'*Because we are enemyes to them and their gospell*'

A Comparative Study of English Catholic and Netherlandish Protestant Exiles in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century

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Preface

"As early in Elizabeth's reign as the 1570s some exiles pressed the Pope and the King of Spain for a crusade against England and the forcible removal from power of Elizabeth and her government. English émigrés wrote plans for an invasion and worked with foreign powers to topple Elizabeth's government. That they were never successful does not mean the plans never existed – they most certainly did. Many were wildly implausible, concocted by men whose organizational ability was lamentable. Some, however, were truly threatening. […] The English Catholic exiles in Louvain, Antwerp, Rome, Rouen and Madrid wrote passionate books about Elizabeth's government of atheists suppressing God's Church as cruelly as the Romans had persecuted the first Christians."[1]

On a murky, dark and dreary evening in late October 2012,[2] I sat myself down for an evening of gratuitous bibliophile extravaganza. Only recently had I acquired a book, heaped with praise, which promised to explore the intricate web of subterfuge and conspiracy surrounding the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. A factual political thriller, set during the sixteenth century. I was in for a treat. As I turned to page 16 of Stephen Alford's phenomenal *The Watchers*, my eyes fell on the excerpt quoted above. Although I was but an ignorant student of history at the time – and still am today – I had never heard about any English Catholic exiles, let alone their presence in a country whose history I was supposed to be marginally familiar with. Page 16 sparked an interest I have been trying to satisfy for closing on three years. As I gradually got less ignorant, I learnt that perhaps my not knowing of the English exiles was not entirely my fault. Their existence abroad proved somewhat of a mystery. Histories of the Catholic émigrés were alternatively filled with question or exclamation marks; the latter a result of the division they sowed among historians. Somewhere along the way, I picked up the equally fascinating Netherlandish *strangers* in sixteenth-century England. It came as a great surprise that they, to the contrary, had been fairly well-studied. Like the Elizabethan expats, I concocted a plan: to conduct a comparative study of both communities. My ambitions proved as audacious as those of the would-be assassins of Elizabeth. For the source of my ignorance, along with that of other historians, proved to be a general dearth of contemporary sources. Yet I hope that as you sit down, my dear reader, on a murky, dark and dreary evening or otherwise, that you may find some of the aforementioned question and exclamation marks have been replaced with answers.

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Ghent
May 2015

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[1] S. Alford, *The Watchers: A Secret History of the Reign of Elizabeth I*, London: Allen Lane, 2012, p. 16.
[2] Frankly I have no recollection of the weather at the time whatsoever, yet I believe that is how any foreword worth its weight is supposed to start.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost I owe thanks to my supervisor, prof. dr. Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, who accepted my research proposal with more enthusiasm than I could have ever hoped for. Her support these last two years has been unremitting and undaunted. Had the roles been reversed – and I would have been the one suffering a constant barrage of puzzled e-mails – I had long chosen exile.

Furthermore, I am deeply grateful to dra. Liesbeth Corens (University of Cambridge) whose helping hand guided me through the historiographical labyrinth of English Catholic exile. I am confident I would have never found half the literature you provided without your help. If I'm ever in the neigbourhood, I promise I am definitely up for that cup of tea. My gratitude, also, to prof. dr. Geert Janssen (University of Amsterdam), dr. Katy Gibbons (University of Pourtsmouth), prof. dr. René Vermeir (Ghent University) and Andrew Spicer (Oxford Brookes University) for their advice and suggestions.

Praise to my friends who endured my – what must have seemed – endless ramblings on those *damned exiles* whenever they gathered the courage to ask me if my master's thesis was coming along. Thanks especially to my dear friend and roommate, Wannes, who bravely weathered my caffeine rushes, provided sustenance as I neglected the household and kept me up to speed of what was going on in the outside world.

Finally, I am indebted to my parents without whom there would have been no thesis to begin with. They allowed me to pursue my passion for history which is commendable to say the least, because let's face it: permitting the fruit of your loins to read an Arts degree in today's economy is pretty damn heroic. I dedicate this to them. *Bedankt*.

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Abbreviations

CHR	The Catholic Historical Review
P&P	Past & Present
ProHSGB	Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland
ProHSL	Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London
PubHSL	Publications of the Huguenot Society of London
SCJ	The Sixteenth Century Journal
UP	University Press

Maps and images

"It is knowne in England that our nation hathe bene begged for in sermons, and this is divulged there in pulpites to shewe in what state the King of Spaine's English pentioners do live here, as also what a great punishment of misery is now laid uppon us because we are enemyes to them and their gospell. And the matter is lyke shortly to be amplyfied in bookes and ballets. God relieve us and amend them."
- Richard Verstegan to Robert Persons, letter dated 28 April 1593

I.   Introduction

"The great majority of Englishmen in the sixteenth century accepted the fact that one of the duties of a king was to decide what religion his subjects should adopt and issue orders from time to time telling them exactly what they should believe about religion, and exactly how they should worship. If the king told them to worship the wrong religion, this was something for which he would have to account to God, but the duty of all subjects was to obey the King in religion as in all other matters."[1]

Although the quote above may suggest a degree of uniformity among the subjects your average monarch could only ever dream of, it does bring to mind the extremely precarious situation of the exile. For once a person left the country on the grounds of religious disagreement – be it without prior approval or through banishment – they were not only seen as religious apostates, but first and foremost as political dissidents. A loyal subject, after all, was supposed to obey the sovereign in all matters temporal and spiritual. To choose exile was to flaunt both.

The objective of this master's thesis is to try and cast a light on those subjects of Elizabeth I, Queen of England and Ireland, and King Philip II of Spain who left their homeland and decided to cross the English Channel in search of a better future, though each in quite the opposite direction. On the one hand, we intend to study the English Catholic exiles who fled to the Southern Netherlands following the Elizabethan Settlement of 1559. On the other, the (Southern) Netherlandish exiles who settled in England during the second half of the sixteenth century. Both are symptomatic of a distinctive phenomenon in early modern Europe called "confessional migration".[2] Exile was not a novelty to sixteenth-century Europeans, as Nicholas Terpstra stressed. Yet never before had it occurred on such a massive scale and was it undertaken by people belonging to a plethora of such wildly differing confessions.[3] Fuelled by vastly differing ambitions, their allegiances, intentions and motivations continue to elude scholars to this day.

In a very recent study, Geert Janssen has attempted "to build bridges between different strands of migration scholarship […] to place the study of Catholic exile within the context of forced migration of religious minorities elsewhere in early modern Europe".[4] It is our intention to do the same by comparing the English and the Dutch. A fact Mark Greengrass dearly lamented was that studies appertaining to the reformations' many refugees have hitherto almost exclusively focused on individual refugee communities, resulting in a general dearth of comparative studies.[5] There is, for instance, not a single study dedicated to the comparison of the English Catholic and Netherlandish Protestant exiles. And yet there is so much to learn from comparing both – especially for the English expatriates of whom so little is known. By providing answers for some questions relating to the Netherlandish strangers, we may expand our knowledge of the obscure Catholic exiles in the Low Countries. Nonetheless, both communities are treated on an equal basis. Janssen claimed the "noted

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[1] J. Ridley, *The Tudor Age*, London: Robinson, 2002, p. 36.

[2] H. Kamen, *Early Modern European Society*, London: Routledge, 2000, p. 47.

[3] N. Terpstra, "Imagined Communities of the Reformation." In: *SCJ*, 40 (2009), pp. 222.

[4] G.H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2014, p. 7.

[5] M. Greengrass, "Two Sixteenth-Century Religious Minorities and Their Scribal Networks." In: H. Schilling and I. György Tóth (eds.), *Religion and Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe, 1400-1700*, 2006, p. 318.

dominance of Protestant exile in current historiography" has created quite a few misconceptions. From a comparative point of view, the various ways in which Protestant and Catholic exile communities influenced and impacted each other has been ignored all too often. Janssen stated this was exceptionally noticeable in the Habsburg Netherlands, where Catholics fled once Protestant exiles had returned and – subsequently – came back again when the Protestants had been driven out once more. "Those who had been persecuted thus turned into persecutors and vice versa."[1] Of course, there was a very similar predicament in sixteenth-century England, where leading Protestant thinkers had fled the country under Henry VIII, returned under Edward VI, and set sail again when Mary acceded to the throne. Their tireless back-and-forth was not yet at end however, as they were once more welcome in England when Elizabeth succeeded in 1558. Protestant and Catholic exiles would have been loath to think so, but their movements and actions were profoundly interconnected.

Subsequently, one might ask why the present research focuses solely on English Catholics, rather than the Catholic British exiles altogether. First of all, to keep track of Scottish and Irish as well as English refugees would far surpass the limited scope of this treatise. Secondly, and more importantly, there is no such thing as 'British Catholic exiles'. Regardless of their shared faith, sorrows and ambitions, the British exiles stuck to their own even when reduced to a minority status abroad. In a letter to William Allen, the Jesuit Robert Persons grieved to witness such dissent between the expatriates on the continent:

> "National partialities also in distribution of things, I think, was not soe carefully avoyded as ought to have bin. […] I would the difference between Welsh and English had not bin so often named or so much urged here among strangers, seeing that of both nations there be very good and vertuous people both at home and abroade who by this open contention may be driven into division. But who can stay young men or ould eyther, once incensed on both sides by national contentions?"[2]

The English and the Welsh were not the only Britons to share differences. Albert J. Loomie emphasised that the Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English had little love to spare for one other and only when times were at their most dire would they deign to share each other's presence – which, inevitably, led to vexation, intrigue and hostility.[3] To the contrary, it is possible to speak of one English Catholic exile community, especially before death of leading figure Cardinal William Allen.[4]

Immigration in England in the second half of the sixteenth century has been intrinsically linked with religious exile from the Low Countries, and, in particular, the Southern Netherlands under Spanish Habsburg rule. Three out of four immigrants in London came from the Low Countries.[5] Although to a lesser degree of distinction, this thesis will focus mainly on Netherlandish exiles from the Southern as opposed to the Northern Netherlands, including those who lived in the Walloon or French-speaking areas. Reason for this is that the former were simply far more numerous, especially following the gradual *reconquista* of the Low Countries by the Duke of Parma during the 1570s and '80s. Those who came from the Northern Netherlands – more or less the present day *the* Netherlands –

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[1] G.H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 8.

[2] W. Allen and T.F. Knox (ed.), *The Letters and Memorials of William, Cardinal Allen (1532-1594)*, London: David Nutt, 1882, p. 74.

[3] A.J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans: The English Exiles at the Court of Philip II*, New York: Fordham UP, 1963, p. 231.

[4] A. Morey, *The Catholic Subjects of Elizabeth I*, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1978, p. 104.

[5] R. Fagel, "Immigrant Roots: The Geographical Origins of Newcomers from the Low Countries in Tudor England." In: N. Goose (ed.), et al., *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, 2005, p. 41.

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were only of some significance in the early waves, but tended to return home once William of Orange had firmly established himself.[1]

Time-wise, the present study largely corresponds to the reign of Elizabeth I that stretched from 1558 to 1603. This means that no heed, other than a scant reference, will be paid to English Catholic refugees under Henry VIII and Edward VI. However, to account for the first Netherlandish Protestant exiles in England, the time frame stretches a decade earlier or so.

The composition of this master's thesis is to be as follows. First of all, we shall try to present a very brief *status quaestionis* of the contemporary historiography on the exiles of the reformations, introduced by a short discussion of confessional historiography because of its sheer relevance for the exiles. The next chapter treats the different motivations the refugees had for going through with exile. Up for discussion are religious persecution, as well as other religious and economic factors. Subsequently, a prosopography of both communities is to follow, including the numbers, origins, social composition and waves of the exiles. After that we shall discuss the diversity and the reception of the exiles. Next up is the question of where the loyalties of the exiles lay: at home or with their newly acquired sovereigns? This highly traitorous chapter is followed by a comparison of the self-representation and correspondence of the exiles. Particular emphasis is put on the last two themes: the survival strategies of the émigrés and their use of space.

Finally, a word on terminology. Throughout this thesis, one of the most often recurring words is – believe it or not – 'exiles'.[2] We have chosen to follow the suit of Katy Gibbons, who in her magisterial *English Catholic Exiles in Late-Sixteenth Century Paris* preferred the use of 'exiles' over 'émigrés', the latter being the word John Bossy preferred to denote the English Catholic expats. 'Émigrés', she felt, carried a far too permanent connotation. Nonetheless, Gibbons acknowledged the problematic implications of calling the English refugees exiles. "Not all those abroad were exiles in the strict sense: they had not been officially expelled from England", after all.[3] Few, in fact, had been banished from the realm. The Netherlandish Protestant refugees in England, on the other hand, had a larger share of officially expelled persons, although they did not constitute a majority. Gibbons found support with Geert Janssen, who himself chose to wield the term 'exile'.

> "The condition of exile sometimes referred to a formal banishment, yet distinctions between forced and voluntary migration were generally blurred in the Dutch Revolt. Labelling refugees in clear-cut categories is therefore misleading and obscures our understanding of the thoughts and anxieties of those involved."[4]

Raymond Fagel noted that even the seemingly neutral 'emigrant' is of a potentially troublesome nature.[5] Self-imposed exile will only be distinguished from banishment when necessary, but otherwise left untouched in this treatise. 'Exiles', 'expatriates, 'refugees' and 'émigrés' will alternate throughout the following thesis, though all will be used to denote the same people, regardless of the manner, length and nature of their sojourn abroad. The choice for one word or the other will never be motivated by the desire to charge that word with a different connotation.

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[1] H. Schilling, "Innovation through Migration: The Settlement of Calvinistic Netherlanders in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Central and Western Europe." In: *Histoire Social/ Social History*, 16 (1983), p. 10.
[2] Appearing roughly 500 times.
[3] K. Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles in Late Sixteenth-Century Paris*, Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2011, pp. 11-12.
[4] G.H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 10.
[5] R. Fagel, *Voortrekkers, cultuurdragers, emigranten: de Nederlandse emigratie in de Renaissance*, 's-Gravenhage: Algemeen-Nederlands Verbond, 2005, p. 21.

II.   "Lost in the clouds of theological dust": a *status quaestionis*

a. Exile as a theoretical concept

"exile [...] is fundamentally a discontinuous state of being. Exiles are cut off from their roots, their land, their past. They generally do not have armies or states, although they are often in search of them. Exiles feel, therefore, an urgent need to reconstitute their broken lives, usually by choosing to see themselves as part of a triumphant ideology or a restored people."[1]

Exile as a theoretical construct has been studied extensively in the social sciences and the humanities. Especially in literature a lot of research has gone into exile as a literary trope, ranging from the nonconformist author turning his back on society in search of spiritual isolation, to the literary *persona non grata* who is forced to leave the country after striking an ill chord with the regime. At the same time exiles were cultivated in non-academic circles. During the course of the nineteenth century, exile was picked up by the Romantics, later by modernist and eventually postmodernist authors who identified their (artistic) tribulations with those of the anonymous, historical exile. It became a genre in its own right, worthy of contending, according to Said, with that of adventure fiction.[2]

David Kettler wondered why exile received so much attention from both scholars and artists. He explained the interest by positing that exiles are always somewhere in between, never truly belonging to one place or the other. "In one place, they are denied, either by threat of violence or by some other insupportable condition; in the other place, they are only conditionally accepted: they find asylum, not a home."[3] This mythical allure of solitary quarantine has never ceased to draw in plentiful attention by the academic world.

One of the key texts in the twentieth-century scholarly study of exile is Edward Said's *Reflections on Exile*, which is constantly being reinterpreted by academics to this day.[4] What distinguishes this essay from others, according to Kettler, is that it was one of the first to broach the suffering caused by exile and the fact that it explored the extremely fluid boundaries separating exiles from refugees.[5] In order to try and disseminate the vast grey area between both, Said wielded four categories: exiles, refugees, expatriates and émigrés. The first were banished and, as a result, stigmatised. The second, Said felt, were a recent phenomenon, peculiar to the twentieth century. Expatriates, subsequently, lived abroad for a host of different reasons, though what differentiated them from the others was that their sojourn abroad was wholly voluntary. Émigrés, finally, were the most ambiguous of the four. They were in a sense forced to live abroad without having been officially banished from whence they came.[6] Said was not alone in stressing the difference between exiles and

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[1] E. Said, *Reflections on exile and other essays*. Cambridge (Massachusetts): Harvard UP, 2001, pp. 140-141.
[2] Ibidem, p. 137, 145.
[3] D. Kettler, ""Et les émigrés sont les vaincus': Spiritual Diaspora and Political Exile." In: *Journal of the Interdisciplinary Crossroads*, 1 (2004), 2, p. 276.
[4] To name but a few recent studies: Lawrence, Tim. "Edward Said, late style, and the aesthetic of exile." In: *Third Text*, 11 (1997), 38, pp. 15-24. Siassi, Guilan. "The Endless Reading of Interpretation? Said, Auerbach, and the Exilic Will to Criticism." In: *The Journal of Multidisciplinary International Studies*, 2 (2005), 1; Muhannad, Ayyash Mark. "Edward Said: Writing in Exile." In: *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 30 (2010), 1, pp. 107-118; Magid, Shaul. "In Search of a Critical Voice in the Jewish Diaspora: Homelessness and Home in Edward Said and Shalom Noah Barzofsky's Netivot Shalom." In: *Jewish Social Studies*, 12 (2006), 3, pp. 193-227.
[5] D. Kettler, "Spiritual Diaspora and Political Exile", pp. 269-270.
[6] E. Said, *Reflections on exile and other essays*, pp. 143-144.

immigrants. "While members of both groups may undergo forced emigration," Winifred Woodhull said, in our opinion somewhat underestimating the hardships faced by exiles, "the economic and cultural marginality of immigrants makes the stakes of their struggles quite different."[1]

Scholars, operating in all different fields of study, have given a lot of importance to the changing nature of identity in exile. For people who struggled with being 'neither here nor there' were prone to suffer an existential crisis. Exiles might be torn between identifying with the host or native country. Said described the no-man's land in which exiles reside: "And just beyond the frontier between 'us' and the 'outsiders' is the perilous territory of not-belonging".[2] This statement is perhaps even more true for the sixteenth century. Paraphrasing Geert Janssen: in a time where one's locality constituted a major part of one's identity, to choose exile was to lose an important part of that same identity.[3]

b. Confessional historiography

Reformation studies have long been separated by a divide between generally speaking Catholic and Protestant authors. However since the last quarter of the twentieth century the field has undergone tremendous change. Andrew Pettegree remarked how reformation history was one of "few fields of history where historians have so radically adjusted their approach to the subject in the space of a generation."[4] This radical readjustment opened up research for historiographers across both sides of the confessional divide, as before each wanted little to with the other's past. A Catholic was ill-suited for a retelling of Protestant sufferings, just the same as a Protestant had no business in relating the history of the early modern Catholics.

Confessional historiography, as it is called today, was marked by its militant and even – especially Catholic historiography – clerical character. For as Willem Frijhoff remarked: "a clerical historian was a still better choice: he understood from within the institutional and intellectual situation of Catholicism and could direct his story the way his fellow-faithful expected."[5] Frequently relying on the very same sources, authors reached radically contrasting conclusions and grew to resent each other for it.

