

**TOMASZ GRZEBYK<sup>1</sup>**

Instytut Historii, Uniwersytet Rzeszowski

ORCID: 0000-0001-9094-6665

## **THE TURKISH ISSUE, REFORMATION AND COUNTER-REFORMATION IN POLISH-ENGLISH CONTACTS IN THE 15<sup>TH</sup> AND 16<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES**

### **Abstract**

There are many matters in the history of Polish-English relations that have so far escaped the attention of historians dealing with this subject. Religious issues that are the subject of this article, which is the result of a monthly query in the British Library, Bodleian Library, and The National Archives of England and Wales realized thanks to the scholarship of The de Brzezio Lanckoroński Foundation, seem to be undervalued. The aim of the article is to present selected religious and political issues as important factors in the shaping of Polish-English diplomatic relations at the turn of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

**Keywords:** England, Poland, Ottoman Empire, Reformation, Counter-Reformation

### **Kwestia turecka, reformacja i kontrreformacja w kontaktach polsko-angielskich w XV i XVI wieku Streszczenie**

Istnieje wiele tematów w historii stosunków polsko-angielskich, które dotychczas umykały uwadze historyków zajmujących się tą tematyką. Kwestie religijne, które są przedmiotem tego artykułu, będącego wynikiem miesięcznej kwerendy w British Library, Bodleian Library oraz The National Archives of England and Wales, zrealizowanej dzięki Stypendium Fundacji z Brzezio Lanckorońskich, wydają się – zdaniem autora – niedowartościowane. Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie wybranych zagadnień religijno-politycznych jako istotnych czynników w kształtowaniu się polsko-angielskich stosunków dyplomatycznych na przełomie średniowiecza i epoki renesansu.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Anglia, Polska, Imperium Osmańskie, reformacja, kontrreformacja

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<sup>1</sup> Mgr Tomasz Grzebyk (ur. 5 maja 1990 r.) – historyk i administratywista, doktorant w instytucie Historii UR. Zainteresowania badawcze: historia Kościoła katolickiego w Anglii w XV/XVI w., angielskie zwyczaje liturgiczne, relacje polsko-angielskie w XVI i XVII w. E-mail: grzebykt@gmail.com.

When addressing the issue of Polish-English relations in the 16th century, a historian usually comes across quite substantial material, which has already been partly developed by other researchers. However, these are predominantly economic relationships. Polish scientific literature very briefly touches on social, cultural or religious issues without going into details. In turn, English-language literature is almost completely silent on these subjects. In his article, the author decided to focus on several issues such as common organization of the Crusade against the Ottoman Empire by Poland and England, the issues of the Reformation in Poland and England and their impact on the relations between both countries, and the intellectual contacts of Polish and English humanists.

### **“Together against the Muslim World” – The Turkish issue and the development of Polish-English relations in the 15<sup>th</sup> century**

Until the Battle of Grunwald, Polish-English contacts were occasional. However, Anglo-Teutonic contacts occurred much more frequently, because many English knights took part in Teutonic expeditions against pagans until the Battle of Grunwald. One of them, Gilbert de Lannoy, had an opportunity to confront Teutonic propaganda with reality. Writing the diary of his expedition in 1413-1414, he emphasized clearly that the Lithuanians were baptized in order to become independent of the Teutonic expansion, which used slogans of Christianization.<sup>2</sup>

The report of de Lannoy's expedition, revealing anti-Polish propaganda, together with the Grunwald victory, contributed to the alteration in the English policy towards the kingdom of Poland. The kingdom, ruled by Władysław Jagiełło, from a potential enemy became an object of efforts for the kings of England to seek military support in the Hundred Years' War. In 1415 Henry V made an attempt to pull the Polish kingdom into the English war with France. To this end, he sent a letter to Władysław Jagiełło asking for support along with justification of English rights to the French crown. The answer from the Polish ruler arrived at the English court in 1416. Instead of assuring the support of the English side, however, Jagiełło urged Henry to stop the bloodshed among Christians. He also proposed a peace between England and France and the organization of a crusade against the Ottoman Empire, which he considered as a great threat to Christianity.<sup>3</sup>

