources consulted.

[127]Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 312.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

notes Skene's account in her study of James VI's foreign policy. Due to the broad geography addressed, however, only slight discussion is afforded apart from a list of the lands to which Skene had been directed.[128] Because the journal offers keen insight into the daily experiences and negotiations of one of Scotland's most experienced international travellers, and because the mission of 1590 to Denmark and Germany represented James's largest diplomatic foray into the Holy Roman Empire to that date, it is surprising that comparatively little significant use has been made of Skene's report.

Shelf Mark Details and Locations

'The state of Germany' and Appendix: 'The tenn circles'

The British Library Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts: The Yelverton Manuscripts, Part 1: Descriptions (London, 1994), 173.[129]

British Library [London], Additional MS 48062, fols 184r–227v: description of the political structure of Germany, including detailed accounts of the Palatinate (fols 188v–193*r) and Saxony (fols 193r*–202r), followed (fols 214r–227v) by tables showing the number and cost of soldiers each Circle of the Empire was required to contribute to the imperial army; July–Nov. 1569. *Copy*, 17th cent. The unidentified author may have been associated with Henry Killigrew's mission to the Palatinate in 1569 (on which see Miller, *Sir Henry Killigrew*, 101–122); see his reference to a visit to the Freiberg mines with Killigrew, 21 June 1569, f. 195.

[128] Fry, 'Diplomacy and deception', 9, 78, and *passim* in Appendix II.

[129] The issue of provenance in the Yelverton Collection is too complex to explore here. See the admirable work by Patricia Basing in the second part of the introduction to the catalogue on pp. xix–xxxv; on xxii and xiii MS 48062 (Yelverton MS 68) is noted as a compilation by an unknown foliator of papers originally owned by Beale and others of a later acquisition, one dating from 1635 or later. Because the copy of 'the state of Germany' in this volume is written in a 17th-c. hand, it seems probable that it was acquired by the Yelverton family, but it is also possible that it is a copy of a text originally among Beale's own papers but subsequently lent and not returned (or lost otherwise). In Edward Bernard, *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in unum Collecti* (Oxford, 1697) (Wing C1253), p. 144, the account is described thus: 'The State of Germany, the revenues, and forces of every particular Province, the form of the Emperor[']s sitting in diet, and a particular of Expences how 6000 horsemen, and 2 Regiments are entertained for one whole year by the Kings of France and Spain, f. 184 to 213. The ten Circles or Provinces of the Empire; how and what they Contribute to the Empire, and how the Protestants do double their Contributions, f. 214.' For early catalogues of the Yelverton library, see BL, Additional MSS 48195, 48196; BL, Hargrave MS 107.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

Catherine Jamison, rev. E.G.W. Bill, *A Calendar of the Shrewsbury and Talbot Papers in Lambeth Palace Library and the College of Arms*, I: *Shrewsbury MSS in Lambeth Palace Library* (MSS 694–710), (London, 1966), 103.

Lambeth Palace Library [London], Shrewsbury MS 703: Folios 1r–22v. Description of the political and religious state of the Empire, written in English between 21 June and 3 October 1569 [but this copy is *c*.1600]. The author accompanied Henry Killigrew but could not be Christopher Mundt. The treatise is in the following sections,

An account of the spiritual and temporal Electorates and of the Free Cities in the Empire (fols 1r–3r).

A detailed account of the Palatinate (fols 3r–5r).

A similar account of Saxony (fols 5r–8r).

Note on the custom relating to the inheritance of land (fol. 8r).

Description of the Free Cities (fols 8v–11r).

The state of religion (fols 11v–13v).

The assessment of the ten Circles to provide horsemen and footmen for the defence of the Empire (fols 14r–22v).

Belonged to Nathaniel Johnston. [see Bernard, *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum*, 1697, tom. ii, part i, 100].[130]

English Short Title Catalogue (accessed via http://estc.bl.uk and compared with Early English Books Online at http://eebo.chadwyck.com)

Wing (2nd edn, 1994), C4503: Clarke, Samuel, 1599–1682, *A briefe and yet exact and accurate description of the present state of the great & mighty empire of Germany, both touching the formes of their civil government, and profession in religion. Taken by a diligent and faithfull surveyor of it, with much paines travelled over that whole country to informe himself and others of these things. Now published by Sa. Clarke, somtime pastor in St. Bennet Fink, London, for the publick good.* London, Printed by A.M. for William Miller at the Guilded Acorn in St. Pauls Church-yard, near the little north door, 1665. 4o[131]

[130]Bernard, *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum*, 100, among the MSS 'Nathanielis Johnsoni' (i.e. not 'Johnston', as is correct in the Lambeth Palace catalogue), 'The State of Germany, in English, about A.D. 1569'. According to the *ODNB*, Johnston was 'an indefatigable antiquary' from the 1660s forward and wrote 'substantial histories of the earls of Shrewsbury'. For Beale's connection to George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury, see above, p. 15 n. 39. The hand in this MS is not a typical hand of about 1600. It looks, rather, like a rough imitation of Beale's own hand as found, e.g., in Walsingham to Burghley, 30 July 1571, TNA, SP 70/119, fos 49r–50r.