> "It is not easy to root out a tradition, however baseless, which has been passed on as an unquestioned fact from writer to writer for three hundred years, especially when it is rooted in hereditary prejudice against the persons inculpated; still it may be hoped that at the present day, when such a flood of light has been cast upon the history of the three last centuries by the publication of so many contemporary documents, the calumny (for it deserves no better name) will die out"[6]

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[1] W. Woodhull, "Exile." In: *Yale French Studies*, 82 (1993), 1, p. 7.

[2] E. Said, *Reflections on exile and other essays*, p. 140.

[3] G.H. Janssen, "The Counter-Reformation of the Refugee: Exile and the Shaping of Catholic Militancy in the Dutch Revolt." In: *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 63 (2012), 4, p. 675.

[4] A. Pettegree, "Introduction: The Changing Face of Reformation History." In: A. Pettegree (ed.), *The Reformation World*, 2000, p. 1.

[5] W. Frijhoff, "Shifting identities in hostile settings: towards a comparison of the Catholic communities in early modern Britain and the Northern Netherlands." In: B. Kaplan (ed.), et al., *Catholic Communities in Protestant states: Britain and the Netherlands c. 1570-1720*, 2009, p. 1.

[6] T.F. Knox (ed.), *The first and second diaries of the English College, Douay, and an appendix of unpublished sources*, London: David Nutt, 1978, p. xviii.

Undoubtedly the nineteenth-century ultramontanist priest T.F. Knox was a firm supporter of the historicists' unrelenting quest for objectivity, yet the quote above exemplifies the issue at hand. Both sides incessantly accused each other of spinning the truth and obscuring evidence.

So too the Dutch Revolt had been "lost in the clouds of theological dust which hung over the historiography of the Revolt for over three centuries", as was brilliantly worded by Charles Wilson.[1] Wilson was of course referring to the studies of the likes of R.C. Bakhuizen van den Brink, Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer or Robert Fruin, whose conclusions all hinged on the inherently religious drive, motivations and goals of the rebels.

It was not until some forty years ago that the history of the Protestant Reformation was drawn "out of the ghetto of church history and into the mainstream of history".[2] Interestingly, a 'ghetto' is exactly how Ethan Shagan chose to describe the context in which English Catholicism is still studied today.

> "Catholicism has become a historiographical sub-field or occasionally a ghetto, to be studied by specialists [...] Practitioners of this sub-field have produced works of remarkable depth and scholarly virtuosity, but their work remains for the most part both uninformed by the wider scholarship on early modern England and unable to influence that scholarship with its important inventions."[3]

There is still a long way to go for the proper integration of early modern religious studies – and especially that of English Catholicism – into a wider range of historical disciplines. And for no subject is that truer than that of the exiles.

c. Exiles and the reformations of the sixteenth century

On the eve of the First World War, the dominance of confessional Protestant historiography in England led Peter Guilday to mourn the fact that Protestant exiles had received infinitely more attention from scholars. Whereas the latter were seen as patriotic, Catholic exiles were mostly left unmentioned and when they eventually drew attention, historians invariably presented them as "unpatriotic and traitorous". [4] Sadly, Guilday was largely correct in his assessment of the underrepresentation of Catholic exile in early modern migration studies.

"Because of a fixation in scholarship on the records of Calvinist-oriented institutions, unaffiliated exiles have been largely overlooked", sounded Janssen's grim conclusion.[5] Bettina Braun argued that – even today – confessional migration during the Early Modern Age is all too often treated as an exclusively Protestant phenomenon. Of all Catholic exiles, we are best informed of the Irish, although even the number of studies dedicated to their diaspora pales in comparison to that of their Protestant counterparts. Finds on Catholic exiles, Braun warns, continue to circulate within "einem kleinen Kreis von Spezialisten" (a small circle of experts).[6] Raingard Esser, for instance, observed that English historians have generally been far more concerned with the history of exiles coming into the country rather

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[1] C. Wilson, *Queen Elizabeth and the Revolt of the Netherlands*, The Hague: Nijhoff, 1979, p. 9.

[2] A. Pettegree, "Introduction: The Changing Face of Reformation History.", p. 2.

[3] E. Shagan, "Introduction: English Catholic history in context." In: E. Shagan (ed.), *Catholics and the 'Protestant nation'*, 2005, p. 1.

[4] P. Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent 1558-1795*, London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1914, vol. I, p. xxi.

[5] G.H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 96.

[6] B. Braun, "Katholische Konfessionsmigration im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit - Stand und Perspektiven der Forschung." In: H.P. Jürgens and T. Weller (eds.), *Religion und Mobilität: Zum Verhaltnis von raumbezogener Mobilität und religiöser Identitätsbildung im frühneuzeitlichen Europa*, 2010, pp. 75–76.

than that of the English leaving the country.[1] Fortunately, since Braun's article in 2010 the field has been enriched by some rather excellent general studies.[2]

When scholars finally seem to turn their attention to the English Catholics, they tend to focus – almost religiously, one might say – on once-exiled martyrs.[3] As Christopher Highley hinted at, prison sentences, torture and gruesome executions happen to be slightly more exciting and tempting subjects to look into about the lives of the English Catholics.[4] What little we know of English Catholic exiles largely deals with the clergy. According to Braun, "hardly anything" is known of English Catholic lay migration during and following the English Reformation. The laity in the Southern Netherlands forms a "*terra incognita*" of historical scholarship.[5] Gibbons too echoed this sentiment: "Until the second half of the twentieth century, Elizabethan Catholics on the continent, particularly the laity, received limited historical attention [...] the emphasis on the missionaries tended to assume that the only form of Catholic exile was a clerical one."[6] The scholarship that does exist on lay exiles tends to focus on major figures within the exile community, such as Sir Francis Englefield or Richard Verstegan. A systematic, large-scale study of lay English Catholics on the continent or in the Netherlands has yet to see the light of day.[7] Even Robert Lechat rarely ranged beyond the elite circles of the highest exiled aristocracy.

The history of Protestant exiles – and that of the Netherlandish Protestant émigrés in particular – has thus received far more scholarly attention, although even this fairly well-researched field has had its own peculiar shortcomings. The first of which is undoubtedly the national or linguistic particularism of many historians involved. Histories of the Protestant refugees dealt with exiles from one distinct region or country, fled to one particular town and belonging to a specific congregation (which, of course, brings us back to the need for more comparative study). Spicer noted recently that, as a result, emigrés belonging to 'no church' have been given little historical attention – a situation similar to that of the lay Catholic exiles.[8] Owe Boersma remarked how striking it was that until the late twentieth century, most of the research that had gone into the Dutch and French exile churches had been separated along a language divide. Speakers of Dutch scrutinised the Dutch exile congregations, whereas speakers of French studied the French churches. Relations between both exile churches have therefore been, by and large, neglected.[9]

Perhaps because of these self-imposed restrictions maintained by most historians, the Protestant refugees were long shrugged off as inconsequential social pariahs whose presence

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[1] R. Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten im England des 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1996, p. 10.

[2] To name but two: Gibbons, Katy. *English Catholic exiles in late sixteenth-century Paris*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2011; Janssen, Geert H. *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2014.

[3] Some often quoted recent studies include: Dailey, Alice. *The English Martyr from Reformation to Revolution*. Notre Dame (Indiana): University of Notre Dame Press, 2012; Covington, Sarah. *The Trail of Martyrdom: Persecution and Resistance in Sixteenth-Century England*. Notre Dame (Indiana): University of Notre Dame Press, 2003; Dillon, Anne. *The Construction of Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1535-1603*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002. Especially the latter has received much approval from fellow scholars.

[4] C. Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland*, Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008, p. 24.

[5] B. Braun, "Katholische Konfessionsmigration", p. 81, 98.

[6] K. Gibbons, *English Catholic exiles in late sixteenth-century Paris*, p. 2.

[7] B. Braun, "Katholische Glaubensflüchtlinge – eine Spurensuche im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit." In: *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 130 (2010), pp. 522.

[8] A. Spicer, "'Of no church': Immigrants, *liefhebbers* and Confessional Diversity in Elizabethan London, c. 1568-1581." In: I. Karremann, C. Zwierlein en I.M. Groote (eds.), *Forgetting Faith? Negotiating Confessional Conflict in Early Modern Europe*, 2012, pp. 199-200.

[9] O. Boersma, *Vluchtig voorbeeld: de Nederlandse, Franse en Italiaanse vluchtelingenkerken in Londen, 1568-1585*, Kampen: Johannes Calvijnstichting, 1994, p. 16.

was of little or no importance. Marcel Backhouse felt English historians had long underestimated the significance of exiles in Tudor England specifically, regardless of noteworthy publications on the subject by Dutch as well as German historians such as van Schelven, Lindeboom or Schilling.[1] The tables were finally starting to turn in the 1980s, when scholars of the Protestant Reformation increasingly recognised the significance of the first few waves of religious exiles and the role they had played in the genesis and refinement of reformed Protestantism.[2] The importance of both the Protestant and the Catholic refugees on a larger scale will be assessed at the very end.

Thus the study of the reformations' religious exiles underwent great change during the 1980s and '90s, a time called "the heyday of early modern migration studies" by Lien Luu.[3] Whereas before scholars had focused on the economic aspects of migration (especially technological diffusion), the last two decades of the twentieth century saw a rising interest in the functioning of the exile community as an actual *community*. The way an expatriate society organised itself and the part religion played in this social dynamic was now at the very centre of historical attention. One of the key factors responsible for this sudden change of heart, according to Luu, was the preferred study of records produced by the communities in exile themselves.[4] The interest in the economic role and the technological diffusion of religious exiles did not entirely dissipate with the coming of the 1980s, however. Especially historians adhering to the confessionalization paradigm continue to study the way refugee communities actively contributed to modernisation. They examine whether exiles were active agents of progress not only within their own communities, but also contributors to economic or technological advances in their host countries.[5]

Regardless of the considerable breakthroughs made these past three decades, several issues are still in dire need of scrutiny today. Janssen, firstly, claims that due to the majority of European migrants in the Early Modern Age being male, the study of the reformations' exiles has almost exclusively focused on the male exile experience. On the other hand, however, few convincing attempts have been made to explain the dearth of women among religious refugees.[6] Secondly, another topic that had long been ignored and has only recently been treated by Bert De Munck among others, deals with the way local, regional and central governments tried to control the ebbing flows of immigration and emigration.[7] The long overdue cultivation of this subject has spawned debate lately, concerning the legal status of exiles in Elizabethan England.[8] Thirdly and finally, a major issue troubling the study of early modern religious exiles is that they have often been treated as strictly homogenous entities, identified solely on the basis of their religious affiliation and categorised accordingly.[9] This subject will be treated *in extenso* in the in the first subchapter of Ch. V, dealing with diversity within the exile communities.

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[1] M. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities at Sandwich during the Reign of Elizabeth I (1561-1603)*, Brussels: Paleis der Academieën, 1995, p. 11.

[2] A. Pettegree, "The London Exile Community and the Second Sacramentarian Controversy, 1553-1560." In: *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 78 (1987), p. 223.

[3] L. Luu, "*Alien Immigrants to England*, One Hundred Years On." In: N. Goose (ed.), et al., *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, 2005, p. 224.

[4] Ibidem, pp. 224-225.

[5] A. Schunka, "Konfession und Migrationsregime in der Frühen Neuzeit (Migrants and the Early Modern Confessional State)." In: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 35 (2009), pp. 34-35.

[6] G.H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 74.

[7] B. De Munck, "Regulating Migration in Early Modern Cities: An Introduction." In: B. De Munck (ed.), et al., *Gated Communities? Regulating Migration in Early Modern Cities*, 2012, p. 3.

[8] L. Luu, "Natural-Born Versus Stranger-Born Subjects: Aliens and their Status in Elizabethan London." In: N. Goose (ed.), et al., *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, 2005, p. 58.

[9] A. Schunka, "Konfession und Migrationsregime in der Frühen Neuzeit", p. 28.

III. "One and the same societal need": rationale behind exile

"Dislocation, whether accepted voluntarily or coerced, had profound legal, economic and social consequences in sixteenth-century society. Exile generally meant the loss of housing income, contacts and reputation."[1] Yet still, countless English Catholics and Netherlandish Protestants braved an uncertain future head-on and chose exile. The view of early modern Europe as an immobile, stationary society, where people died no more than a stone's throw from where they were born, has long been abandoned. Recent research has shown, in the words of De Munck, that "migration was a pervasive characteristic of European society in the early modern period."[2] The primary form of early modern migration under scrutiny here is, of course, religious exile. Even though it might seem counterintuitive, religious exile was not always religiously motivated – or at least not exclusively. "Exile movements", Franz Petri related, "cannot be deduced to a single cause. Political and philosophical, ideal and material, economic and social triggers, and – last but not least – psychological motivations behind flight and existential anxiety can lead to the will to leave the motherland".[3] The struggles of both the English and the Dutch can therefore not be simply written off as a noble, but losing battle for religious freedom. As Charles Wilson pointedly observed of the Dutch Revolt, "in large measure what was at stake was less 'liberty' than 'liberties' – privileges – feudal, oligarchic" and, as the list continues, also religious privileges.[4]

Unable to account for each and every individual reason the refugees could have harboured, this thesis shall limit itself to treating only the main clusters of motivations. First of all, we must take a quick dip into the history of the persecution of English Catholics and Netherlandish Protestants in their native countries, followed by a general assessment of religious and economic push and pull factors.

a. Persecution of religious dissidents

When T.A. Morris claimed "no European monarch in the sixteenth century [had] received so consistently favourable a 'press' as Elizabeth", he may have slightly overlooked the scores of Catholic historians who sought to expose the atrocities committed by Elizabeth and her regime towards the nation's Roman Catholic subjects and to preserve these gruesome tales for posterity.[5] For Catholic historian J.J.E. Proost there was not even the faintest shred of doubt about the immensity and the cruelty of the persecution Elizabethan Catholics were being subjected to. "Beaucoup d'Anglais quittèrent tout [...] pour se mettre à l'abri des bills portés par le parlement, qui venait d'établir une des plus cruelles tyrannies ayant jamais pesé sur aucune société."[6] Similar sentiments have been voiced about the persecution in the Low Countries, although now on the other side of the Protestant-Catholic historiographical divide. Charles Alexandre Rahlenbeck created a powerful narrative of "the despotism of pope and king, this double subjection of spirit and body, employing terror in all its forms to reconquer

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[1] G.H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 66.

[2] B. De Munck, "Regulating Migration in Early Modern Cities", p. 1.

[3] F. Petri, "Die Ursachen der niederländischen Auswanderung im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe." In: F. Petri and E. Ennen (eds.), *Zur Geschichte und Landeskunde der Rheinlande, Westfalens und ihrer westeuropäischen Nachbarländer: Aufsätze und Vorträge aus vier Jahrzehnten*, 1973, p. 594.

[4] C. Wilson, *Queen Elizabeth and the Revolt of the Netherlands*, p. 3.

[5] T.A. Morris, *Europe and England in the Sixteenth Century*, London: Routledge, 1998, p. 299.

[6] J.J.E. Proost, "Les Réfugiés Anglais et Irlandais en Belgique, à la suite de la réforme religieuse établie sous Élisabeth et Jacques Ier." In : *Messager des Sciences Historiques*, (1865), 1, p. 277.

its empire". Victims of this monstrous union between powers spiritual and temporal were "the poor heretics they wanted to crush, who had but one weapon to defend themselves: the Bible".[1]

Was this the case, however? In order to assess the stimuli behind exile, we must briefly review the religious persecution of Catholics in England and Protestants in the Netherlands, before evaluating and comparing both situations.
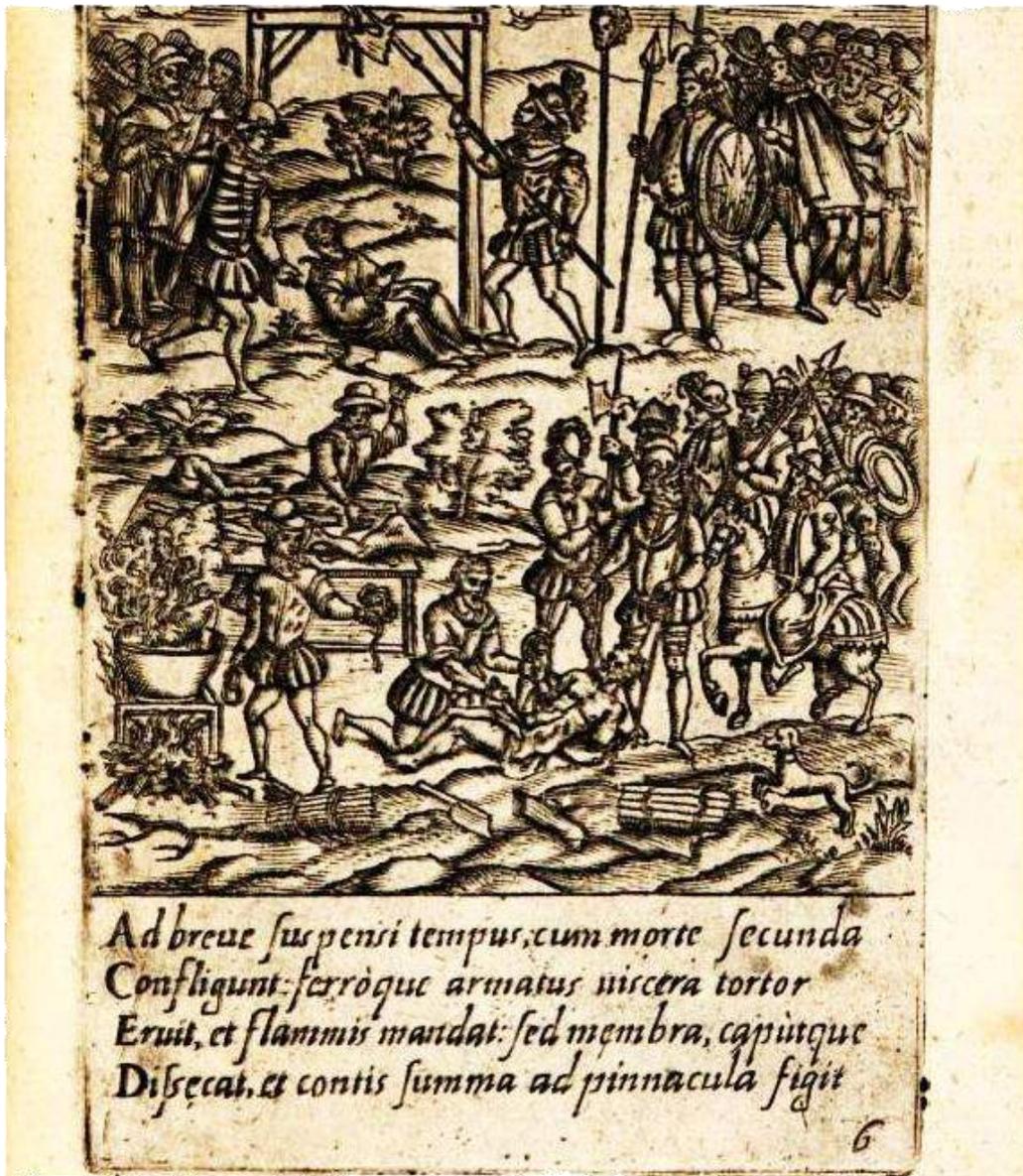
(Fig. 1) A Catholic priest undergoing the penalty for those convicted of high treason: to be hanged, drawn and quartered.
R. Persons, *De persecutione anglicana.*

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[1] Translation: "Le despotisme du pape et du roi, cette double servitude de l'âme et du corps, allait donc employer la terreur sous toutes ses formes pour reconquérir son empire. Les pauvres hérétiques qu'on voulait écraser n'avaient, eux, qu'une seule arme pour se défendre: la Bible." C.A. Rahlenbeck, *L'inquisition et la Réforme en Belgique*, Brussels: Aug. Schnée, 1857, p. xi.