The matter of a pan-European crusade returned again in the 1420s. The Treaty of Troyes concluded in 1420 and the consent of Charles VI of France to the proposal of an Anglo-French Union, allowed Henry V to realize his ambitions. These included gaining a leading position in the western Christian world and organizing an anti-Turkish expedition with the military support of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The negotiating mission was entrusted in 1421 to Gilbert de Lannoy, who with his experience and knowledge of this part of Europe, was to guarantee successful negotiations. However, it seems that this idea died along with Henry V.<sup>4</sup>

Henry VI's reign brought about stagnation in relations between England and Poland. They concerned mainly matters related to Church affairs and Catholic ecumenical councils.

<sup>2</sup> J. Lelewel, *Gilbert de Lannoy i jego podróże*, Poznań 1844, p. 391.

<sup>3</sup> *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi*, no 714, Kraków 1882, p. 377.

<sup>4</sup> H. Zins, *Stosunki polityczne między Anglią, a Polską w pierwszej połowie XV w.*, in: *Polska w Europie. Studia historyczne pod redakcją Henryka Zinsa*, Lublin 1968, pp. 148-149.

Besides, a few English legations were sent to Poland in the 1420s/1430s.<sup>5</sup> Little is known, though, about their aim; it can only be assumed that they requested a Polish mediation in the Hundred Years' War. Such an assumption is possible given the fact that in the second half of the 1430s Polish diplomats, Mikołaj Lasocki and Dersław Borzymowski, undertook actions for the signing of a peace treaty between England and France. Based on the preserved sources, particular attention should be paid to the mission of Mikołaj Lasocki and his role at the congress in Arras. Interestingly, in his speech he addressed the common history of England and France, when the rulers of both countries had jointly fought the Saracens, calling for a resurrection of that idea in the face of the pressure of the Muslim world.<sup>6</sup>

However, for many Polish historians, the most important issue in Polish-English relations in the first half of the 15th century is not the role of Polish diplomats in the peace negotiations that led to the end of the Hundred Years' War or efforts to organize the crusade, but the awarding of the Order of the Garter to King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk.<sup>7</sup>

### Polish-English crusade in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century

In the second half of the fifteenth century, English-Polish contacts almost completely came to a standstill due to the civil war in England, called the War of Two Roses. Concerning that period, sources are silent about any diplomatic missions, trips or exchange of letters between the Kingdom of Poland and the Kingdom of England. Relations were re-established in 1503. This is extremely interesting considering the fact that again the main reason for establishing the relationships was the issue of the Ottoman Empire. What does this mean? First of all, Poland was perceived as a potential ally by the English Kingdom. The other issue was the traditional British conviction of greater profits resulting from the victory in the war with Ottoman Turkey and thus monopolization of the land trade route to India. This view was in opposition to the views of the Spaniards and Portuguese, who saw a chance to reach India by sailing westwards. Therefore, the Kingdom of Poland was to play a key role in those plans. For this purpose, on May 27, 1502, Henry VII Tudor sent a mission to Poland, headed by bishop Geoffrey Blythe, who was to present a draft of the alliance of England with the Jagiellonian states: the Kingdom of Poland, the Czech Kingdom, the Kingdom of Hungary and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.<sup>8</sup>

However, Poland's response was negative. The main reason for the refusal was too great a distance between England and Poland, although the Polish Sejm convened in Piotrków in 1503 was well aware of the fact that partaking in a coalition aimed at defending Christianity might have brought a real fame for the Polish kingdom in many European countries.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The National Archives (TNA), Public Record Office (PRO), Exchequer Accounts, E 101/322. No 9.

<sup>6</sup> S. Lasocki, *Un diplomate polonais au Congrès s'Arras en 1435*, Paris 1928, pp. 67-72; A. Czapski, *Mikołaj Lasocki – humanista, dyplomata, mecenas (ok. 1380-1450)*, „Notatki Płockie”, 1981, vol. 26, p. 11; J.G. Dickinson, *The Congress of Arras 1435*, Oxford 1955, pp. 34-35.