[131]The electronic version in EEBO is from the microfilm of the original in the BL (General Reference Collection 114.i.14). The copy in John Cosin's Library at Durham University (shelfmark Cosin L.4.45/6) is a clean copy without annotation and has been consulted

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

'A discourse touching [. . .] Denmarke and Norwegen'

Huntington Library, San Marino, CA, USA, Ellesmere MS 1608: 'A discourse touching ye present estate and gouuernement of the kingdomes of Denmarke and Norwegen, with a description of the said realmes, and Dominions appertayninge vnto them. written in September, Anno 1588'. 10.25 fols. [Secretary hand with Rogers's editorial interventions and signature at end.][132]

'Ane account [. . .] by [. . .] John Skeen'

Catalogue of Manuscripts Acquired since 1925: Volume II (Edinburgh, 1938), p. 133.

National Library of Scotland [Edinburgh], MS.2912: EMBASSY TO THE PROTESTANT PRINCES. 'Ane account of ane Embassie performed by William Steuart [Stewart], Commendator of Pittenweim, and Mr. John Skeen to England, Denmark, and the Princess [Princes] of Germanie in Anno 1590', written by Skene (afterwards Lord Curriehill) (see f. 42v). The mission was to the Protestant princes, and its object was to bring about peace treaties between England and Spain and between France and Spain, or, failing that, an alliance of Denmark, Scotland, and the Germans which should assist the peaceful party against the obdurate. See *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Scotland . . . 1547–1603*, 1898–1963, Vol. x, p. xvi. The journal covers the mission of Stewart and Skene to England, Denmark, and Germany, from 9 June to 20 September, and that of Skene alone to Holland and England, from 20 September to 26 November. Skene gives an account of their visits to different courts (England, Denmark, Mecklenburg, Hesse, Saxony, Brandenburg, etc.), reports fully their conversations with rulers and with the Dutch States General, and describes the persons whom they met, the entertainment which they received, and the towns, buildings, etc. which they visited. His conversations with the Dutch Government deal in part with the arrears of pay claimed from it by Stewart.

where imperfections arise in the electronic version. Clarke's geographic and chorographic interests and publication history included similar titles like *A Description of the Seaventeen Provinces Commonly called The Low-Countries* (London, 1672) (Wing C4507); *A Geographicall Description Of all the Countries In the known World* (London, 1657) (Wing C4516); and *A New Description of the World* (London, 1689) (Wing C4554).

[132] See above, pp. 17–18. For a detailed overview and bibliography of the Ellesmere collection, with reference to Sir Thomas Egerton as a patron of literature, see *Guide to British Historical Manuscripts in the Huntington Library* (San Marino, CA, 1982), 21–45.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

The manuscript is a copy of about the end of the seventeenth century, by the antiquary Robert Mylne. In several places a blank is left for a word.

From notes found loose in the manuscript (ff. iv–v), James Dennistoun appears to have contemplated publishing it.

v + 44 ff. Sm. octavo. Bought, 1938. Reid Fund.[133]

Editorial Conventions and Apparatus

The editorial conventions employed in this volume do not in every respect follow the guidelines set out in R.F. Hunnisett, *Editing Records for Publication* (London, 1977). In general, additional punctuation and expansion of common abbreviations have sometimes been inserted to aid the reader, but capitals, elisions, and broken words have more often been retained. Similarly, the letters 'u', 'v', 'i', 'j', 'c', 't' (and so forth) have been reproduced as found in the documents. The editor has preferred to preserve the flavour of the sixteenth century rather than force the documents to fit the tastes of 1977. Also, because the documents differ significantly in punctuation and orthography, an individual approach has seemed most appropriate. What follows are the particular conventions employed for each account.