The foundations of Elizabeth's recusant policy were laid between 1558 and '59 with the *Act of Supremacy* and the *Act of Uniformity*, when she reintroduced several laws written during the reigns of her father and brother. Most of this legislation was meant to sever all ties with Rome and had been repealed under Mary.[1] Although the attitude of the Privy Council towards Catholics was rather unfavourable, its treatment of recusants during the early years of Elizabeth's reign was exceptionally lax – even for the Marian clergy. The so-called 'Massing priests' (i.e. ordained before Elizabeth succeeded Mary) were treated an awful lot better than their seminary brethren a few years later. Michael Mullet even claimed they had "relative legal immunity".[2]

January 1563 generally marks the beginning of an increasingly anti-Catholic policy in histories of the English Reformation. New laws were passed, specifically targeting religious dissidence within the realm. Especially continued loyalty to the Church of Rome was more and more becoming the subject of prosecution. Recidivist apologists of the Holy See were thereafter subject to capital punishment.[3] The *Oath of Supremacy*, which had been introduced following Elizabeth's accession to the throne, was now to be taken by not only men in political office and clergy, but by lawyers, schoolmasters, etc., as well, thus further excluding obstinate Catholics from performing public duties.[4] Highley and LaRocca believe the authorities' harder stance on recusancy stemmed from their dismay with the polemical output of the Louvainists and the growth of the English Catholic community in the Netherlands.[5] Even though the 1560s were marked by an intense marginalisation, English Catholics would later look back at this period as a modest 'golden age', with the advantage of hindsight of what was to come at the turn of the decade.[6]

Incited by 1569's Northern Rebellion, Elizabeth's excommunication in the papal bull *Regnans in excelsis*, and the rising number of recusants in the English countryside, the Privy Council set on a course that was more pronouncedly anti-Catholic than it had been before – an "anti-papist crack-down".[7] The *Treasons Act* of 1571 made it high treason to deny Elizabeth was England's rightful monarch or to stipulate in writing that she was a usurper or a heretic.[8] Furthermore, an effort was made to halt the spread of Catholicism by criminalising the distribution, printing or selling of papal bulls, as well proselytising in favour of Rome.[9] Heads of recusant gentry families were brought in for questioning and fined or imprisoned when deemed necessary.[10] The Jesuit Robert Southwell lamented the ease with which recusants were imprisoned by the Elizabethan regime:

> "Every catchpoll may be a meanes to throwe any ordinary man in prison, if he be a Catholike. And if any Protestant beare any evil will, or owe any monie, or for some other like cause malice a Catholike, if he do but cry 'Traytour' in the streetes or cause a pursevant to arrest him, he may be sure to have him clapt fast inough in prison."[11]

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[1] T.F. Knox (ed.), *The First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douay*, p. xv.

[2] M.A. Mullet, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland, 1558-1829*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998, pp. 9-10.

[3] R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés Anglais dans les Pays-Bas Espagnols durant le règne d'Elisabeth, 1558-1603*, Louvain : Bureaux du Recueil, 1914, p. 13.

[4] A. Dures, *English Catholicism, 1558-1642: continuity and change*, Harlow: Longman, 1983, p. 9.

[5] C. Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, p. 38; J.J. LaRocca, "Time, Death, and the Next Generation: The Early Elizabethan Recusancy Policy, 1558-1574." In: *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 14 (1982), 2, p. 110.

[6] A. Morey, *The Catholic Subjects of Elizabeth I*, p. 51.

[7] M.A. Mullet, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland*, p. 13.

[8] A. Dures, *English Catholicism, 1558-1642*, p. 16.

[9] R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés Anglais*, p. 14.

[10] A. Morey, *The Catholic Subjects of Elizabeth I*, p. 61.

[11] R. Verstegan and A.G. Petti (ed.), *The Letters and Despatches of Richard Verstegan (c. 1550-1640)*, London: Catholic Record Society, 1959, p. 9.

The authorities wanted to hurt English Catholicism by fining the gentry and confiscating their possessions. Margo Todd, however, argued that recusancy fines were generally only imposed on those most vocal in their beliefs; "laity who kept a low profile were generally not targeted".[1]

Whereas the legislation of the 1570s countered the symptoms, Elizabeth's government tried to tackle the source of English Catholicism head-on in the 1580s. On the first of January 1581, the Queen issued a proclamation ordering all Englishmen studying at the Jesuit seminaries abroad to return home.[2] In 1584, *An Act against Jesuits, seminary priests and such disobedient persons* was passed.[3] By targeting the Jesuit missionary priests in England, the authorities tried to cut the lifeline between Catholics at home and the English seminaries abroad. They wanted to stop the gentry from sending their young sons abroad to receive a Jesuit education.[4] If missionary priests were found lingering in the country forty days after they had been expelled, they were to stand trial on the grounds of high treason. Moreover, offering asylum to missionaries was subjected to harsher penalties.[5] From 1584 onwards it was possible to banish priests from the realm (which was extended to lay Catholics in 1593).[6] The number of executed Catholics proliferated in the 1580s. Four priests were executed in 1581, eleven in 1582. At the beginning of the next decade – in 1590 – 53 priests were put to death, as well as 35 Catholic laypeople.[7]

The final blow was delivered in 1593 with *An Act for Restraining Popish Recusants*, which stipulated that recusants were no longer permitted to travel farther than five miles from where they lived.[8] In the same year another law was drafted, proposing that children of Catholic parents were to be alienated from their parents and fostered by proper Anglican communicants, but this law did not pass muster in the House of Commons.[9] The only reason Catholicism was not completely wiped out during this period is that the Tudor regime did not preside over the same means as a modern state does today, according to Questier.[10]

Next in line is a brief review of the persecution of Protestants in the Habsburg Low Countries. Although the Netherlandish exiles emigrated for a variety of reasons, religious persecution was certainly the most compelling reason, Backhouse felt.[11] The very beginning of the battle against Protestantism in the Netherlands took place in 1521, when Charles V reissued a local variant of the *Edict of Worms*. Soon after, scores of Lutheran books were burnt in Flanders and Brabant. The Augustinian monks of Antwerp, belonging to the same order as Luther himself, had been ardent in the support of their colleague. In the same year, their monastery was dissolved. Two monks, however, who could not find in their hearts to recant were burnt the following year, on the first of July. According to Guido Marnef, the dissolution of the Augustinian monastery was fairly successful, in that it took away Lutheranism's base of

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[1] M. Todd, "England after 1558." In: A. Pettegree (ed.), *The Reformation World*, 2000, p. 369.

[2] D.B. Hamilton, *Anthony Munday and the Catholics, 1560-1633*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005, p. 32.

[3] A. Dures, *English Catholicism, 1558-1642*, p. 30.

[4] P. Marshall, "Religious Exiles and the Tudor State." In: K. Cooper en J. Gregory (eds.), *Discipline and Diversity*, 2007, p. 281.

[5] R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés Anglais*, pp. 15-16.

[6] K. Gibbons, *English Catholic exiles in late sixteenth-century Paris*, p. 115.

[7] A. Dures, *English Catholicism, 1558-1642*, pp. 30-32.

[8] Ibidem, p. 31.

[9] A. Morey, *The Catholic Subjects of Elizabeth I*, p. 70.

[10] M.C. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England. Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c. 1550-1640*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006

[11] M. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, p. 12.

operations in the Netherlands, though it did not put a stop to the spread of the heresy. For the next two decades, Protestants were forced to go underground.[1]

Hostility towards the Protestants gradually intensified again during the 1540s. The Jesuits established themselves in Louvain in 1542 and, in 1546, an index of prohibited works was published by the university targeting the distribution of Lutheran and Calvinist writings.[2] On 25 September 1550, a placcard was published, aiming to halt the spread of Protestantism. The producing, selling, buying and possessing of Protestant books and images was firmly prohibited, as well as attending and organising Protestant gatherings – an effort to heal the symptoms of the heresy, much like the Tudor policy of the 1560s. Faithful subjects were to report their suspicious neighbours to the authorities so that they could be questioned and tried if necessary. Those who failed to attend the summons were found guilty *in absentia*.[3] Although they were treated mercilessly, Marie-Jeanne Tits-Dieuaide believed the reign of Charles V was marked by a "softened terror" when compared to that of Philip II and, especially, that of the Duke of Alba's sojourn in the Low Countries.[4]

Most death sentences were pronounced in the Southern Netherlands. Between 1550 and 1566, Dutch Flanders was the stage for 200 executions on the grounds of heresy, Antwerp 131, the francophone towns of Flanders 97, and a mere 52 executions in Holland. The overall majority of those executed were Anabaptists, while reformed Protestants were mostly banished. Alerted that the rate of executions had significantly slowed down by 1564, Philip II ordered the persecution to resume at full speed.[5]

(Fig. 2) Protestants in the Low Countries being tortured and burnt at the stake.
Jan Luyken, *Vervolging van de gereformeerden in de Nederlanden, 1574*, 1698, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.

[1] G. Marnef, "The Netherlands." In: A. Pettegree (ed.), *The Reformation World*, 2000, p. 345.
[2] R. Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten*, p. 24.
[3] L.J. Rogier, "Karakter en omvang van de Nederlandsche emigratie in de zestiende eeuw." In: *Historisch Tijdschrift*, 16 (1937), p. 338.
[4] M.J. Tits-Dieuaide, "Catholiques et protestants dans les Anciens Pays-Bas du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle." In: *Revue de la Bibliothèque Nationale Paris*, 29 (1988), p. 33.
[5] G. Marnef, "The Netherlands.", pp. 350-351.

Faced with increasing pressure from the nobility, Margaret of Parma was induced to relax the persecution of heretics in 1566 which lead many Protestants to believe a better future was in store for them, prompting the return of a fair few. King Philip, not the least amused, allowed an expedition of 10,000 men to be sent to the Netherlands under the command of the Duke of Alba.[1]

And so August 1567 became "the prelude to severe repression in the Low Countries", with the establishment of the Council of Troubles, an extraordinary tribunal.[2] The purpose of this court was to arrest, examine and try those suspected of participating in the Wonder Year of 1566. The Council racked up a rather infamous reputation in the short span of its existence, earning the sinister moniker of 'tribunal du sang' or 'bloedraedt', both of which translate to 'council of blood'. In the Westkwartier – the region where reformed sentiment was at its strongest – 395 people were summoned before the Council of Troubles in March and April 1568 alone.[3] Over the course of six years, the Council pronounced 1,100 death sentences and more than 10,000 banishments *in absentia*.[4]

With the beginning of the Dutch Revolt, Protestants in rebel provinces were better off, leading lives free of persecution. However for the few Protestants who remained in the Southern Netherlands, life after Alba was hugely difficult. Persecution continued, but was never as fierce as it had been under the Council. They were forced underground once again, until the rise of the Calvinist city republics when the tables were turned and the oppressed became the oppressors. After the Fall of Antwerp, most remaining Protestants up and left for the young Republic to the north. Those who stayed were left to the mercy of the regime, subject to persecution and confiscation. Oftentimes, they also had to bear the consequences of relatives who had fled the country. A certain Marinne, addressing her husband Parin in England, wrote scathingly that "it had pleased His Majesty" to confiscate all their goods.[5] After the Southern Netherlands became a (provisionally) sovereign territory following the death of King Philip in 1598, returning Netherlandish Catholic exiles unified behind the Tridentine agenda of the archdukes. As the Southern Netherlands were slowly shaping up to become the frontier of the Catholic Reformation, it grew exceedingly clear that public Protestantism had reached an end in the south.

It is terribly indecent to try and quantify suffering, but if we are to look at the numbers objectively, the persecution of Protestants in the Netherlands took place on a larger scale and was of a more powerful intensity when compared to that of Catholics in England. Religious persecution, even before the events of the Wonder Year, was far more intense in the Netherlands than in any of its neighbouring countries – by 1566, already more than 1,300 alleged heretics had been executed.[6] Yet, neither ought we diminish the sufferings of the recusants. In no other European country were so many Roman Catholics executed during the Reformation as in England.[7] Yet death by execution is not the only burden to bear by those suffering religious persecution. Just like the Dutch Protestants – and perhaps to an even greater degree – the English Catholics were handicapped economically, socially and politically.

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[1] T.A. Morris, *Europe and England*, pp. 269-270.

[2] G. Marnef, "The Netherlands.", p. 355.

[3] M.J. Dierickx, "De lijst der veroordeelden door de Raad van Beroerten." In: *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'histoire*, 40 (1962), p. 416.

[4] G. Marnef, "The Netherlands.", p. 355.

[5] A.L.E. Verheyden, "Une Correspondance inédite adressée par des familles protestantes des Pays-Bas à leurs coreligionnaires d'Angleterre, 11 novembre 1569-25 février 1570." In: *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire*, 120 (1955), pp. 119-120.

[6] G.H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 21.

[7] D. MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided, 1490-1700*, London: Penguin Books, 2004, p. 392.

Furthermore, there was a stark difference in the continuity of the persecution in the Netherlands and in England. Whereas matters only took a turn for the worse for Catholics over the course of Elizabeth's reign, the persecution of Protestants in the Netherlands was extremely fickle – particularly in the central provinces. In Flanders and Brabant, there was an evolution from persecution to relaxation, on to severe persecution under the Council of Blood, followed by a decade of Calvinist city republics, which was concluded by a Habsburg *reconquista* and Catholic consolidation under the archdukes.

So now that we have firmly established that Elizabeth and Philip II – and their governments – were irredeemable, inhumane monsters, we might want to consider why nobody stood up to these tyrannical mass murderers.

However, most historians nowadays prefer a more nuanced view – and rightly so. Alexandra Walsham emphasised in *Charitable Hatred* that one ought not to view religious persecution in the sixteenth century from a twentieth-century perspective. After all, it was a society's holy duty (the "duty of intolerance")[1] to return those who had been led astray back to the light of God. If not, the apostate was doomed to the eternal fires of hell. As such the prosecution of those found unwilling to abjure their heretical beliefs was the only way to save society as a whole.[2] For society was a holy body, a *corpus Christianum*, that could be held accountable as a whole for the sins of the few. Heresy was thus like a cancer that had to be forcefully removed before it spread across the body in its entirety.[3] The persecution of heterodox Christians was not perceived as a persecution of innocent Christians, as Brad Gregory pointed out, but rather one of "religious criminals".[4] The sixteenth century simply lacked a theoretical basis defending toleration.[5]

Highley put the persecution of English Catholics in perspective by pointing out that English Protestants had endured infinitely more casualties under Mary's reign.[6] William Allen however, already anticipating our criticism in 1584, justifying Marian persecution as opposed to Elizabeth's unlawful treatment of the Catholics:

> "nor have you any law left whereby to execute us; and so, to put any of us to death for religion is against justice, law, and your own profession and doctrine. […] On the other side, Queen Mary against the Protestants executed only the old laws of our country and of all Christendom made for punishment of heretics, by the canons and determination of all popes, councils, churches, and ecclesiastical tribunals of the world, allowed also and authorized by the civil and imperial laws, and received by all kingdoms Christian besides"[7]

Allen, in other words, felt the persecution of the English Catholic was a grievous insult against the law of God, whereas executing adherents of any kind belonging to the Protestant denominations was simply obeying the letter of the law. A parvenu heretical sect like the

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[1] B.S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge (Massachusetts): Harvard UP, 1999, pp. 78-82.

[2] A. Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700*, Manchester: Manchester UP, 2006, pp. 1-2.

[3] B. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge (Massachusetts): Belknap Press of Harvard UP, 2009, p. 55.

[4] B.S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake*, p. 74.

[5] J.J. Woltjer, "Public Opinion and the Persecution of Heretics in the Netherlands, 1550-59." In: J. Pollmann (ed.), et al., *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands: Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke*, 2007, p. 104.

[6] C. Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, p. 35.

[7] J.N. King, *Voices of the English Reformation: A Sourcebook*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004, p. 87.

Church of England had no legal precedent to persecute the followers of the true faith. Notwithstanding, Arnold Pritchard, like Highley, urged historians to re-evaluate the intensity of the Elizabethan anti-Catholic policy. Only those most vocal in their Catholic beliefs were punished and then only very rarely by issuing a death sentence. Most went scot-free by simply paying a fine. Pritchard compared the Elizabethan policy to the persecution under other Catholic sovereigns on the continent and concluded they were almost invariably more rigid in their religious cleansing policies than Elizabeth ever was.[1] Alan Dures stressed that the authorities were conspicuously forgiving during the first years of Elizabeth's reign, although, according to Braun, this clemency did not only apply to the first years: even as new legislation was passed during the later years of her reign that was increasingly anti-Catholic, Braun felt, it never came to a full-blown persecution of the realm's Catholics.[2]

Even the role of Queen Elizabeth herself was relativized. John LaRocca posited that her policy sprung not from religious, but rather from political considerations. After all, harbouring papist beliefs implied denying Elizabeth was in fact the 'Supreme Governor' of the Church of England, denying her exclusivity of both temporal and spiritual power in the realm. Not agreeing on doctrinal matters caused much less offence than failing to acknowledge Elizabeth's governorship. Of paramount importance was the degree in which one's recusancy was 'out in the open', so to speak: blatant defiance to the Queen or the Church of England was bound to be checked, whereas one suspected of harbouring papist beliefs but leaving them unvoiced was mostly left unharmed. Publicly flouting the Elizabethan recusancy policies was punished more severely, for it posed a provocation of the crown's authority.[3] The discourse of the Elizabethan authorities in dealing with its Catholic subjects was one "dominated not by accusations of heresy but of treason".[4] Michael Questier added that historical scholarship has clearly shown that Elizabeth was in fact rather tolerant and may have even gone as far as to block tougher legislation towards the recusants during the 1570s and '80s, preceding the Spanish *empresa*.[5]

King Philip II has not been as fortunate as Elizabeth to receive so favourable a press, though some historians have urged we nuance the ferocity with which the Netherlandish Protestants were persecuted during the course of the sixteenth century. Research has indicated that the agendas of the Escorial and the regional authorities in the Netherlands were not always on the same page. According to Jan Juliaan Woltjer, there was a growing resentment among government officials from the 1550s onwards to comply with Philip II's instructions to mercilessly strike down those suspected of harbouring Protestant beliefs. When it came to light that Amsterdam and the Court of Friesland were not actively prosecuting Protestants, an indignant Viglius of Aytta cried out in the Council of State in Brussels: "Are you Catholic council members? If the King knew of this, who knows what he might say?" Viglius himself, in any case, never informed Madrid.[6] Woltjer therefore spoke of a "gap between the theory and practice of persecution" in the Netherlands. Both amongst burghers and urban officials in the cities of the Netherlands, Protestant and Catholic alike, there was very little support for the rigorous policies maintained against Protestants.[7] Many fiercely opposed the death penalty proposed by Spain. It was thought preferable by Catholics that only those spreading the faith

[1] A. Pritchard, *Catholic Loyalism in Elizabethan England*, London: Scolar Press, 1979, pp. 39-40.

[2] A. Dures, *English Catholicism, 1558-1642*, p. 8; B. Braun, "Katholische Konfessionsmigration", p. 81.

[3] J.J. LaRocca, "The Early Elizabethan Recusancy Policy", pp. 103-105.