<sup>7</sup> See more: H. Zins, *Ze stosunków polsko-angielskich w połowie XV wieku. Sprawa Orderu Podwiązki dla Kazimierza Jagiellończyka*, „Zapiski Historyczne”, 1968, vol. 33, pp. 33-58.

<sup>8</sup> T. Rymer, *Foedera, conventiones, litterae et cuiusunque acta publica inter reges Angliae et alios quosvis imperatores, reges etc.*, vol. 4, Haga 1740, pp. 173-174.

<sup>9</sup> H. Hirschberg, *O projekcie przymierza Anglii z Jagiellonami w r. 1502*, „Tygodnik Ilustrowany”, 1883, no 12, pp. 190-192; 202-203; R. Przędziecki, *Diplomatic Ventures and Adventures, Some Experiences of British Envoys at the Court of Poland*, London 1958, p. 8.

However, it should also be noted that the political priorities of the Jagiellonian dynasty were oriented towards issues other than potential war. The main goal of the Jagiellonian dynasty at that time was to subjugate the countries of Central Europe by putting members of the royal family on the thrones of those countries. The military burdens imposed on the nations under the Jagiellonian scepter would certainly not be conducive to this.

It is difficult to say whether the architects of the dynastic policy underestimated the threat from Ottoman Turkey. After Władysław II Jagiellończyk's death, his only son and successor, Ludwik II, was crowned as king of both Hungary and Bohemia. In the face of the growing threat from the Ottoman side, the young king in vain sought help at the courts of Christian rulers, one of whom was Henry VIII Tudor. Between 1521 and 1526 Ludwik II asked him several times for assistance, relying on his former friendly attitude towards the Jagiellonian dynasty and understanding of the Turkish menace to the whole Christian world.<sup>10</sup>

The awaited help came neither from Henry VIII nor from other Western Christian kings. Hungary was forced to face the powers of the Ottoman Empire alone in 1526. At the battle of Mohacs on the August 26, the Hungarian army supported by a small unit of Polish volunteers was completely defeated. King Ludwik II also fell in the battle. News of the battle with descriptions of the conduct of the Muslims in Hungary reached the English court very soon, dispatched there at the earliest opportunity by Christopher Szydłowiecki, Chancellor of Poland.<sup>11</sup>

### **The English Court's position on the spread of Lutheranism in Poland**

Chancellor Szydłowiecki was the first of the Polish politicians at the time of Zygmunt I to understand the importance of the growing power of the Kingdom of England. He accompanied the king during his visit in Gdańsk in 1526, when he first saw the benefits that the Jagiellonian monarchy could have achieved through rapprochement in relations with England. During his sojourn in Gdańsk he met a man called James, an agent of the Duke of Norfolk. James was initially sent to Denmark to buy falcons trained for hunting. Because he did not find there what he was looking for, he decided to go to Gdańsk, where he was introduced to Szydłowiecki. After their short conversation, the Chancellor of Poland discovered Henry VIII's fondness for hunting with falcons and decided to give a few birds to the English king. He also promised more falcons and other hunting birds if the king sent an envoy to him in Kraków.<sup>12</sup>

In that period, the issue of Lutheranism in Polish-English relations also deserves special attention. The chamberlain of Zygmunt I went to the English court with a gift from Christopher Szydłowiecki. He brought letters to Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey. King Henry VIII, who as *fidei defensor* was harsh on the Lutherans, considered some traders of Gdańsk, who used to go to London for commercial purposes, as adherents of Martin Luther, because heretical books had been found in their English lodging. Having realized that they might be suspected

<sup>10</sup> *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*, London 1929-1931, vol. 3, no 1376; vol. 4, no 1062, 2049, 2268.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, vol. 4, no 2589.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, vol. 4, no 2241; vol. 6, no 1526.

of heresy, the merchants of Gdańsk were afraid to go to London, so they asked King Zygmunt I to intervene at the English court.<sup>13</sup>