'The state of Germany'

A more complex set of conventions than is usually desired is necessary here because of the collation of three different texts. The 'BL' copy serves as the primary text because it is the most complete and is in a clean state. 'LPL', by contrast, is severely damaged at the beginning and end. 'Wing', from internal comparisons, appears to be printed from a later copy. Original spelling, punctuation, and capitalization have been retained throughout the transcription, though full stops, commas, and parentheses have occasionally been added. A strict, purist approach would place additional punctuation in square brackets, but for reasons stated below using more brackets

[133]From NLS, Adv. MS.23.6.17, 'Ane catalogue of the Books Manuscripts and pamphlets Belonging to Robert Mylne writer in Edr. 1709', it appears that Mylne owned Skene's *Regiam Maiestatem* and another relevant work, *Travels through Denmark And some Parts of Germany: By way of Journal in the Retinue of the English Envoy, in 1702* (London, 1707). Dennistoun probably considered publishing it for the Bannatyne Club. His figures included 88 pp. of MS at 36 lines each, with 7 words to a line. He calculated that it would be 74 pp. at 30 lines, or 80 pp. at 28 lines, then 10 Club sheets to text, and another 2 in notes. In total he estimated the cost at £25.10. NLS staff have informed the present editor that the MS was purchased at Dowell's Edinburgh Auction House, Lot 126, on 19 December 1938.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

would only distract the reader. While the BL copy overuses commas and lacks full stops, LPL contains comparatively little punctuation, and Wing falls somewhere in the middle. Additionally, abbreviations have for the most part been silently expanded; exceptions include &c. and vizt. An initial 'ff' in the manuscript has been maintained but signifies a capital, as in 'F', and the predominance of the capital C (as represented by a hot cross bun, as it were) has also been maintained. Superscript letters have been brought in line with the text, though superscripts following Roman numerals (e.g. vith) have been maintained to avoid confusion. Slight differences in spelling between BL, LPL, and Wing are not noted, but where a word omitted or altered in BL arises in the LPL or Wing texts, it is supplied in curly brackets for LPL (e.g. {who serve the ffrench king.}) and angle brackets for Wing (e.g. <by turns>). Significant differences of spelling are found in the notes. From such differences, it appears the BL copyist corrupted some words, especially German places and names, the LPL copyist lacked familiarity with Latin and Greek, and the Wing editor (Samuel Clarke) modernized language to suit conventions in 1665.

'A discourse'

The sole, authentic version of this account makes for comparatively simple conventions. Contractions have for the most part been silently expanded (e.g. Ma^{tie} is now Majestie and y^{t} is now yat; but viz is still viz), and superscripts after Roman numerals have been retained (e.g. viij^{s} for 8 shillings). Marginal notes in the manuscript are placed in the footnotes. Punctuation is largely left intact, though alterations have been noted in square brackets. Full stops before and after Arabic numerals (e.g. .13.) are not included. Words in italics, other than those in Latin, have not been maintained because the frequency of italicization in the manuscript would otherwise distract the reader.

'Ane account'

The transcription of Skene's report has been complicated by the corrupt status of the sole existing copy, which was transcribed by Robert Mylne. As detailed below, his mistranscriptions and omissions have been corrected where possible, though his spelling has largely been retained. Based on his sometimes glaring errors and misspellings, it seems clear that Mylne could not read old Scots with consistent accuracy. A century after Skene's mission of 1590, Mylne simply did not always know what to do with conventional abbreviations and older words, but the present editor has gone to considerable lengths to clarify Mylne's confusion. An English comparison of the period

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

would be Samuel Pepys's judgement of Elizabethan handwriting. When presented with naval documents and letters of the period, Pepys remarked 'Lord, how poorly methinks they wrote in those days, and in what plain uncut paper', and as C.S. Knighton has observed, 'Pepys was initially put off by the horridness of sixteenth-century script', though he eventually overcame his 'aversion to secretary hand'.[134]

Many though not all contractions have been silently expanded. Expanding 'wch' to 'which', 'yt' to 'yat', 'yr' to 'yer', 'oyr' to 'oyer', 'prinll' to 'principall', 'Matie' to 'Majestie', or even 'Edr' to 'Edinburgh' is straightforward enough. The 'y' in 'oyr', for example, should be read as 'th', thus 'other', as 'ye' is universally recognized as 'the'. Mylne's substitutions of 'g' for 'qu' and early modern Scots spellings, however, have been retained to reflect the corrupt nature and origin of the account; Anglicizing 'glk' to 'which' and 'gll' to 'quhill' or 'until' seems inappropriate. The abbreviations 'qrof' and 'grof' have been expanded to 'querof' and 'gerof'; in each case 'whereof' is to be understood. Much like the substitution of 'g' for 'qu' in some instances, the careful reader will notice that sometimes 'after' is employed while at others 'aster' is found, and while this latter variation is clear in the manuscript, the obvious reading is 'after'. The sometimes stilted sentence structure of the account reflects the fact that this report was sometimes written in a type of shorthand rather than full and formal prose; this structure has not been altered. Accent marks included above 'u' have not been retained. Full stops have been retained after Arabic numbers noting the day of the month at the beginning of a sentence (e.g. 16. Weddensday), but dropped before and after numbers when they occur mid sentence (e.g. .6. wagons). Marginal notes in the manuscript are preserved in the footnotes, and punctuation has been left largely intact, save for elements in square brackets. Latin words and phrases are not italicized in the manuscript, but italics have been employed to aid the reader here. Finally, Mylne's copy of the account is imperfect due to blank spaces, obscured words written, and peculiar spellings (which in many instances are probably transcription errors by Mylne or a previous copyist). A literal representation has been preserved where transcription errors are suspected to have occurred, though in some places the editor has been successful in ascertaining the most likely 'correct' reading; these instances are noted in square brackets or in the footnotes.