[4] A. Dailey, *The English Martyr from Reformation to Revolution*, Notre Dame (Indiana): University of Notre Dame Press, 2012, p. 99.

[5] M.C. Questier, "Elizabeth and the Catholics." In: E. Shagan (ed.), *Catholics and the 'Protestant nation'*, 2005, p. 72.

[6] J.J. Woltjer, *Tussen vrijheidsstrijd en burgeroorlog: over de Nederlandse opstand 1555-1580*, Amsterdam: Balans, 1994, p. 20.

[7] J.J. Woltjer, "Public Opinion and the Persecution of Heretics", pp. 87-89.

ought to be punished, whereas others felt forced exile or a mere prison sentence sufficed.[1] Gregory emphasised the existence of "a willingness to release penitent heretics" in the Netherlands.[2] Others, perhaps unwittingly, put the persecution in perspective by pointing to the Calvinist city republics of the 1570s and '80s. Rahlenbeck, a Protestant nineteenth-century historian and freemason entirely unsympathetic to Roman Catholicism, deemed it necessary to nuance the perceived innocence of the Calvinist churches in the Southern Netherlands that fell before Alba's and Parma's military exploits. The Spanish repression was not so different from the methods they had once employed, after all: "ce furent elles aussi qui eurent les premiers bureaux de tuerie, de bannissement et de confiscation".[3]

b. Religious vs. economic factors

The previous subchapter should have established that persecution was a reality for English Catholics and Netherlandish Protestants alike. Although their intensity may have been blown out of proportion over time by some authors, the lived environment of the refugees was deemed sufficiently inhospitable to consider flight abroad. Religious persecution alone, however, does not explain why exiles chose exile. Besides fear for one's safety, did the Catholic and Protestant refugees flee from persecution because it obstructed them from freely expressing and practising their faith or because it forced them into a role of socio-economic pariahs?

Religious factors weighed heavily on the decision making process of English Catholics who were still on the fence whether or not they were going to join their countrymen in exile. Not only did practising the faith of their forefathers bring possible bodily harm to them and their families, they were almost entirely robbed of the means to do so. Stripped of churches, Catholic Bibles, relics and saintly images, smugglers made a fortune selling basic Catholic artefacts on the black market.[4] Guilday concluded that "their only hope of enjoying freedom of worship lay in exile".[5] Being a Catholic in England was becoming increasingly untenable. Recusants, i.e. those who openly refused to conform, were the primary targets of persecution. On the other hand, Catholics who chose to attend Anglican services – the so-called 'Church papists' – had another issue to cope with: their conscience (cf. infra). Those who stayed behind faced several hundred years of "Roman Catholic efforts to grapple with and resolve the awkward question of 'conformity'".[6]

However, Kaplan and Pollmann agreed that confessional historiography had too long neglected the agency of Catholic exiles. Historians painted an entirely passive picture of the émigrés, instead of acknowledging their role as full-fledged historical actors.[7] That is why historians must also appreciate the fact that the English Catholics did not choose exile solely for matters of religion. Firstly, one of the main reasons many Catholics left England without due authorisation was to study abroad. It was impossible for Catholics to obtain a higher

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[1] J.J. Woltjer, *Tussen vrijheidsstrijd en burgeroorlog*, p. 21.

[2] B.S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake*, p. 77.

[3] C.A. Rahlenbeck, *L'inquisition et la Réforme*, pp. x-xi.

[4] P. Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World: Richard Verstegan and the International Culture of Catholic Reformation*, Louvain: Leuven UP, 2004, pp. 50-51.

[5] P. Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent*, p. 3.

[6] A. Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England*, London: Boydell Press, 1999, p. 3.

[7] B. Kaplan and J. Pollmann, "Conclusion: Catholic minorities in Protestant states, Britain and the Netherlands, c. 1570-1720.", pp. 249-250.

degree at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, after all.[1] "No Catholike is permitted ether to stay in any college of the Universitie," Southwell wrote, "so that ether they must be idiotes, or fly the realme to get learning".[2] Hundreds of the Catholic gentry's sons travelled to the continent to supplement their education, a movement that added to the development of the Grand Tour.[3] Liesbeth Corens, of the University of Cambridge, is currently preparing a doctoral dissertation on other forms of English Catholic mobility on the continent during the seventeenth century.[4] Secondly, it is also important to keep in mind that recusancy automatically involved disciplinary consequences. Catholics who failed to attend Anglican services were liable for considerable fines of up to 20 pounds per month. In 1601 alone, over 9000 pounds in fines were extracted from recusants. Religious and economic factors thus often went hand in hand.[5]

The importance of religious versus economic push and pull factors has been the source of much contention in the historiography of the Netherlandish Protestant exiles. Unsurprisingly, sources created by the exiles themselves were in unison: the strangers in England were there for the faith and the faith alone. Schilling stressed the troubled nature of the debate concerning the motivations behind the Netherlandish exiles' flight. Van Schelven en Van Roosbroeck thought the causes were evidently religious, whereas Rogier, Van Houtte en Van der Wee emphasised economic factors. However "this quarrel", Schilling stated, "may be a problem of twentieth-century historians rather than of early modern history itself."[6]

Irène Scouloudi was one of the first to warn against automatically implying "that all the strangers sought this land as a haven of religious freedom."[7] Pettegree later expanded on this idea, believing that the strangers actively cultivated the image of religious refugees because they realised that way they could expect a warmer welcome than as simple economic refugees.[8] Alistair Duke therefore thought that the Flemish refugees had left the Netherlands in search of economic opportunities, even more so than had been suggested before.[9] Petri, on the other hand, maintained that economic motivations were only of paramount importance amongst the merchant exiles.[10] As an aside, it is also worth noting that some Catholics were to be found among the Dutch exiles.[11] Failing any other logical explanation, we can only assume they were driven by economic rather than religious motivations. Unless they were extremely sympathetic to their persecuted countrymen, of course. Seeing as little is known of these obscure individuals, this may be a topic well worth studying.

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[1] K. Gibbons, *English Catholic exiles in late sixteenth-century Paris*, pp. 30-31.

[2] R. Verstegan and A.G. Petti (ed.), *Letters and Despatches*, p. 6.

[3] Edward Chaney studied this evolution of the Grand Tour during the Elizabethan period, among others , cf: Chaney, Edward. *The Evolution of the Grand Tour. Anglo-Italian cultural relations since the Renaissance*. London: Frank Cass, 1998.

[4] Worth noting are some of her publications: Corens, Liesbeth. "Sermons, Sodalities, and Saints: the Role of Religious Houses for the English Expatriate Community (ca. 1660-1720)." In: J. De Mayer, C. Mangion, and K. Suenens (eds.), *Female Religious across the North Sea. Monastic Interactions between the British Isles and the Low Countries*, Louvain: Trajecta, 2012, pp. 118-136; Corens, Liesbeth. "Catholic Nuns and English Identities. English Protestant Travellers on the English Convents in the Low Countries, 1660-1730." In: *Recusant History*, 30 (2011), 3, pp. 441-459.

[5] A. Morey, *The Catholic Subjects of Elizabeth I*, p. 69.

[6] H. Schilling, "Innovation through Migration", p. 10.

[7] I. Scouloudi, "Alien Immigration and Alien Communities in London, 1558-1640." In: *ProHSL*, 16 (1938), p. 34.

[8] A. Pettegree, "Protestant Migration during the Early Modern Period." In: S. Cavaciocchi (ed.), *Le migrazioni in Europa secc. XIII-XVIII*, 1994, p. 449.

[9] A. Duke, "Perspectives on European Calvinism." In: A. Pettegree (ed.), et al., *Calvinism in Europe, 1540-1620*, 1994, p. 6.

[10] F. Petri, "Die Ursachen der niederländischen Auswanderung", p. 595.

[11] H. De Schepper, *Belgium Nostrum 1500-1650: over integratie en desintegratie van het Nederland*, Antwerp: Orde van den Prince, 1987, p. 66.

Dutch historian J.G.C.A. Briels proved an early voice of reason by suggesting that religious and socio-economic stimuli were symptoms of "one and the same societal need".[1] Hugo De Schepper too claimed it was almost impossible to separate reformed sympathies from economic motivations as reasons for migration,, though – admittedly – he felt the Netherlandish exodus was "primarily religious-political".[2] Perhaps it is safest to conclude in the words of Ole Peter Grell: "No doubt motives were mixed, but economic reasons do not necessarily exclude religion or vice versa."[3]

c. Conclusion

Ultimately one must assess the extent in which English and Netherlandish refugees were truly forced to leave their countries. As far as the English Catholics are concerned, we know that only a minor share eventually chose exile. Highley believed this was down to the high costs of international travel during the Early Modern Age, the undeniably high factor of uncertainty in migrating to another country, and the severe judicial repercussions connected unauthorised leave.[4] And what about staying at home? "Certainly, one cannot say that coexistence triumphed over intolerance", Keith Luria suggested, "the violence of the period is too evident for that. But the widespread evidence of coexistence does show that people, and often states, recognized it as a necessary alternative to religious conflict."[5]

If the persecution of English Catholics was not nearly as bad as contemporaries made it out to be, we might ask why they need bother migrating at all. The same was asked by Lord Burghley in a letter to Sir Thomas Copley, dated 28 December 1574. Broaching the subject of Copley's many professions of loyalty to the Queen, the English ambassador in the Netherlands, dr. Thomas Wilson, and to Burghley himself, he wondered why Copley could not simply put aside religious differences and return home.

> "wherin mak you the differe[n]ce so great in matters of relligion here used or that you here may use without perrill, that you will for that lose the swete benefit of your natyve soyle, your frends, your kynred, yea incurr the infamyes that wilfull exyle doth bryng, to be accompted if not a traytor, yet a co[m]panio[n] of traytors and conspirators, a man subject to all the curses and imprecatio[n]s of zealoos good subjects, your natyve contreymen, yea subject to lack of livyng by your own, and thereby compelled to follow strangers for maytena[n]ce of lyvehood and foode?"[6]

If Copley, a wealthy and influential courtier before his embrace of Catholicism, could safely practice his faith in England, why did he choose to throw it all away by leaving the country without asking prior permission? Why must he wither away in the Netherlands, penniless, living below his stature and surrounded by those who would wish harm upon his rightful Queen?

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[1] J.G.C.A. Briels, "De emigratie in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden omstreeks 1540-1621." In: *Opstand en pacificatie in de Lage Landen: bijdrage tot de studie van de Pacificatie van Gent*, 1976, p. 184.

[2] H. De Schepper, *Belgium Nostrum*, p. 66.

[3] O.P. Grell, "Merchants and Ministers: the Foundations of International Calvinism." In: A. Pettegree (ed.), et al., *Calvinism in Europe, 1540-1620*, 1994, p. 257.

[4] C. Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, p. 23.

[5] K.P. Luria, "Religious Coexistence." In : A. Bamji (ed.), et al., *The Ashgate Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, 2013, p. 55.

[6] T. Copley and R. Copley Christie (ed.), *Letters of Sir Thomas Copley* […], New York: Burt Franklin, 1897, p. 36.

Exile was not a "form of a holiday – a pastoral escape from the 'real' world" for the exiles.[1] According to Bettina Braun, Elizabethan exiles endured what was without doubt *Zwangsmigration* (forced migration). For those who wished to openly practice their faith had no other choice but to go abroad.[2] John Bossy too acknowledged the untenable position of practicing Catholics in England. After all, staying meant the pollution of one's soul.

> "… the royal supremacy over the Church was an indefensible violation of a system of exterior sanctities, a pollution of the sanctuary spreading contagion through the commonwealth. Among the consequences of this position was a judgment that all who entered such holy places of the Church of England [...] and participated however passively in the rites now being celebrated in them, became themselves unclean."[3]

For the exact same reasons, William Allen deemed exile a necessary – if unfortunate – ordeal to protect the sanctity of Christian souls.[4] Cardinal Allen, addressing the entire English Catholic community in 1592, added further fuel to the fire by emphasising that tagging along with the Anglican Church was "contrarie to the practyse of the [Catholic] churche and the holie doctors in all ages, who never comunycated nor allowed in anie catholique person to praie togeather with Arrians, Donatistes or what other soever".[5] Prominent figures in the exile community were vehemently opposed to outward conformity among recusants, especially after the Pope had forbidden Catholic participation in Anglican rites. "Church attendance as an outward display of conformity by 'Church Papists'", according to Richard Williams, "presented a threat to the unity of the faith which the English Catholic hierarchy was resolved to resist."[6] Furthermore, although the authorities only rarely banished their (lay) Catholic subjects, scholars ought not to underestimate the grinding gears of Catholic conscience, forcing them to evaluate their odds of obtaining salvation within a Protestant society. Freedom of conscience was worth more to some than mere earthly goods. "Better is it heer to injoy libertie," Copley wrote, "though with sume lacke of living, then at home to have living with want of libertie".[7]

The English Catholics were not alone in fearing their salvation might be denied by outwardly conforming. Netherlandish Protestants suffered the same existential doubts. Writing from Norwich in 1567, preacher Karel Rijckewaert mirrored those sentiments expressed by the Catholic exiles:

> "And if it were so that we were not being persecuted by a tangible tyranny and we wanted to stay, we would think God had ordered it that we should abandon Babylon, abandon the Roman idolatry. For He says in Apocalypse chapter 18: flee, flee, my people, so you do not partake in their sins and are the receivers of their plague."[8]

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[1] C. Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, p. 40.

[2] B. Braun, "Katholische Konfessionsmigration", p. 83.

[3] J. Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400-1700*, Oxford: Oxford UP, 1985, pp. 158-159.

[4] C. Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, p. 34.

[5] W. Allen and T.F. Knox (ed.), *Letters and Memorials of William, Cardinal Allen*, p. 345.

[6] R.L. Williams, "Forbidden Sacred Spaces in Reformation England." In: A. Spicer and S. Hamilton (eds.), *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, 2005, pp. 96-97.

[7] T. Copley and R. Copley Christie (ed.), *Letters of Sir Thomas Copley*, p. 171.

[8] Translation: "Ende oft nu schoone waere dat wy niet vervolgt waeren met eenige uutwendige tyrannie en[de] daer omme noch wlden blive[n], zoo zouden wy dincke[n] dat den Heere bevole[n] heeft, dat wij uut Babilo[n], uut de Roomsche afgoderie gaen souden." H.Q. Janssen, "De hervormde vlugtelingen van Yperen in Engeland geschetst naar hunne brieven. Eene bijdrage tot de Hervormingsgeschiedenis van Yperen en Norwich." In: H.Q. Janssen (ed.), et al., *Bijdragen tot de Oudheidkunde en Geschiedenis, inzonderheid van Zeeuwsch-Vlaanderen*, 1856-1860, vol. II, p. 216.

Present once more is the fear of contamination, the pollution of one's soul, by participating in a society largely adhering to another faith. "The impact of that experience [=exile] on their consciousness was profound", Mark Greengrass said, "to whatever degree their exile had been self-imposed, constrained by real or imagined threats to their lives and property, religiously or economically motivated."[1]

In conclusion, although the Netherlandish Protestants evidently took the brunt of the religious persecution, it does not suffice to compare numbers of whom killed how many. The economic pull factors were in any case greater for the Dutch, as they could go abroad and ply their trades in a country where their skills were in high demand. The English, then again, had little profit to look forward to in the Southern Netherlands, but they were pushed out by laws that hampered the functioning of the household as an economic unit. However, the interconnectivity of religious and economic stimuli has been stressed throughout this chapter. Although broadly speaking the Netherlandish exiles seem to have been slightly more economically motivated, it is clear that they shared the same spiritual concerns as their English counterparts. Just as they were forced to flee abroad because of religious cleansing of people as well as objects, the refugees feared they might become themselves unclean if they lingered in ungodly, forsaken surroundings.

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[1] M. Greengrass, "Two Sixteenth-Century Religious Minorities", p. 317.

IV.   Prosopography of the English and Netherlandish exile communities

In order to gain a better understanding of both exile communities, this chapter will take a closer look at the numbers and origins of the exiles, followed by a concise analysis of their social compositions. The final subchapter will link the preceding subchapters to discernible waves and stages in both diasporas.

a. Numbers

"It is notoriously difficult", Backhouse claimed, "to estimate the number of Strangers who settled in England – or elsewhere for that matter – during the course of the sixteenth century."[1] And of course, it goes without saying that this counts for any exile movement, like the English Catholic diaspora, during the same period. Pettegree listed three major problems when trying to quantify the Protestant exile movement, all of which overlap for the greater part with the issues encountered when trying to quantify the English Catholics in exile. First of all, he stressed that census data of alien immigrants were essentially "snapshots". They stuck a number on a foreign population that wildly fluctuated at one certain point in time. Many exiles, after all, did not linger long where they first arrived, which is why it is easy to overestimate the alien population in London, for instance. Secondly, there were several problems undermining the actual registration of immigrants. They often escaped registration because their stay was so brief or, on the other hand, they had blended in with the native community so well that they were no longer considered alien. Furthermore Pettegree notes that, as registrations were conducted orally, the spelling of names could so significantly differ from its original form that it would no longer remain possible to deduce the origins of the refugee. Thirdly and finally, Pettegree emphasises one should never assume all immigrants were religious exiles. "Even those who came from countries with established exile movements, and who fitted quite comfortably into the refugee churches, were often propelled by quite different motives."[2]

Estimates of the English Catholic population in the Netherlands are more modest than those of the Netherlandish Protestants in England. Highley believed there were no more than "a few hundred Catholic exiles living abroad at any given moment during the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries."[3] Peter Guilday, the author of the only general treatise on English Catholic exiles in early modern Europe, offered a slightly more generous estimate. He believed there were never more than 3,000 on the continent at the same time.[4] Both Braun and Gibbons surmised that Guilday's estimates were too conservative, with Gibbons arguing that in 1588 alone at least a thousand English refugees were living in Paris.[5] Peter Marshall, then again, argued that Guilday's use of sources was at the very least questionable.[6] Only one author has attempted to make an educated guess of how many English Catholics stayed in the Southern Netherlands for an extended period of time.

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[1] M. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, p. 15.
[2] A. Pettegree, "Protestant Migration during the Early Modern Period.", pp. 446-447.
[3] C. Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, p. 6.
[4] P. Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent*, p. xx.
[5] B. Braun, "Katholische Glaubensflüchtlinge – eine Spurensuche", p. 521; K. Gibbons, *English Catholic exiles in late sixteenth-century Paris*, p. 16.
[6] P. Marshall, "Religious Exiles and the Tudor State.", p. 269.

"Le nombre, d'abord, des émigrés était très restreint. Une évaluation, même approximative, n'est guère possible. En ne comptant que le groupe des politiques [...] nous ne dépasserions guère quelques centaines, tout au plus un ou deux milliers. Ajoutons-y les étudiants de Douai et de Louvain; encore quelques centaines; puis la masse insaisissables des gens tranquilles et ignorés, dont nous ne savons rien, sinon qu'ils n'ont probablement pas laissé plus de traces sur les destinées de leurs hôtes qu'ils n'en ont laissé dans leur souvenir."[1]

Robert Lechat raised a valuable point here. Attempts to form but a humble, approximate measurement of numbers is sheer impossible as we are incredibly uninformed about the English Catholics who were either too unimportant or insufficiently well-connected to have left the faintest mark on history. We know a great deal about the seminary priests, the rebels, soldiers, vocal critics of the Elizabethan regime, receivers of a Spanish pension, polemicists and – above all – the Catholic aristocrats who deigned to make the Southern Netherlands their home, but of the lay Catholic commoner we know virtually nothing. It is therefore a distinct possibility that any estimation of the English refugee community in the Low Countries has underestimated their number.