On his return to Kraków, the Polish envoy brought a letter from Henry VIII to Zygmunt I and Christopher Szydłowiecki. Although the King of England still doubted whether the merchants of Gdańsk were faithful Catholics, he guaranteed them a safe return to London to do their business. He also expressed gratitude to the Polish Chancellor for the falcons, which pleased him very much.<sup>14</sup>

The issue of the Reformation in Poland was connected with the mission of John Wallopaw 1527 who, at that time, became the first English ambassador in Poland. The Kraków Treaty and Prussian tribute met with a negative reception of many Catholic countries as well as the condemnation of the Pope and Charles V Habsburg. Astonishment at European courts was caused especially by consent to the secularization of the Teutonic Order's state and the victory of Lutheranism in the resulting Prussian principality. Wallop's mission was related to news about England, rumors of Poland's support for Lutheranism in Prussia, and Zygmunt I's attempts to arrange his daughter's marriage with the Prussian prince. The aim of the English diplomat was to persuade the Polish king not to support the Reformation and in this respect his mission was successful, as he obtained such assurance from the Polish court.<sup>15</sup>

Attempts by the English side to purify the Catholic doctrine in the Kingdom of Poland in the 1520s are all the more interesting considering subsequent events related to the Act of Supremacy and denunciation of obedience to the Pope in 1534. It seems that the Polish court did not pay too much attention to events in England. Senior state officials in Poland considered Henry VIII's schism as temporary, but Polish supporters of the Reformation perceived it as an opportunity to transfer postulates proclaimed by Calvin, Luther and other reformers to England.

### **Poles in the “service” of the English Reformation**

The Reformation and the social-religious movement that developed around it favoured the establishment of relations between Poland and England. During the time when the Tudor dynasty sat on the English throne, English and Polish reformers strengthened cooperation. An example of this are the figures of Jan Dantyszek and Jan Łaski (the Younger).

Dantyszek travelled to England as early as in the 1520s, when he was carrying out a diplomatic mission related to the increased threat from the Ottoman Empire.<sup>16</sup> It is not known whether he met Thomas Cranmer in Regensburg then or only in 1532. Although Dantyszek became a Catholic bishop in 1537, his activities and views beforehand leave many doubts concerning their orthodoxy. Historical sources from the reign of Henry VIII, especially several letters, testify to close contacts between Jan Dantyszek and Thomas Cranmer and confirm that the Bishop in the matter of divorce of the King of England with Catherine of Aragon acknowledged the validity of arguments put forward by an English clergyman.<sup>17</sup> It is also known that the correspondence between the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop

<sup>13</sup> *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 8, Poznań 1876, no 46.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, no 52.

<sup>15</sup> *Letters and Papers...*, op. cit., vol. 4, no 224.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, vol. 4, no 2823.

<sup>17</sup> J. Ridley, *Thomas Cranmer*, Oxford 1962, p. 43.

of Płock continued in the 1540s, although it had a more official character. Dantyszek clearly implied his concern about the fate of the Church, England and Cranmer's life, as he heard rumors that Henry VIII had sentenced the man to death. He expressed sadness at the spread of English schism, plunder of monasteries, confiscation of church properties, and abandonment of celibacy by clergy. It seems that Dantyszek was ready to offer Cranmer any help in case he fled the country. He also asked for information about the situation in England to be sent to him via Polish merchants.<sup>18</sup>

Jan Łaski the Younger became especially famous in England. English historiography appreciates his merits for the development of the Reformation in England. English historians also used to emphasize the Polish origin and gentry of Łaski's pedigree. Before Łaski came to England, he had travelled around Europe for several years. He lived, among others, in Frankfurt am Main, Leuven and Emden in Friesland. There, he initiated reforms, which soon brought him fame throughout Europe and drew attention of the English reformers. Łaski opposed the doctrines of Martin Luther. He shared the views of Calvin and Melancthon. He also devoted a lot of attention to the issue of unifying Protestant denominations. He left Friesland in 1548 and went to England at the invitation of Thomas Cranmer.<sup>19</sup>