[134]Pepys was looking at documentation owned by John Evelyn, though much of the latter's naval ledgers and Elizabethan correspondence ended up in Pepys' library. See the entry in Pepys's diary for 24 November 1665, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Robert Latham and William Matthews (eds), VI (London, 1972), 307–308 nn. 1–2; C.S. Knighton, 'A century on: Pepys and the Elizabethan navy', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 14 (2004), 141–151, at 144 (NB Knighton changes Pepys's 'in' to 'on').

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

For Scots words that may cause confusion for some modern readers, definitions and variants have been provided by *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, 12 vols (Oxford, 1931–2002); online at www.dsl.ac.uk. References to distance in miles are discussed by Skene himself below on p. 190, where he notes that 'dutchie Myles' each consist of at least four Scots miles, which were not yet standardized in 1590 but in general slightly longer than English miles. The distance of a German mile varied considerably from one region to the next (in some instances three times as long as the Scots mile, in others five times), so Skene's loose approximation of 4 : 1 was appropriate.

Appendix: 'The tenn circles'

As for 'the state of Germany', the BL text serves as the primary. Minor variations are not noted, though more significant differences are found in the footnotes. The appendix is a fairly close translation of *Hernach volgend die Zehen Krayß, wie vnd auff welliche art die inn das gantz Reych außgethaylt, vnd im 1532 jar Röm. Kay. Maye. hilff wider den Türcke[n] zu geschickt haben. Auch welliche Ständ in yeden Krayß gehörend nach altem herkommen* (Augsburg, 1532) (VD16 Z 230). Comparing the English accounts (BL, LPL, Wing) with several examples of the printed German text of 1532 (VD16), however, it appears that the former differ occasionally in figures of horse and foot, the former are updated with personalities of 1569 (e.g. 'Augustus' is mentioned as the head of Saxonia Superior), and the text is simply more complete (the German publication does not include Saxonia Inferior). Indeed, in a copy of the printed text at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Signatur Res/4 Eur. 333.45, a sixteenth-century reader wrote in the margin of sig. Cir, where figures for Niedersachsen should be included, 'Multa de Saxonia inferiore omissa sunt'. Accordingly, it seems likely that the translator/author (i.e. Beale – if in fact he was the author of the treatise of 1569) was working from a better text than that which survives from 1532.

Apparatus Criticus

The apparatus criticus for these documents is extensive. Apart from a small handful of modern historians of England and Scotland, few scholars will be familiar with many of the personalities, events, and details mentioned in these accounts. Indeed, in many respects, scholarship on English and Scottish relations with Protestant Germany and Denmark has a long way to go. Basic or particularly relevant biographical information is included in the notes, though the reader is also directed to biographical dictionaries (e.g. *ODNB*,

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

NDB, ADB, DBL) for further material; in the interest of brevity, these citations are kept simple. Although the notes are sometimes limited and point to standard reference works, at other times the notes are significantly more comprehensive. A rather thorough apparatus has seemed appropriate because of the nature of the documents themselves. The accounts of 1569 and 1588 were intended to serve as synthetic but exhaustive relations on the current state of Germany and Denmark, and the report of 1590 was written by a man with a similar sense of detail. Only a correspondingly extensive editorial attempt would do justice to the authors' intentions. The present editor can only hope to have served the authors well.

Dates in these documents follow the Old Style, Julian, calendar, but the year is taken here to begin on 1 January unless specified otherwise. England, Denmark, and Protestant territories in the Holy Roman Empire and the Netherlands held fast to the Julian calendar, as observed by John Skene in his account (see pp. 192, 204).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press

https://doi.org/10.1017/S096011631500041X Published online by Cambridge University Press



Figure 1.. (Colour online) Map of *Germania* in Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp, 1570), following fo. 13. Reproduced by permission and with the courtesy of the Norman B. Leventhal Map Center at the Boston Public Library, Boston, MA.