Measurements of the Netherlandish Protestant population in England carry more weight, though these too tend to vary wildly. Andrews Spicer and Pettegree believe 40 to 50,000 religious refugees settled in England between 1550 and 1585. The overall majority settled in London and parts of South and East England.[2] In London and Sandwich alone, contemporaries (and exiles themselves) Francis van Halewyn and Christophe d'Assonleville estimated the total number of refugees at somewhere around 20,000 in 1564. Ten years later rumours went there were around 30,000 of them.[3]

Estimates since the second half of the twentieth century have fluctuated between 50,000 and 300,000 Netherlandish exiles dispersed throughout Europe from 1525 until 1650.[4] A more recent assessment by Goose has it that 180,000 people abandoned their homes in the Low Countries, of which at the very least 10,000 had found shelter in Elizabethan England by the 1570s. The 1590s are said to have witnessed a new high, harbouring some 15,000 religious exiles. Nigel Goose notes that this number could be considerably higher if one had knowledge of all those who made England their home during this period, regardless of the length of their stay.[5] Duke was considerably more generous, claiming that by 1572 there were already between 17,000 and 20,000 Dutch refugees to be found in England – most of whom were recent arrivals.[6]

Although we are more or less ignorant of the total number of English Catholic exiles who lived on the continent – or specifically the Low Countries, for that matter – it is fairly safe to assume that the Netherlandish exiles were far greater in number, even bearing in mind that a

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[1] R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés Anglais*, p. 198.

[2] A. Spicer, "The Consistory Records of Reformed Congregations and the Exile Churches." In: *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, 28 (2007), p. 642; A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London,* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986, p. 2.

[3] C.A. Rahlenbeck, "Les réfugiés belges du seizième siècle en Angleterre." In: *Revue trimestrielle*, 8 (1865), p. 21.

[4] R. Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten*, p. 23.

[5] N. Goose, "Introduction: Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England." In: N. Goose (ed.), et al., *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, 2005, p. 1.

[6] A. Duke, "Eavesdropping on the Correspondence between Strangers, Chiefly in Norwich, and their Families in the Low Countries 1567-1570." In: *Dutch Crossing*, 38 (2014), 2, p. 116.

mass of undocumented Catholic exiles ought to have been noticed and reported by contemporaries. Possible causes of this relative invisibility will be discussed in Ch. V.

b. Origins

It is considerably easier to ascertain the origin of exiles than it is to estimate their number, although there are several factors researchers may find troubling. In England, for instance, officials did not tend to speak Dutch and as such often completely distorted the names of places strangers claimed they hailed from. Inevitably faced with the gruesome task of trying to spell place names such as Bissezeele or Hondschoote (Hondschoote-style says were in fact called 'hounscots' throughout southern and eastern England)[1], clerks quite often simply refrained from mentioning origins in their registration files.[2] In his article "Immigrant Roots", Raymond Fagel dealt with some of the issues involved in trying to determine the exact origins of exiles. Even when extant records reveal a place of origin, there are several factors that stand in the way of trying to link an individual exile to a particular locality. Firstly, the name of a place could refer to a city, a province, as well as a bishopric (e.g. Utrecht). Secondly, one ought to keep in mind that several places carrying the same name existed at the same time. Thirdly, Fagel noted, it was not entirely uncommon for people to give the city they last came from instead of their birthplace as their place of origin.[3] For instance, a Flemish stranger family relocating from London to Colchester might have reported London rather than a particular locality in the Low Countries as their origins.

Catholicism, firstly, was most vibrant by far in the north of England and in the west along the border with Wales. Especially in Lancashire and along the border with present-day Welsh Monmouthshire, Pritchard believes Catholicism was very much of a "popular religion", as opposed to South and East England where it was almost as a rule confined to the gentry.[4] In a southern county like Kent, verified Catholics comprised no more than 0.22% of the adult population.[5] Especially Lancashire was "the heartland county of post-Reformation English recusancy".[6] Beyond Lancashire and Monmouthshire, Catholics were most numerous in respectively county Durham and Herefordshire.[7]

      The great majority of English exiles being undocumented, it is difficult to say where most came from. We know where Catholicism was fiercest but, although it is fairly plausible, that does not necessarily imply exiles tended to hail from these areas. For we could equally assume that because English Catholics were massively outnumbered in south-east England, this was the region par excellence they sought to escape from. The south-east lacked the Catholic vibrancy of the north and west, therefore leaving recusants more exposed. What we can safely assume is that after the failed Northern Rebellion of 1569, the intake of northern English Catholics would have dwarfed that of exiles from other regions. And with an even greater degree of certainty, we may posit that the English expatriates came from rural areas.[8]

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[1] D.C. Coleman, "An Innovation and Its Diffusion: The 'New Draperies'." In: *Economic History Review*, 22 (1969), 3, p. 426.

[2] M. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, p. 17.

[3] R. Fagel, "Immigrant Roots", p. 45.

[4] A. Pritchard, *Catholic Loyalism*, p. 6.

[5] R. Marx, *Religion et société en Angleterre de la Réforme à nos jours*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de Frances, 1978, p. 66.

[6] M.A. Mullet, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland*, p. 4.

[7] J. Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850*, London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1976, p. 405.

[8] K. Gibbons, *English Catholic exiles in late sixteenth-century Paris*, p. 35.

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Although not representative for Elizabethan exiles of all walks of life, it may be at least indicative to look at the origins of the seminary priests for the reign of Elizabeth. From Godfrey Anstruther's *Dictionary*, we derived a sample of 800 seminary priests, 763 of whom have undisputed known origins. Priests whose exact locality of birth was not mentioned, but instead the known whereabouts of their family around the time of birth, have also been included. If several places of origin were listed belonging to different regions, then the origin has been classified as unknown. The regions into which we have divided the priests correspond to the present-day borders of the regions of England, effective as of 31 December 2011. Although anachronistic, their borders largely correspond to those of the Henrician dioceses. Anstruther's *Dictionary* should provide us with the means to present a general idea as to the origins of the émigrés.[1]

Yorkshire and the Humber, the North West and the North East have been grouped together into the North. The same counts for the West and East Midlands. Priests from the East of England, the Greater London area, the South West and the South East have been classified independently, but have been also been treated as a larger collective for a general distribution into three categories of North, Midlands and South.
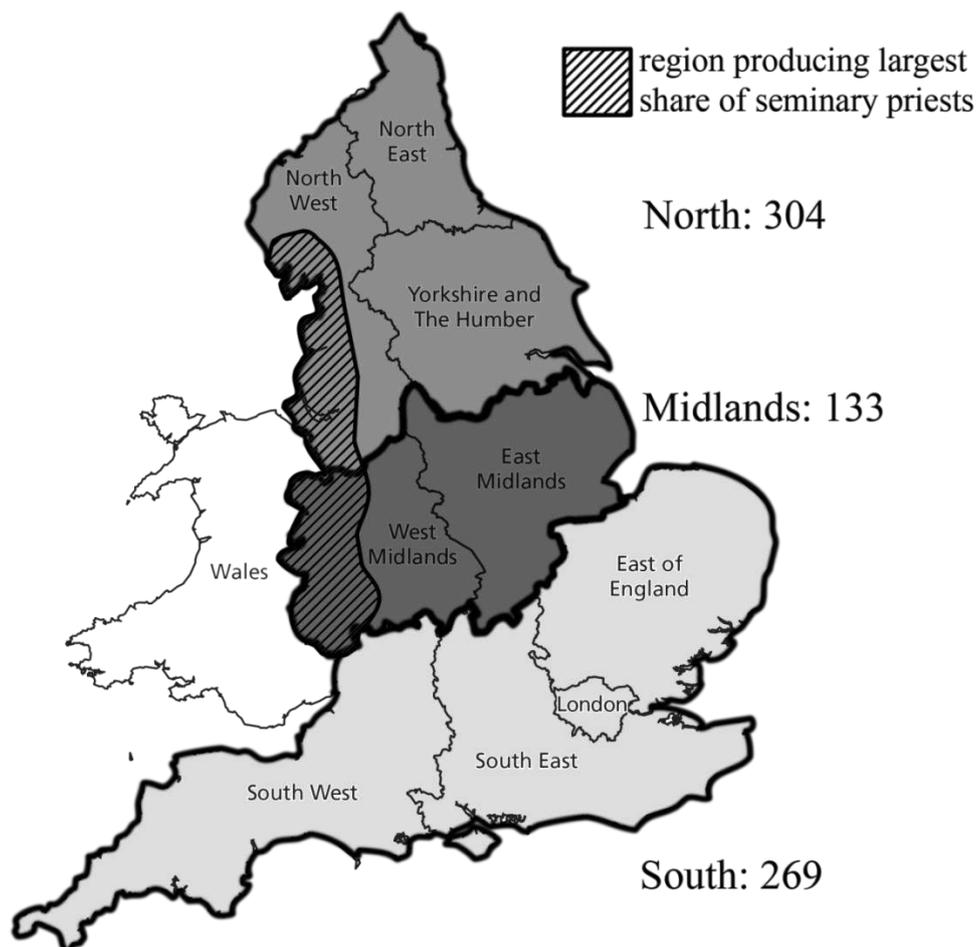
(Fig. 3) Elizabethan seminary priests by origins (1558-1603)

Data: G. Anstruther (ed.), *The Seminary Priest: A Dictionary of the Secular Clergy*, vol. I, pp.1-393.

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[1] G. Anstruther (ed.), *The Seminary Priest: A Dictionary of the Secular Clergy of England and Wales, 1558-1850*, Ware and Great Wakering: Mayhew-McCrimenon, 1968, vol. I, pp. 1-393.

The North supplied the largest share of the seminary priests (304), follow by the South (269) and the Midlands (133). That leaves us with 57 priests who have not been accounted for. 50 of these were born on the British Isles outside England. Except for Alexander Hay, the only Scot at Douai,[1] and one priest from the Isle of Man, the other 48 were Welsh. The remaining 7 were born on the continent: 1 was born in then English-occupied Calais, 1 in Spain and the others in Southern-Netherlandish cities, such as Ghent, Antwerp and Louvain.

The lion's share of the priests was of northern origins (Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, county Durham, etc.). The north-to-south axis running down from Carlisle to Lancashire and Cheshire, down into the West Midlands with Lichfield, Shropshire and Herefordshire in particular provided a great many seminary priests. If we differentiate between the regions of the south, we find that the Diocese of London (43) provided half as many priests as the far larger South West (85) and South East (86) regions, and almost as many as the East of England (55).

Now what do these statistics tell us? The regions where Catholicism was most vibrant indeed produced the highest amount of seminary priests, although their share does not exactly dwarf that of the southern regions (35%) where, in some counties, only 1 out of 500 households were identified as Catholics. Perhaps then our earlier presumption is not so far removed from the truth. The north and north-west of England may have produced the most Elizabethan expatriates numerically, yet proportionally there were far more refugees from the predominantly Protestant south where Catholicism was very much a minority religion.

The origins of the Netherlandish Protestants have enjoyed more research, although we are to thank the stranger churches and not the local English authorities. Esser commented on the total lack of distinction and consistency with which not only England's sixteenth-century officials, but also English historians have treated exiles from either the Southern or Northern Netherlands. The same is true for the Walloons and the French. The former were most likely described as 'Dutch', yet it was by no means exceptional that somebody from Antwerp was described as a 'Hollander' even though the city lay in the Duchy of Brabant.[2]

The lion's share of the exiles in England came from the Low Countries, and more specifically the central, maritime provinces of the Southern Netherlands. Their origins lay in Flanders and Brabant, but also Holland and Zeeland. There were francophone refugees from Hainaut and especially Walloon Flanders. From Fagel's prosopography of the elders and deacons of the Dutch and French churches in London, the primary importance of the cities in Flanders and Brabant can be deduced. With Antwerp, Ghent and Bruges topping the charts, your average exile was clearly an urbanite. In order to obtain a more complete view, Fagel studied the marriage records of Austin Friars's Dutch congregation between 1571 and 1603, resulting in a pool of exactly 2,000 brides and grooms. The Netherlandish soon-to-be-weds mainly came from, respectively, Antwerp (310), Ghent (175), Brussels (131), Bruges (80) and Oudenaarde (66). Other frequently mentioned towns were Ronse (35), Ipres (33), Turnhout (24), Bois-Le-Duc (22), Maaseik (22), Utrecht (20), Menen (19), Emden (18) and Courtrai (17).[3] The reason why these provinces delivered so many exiles was – unsuprisingly – the prevalence of reformed sentiment. "Protestantism, and especially Calvinism, was increasingly

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[1] Scottish Catholic exiles were most probably fewer in number and tended to establish their own institutions in the seventeenth century. Tom McInally estimated that, between 1603 and 1688, there were about 900 students who attended the Scots' colleges abroad. Cf. T. McInally, "Scottish Catholics Abroad, 1603-88: Evidence Derived From the Archives of the Scots Colleges." In: D. Worthington (ed.). *British and Irish Emigrants and Exiles in Europe, 1603-1688*, 2010, p.261.

[2] R. Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten*, p. 19.

[3] R. Fagel, "Immigrant Roots", pp. 48-50.

popular in these regions from the 1550s, often promoted in the Francophone southern provinces by Huguenots from neighbouring France."[1]
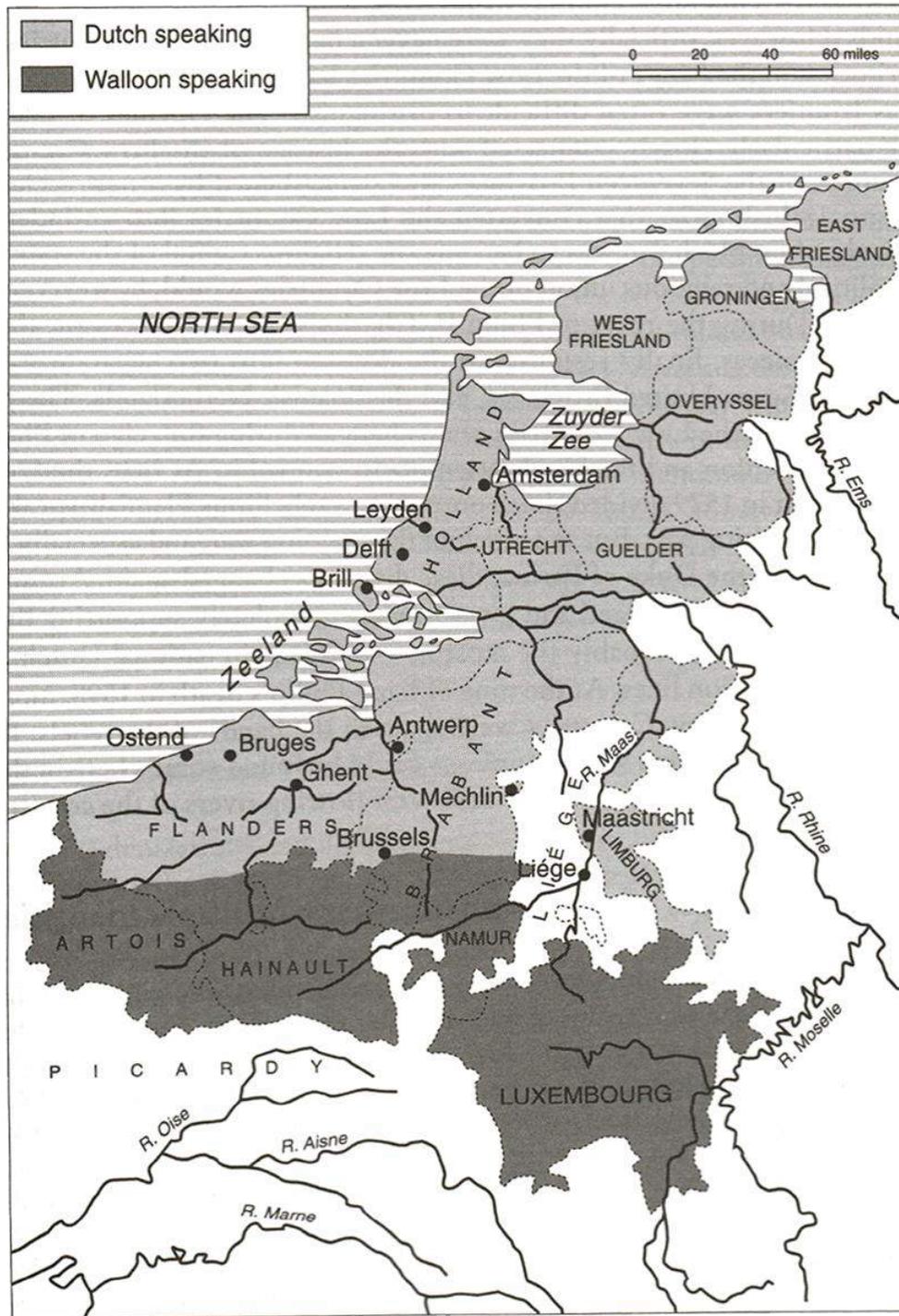
(Fig. 4) Map of the mid-sixteenth century Low Countries.
R. Fagel, "Immigrant Roots".

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[1] C.G.D. Littleton, "The Strangers, their Churches and the Continent: Continuing and Changing Connexions." In: N. Goose (ed.), et al., *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, 2005, p. 177.

It was noted that the Netherlandish exiles were in large measure people who had either been banished by the Council of Troubles or who had fled pre-emptively from persecution. This makes it particularly telling that three out of four sentences decreed by the Council involved urbanites. The Netherlands were the most urbanised region above the Alps of course, but it would be wrong to view the Dutch exiles as an almost exclusively urban movement. De Meij warned that there may be an overrepresentation due to the Council's ruthless scrutiny of urban heretics, whilst rural adherents of the Protestant cause did not receive anywhere near the attention their colleagues in the cities got.[1]

Something that ties in with the chain migration discussed in the subchapter on the waves of exile (cf. infra), is that exiles from one particular region or town tended to emigrate to the same town. Such links existed between Ypres and Norwich, the Westkwartier and Sandwich, Valenciennes and Southampton, as well Ghent and Maidstone.[2] What struck Fagel the most was the inherent link between Antwerp and London, with Antwerp dwarfing all other cities with regard to exile origins.

> "People from one metropolis probably preferred to go to another large metropolis. The city alongside the Thames and the one along the Scheldt were directly linked to one another, and until the mid-sixteenth century the London-Antwerp axis had dominated English trade."[3]

Most of the Walloon refugees came from the towns of Tournai, Armentières and Valenciennes.[4] It is worth noting that it would take until the 1620s before French refugees would slowly but surely start to outnumber the Netherlandish strangers in England.[5]

In terms of origins, there seems to be a slight divergence between the English and Netherlandish exiles. Whereas the latter tended to come from central, maritime provinces in the Netherlands and were mostly urbanites, most of the English originated from peripheral, rural areas. The importance of this discrepancy will be explored in the following subchapter.

c. Social composition

The social composition of the exile communities directly corresponds with their origins and is perhaps one of the most interesting points of comparison between the English Catholics and Netherlandish Protestants. In no other way did they so greatly differ from each other as in their social make-up. Before comparing both, each community will be broken down into its principal social categories.