In the invitation issued to him by the Archbishop of Canterbury, it is worth noting the conviction that Jan Łaski can significantly contribute to the development of Protestantism in England. Having arrived in England, the Polish reformer first stayed in the archbishop's palace in Lambeth and then in Windsor. While reforming the Church in England, Cranmer relied heavily on the reformers who came to England during the reign of Edward VI. During that period, Łaski collaborated with Cranmer on the reform and organization of the Anglican Church. It seems that the Pole was very much needed at that time by the Archbishop of Canterbury also because he himself was not entirely certain which way to push the Reformation in England, because, at least until the death of Henry VIII, the Catholic doctrine prevailed in the sphere of church organization and rituals. Jan Łaski's involvement in the reforms in the spirit of Calvinism enabled to push changes in this direction.<sup>20</sup> Many historians also emphasize the influence of Łaski on John Hooper and his leading role during "the vestments controversy".<sup>21</sup>

Łaski's second visit to England began in May 1550. To recognize his talents, he was entrusted with establishing an Evangelical community for foreigners. The tasks of the Polish reformer included organizing the community, caring for its members, and representing their interests before the English state and Church authorities.<sup>22</sup> Jan Łaski received 100 pounds sterling a year to support the Church. Acting as a superintendent, he proved to be a good organizer and diplomat. He presented many new concepts and ideas, thus permanently to be inscribed in the history of the English Reformation and culture.<sup>23</sup>

Łaski's activity as the head of a multinational and multi-denominational religious community was difficult, because he had to balance the needs and interests of various

<sup>18</sup> *Letters and Papers...*, op. cit., vol. 16, no 4, 69.

<sup>19</sup> B. Hall, *John a Lasco 1499-1560. A Pole in Reformation England*, London 1971, pp. 26-34.

<sup>20</sup> O. Bartel, *Jan Łaski*, Part 1: 1499-1556, Warszawa 1955, pp. 163-166.

<sup>21</sup> A.G. Dickenson, *The English Reformation*, London 1964, pp. 242-243.

<sup>22</sup> *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Edward VI*, vol. 3: 1549-1551, London 1925, pp. 317-318.

<sup>23</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, vol. 3: 1550-1552, London 1890-1961, p. 420.

Protestant denominations, among whom were followers of Luther, Zwingli, Calvin and others, often extreme radicals. To give the London community a more uniform character, Jan Łaski developed for it a creed known as *Confessio Londinensis*, published in print in 1551. It was a theological and dogmatic work, containing the principles of faith adopted in the congregation. Each foreigner willing to join, was obliged to sign the creed and pass an exam on the knowledge of the community's rules. *Confessio Londinensis* emphasized charity, the care of the sick and poor, establishment of schools and education of preachers. The issues related to the sacraments were omitted as a matter which could not be agreed.<sup>24</sup>

Also in 1551, the Polish reformer published a catechism he had written, largely based on John Calvin's ideas, ignoring the teaching of predestination. The simplicity of the church organization and rejection of the tradition in the liturgy were characteristics of the community managed by the Pole. This issue became a bone of contention between him and Bishop Nicolas Ridley, who, despite the royal decree on the autonomy of the London foreign community, claimed the right to supervise it and tried to introduce the Anglican liturgical rite there.<sup>25</sup> Among the Anglo-Saxon historians, Jan Łaski is often described as the founder of Presbyterianism. He is also credited with diplomatic efforts to set up a pan-European Protestant faction led by England.<sup>26</sup>

The reformatory activity of the Pole in England ended with the death of Edward VI and an attempt to restore Catholicism during the time of Queen Mary I Tudor. Despite his return to the continent and Poland, Jan Łaski was still interested in the Reformation movement in the British Isles. An expression of this were the letters he sent to Queen Elizabeth I, who took over the throne of her sister, in which he reminded her of the Christian monarch's duties. He also expressed hope that the young queen would support the further development of the Reformation in England.<sup>27</sup> In addition, Łaski maintained contacts with the English, proof of which is preserved in the correspondence with the English merchant John Burcher.<sup>28</sup>

### **Relations during the Counter-Reformation (up to 1600)**

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the only Pole who gained greater fame and recognition in England than Jan Łaski was Stanisław Hozjusz, Bishop of Warmia and Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church. Hozjusz was an implacable opponent of the Reformation and supporter of severe punishment for all its manifestations. Like Łaski, he was keenly interested in the religious situation in England, with the difference that he supported the Catholic faction. He gained recognition in the eyes of English Catholics primarily because he organized help for them to leave England and travel to Europe, including Braniewo at Warmia, Poland.<sup>29</sup> The issue of the stay of Catholic immigrants from the British Isles in Braniewo and Poland remains untouched by Polish and English historians.

<sup>24</sup> H. Dalton, *Johannes a Lasco. Beitrag zur Reformationsgeschichte Polens, Deutschlands und Englands*, Gotha 1881, p. 330-333.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 343-347

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 349.

<sup>27</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Elizabeth*, London 1863-1950, no 236.

<sup>28</sup> H. Robinson, *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation*, vol. 2, London 1847, pp. 687-699.

<sup>29</sup> W. Zakrzewski, F. Hipler, *Hosii epistolae*, vol. 1, Kraków 1879, p. 411.

During the Council of Trent (1545-1563), the Polish bishop repeatedly interceded for them and appealed to European Catholic rulers for intercession for Catholics imprisoned by Elizabeth I. It is also known that Hozjusz kept a list of bishops and clergy imprisoned in England, whom he tried to help himself financially and maintain contact by correspondence. Noteworthy is also the number of clergy and lay Catholics from England who found shelter and hospitality at his home in Trent.<sup>30</sup>

Among them were: Bishop Thomas Goldwell, Cardinal William Allen, Sir Richard Shelley and Nicolas Sanders. Also, the Polish bishop supported and maintained correspondence with Thomas Stapleton, a graduate of the University of Oxford and professor at Leuven, a well-known Catholic apologist. Hozjusz and Nicolas Sanders were connected by most enduring and, at the same time, close relations. Sanders graduated from the University of Oxford where he then taught canon law. Because Elizabeth I took over the reign, Sanders decided to emigrate and went to Rome, where he obtained a doctorate in theology and was ordained. Then, in 1561, he went to Poland with Hozjusz, whom he befriended in Trent. While in the Commonwealth, Sanders probably helped Hozjusz with organizing diocesan synods, introducing Trent's reforms, and bringing Jesuits to Poland.<sup>31</sup>

The Englishman considered himself not only a friend, but also a student of Stanisław Hozjusz, to whom he dedicated one of his works entitled *De visibili monarchia Ecclesiae libri octo*. In its introduction, Sanders warmly recalled the years spent in Poland, expressed his gratitude to Hozjusz for all the good he had done for English refugees and for the teachings he could receive from the Polish cardinal.<sup>32</sup>

As mentioned earlier, the Bishop of Warmia also maintained contacts with clergy and laity who decided to stay in England. One of them was Bishop Stephen Gardiner. In 1553, Hozjusz sent him a copy of his book *Confessio fidei catholicae christiana*. Although this is not certain, it might be Gardiner who should be credited with special merits in spreading Hozjusz's thoughts in England. The views of the cardinal from Poland became quite popular in Elizabeth I's kingdom, as evidenced by translations of his work into English. At the same time, these are the first books of the Polish author, entirely translated and published in Shakespeare's language.<sup>33</sup>

Firstly, the book *De origine haeresium nostri temporis* was translated, which was published in 1565 in Antwerp, titled *A Most Excellent Treatise of the Begynnyng of Heresyes in Oure Tyme, Compyled by the Reuerend Father in God Stanislaus Hosius, Byshop of Wormes in Prussia etc. Translated out of Laten in to Englysche by Richard Shacklock and intitulated by him The Hatched of Heresies*. Its translator was Richard Shacklock, a Catholic priest, who after leaving England, like many others, settled down in Leuven. It is very interesting that Shacklock dedicated the translation to Queen Elizabeth with a request that she would allow her subjects to copy Hozjusz's work in order to see their mistakes and return to the Catholic Church.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Ibidem, p. LII.