What struck Bettina Braun in her research was that the nobility had a "disproportionately strong presence" among the English refugees in the Southern Netherlands.[6] Especially the

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[1] J.C.A. de Meij, *De watergeuzen en de Nederlanden, 1568-1572: over het gebruik van getallen tot steun van historische voorstellingen*, Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche uitgeversmaatschappij, 1972, p. 154.

[2] R. Fagel, "Immigrant Roots", p. 52; A. Duke, "Eavesdropping", p. 118; V. Morant, "The Settlement of Protestant Refugees in Maidstone during the Sixteenth Century." In: *The Economic History Review*, 4 (1951), p. 212.

[3] R. Fagel, "Immigrant Roots", p. 51.

[4] M. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, p. 29.

[5] R.D. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985, p. 33.

[6] B. Braun, "Katholische Konfessionsmigration", p. 95.

gentry, the lower, landed English nobility, made up a sizeable part of the exile community.[1] This assessment mirrors the conclusions drawn by Gibbons in her study of the Catholic exiles in Paris during the 1580s, where gentry originating from a "non-urban manorial context" too were disproportionately numerous compared to people from the lower strata of society.[2] Their strong presence can, in part, be explained by the large numbers of Catholic nobles pouring into the Low Countries following the failure of the Northern Rebellion in 1569.[3] Interesting is that this fairly elite cross-section of the English Catholic exile community is analogous to that of the Netherlandish Catholic exiles, who generally stemmed from the higher middle classes and upwards.[4]

The second social group that was well-represented – and received by far the largest share of scholarly attention – was that of the clergy.[5] The English clergy – male as well as female religious – received a warm welcome in the Netherlands from early on. The earliest establishments of English monastic houses were those of the Carthusians at Bruges, the Bridgettines at Dendermonde and the Dominicans at Oudergem.[6] The establishment of a separate English house was not the only option for exiled clergy, however. Some joined Dutch houses, whereas others took up office within the Church. Others still became a chaplain in the English regiment, which ties in with the next social group.

Since 1587, an English Catholic regiment fought in the service of Philip II after its leader, Sir William Stanley, had forsaken his oath to Queen Elizabeth. Initially aiding the rebels as a unit in Leicester's expedition, he and 600 of his soldiers relinquished their hold of Deventer, accepting the Duke of Parma as their paymaster instead.[7] By the end of the sixteenth century a great many of the Elizabethan exiles were connected to the English regiment in one way or the other.

Not entirely distinct from the clergy, yet worth being studied independently, scholars were not only the most vocal, but also among the earliest of English exiles. According to T.H. Clancy, the scholarly exiles were by nature prone to international mobility. He explained this by referring to the character of the sixteenth-century academic world, which had a distinctly cosmopolitan character for the time.[8] Initially this group was mainly based in Louvain, where the university provided boarding and other facilities. Later, after its establishment in 1568, the English seminary at Douai would take over the role as hub of the English intelligentsia in exile.[9] Louvain and Douai's students and professors would come to form "a phalanx of theological heavyweights" in the battle against the Elizabethan regime.[10]

With a heavy heart, we have already conceded that little and less is known of the exiled Catholic commoner. Hitherto the overall majority of studies have focused on important public figures within the community; predominantly individual, though occasionally in a framework consisting of other members belonging to any of the groups above.[11] As was

[1] B. Braun, "Katholische Glaubensflüchtlinge – eine Spurensuche", p. 523.

[2] K. Gibbons, *English Catholic exiles in late sixteenth-century Paris*, p. 35.

[3] P. Marshall, "Religious Exiles and the Tudor State.", p. 268.

[4] G.H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 62.

[5] B. Braun, "Katholische Glaubensflüchtlinge – eine Spurensuche", p. 526.

[6] R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés Anglais*, p. 25.

[7] A.J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans*, pp. 138-139.

[8] T.H. Clancy, *Papist Pamphleteers: The Allen-Persons Party and the Political Thought of the Counter-Reformation in England, 1572-1615*, Chicago: Loyola UP, 1964, p. 3.

[9] A. Morey, *The Catholic Subjects of Elizabeth I*, p. 100.

[10] P. Marshall, "Religious Exiles and the Tudor State.", p. 271.

[11] Loomie wrote his *Spanish Elizabethans* as a case-study of the lives of Charles Neville, Earl of Westmorland; Lady Jane Dormer, Countess and later Duchess of Feria; Sir William Stanley and Hugh Owen. Especially polemicists and key figures within the English mission have been the subject of extensive study. Cf: Highley, Christopher. "'A Pestilent and Seditious Book': Nicholas Sander's Schismatis Anglicani and Catholic Histories of the Reformation." In: *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 68 (2005), 1-2, pp. 151-171; Houliston, Victor. *Catholic*

succinctly worded by Shagan: "students of early modern Catholicism are accustomed to books with dramatis personae running alphabetically from Cardinal Allen to Cardinal Ximenes".[1] Creating a typology of the exiled Elizabethan commoner in the Southern Netherlands is sheer impossible with the current lack of sources and research.

With regard to gender, the Catholic refugee community was overwhelmingly male. Just like the Catholic diaspora in the Netherlands, English Catholic exile was also "a male affair". It has been argued that women stayed at home because that way they could secure the family's assets at home and possibly even support other members of the family who were currently in exile. Women, after all, were less likely to become the victim of persecution by the authorities.[2] Especially the first clerical and scholarly wave of exiles was almost entirely male. Although not exclusively, Bowden warns, as 28 English women joined the Augustinian nuns in Louvain immediately following the Elizabethan Settlement.[3]

If one was to characterise the Protestant expatriates in just three bullet points, it would be the following: well-educated, largely urban and middle class. Because the urban character of the Netherlandish exile community has already been discussed, we will move on to the other two global characteristics. First of all, Raingard Esser, when analysing the Dutch exiles of Austin Friars, noted how their community was surprisingly literate for the time. Between the years 1565 and 1639, 60 inventories remain of strangers' households. At least 34 of these inventories included books. Even lower income families kept somewhere between one and ten volumes in their homes. Most often recurring were, respectively, the Bible, separate volumes of the Old and New Testament, and Calvin's *Institutio Christianae Religionis*. Now and again, even works dealing with English history found their ways into the strangers' impressive libraries, such as John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*.[4] According to Duke, the literacy rate in the sixteenth-century Low Countries was considerably higher than in England.[5] Nelleke Moser called attention to a striking difference between English and Netherlandish manuscript culture during the sixteenth century in a literature study of the exile Jacob de Moor and his son David. Jacob perfectly mirrored the Netherlandish rhetoricians of his day, not only in literary form, but also in social status, as a well-educated, upper-middle-class physician. English manuscript miscellanies, on the other hand, have mostly been associated with the aristocracy, Oxbridge scholars and Elizabethan courtiers.[6]

Thirdly, it has been remarked that the Protestant exiles in general could be defined as somewhat "middle-class".[7] Schilling even went as far as to describe them as an "early modern business bourgeoisie".[8] They owe this reputation to the fact that there were so many master craftsmen, skilled journeymen and artists among them. The episcopal visitation of 1568 in Norwich showed strangers were active in 49 different professional occupations, of which a vast majority was related to the manufacture of textiles. Others worked as shoemakers,

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Resistance in Elizabethan England: Robert Person's Jesuit Polemic, 1580-1610. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007; Houliston, Victor. "Baffling the Blatant Beast: Robert Persons' Anti-Appellant Rhetoric, 1601-1602." In: *CHR*, 90 (2004), 3, pp. 439-455.

[1] E. Shagan, "Introduction: English Catholic history in context.", p. 2.

[2] G.H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 73, 72.

[3] C. Bowden, "Patronage and Practice: Assessing the Significance of the English Convents as Cultural Centres in Flanders in the Seventeenth Century." In: *English Studies*, 92 (2011), 5, p. 484.

[4] R. Esser, "Immigrant Cultures in Tudor and Stuart England." In: N. Goose (ed.), et al., *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, 2005, pp. 163-165.

[5] A. Duke, "Eavesdropping", p. 123.

[6] An association in need of nuance, according to Moser, due to "growing evidence for strong manuscript traditions at various levels of English society". N. Moser, "Migrants and Merchants: Two Early Modern Dutch Readers and Their English Contemporaries." In: *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73 (2010), 3, p. 489.

[7] G.H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt*, pp. 63-64.

[8] H. Schilling, "Innovation through Migration", p. 7.

booksellers, glassmakers, schoolmasters, and so on.[1] Their economic significance and relative prosperity will be treated in the chapter on survival strategies.

It goes without saying that where there is a middle class, there is also bound to be a lower and an upper class. If we are to define the upper class as strictly aristocratic, i.e. non-inclusive of the wealthiest segment of master craftsmen and merchants in the stranger community, we end up with a fairly small circle of exiled nobles in England, many of whom seem to have been involved with the Sea Beggars during the early years of the Revolt. An example is to be found in the person of Adrien de Bergues, the exiled Lord of Dolhain, who fought alongside his brother Louis and even captained his own ship.[2] Yet Dolhain performed another task that was not entirely unfamiliar to the exiled nobles: he was instructed to beseech funding from the stranger churches in England for William of Orange's war efforts.[3]

Interestingly, the elders – the spiritual elite of the stranger congregations – largely corresponded with the strangers' financial elite, generally being "amongst the more prosperous members of the church".[4] What particularly fascinated Boersma in his study of the Londoner stranger churches was that a rather sizeable proportion of the elders at Austin Friars were in fact senior craftsmen.[5] At Sandwich, the six church elders of whom their professions are known were all senior craftsmen. Five of them were either master baize or say workers.[6]

The lower classes, subsequently, were all but negligible. The immense pressure this hungry mass of refugees put on not only the stranger churches, but on municipal authorities as well – and the tension this generated with the native English populace – will be discussed in the chapter on the reception of the exiles further on. Especially the surge in immigration during the later 1560s, sparked by Alba's sojourn in the Netherlands, brought an exile wave of considerably humbler origins.[7]

Female and male strangers seem to have been almost equally distributed in England, with a slight predominance of men. There was a tendency, though, for men to flee earlier, so that their wives and family could join them once they had firmly established themselves in exile. This resulted in an outpouring of letters, written by lonesome husbands trying to convince their wives to join them abroad.[8] Jacob Muus, for instance, argued in a letter to his wife that they would never want for anything, if only she would join him in exile.[9] However, we ought to be careful not to overestimate the dominance of males, because most sources tended only to list the male heads of households in their surveys.

Particularly striking, finally, is that most of the characteristics treated above differentiated the Netherlandish exiles from other stranger populations in England as well. The social composition of the French Huguenot refugees was decidedly different from that of the Dutch strangers, who were mostly urbanites and craftsmen from smaller towns. The Huguenots were, according to Robin Gwynn, "predominantly a rural, landed or peasant group".[10]

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[1] R. Esser, "Strangers within the Gates: Dutch and Walloon Refugees in Norwich." In: *Westhoek*, 8 (1992), 1, p. 30.

[2] L. Vandamme, "Een edelman uit het westkwartier in Engeland: Charles Vasquez." In: *Het beloofde land: acht opstellen over werken, geloven en vluchten tijdens de XVIe en XVIIe eeuw*, 1992, pp. 135-136.

[3] J.C.A. de Meij, *De watergeuzen en de Nederlanden*, p. 20.

[4] A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 56.

[5] O. Boersma, *Vluchtig voorbeeld*, p. 63.

[6] M. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, p. 46.

[7] A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 209.

[8] R. Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten*, p. 225.

[9] H.Q. Janssen, "Hervormde vlugtelingen", p. 224.

[10] R.D. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*, p. 27.

Thus there was a stark difference in the social profiles of the English and Netherlandish refugees. Whereas the English were in large part gentry, originating from a "non-urban manorial context",[1] clergymen and scholars, the stranger community in England largely consisted of urban craftsmen.[2] The former belonged to a seigneurial class, the latter to a well-educated professional, working class. They are defined, respectively, by their numerically strong aristocratic and middle class element. Interesting to note is that this mirrors Natalie Zemon Davis's observations of mid-sixteenth century Lyon, where the Protestants had a higher literacy rate and more often belonged to the manufacturing sectors of society than the city's Catholics. They "drew men from the patriciate, from the middle-rank notables, and the 'menu peuple'" and "tended to come from occupations which were more skilled, or in process of being transformed, or more recently introduced".[3]

Although distinctive, we ought not to exaggerate the literacy rate and learnedness of the Protestant exiles in comparison with that of the Elizabethan expatriates. Louvain and Douai in particular stand out as centres of Catholic exile intellectual endeavours. Given that they were Protestants, the Dutch refugees of course lacked the considerable multitude of English clergy and scholars that flocked to the Southern Netherlands, whence they established seminaries and cloisters. Although, naturally, the strangers had their own religious institutions and functionaries. The Dutch, furthermore, seem to have been less plagued by a gender imbalance than the English were. The results of these social differences will be further explored in the chapter on the exiles' survival strategies.

d. Waves and stages of exile

Both the English and Netherlandish exile currents are emblematic for a typically early modern phenomenon called 'chain migration', as opposed to individual migration. The presence of friends and family or professional contacts often constituted a pull-factor for further migration of family members and acquaintances. According to Fagel, chain migration is a quintessential characteristic of forced migration (such as the exodus of Flemish Protestants following the arrests carried out by the Council of Troubles).[4] This collective form of migration rarely maintains a constant flow, moving, rather, like the ebb and tide of a body of water.

For both the English and Netherlandish Protestant exiles it is possible to discern different waves and stages of exile, as well important accelerations and reversals. Events that set in motion the expatriation of one group sometimes triggered the return of the other. For instance the rise of the Calvinist city republics in the Southern Netherlands sent many English Catholics to look for greener pastures in Paris, but at the same time beckoned the return of some Dutch exiles. First we will treat both communities separately, after which we will examine potential overlapping trends.

Elizabethan Catholic exile, during the second half of the sixteenth century, can be roughly divided into four stages. The first, taking place between 1559 and '68, is inherently linked with the university of Louvain and English academia. A prominent push factor impelling learned, Catholic Englishmen to quit the country was the *Act of Supremacy* that rendered them unable to obtain a degree of higher learning without having sworn the detested 'Oath of Supremacy'. Contemporary polemicist Nicholas Sanders estimated that at least 300 students

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[1] K. Gibbons, *English Catholic exiles in late sixteenth-century Paris*, p. 35.
[2] O.P. Grell, "Exile and tolerance." In: O.P. Grell (ed.), *Tolerance and intolerance in the European Reformation*, 1996, pp. 174-175.
[3] N.Z. Davis, "The Sacred and the Body Social in Sixteenth-Century Lyon." In: *P&P*, 90 (1981), p. 52.
[4] R. Fagel, *Voortrekkers, cultuurdragers, emigranten*, pp. 22-23.

and professors active at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge left the country in due haste when Elizabeth became queen.[1] Especially Oxford was the scene of a veritable exodus bound for Louvain after several Catholic scholars had been robbed of their offices in 1559.[2] Louvain seemed to have gained an English colony overnight, compelling Edward Rishton to write: "The very flower of the two universities, Oxford and Cambridge, was carried away [...] especially to the Belgian universities."[3]

A second phase is discernible from 1568 until the late 1570s. It is marked by four crucial, successive events, all of which took place between 1568 and '70, drastically impacting the exiles' lives. The first was the arrival of the Queen of Scots in England.[4] Mary Stuart was to feature in countless Catholic conspiracies because she was, firstly, true to Rome and, secondly, first in line to the throne. A second event was the foundation of the English seminary at Douai, also in 1568. Douai was to become the headquarters of the English mission and the gateway of the Counter Reformation to England. John Bossy deemed the foundation to be of such a fundamental importance that he wielded it as the *terminus a quo* of his monumental *The English Catholic Community*.[5] Furthermore of great importance was the failure of the Northern Rebellion in 1569, which has been blamed on the indecisiveness of the Catholic rebels.[6] 'The Revolt of the Northern Earls' irreparably soured Elizabeth's trust in the Catholic nobility. Finally, the fourth event of major importance was Elizabeth's excommunication by Pope Pius V in 1570. Diarmaid MacCulloch called *Regnans in excelsis*, the papal bull of excommunication, a "poisoned chalice". After all, thenceforth loyalty was a binary option for Catholics in the eyes of the Tudor regime: either they were loyal to their rightful sovereign, or their allegiance lay with Rome.[7] This particular form of reasoning was not exclusive to the regime, however. It was shown in the chapter on the rationale behind exile that prominent voices within the exile community argued the same.

These four events combined greatly accelerated the English Catholic diaspora. Where there had been but a "small-scale movement" during the early years of Elizabeth's reign, Gibbons discerned a change of form around 1570 when it began to take the shape of a Catholic exodus – now also including the laity.[8] Chiefly notable is that in the aftermath of the Northern Rebellion a great many landed, English nobles emigrated to the Southern Netherlands. And not just the lower nobility; the next generation of exiles counted several peers of the realm among their ranks. In June 1570 arrived the Earl of Morley, in August the Countess of Northumberland and the Earl of Westmorland. January 1571, the Baron Dacre arrived.[9] Bossy detected four principal differences between the new wave of exiles and their predecessors. Firstly the most recent delegation was much younger than that of the so-called 'Louvainists', most of whom had been toiling away in academia for years. Secondly, they had more members belonging to the gentry. Thirdly, many of them had outwardly conformed as members of the Anglican community for a time. Fourthly and finally, the new generation was much more militant, in that they believed the Elizabethan Settlement had to be reversed *manu militari* – instead of the old guard that believed Elizabeth's regime would ultimately bring about its own downfall.[10]

[1] R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés Anglais*, pp. 31-32.
[2] C.J. Fordyce, "Louvain and Oxford in the Sixteenth Century." In: *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 12 (1933), 3, p. 645.
[3] C. Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, p. 27.
[4] A. Morey, *The Catholic Subjects of Elizabeth I*, p. 51.
[5] J. Bossy, *The English Catholic Community*, p. 4.
[6] A. Fletcher and D. MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, Edinburgh: Pearson Education, 2008, p. 108.
[7] D. MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided*, p. 392.
[8] K. Gibbons, *English Catholic exiles in late sixteenth-century Paris*, pp. 15-16.
[9] R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés Anglais*, pp. 41-42.
[10] J. Bossy, "The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism." In: *P&P*, 21 (1962), p. 45.

The third phase, that of the late 1570s and '80s, was more than anything else an intermezzo – at least as far as the Low Countries are concerned. Starting in late 1577, most of the English refugees left the Netherlands because the Dutch Revolt made for a rather unstable political climate. Many left for Paris which would become the central hub for English Catholics on the continent during the 1580s. The seminary at Douai relocated to Rheims in 1578, only returning to its original location in Walloon Flanders in 1590. Most of the missionary priests who were to reinvigorate Catholicism in England thus had to sail from French ports during these years.[1] Lechat, however, pleaded the image of the Low Countries entirely undone of English émigrés was one that needed nuancing.

> "Notre pays était donc vide d'émigrés anglais, ou tout au moins de ces émigrés remuants qui s'occupaient de politique. Car il va sans dire que bon nombre des réfugiés de condition plus modeste et de moeurs plus pacifiques demeurèrent dans nos provinces sans interruption. Mais ces gens paisibles ne faisaient guère parler d'eux."[2]

Once more we are faced with an unknown quantity of undocumented, unaffiliated English émigrés who have left no indications as to the extent of the English exodus of the 1580s.