<sup>31</sup> T.M. Veech, *Dr Nicholas Sanders and the English Reformation 1530-1581*, Louvain 1935, p. 47.

<sup>32</sup> Ibidem, p. 50.

<sup>33</sup> W. Zakrzewski, F. Hipler, *Hosii epistolae*, op. cit., p. LVIII.

<sup>34</sup> A.F. Allison, D.M. Rogers, *A Catalogue of Catholic Books in English Printed Abroad or Secretly in England 1558-1640*, vol. 1, Arundel 1956, pp. 74-75.

Aforementioned Thomas Stapleton, the other translator of Hozjusz's works, was heavily influenced by Stanisław Hozjusz and his polemical writings. In 1567 he published the *The Word of God of the Expreſſe in Leuven. A Shorte but a most excellent treatyſe and very neceſſary for this tyme. Written in Latin by the right Reuerend, Lerned and vertuous Father Stanislaus Hoſius, Biſhop of Warmia, Cardinal of the Holy Apoſtolyke See of Rome and the one of the Presidents in the late Genral Council holden at Trent*. These and other works of Stanisław Hozjusz, not translated into English, were given attention not only by Catholics. Polemicism with the theses contained in *De expreſſo Dei verbo* was undertaken by Puritan theologian William Fulke, who accused the Polish priest of, among others, intolerance and lack of the virtue of love for others. Hozjusz's views were also criticized by Bishop of Salisbury John Jewel, but he, nevertheless, appreciated the education, erudition, and steadfastness of the Bishop of Warmia.<sup>35</sup>

Thanks to Hozjusz's counter-Reformation activity, there had been the largest transfer of ideas and thoughts until then between Poland and England, incomparable to the activities of Jan Łaski or other Polish representatives of the Reformation. Although in English opinion the Commonwealth remained a bastion of Catholicism, this was not a difficulty for the relations between both countries. The only problem was the Jesuit activity and presence of many English members of this order in Braniewo and Vilnius. That is why English traders and diplomats, arriving in Poland, performed double tasks, which included infiltrating the Catholic immigrants from England.<sup>36</sup>

At the beginning of the 1580s, the case of James Bosgrave was well known in Europe. By the authorities of the Jesuit order he was sent to Poland and Lithuania, where he became professor at the Vilnius Academy. In 1580, the Jesuit went to England, which aroused suspicion of the English. Simultaneously, John Rogers was at the court of Poland's King Stefan Batory in a case related to the Eastern Company and its trading post in Elbląg.<sup>37</sup> Thanks to his reports sent to Francis Walsingham, Bosgrave was captured and imprisoned in the London Tower where he was accused of treason and sentenced to death. However, Stefan Batory interceded for him with Queen Elizabeth I. He pointed out in his letter to the English queen that in her country the principles of tolerance were not as respected as in Poland. As a result, the Jesuit regained his freedom and returned to Poland in 1585.<sup>38</sup>

## Conclusion

The aim of the article was to present several issues related to Polish-English relations in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The author attempted to move away from the perception widespread in the historiography of relations between Poland and England at the threshold of modernity through the critique of trade contacts. The time frame chosen by the author enables to show their diversity: from common political projects, through religious and intellectual issues, to fairly mundane topics, such as diplomatic courtesy and attempts to win gratitude. At the same

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<sup>35</sup> J.E. Booty, *An Apology of the Church of England*, New York 1963, p. 77.

<sup>36</sup> W. Borowy, *Prześladowani katolicy angielscy i szkoccy w Polsce XVI*, „Przegląd Powszechny”, 1938, no 7, p. 112.

<sup>37</sup> C.H. Talbot, *Elementa ad Fontium Editiones*, vol. 4, Romae 1961, no 7, 9, 10.

<sup>38</sup> *Calendar of State Papers. Foreign, Elizabeth*, op. cit., no 707.

time, the examples given prove that despite the distance that separates these two countries, efforts have been made on both sides to tighten their relationships.

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