The fourth and final stage was announced by the return of the exiles from Paris. Deeply disappointed with French king Henry III and putting even less store in his Huguenot successor, the exiles surmised their cause might win more support in the Netherlands where the Duke of Parma had reclaimed the cities of Flanders and Brabant. During this period, however, the community was more than ever torn apart by internal strife and rampant factionalism. Cardinal Allen's role as a unifier of the Catholic exiles, "their spiritual leader and adviser",[3] had come to end with his passing in 1594. Natalia Muchnik argued that diaspora generated a unifying potential of sorts for exile communities, binding them as a great "fédérateur".[4] If exile truly has that potential, it was shattered during the 1590s. The refugees squabbled over a host of different issues, the most prominent of which were the role of the Jesuits and the succession of Elizabeth – which worried the Protestants just as much, coincidentally.

According to Andrew Pettegree, there were two developments in Europe between 1540 and 1560 that precipitated the onset of large-scale Protestant migration. Firstly, Calvinism's emergence as a force to be reckoned with. Calvin's widely circulating writings offered his readers two options: "witness to the Gospel (with the inevitable risk of martyrdom), or withdrawing to a safe place abroad." Secondly, the Roman Catholic Church's increasingly effective way of stamping out the perceived heresy. An index of forbidden books was published, urban evangelical networks were traced down and obliterated, and the Council of Trent was preparing a doctrinal and institutional response to the accusations of the reformers. "With these two developments" Pettegree concluded, "the stage was set for the major religious conflicts of the second half of the century and the first significant Protestant migrations from France and the Netherlands."[5]

A first, though preliminary wave of exile from the Netherlands can be roughly situated between 1535 and 1553. Some 5,000 Flemish and Walloon refugees received letters of denization in England, although Beeman reasoned that the actual number of refugees must

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[1] A. Dures, *English Catholicism, 1558-1642*, pp. 20-21.
[2] R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés Anglais*, p. 141.
[3] T.O. Hanley, "A Note on Cardinal Allen's Political Thought." In: *CHR*, 45 (1959), 3, p. 329.
[4] N. Muchnik, "'S'attacher à des pierres comme à un religion locale...': La terre d'origine dans les diasporas des XVIe – XVIIIe siècles." In: *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 66 (2011), 2, p. 484.
[5] A. Pettegree, "Protestant Migration during the Early Modern Period.", pp. 442-443.

have been far higher, seeing as it did not take account of the exiles living in provincial towns.[1] Schilling as well agreed with situating the beginning of the Protestant emigration from the Low Countries in the 1530s, as a movement in response to Charles V's crackdown on heresy.[2] The climax of this first wave lay between 1544 and 1546 when authorities furiously tried to root out evangelical conventicles.[3]

The second stage corresponds with Queen Mary's reign (1553-1558), although it is mostly an intermezzo – just like the 1580s for the English Catholics. Simeon Ruytinck, one of Austin Friars's earliest historiographers, claimed the day of Mary Tudor's coronation was "received with the joy of some and the fear of many".[4] Most of the Netherlandish exiles in England up and left during this period, most of whom first to Denmark and later to Emden. Others still returned to the Netherlands.[5] The few who stayed behind, either because they were unable or unwilling to leave, may have continued to meet in secret assemblies, even though they were required to attend Catholic services in local parish churches.[6] The authorities, in any case, did not hinder the strangers' departure from English ports.[7]

A third stage can be situated between 1558 and ca. 1566, respectively the year of Queen Elizabeth's accession and the infamous Wonder Year. With the death of Catholic Queen Mary, England turned into a safe haven for Protestant exiles once again. Some decided to return to England, although – as befitting any proper religious diaspora worth its weight – never in a continuous motion. The overall intake of Netherlandish exiles was not particularly high, though 1562 coined a record number of 450 letters of denization issued to strangers in England; most of whom were Netherlandish.[8] L.J. Rogier, as ever deeply convinced of the economic stimuli behind the diaspora, believed refugees after 1559 were almost exclusively motivated by the economic crisis that plagued the mainland.[9] Regardless of their motivations however, some were not intent on staying long. The years 1565-1566 even sparked another modest return of refugees from the Southern Netherlands, after the Union of Nobles ('Verbond der Edelen') had successfully coaxed Margaret of Parma into a relaxation of the anti-heretical persecution.[10]

What Pettegree called the "collapse of the reform movement" in the Netherlands of 1567, triggered another major exile wave to England.[11] The punishment meted out by the Duke of Alba following the Wonder Year drove thousands of Netherlandish Protestants across the Channel. In 1572 they were joined by a host of French Huguenots, left horrified and bewildered by the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre and the events that followed it.[12] The Duke of Alba was of no mind to reconcile with the exiles who had been fleeing the country since the 1540s; least of all, he planned on showing any mercy to those who had participated in the iconoclasm of the Wonder Year. "The Council of Troubles", in the words of Geert Janssen, "thus turned the expatriates into permanent *personae non gratae*."[13]

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[1] G.B. Beeman, "The Early History of the Strangers' Church, 1550 to 1561." In: *ProHSL*, 15 (1935), 2, p. 263.

[2] H. Schilling, "Innovation through Migration", p. 9.

[3] A. Pettegree, "Protestant Migration during the Early Modern Period.", p. 444.

[4] Translation: "onthaelt met vreught van zommighe en vreese van velen" S. Ruytinck and J.J. van Toorenenbergen (ed.), *Gheschiedenissen ende handelingen die voornemelick aengaen de Nederduytsche natie ende gemeynten, wonende in Engelant ende int bysonder tot Londen*, […], Utrecht: Kemink, 1873, p. 21.

[5] A. Pettegree, "The London Exile Community", p. 231.

[6] G.B. Beeman, "The Early History of the Strangers' Church", p. 277; O. Boersma, *Vluchtig voorbeeld*, p. 13.

[7] A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 115.

[8] R. Fagel, *Voortrekkers, cultuurdragers, emigranten*, p. 54.

[9] L.J. Rogier, "Karakter en omvang van de Nederlandsche emigratie, pp. 361-363.

[10] L. Vandamme, "Charles Vasquez", p. 124.

[11] A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 217.

[12] A.J. Jelsma and O. Boersma, *Acta van het consistorie van de Nederlandse gemeente te Londen 1569-1585*, 's-Gravenhage: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 1993, p. xxii.

[13] G.H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 30.

The early 1580s were, like the mid-1560s, a period considerable of return to the Netherlands. However this time around they rarely returned to the Southern Netherlands (excepting those who flocked to the Calvinist city republics). It is plausible that the strangers, faced with Farnese's successful military exploits, thought all odds of returning home were irreparably lost. Instead of sticking around a little longer in England, many chose to try their fate in the Northern Netherlands. Leiden, among others, drew in a fair amount of Flemish strangers in 1583 – and would continue to do so, as its population almost tripled in the next four decades.[1]

The "final major influx of the sixteenth century" in England took place in the wake of the Fall of Antwerp, in 1585. According to Pettegree, 1585 formed a watershed in the coming and going of the Netherlandish exiles. Thenceforth, the Netherlanders who arrived in England were generally those who intended on staying there permanently, whereas others set sail for Holland or Zeeland, as their native homes in the south had fallen to Farnese.[2] "Great companyes of them are alredy departed," Verstegan wrote, "and more dayly preparing to followe".[3] Indeed, a new trend was set: a great many Flemish and Brabantine exiles still emigrated to England but, ever thereafter, the overall majority of refugees from the south would come to settle in the nascent Dutch Republic to the north, especially when the economy ground to a halt in the south during the 1590s.[4]

Particularly striking is that some events gravely impacted the coming and going of both exile communities at the same time; most often resulting in a negative correlation. The accession of Queen Elizabeth, first of all, elicited the first Catholic exile wave since the reign of Edward VI, while at the same time opening England's gates again to the Netherlandish Protestants who had been faced with the choice to 'turn or burn' under Mary. The conquests of the Duke of Parma set a similar stage during the mid-1580s, when the English returned from their sojourn in Paris and the Dutch, freshly returned from England, were cast into exile all over again.

Whereas the individual stages of exile among the English could be loosely linked to particular social groups, this was considerably different for the Netherlandish exiles. The events that shaped the Dutch Revolt and its Protestant refugees rarely impacted a specific class alone. Although it could be said that the exiles who arrived after the establishment of the Council of Troubles were decidedly less affluent, largely because they had lacked the time to properly prepare their flight.

Finally, in line with the persecution of Protestants in the Netherlands and Catholics in England, Catholic exile from England to the Southern Netherlands was also of a more distinctively linear nature. The emigration of Dutch Protestants was essentially a tireless back and forth, returning whenever better prospects seemed to dawn (e.g. during the mid-1560s and the late 1570s). English expats, on the other hand, never returned to England en masse during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. They relocated to Paris during the 1580s, but they did not interrupt their continental exile. The flow of English émigrés accelerated and decelerated, but was never quite reversed. Although at the turn of the century, the English and Netherlandish refugees mostly shared the same fate, in that most never definitively came back. The

[1] J. Desreumaux, "Vlaamse migranten uit Engeland naar Leiden uitgeweken in de tweede helft van de zestiende eeuw 1577-1579." In: *Het beloofde land: acht opstellen over werken, geloven en vluchten tijdens de XVIe en XVIIe eeuw*, 1992, pp. 94-95; H. De Schepper, *Belgium Nostrum*, pp. 67-68.
[2] A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 217, 259.
[3] R. Verstegan and A.G. Petti (ed.), *Letters and Despatches*, p. 164.
[4] C.G.D. Littleton, "The Strangers, their Churches and the Continent", p. 177; A. Pettegree, "The London Exile Community", p. 445.

Protestants who returned from England had nothing to return to in the Southern Netherlands, after all, and instead turned north to the young Republic.

V.   Diversity and reception

Although the diversity and the reception of the exile communities might not seem intimately linked, they definitely had a noticeable impact on one another. First the diversity within each community will be discussed, followed by a general overview of the refugees' reception in their host countries.

a. Diversity within the exile community

Alexander Schunka argued in the essay "Konfession und Migrationsregime in der Frühen Neuzeit" that immigrants in the early modern age, including religious exiles, were too often analysed as part of what he called a "given group", for instance *the* Huguenots or *the* English Catholic exiles. He suggested therefore "a more thorough analysis of the historical dimension", challenging "older dichotomies in research of early modern migrations". Furthermore, he went on to criticise the fact that exiles had too long been treated by historians as passive victims of confessional politics and, even more so, as collectively homogenous entities. Individual diversity between exiles has been mostly overlooked.[1] Schunka felt it was time to right some wrongs; to recognise that exile communities were in fact all but monolithic entities.

Keeping Schunka's criticism in mind, we will discuss the two principal issues that showed the English and Netherlandish exile communities were in fact all but homogenous, namely the rampant factionalism of the English and the ominous threat of heterodoxy troubling the Dutch stranger churches.

In a letter dated 3 August 1577, Mary, Queen of Scots, dearly lamented the fact that "the faithfull who have suffered with lose of lands and goods and finally banisshid" were "devided in sundry factions".[2] Indeed, the English Catholic exiles were notorious at the time for their internal disputes and rampant factionalism – or as William Allen described it, the "irremidiable disunion amongst our banished men".[3] Geert Janssen recently wrote that "expelled religious communities seem to have been particularly prone to the dynamics of discord" and the English Catholics, by all means, seem to have formed no exception.[4] If it did exert any of the unifying influence Muchnik ascribed to exile, banishment only served to unite English refugees behind a variety of factions that vigorously opposed each other.[5]

One of the issues to divide the exiles was the question of whom should succeed Queen Elizabeth. Given that the Spanish kept a considerable few émigrés in tow to bring about the downfall of Elizabeth's regime or even to handle the logistics behind several attempts on her life, it is no small wonder that the exiles wondered aloud about whom they thought the ideal candidate would be to succeed the Virgin Queen. Initially, the first candidate championed by most of the exiles was the Catholic Mary Stuart. The Queen of Scots, however, overplayed her hand in a bid for the game of thrones, resulting in her execution after she had been

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[1] A. Schunka, "Konfession und Migrationsregime in der Frühen Neuzeit", pp. 28-29.
[2] W. Allen and T.F. Knox (ed.), *Letters and Memorials of William, Cardinal Allen*, pp. 29-30.
[3] Ibidem, pp. 315-316.
[4] G.H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 98.
[5] N. Muchnik, "La terre d'origine", p. 484.

implicated in the Babington plot that aimed to assassinate Elizabeth.[1] Whereas Mary Stuart's legitimacy was generally met with consensus, the appointment of another successor proved a lot more troublesome. In *A Conference about the Next Succession*, Robert Persons and the Jesuit faction championed the *Infanta* of Spain, Philip II's daughter Isabella who had the blood of King Edward III flowing through her veins. A counter party emerged, radically disagreeing with any further Spanish influence in England and instead threw its weight behind the Scottish King James VI, son of Mary Stuart.[2] The latter faction enjoyed the support of a considerable few English exiles in Paris and the Duke of Guise himself, who wished to force an uprising in favour of James.[3]

This aversion to Spanish interference proved a long lasting cause of contention and division between the English Catholic exiles. Although it may not seem to bear any relevance, the conflict about the role of the Jesuits in English post-Reformation Catholicism was intimately linked to the question of whether English Catholics ought to accept the Spaniard or not. For in the Jesuit or the seminary priest, many refugees saw the personification of Spanish subjugation – or as Lechat said, "Jésuite devint synonyme d'espagnol".[4] An influential aristocratic faction came to the forefront, despising the Society of Jesus for its inherently foreign character and its quasi-military hierarchical structure.[5] An unidentified Jesuit priest in England reported "a thing likely to breede great division among catholick gentlemen" to Robert Persons in 1587. He was accosted by local recusants at the manor where he had been offered room and boarding. The gentlemen raised the question whether an English Catholic could "lawfully serve against the Spaniards in the present wars of Flanders". Their conclusion was that if Queen and Council deemed it necessary to take up arms against Spain then so too must the realm's Catholics abide, for they would fight the Spanish "as being enemies to England not as catholicks".[6] By the 1590s the enmity between the Jesuit faction (the 'Allen-Persons Party') and the anti-Jesuits (the 'Appellants') had risen to unprecedented levels. Both parties had started compiling separate martyrologies, each discrediting the martyrs of the other.[7] At the turn of the century, the émigrés had embraced a new strategy: they would lobby the court of the Archduke to have their political rivals among the exiles banished from the Netherlands.[8]

A final, though nonetheless major issue dividing the English Catholics was the appointment of a successor to the deceased Cardinal William Allen. On one side were those in favour of Robert Persons, whereas the other side supported Owen Lewis, Bishop of Cassano.[9] Of course, these groups largely correspond with respectively those in favour of the Jesuits and those against, and thus those for and against Spanish interference. Although both sides endlessly bickered back and forth, neither side got what it wanted. William Allen was the last English cardinal until the late seventeenth century.[10]

The strangers in England were, just like the English Catholics, far from a homogenous collective. However, where the English were divided over issues that were chiefly political,

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[1] G.R. Batho, "The Execution of Mary, Queen of Scots." In: *The Scottish Historical Review*, 39 (1960), 1, pp. 37-38.
[2] A. Pritchard, *Catholic Loyalism*, p. 18.
[3] T.O. Hanley, "A Note on Cardinal Allen's Political Thought.", p. 328.
[4] R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés Anglais*, pp. 165-167.
[5] G.H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 102.
[6] W. Allen and T.F. Knox (ed.), *Letters and Memorials of William, Cardinal Allen*, pp. 299-300.
[7] T.M. McCoog, "Construing martyrdom in the English Catholic community." In: E. Shagan (ed.), *Catholics and the 'Protestant nation'*, 2005, p. 120.
[8] R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés Anglais*, p. 182.
[9] R. Verstegan and A.G. Petti (ed.), *Letters and Despatches*, pp. xxix-xxx.
[10] P. Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World*, p. 63.

the Netherlandish community was torn apart over something that struck at the very essence of its exile identity: their faith. From early on in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the stranger congregations were plagued by the emergence of heretical sects. The existence of which sowed "unrestfull dissention betwixte the straungers themselves".[1]

A multitude of different reformist sects existed among the strangers, though by far the most sizeable of these minorities was that of the Anabaptists.[2] Simeon Ruytinck, chronicler of the Dutch church in London, noted a sharp rise in the number of Anabaptists between the years 1571 and '74 specifically.[3] In England's capital city, 27 Netherlanders suspected of being crypto-Anabaptists were arrested by the authorities in the year 1575. Two of them were ultimately burnt at the stake after two of Austin Friars' ministers had denounced them and given testimony of their erroneous beliefs.[4]

The stranger churches faced great difficulty in trying to preserve their own good name, because many strangers – who were not necessarily members of the churches – held convictions that were commonly associated with Anabaptist doctrine. As the consistories exerted little or no direct control over these people, the stranger congregations had a hard time trying to defend themselves against allegations of non-conformism. On the other hand, rogue preachers often spread heretical doctrine among their fellow foreigners under the guise of membership to a stranger church.[5] Therefore, the Dutch church of Austin Friars took a particularly hard line on apostates and misguided worshippers. And it seems to have been rather effective. It became almost customary for the Netherlandish strangers to report each other to the English civil authorities when one suspected the other of being an Anabaptist, for instance.[6]

One of the earliest, yet also most traumatic eruptions of tension between the orthodox community and those sympathetic to Anabaptism was the van Haemstede crisis. The years 1560 to 1563 of the Londoner Dutch congregation were characterised by the conflict between the consistory and its own minister Adriaan van Haemstede, who pleaded for a more relaxed, tolerant attitude towards the Anabaptists. He opposed sending them back to the Netherlands where they were likely to be executed. The dispute soon got out of hand and started to include doctrinal matters, as van Haemstede openly suggested to what extent the congregation could make peace with certain elements of the Anabaptists' beliefs. Ultimately, as the congregation was starting to crumble into different factions, van Haemstede was excommunicated and cast into exile. His many supporters in the Dutch community were furious about his dismissal.[7] The van Haemstede crisis struck a terrible cleft within Austin Friars' community. Supporters of the above were subjected to a most thorough scrutiny of their beliefs after van Haemstede's excommunication. Those who refused to see the error of their ways were excommunicated just the same. Although the consistory was able to bring the open flirtation with Anabaptism to a sudden though temporary halt, the damage was done and "revealed deep divisions within the Dutch community".[8]

The above should have made it abundantly clear that the English and Netherlandish exiles were all but a monolithic entity. They had their own agendas, feuds and ideas about what was

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[1] S. Slaughter, "The Dutch Church in Norwich." In: *Congregational History Society Transactions*, 12 (1934), p. 86.

[2] D.W. Davies, *Dutch Influences of English Culture, 1558-1625*, Ithaca (New York): Cornell UP, 1964, p. 10.

[3] S. Ruytinck and J.J. van Toorenenbergen (ed.), *Gheschiedenissen ende handelingen*, p. 107.

[4] J.G.C.A. Briels, "De emigratie in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden", p. 191.

[5] A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 65-66.

[6] P. Denis and L. Marchal, "Être protestant au XVIe siècle: la martyre ou l'exil?" In: *L'histoire aujourd'hui: nouveaux objets, nouvelles méthodes*, 29 (1985), Liège: Université de Liège, 1985, p. 20.

[7] A.J. Jelsma and O. Boersma, *Acta van het consistorie*, p. xxi.

[8] A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 172-180.

best for the future of English Catholicism or the stranger churches in England. Whereas the Dutch struggled to uphold religious uniformity, the English were politically divided to the point of open hostility.

b. Reception of the exiles

We return once more to Schunka, who strongly emphasised that exiles had to re-establish all political, social, economic, legal and cultural bonds with a host society. Therefore in the experience of natives receiving early modern immigrants, these new additions to the community were more prone to questioning the order of things, rather than actually contributing to its stability.[1] Refugees faced quite a conundrum, thrown into a world that was mostly unfamiliar and found themselves under the constant scrutiny of the host community. Two seventeenth-century Iberian *converso* exiles, living in the south-west of France, were subjected to inquisitorial prosecution once it had come to the attention of the church that they and their community were crypto-Judaists. The procedures followed the same pattern that "all suspected Judaizers" – i.e. exiles from the Iberian peninsula – under inquisitorial questioning had to endure.[2] Yet there have also been countless examples throughout history where exiles were heartily welcomed into their receiving communities and indeed sometimes cherished for the innovations they introduced, be they cultural, economic or even religious. After all the toleration of diversity was no easy feat, as it was shown in the subchapter on the persecution of religious dissidents. The Germans who settled in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia were well met in the first half of the eighteenth century. The Virginian governor vowed not to interfere in their "particular ways of worship".[3]

Pettegree believed a typology should be made to assess the tension religious refugees created between themselves and their host communities. On one end of the scale were towns where the number of refugees was relatively minor when compared to the total number of inhabitants. An example of such a town is London, even though it took in astronomical numbers of strangers. As the influx of immigrants was fairly small in a relative perspective, the host community could properly accommodate its newcomers. At the other end of the scale are towns where immigrants were so numerous as "to swamp the indigenous population".[4]

How were the English and Netherlandish refugees received, then? We shall try to answer this question for the Catholics firstly, followed by the Netherlandish Protestants.

Geert Janssen claimed that the *Netherlandish* Catholic exiles "did not constitute an isolated, inward-looking community. In asylum towns they continuously interacted with their host environment."[5] As is the case for many other subjects concerning the Elizabethan exiles, historians have struggled to reach conclusions of any kind on the integration of the English Catholics. Braun indicated that we are dreadfully uninformed about the extent in which they merged with and blended into the society of the Southern Netherlands, but she believed there had been a fairly uncomplicated process of integration.[6] Caroline Bowden asserted in "Patronage and Practice" that the English convents "participated directly and indirectly in the

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[1] A. Schunka, "Konfession und Migrationsregime in der Frühen Neuzeit", p. 29.
[2] D. Graizbord, "Becoming Jewish in Early Modern France: Documents on Jewish Community-Building in Seventeenth-Century Bayonne and Peyrehorade." In: *Journal of Social History*, 40 (2006), 1, pp. 149-150.
[3] J.B. Frantz, "The Religious Development of the Early German Settlers in 'Greater Pennsylvania': The Shenandoah Valley of Virginia." In: *Pennsylvania History*, 68 (2001), 1, p. 74.
[4] A. Pettegree, "Protestant Migration during the Early Modern Period.", pp. 450-451.
[5] G.H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 8.
[6] B. Braun, "Katholische Konfessionsmigration", pp. 104-105.

cultural activities of Flanders" – although we have to note that dr. Bowden's research deals with the seventeenth century.[1]

It is fairly plausible that the lack of sources including information on the reception of the Elizabethan exiles can be explained in part by their blending in so well. In stark contrast to the Netherlandish strangers, the English lacked their own churches that drew thousands of worshippers every week, putting the size of their colony in broad daylight for all the community to see. They were less visible and thus gave less cause for offence. Their communities were also less densely concentrated into a few neighbourhoods or towns, which again helps to explain why contemporaries did not seem that bothered by their presence. The few sources that survive seem to suggest they got along rather nicely, in fact. Behold the epitaph, for instance, inscribed on the burial monument of Cuthbert Scott, former Bishop of Chester. Upon his death in 1564 he wanted it to read as following:

"Lovely Louane happy towne in whom this corps dothe rest,
The Tullie of the Britton blood,
Behold how Louane doth lament and helpeth us to mourne,
What meaneth this? Are we beguyled, was he in Louain borne?
Nay nay as though he were in Louain borne and bred,
With great renoune unto his grave, he is of Louain led.
O kyndnes to be worshypped in every song of myne,
O worthy to be sent to God in every vow of thyne."[2]

Essential to our understanding is of course that Scott, an exiled bishop, was due more courtesy than any-run-of-the-mill alien. It is highly questionable whether the silent voices of the English commoners would have sung the same tune.

Although hardly representative for all of society, the English expatriates received a hospitable treatment from the authorities. In fact, Arnold Meyer claimed "English catholics in the Low Countries were publicly treated as allies by the Spanish government".[3] Indicative of this benevolence are of course the Spanish pensions that were generously paid out to a host of English Catholics on the continent, which will be discussed in greater detail in the chapter on survival strategies. William Allen, addressing the Count of Mansfeld-Vorderort, praised the "liberality and munificence" of the King.[4] Allen, however, was probably taking deliberate care not to bite the hand that fed him.

Many of the exiles travelled in high circles, frequenting the palace on the Coudenberg in Brussels or even visiting the court of Philip II in Spain. Despite being described as a "man of very little substance" by the Governor General of the Netherlands, Archduke Albert of Austria, the Earl of Westmorland was openly courted in Brussels. The government was most eager to please him because they believed he could be of some use if an invasion of England came to fruition. Philip II even sent Queen Elizabeth a letter asking her to restore Sir Francis Englefield's profits.[5] Perhaps, though, he simply wanted to alleviate his treasury of Englefield's rather royal pension.

Yet at the same time the authorities in the Netherlands could be ruthlessly pragmatic in their dealings with the Elizabethan refugees. The example par excellence is the forced deportation of several English exiles in 1575. The Duke of Alba and Queen Elizabeth had

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[1] C. Bowden, "Patronage and Practice", p. 483.
[2] C. Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, pp. 32-33.
[3] A.O. Meyer and J.R. McKee (transl.), *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth*, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1916, p. 235.
[4] W. Allen and T.F. Knox (ed.), *Letters and Memorials of William, Cardinal Allen*, p. 341.
[5] A.J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans*, p. 35, 19.

signed a treaty in 1573 that aimed to improve the commercial and political ties between the Netherlands and England. Much to the consternation of the Elizabethan émigrés however, the treaty included a clause stipulating all English rebels were to be banished from all Spanish Habsburg holdings in the Netherlands without delay. Alas, it took both parties quite some time to agree upon what exactly constituted a rebel. In the end, it was agreed that those who had taken up arms against her majesty in the Northern Rebellion fit the profile. Elizabeth presented Governor General Requesens with a list containing the names of thirty English exiles and expected them removed at his earliest convenience. However Requesens, in whom the émigrés found a great friend, was hesitant to oblige the Queen. After almost two years of lobbying back and forth, the Queen's request was granted and the exiles were required to leave the country within fifteen days.[1] A few further measures were taken or at least considered. For instance, several exiles lost their Spanish pensions and the university at Douai even voted over the expulsion of English students.[2]

Hitherto this fairly incomplete overview is perhaps the most that has ever been said on the reception and integration of the Elizabethan exiles into the society of the Southern Netherlands in the sixteenth century.

The reception of the Netherlandish exiles in England and the manner of their integration was a more complicated, ambivalent affair. Norwich stranger Clement Baet, however, seemed to be having the time of his life in Norwich, or at least he tried to convince his wife back home he did: "And I inform you that we are happy and joyful with one another. May God grant you the same peace and fruitfulness we have in Norwich; here it is pleasant, peaceful to hear the word [of God] and to make a living for those willing to work."[3] Simeon Ruytinck called Elizabeth "a mother in Israel, a refuge of strangers", apparently terribly pleased with the favourable treatment the Dutch church of Austin Friars admittedly got.[4] For as the Elizabethan exiles were in the good graces of Spain and the court at Brussels, the Dutch strangers were welcome guests to the Privy Council's copiously served table. The positive attitude of the Privy Council and the Queen towards the strangers was best summarised by Robin Gwynn:

"the Council developed a policy which, broadly, welcomed a substantial but controlled number of Protestant strangers to England; protected them after their arrival; encouraged settlements of skilled artisans where they could best inject new life and expertise into English manufactures; governed them as far as possible through their fellow-countreymen and their own church organization; and ought to reduce local English hostility by distributing them around the country in groups of limited size."[5]

Although it was not always like thus. Before 1559-1560, the strangers had been perceived as a burden rather than a blessing. It was only after the accession of Elizabeth that the government was starting to convince itself of the economic value of the Netherlandish refugees.[6] And almost simultaneously, this attitude trickled down to various municipal authorities in south and east England. They synchronised their agendas with the Privy Council, petitioned the latter for letters patent allowing the settlement of strangers and swore to uphold the privileges

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[1] R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés Anglais*, pp. 103-110.
[2] A.J. Loomie, "Religion and Elizabethan Commerce with Spain." In: *CHR*, 50 (1964), 1, p. 28.
[3] Translation: "Ende ic laet u weten, dat wy wel blijde ende vroeylijk zijn met mal cander. Godt verlene uleder zulck een minzame vrede en[de] vruecht als wy in Norewijck hebben; het esser lievelic, vredelick om 'twoort te hooren ende om die gherne werckken den cost ghecrijghen." H.Q. Janssen, "Hervormde vlugtelinghen", p. 231.
[4] Translation: "een moeder in Israel, een toevlught der vreemdelinghen" S. Ruytinck and J.J. van Toorenenbergen (ed.), *Gheschiedenissen ende handelingen*, p. 172.
[5] R.D. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*, p. 43.
[6] A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 139.

of the alien congregations. The municipal council of Norwich, thoroughly pleased with their industrious immigrants, reported to the Privy Council that they "live peacablie amonge themselves and towarde all men, and we thinke our cittie happie to enjoye them".[1]

HOSPES ERAM ET COLLEGISTIS ME

(Fig. 5) Contemporary engraving, depicting a couple inviting a pair of travellers into their home. Christ, in the centre, looks on in approval.

Marten de Vos, *The Seven Acts of Mercy*, ca. 1580, British Museum.

This benign demeanour was not merely limited to governing bodies. Hardly surprising after all, seeing as the Netherlandish exiles in Elizabethan England "fell well within the bounds of acceptability" according to Nigel Goose. "They were settled members of civil societies who conformed themselves to the rule of law, they were white Europeans, they were Christians and – decisively – Protestants who had fled for their consciences' sake."[2] Pettegree also argued against the often reiterated idea that the stranger communities deliberately stayed clear of English society as much as possible. To the contrary, even, there are countless examples of strangers seamlessly integrating with the host society, be it through work, marriage or even politics.[3] The strangers' eminent families – most of whom had been well-respected back in Flanders – came to the forefront during the course of the seventeenth century, when they took a leading role not only in the stranger communities, but also in local or even national government. Take Colchester, for instance. Jan Rebow, a weaver from Flanders, might have been proud to learn that one day his grandson, Isaac, was to become a

[1] R. Esser, "Social Concern and Calvinistic Duty: The Norwich Strangers' Community." In: *Het beloofde land: acht opstellen over werken, geloven en vluchten tijdens de XVIe en XVIIe eeuw*, 1992, p. 174.
[2] N. Goose, "'Xenophobia' in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England: An Epithet Too Far?" In: N. Goose (ed.), et al., *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, 2005, p. 124.
[3] A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 302-303.

member of Parliament for Colchester and to receive knighthood in 1697.[1] The co-existence of Englishman and stranger was thus "not one of mutual isolation", in the words of Patrick Collinson.[2] What was there not to be liked about these industrious, kindly Dutchmen?

A great deal, apparently. Remember Clement Baet, who was quoted earlier having the time of his life in Norwich. He was reported to be a man of means and as such not reliant on welfare.[3] Baet, subsequently, was unlikely to incur the wrath of his hosts in Norwich unless, that is, his business grew so prosperous that it outmanoeuvred all native competitors. For if there were two things that ticked off the dormant xenophobia in early modern England – that is too often downplayed in English historiography, according to Fagel[4] – it was one of two opposites: the presence of either an utterly poor, or an incredibly successful foreign community.

The burgesses of Colchester, home to the affluent Rebow family, sent a petition to the Queen on 25 April 1575, complaining of the many poor strangers in their town. Both in London and Colchester, Englishmen complained about the rising real estate prices due to the massive influx of strangers in their towns, using up all affordable housing.[5] The specifics of the measures taken in order to control the housing of Netherlandish immigrants will be explored in the chapter on space. Strangers depleting welfare reserves destined for destitute Englishmen was not particularly an issue, because the distribution of alms among the refugees was a prerogative belonging to the stranger churches (which will also be discussed below, in the chapter dealing with survival strategies).

As noted, the 'middle classes' of the stranger and native communities also had somewhat of a troublesome relationship. Whereas the Netherlandish – and especially Flemish – artisans were initially welcomed with much enthusiasm by local guilds and craftsmen; later years were marked by recurring jealousy. Almost in all cases, feelings of resentment sprung from rivalry. The indigenous weavers, after all, were afraid of the competition the exile weavers posed, whom they feared were more skilled and therefore more prosperous. "The cloth industry", according to Jacob Selwood, "features prominently in anti-alien petitions and complaints throughout our period. English workers accused aliens of unfair manufacturing practices, deceptive trading and, ultimately, the deliberate infiltration of guild hierarchies."[6] Many of the Netherlandish settlers in return harboured suspicion towards the English members of the community and even mistrusted their own compatriots who got along with them rather too well.[7] To outsmart the competition, guilds pressured the authorities to forbid the émigrés from exercising certain professions. In 1593 an attempt failed to pass a law through Parliament to prevent strangers from taking up retailing professions.[8] In Norwich, several English artisans were outraged at the town council's reluctance to stop strangers from plying certain trades they, officially, were not licensed to perform.[9]

In English drama and literature, this resulted in several mocking stereotypes of the Dutch refugees. Londoner comedies alternatively staged them as "profiteers or needy refugees

[1] L.F. Roker, "The Flemish and Dutch Community in Colchester in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." In: *ProHSL*, 23 (1965), pp. 23-24.

[2] P. Collinson, "Calvinism with an Anglican Face: The Stranger Churches in Early Elizabethan London and their Superintendent." In: D. Baker (ed.), *Reform and Reformation: England and the Continent c. 1550 – c. 1750*, 1979, p. 73.

[3] H.Q. Janssen, "Hervormde vlugtelingen", pp. 231-232.

[4] R. Fagel, *Voortrekkers, cultuurdragers, emigranten*, p. 56.

[5] R. Lemon and M.A.E. Green, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series : of the Reigns of Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth and James I* […], Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1967, vol. I, p. 496; D.L. Rickwood, "The Norwich Strangers, 1565-1643: A Problem of Control." In: *ProHSL*, 24 (1984), p. 124.

[6] J. Selwood, *Diversity and Difference in Early Modern London*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010, p. 38.

[7] L.F. Roker, "The Flemish and Dutch Community in Colchester", p. 24.

[8] I. Scouloudi, "Alien Immigration and Alien Communities in London", p. 31.

[9] R. Esser, "Strangers within the Gates", p. 30.

whose presence prompted resentment and civil unrest […] fat and greasy butter devourers, dipsomaniacs and wealthy but stupid merchants who attempt to thwart the economic and amorous agendas of more worthy Englishmen".[1] The two most often recurring stereotypes of the Dutchmen in England were, first of all, that of the dumb, more often drunk than not, Netherlander who always ended up being the butt of the joke. The second – a polar opposite – was the shrewd, conniving Dutch businessman who was always able to secure the best end of the deal.[2]

Not all resentment sprung from purely rational, economic logic however. The aforementioned trials against Anabaptist strangers were often the result of accusations from the native community. Acting upon anti-alien feelings was rare, but tended to culminate given a specific trigger. There was a sudden spark of anti-foreign sentiment in 1563 when the alliance between Elizabeth and the French Huguenots came to a temporary standstill. Angry mobs in London set out and rounded up French-speaking strangers, beat them and imprisoned them. Peace was finally restored after Bishop Grindal urged Lord Burghley to intervene. The Privy Council had an official proclamation issued, ordering London's vigilant citizens to stand down and stop harassing the French.[3] Burghley, Walsingham and other high-ranking officials had to intervene more than once when the strangers found themselves in serious trouble.

In conclusion, the Netherlandish strangers in England were generally well-received. They were, however, at their least welcome when the majority was either too poor or too successful – paradoxical as it may seem. When the exile waves were mainly comprised of the destitute, local communities ran the risk of running aground themselves. If they were too successful and seemed to be monopolising local trade and manufacture, strangers were targeted by native craftsmen and merchants alike, mostly out of fear for their own livelihoods. Pettegree stressed how the economic and social consequences of the strangers for their host communities were effectively a double-edged blade. On the one hand, they put a heavy strain on the community's housing, welfare, labour and food supply. On the other, however, they created labour opportunity and supplied England with a wealth of valuable export products. Overall, Pettegree deemed the consequences of stranger immigration "clearly positive".[4] And nowhere was this better understood than by the Elizabethan authorities. They quickly realised that the strangers' economic utility far outweighed possible feelings of resentment they might evoke from native elements. "In periods of calm the city authorities offered them steady protection, in return for the ministers' co-operation in exploiting the foreigners' skills to the benefit of their adopted home."[5]

As is the case for most questions asked in modern historiography, the answer to the reception of both the English and Netherlandish exiles is all but unambiguous. The English, for all we know, and the Dutch refugees were welcomed by authorities, but sometimes overstayed their welcome when either the political climate shifted or if they got on the wrong side of a particular group in society. The only times when either community saw itself forced to abandon the country was during a regime shift, such as Mary's accession to the throne in England and the rise of the Calvinist city republics in the Netherlands. Ultimately their reception and integration depended largely on their own status, as well as the perception of the observer. It is therefore necessary to heed De Munck's warning that "merchants,

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[1] C.M. Billing, "The Dutch Diaspora in English Comedy: 1598 to 1618." In: R. Henke and E. Nicholson (eds.), *Transnational Exchange in Early Modern Theater*, 2008, p. 120.
[2] D.W. Davies, *Dutch Influences of English Culture*, p. 25.
[3] A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 285-286.
[4] A. Pettegree, "Protestant Migration during the Early Modern Period.", p. 450.
[5] A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 262.

entrepreneurs, small-scale artisans, workers, relief payers, relief recipients and local and central administrations could all have different and often opposing interests with regard to the influx and incorporation of urban migrants".[1]

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[1] B. De Munck, "Regulating Migration in Early Modern Cities", p. 18.

VI.   Displaced loyal subjects or foreign-based insurgents?

"And when God revealeth their wicked spirites, and bringeth them into the lyght that they may be example to other: then they crie out, I am a Catholique, I will dye in the Catholique cause, and thus under shewe of Religion, they would deceive the world with their horrible treasons."[1]

Radicalisation is a hot topic today. The news is dominated by religious militants who, disillusioned with modern society, (re)discover faith and decide the tenets of their denomination must take precedence over other faiths, ideologies and modes of governance that do not comply with that particular belief system. Young men throughout the cities of Europe and beyond explore a profoundly different take on their religiosity and travel halfway across the world to take up the call for religious war. Obviously this is no invention of the twenty-first century – or the sixteenth, for that matter. A striking difference between twenty-first and sixteenth-century radicalisation, however, is that radicalisation then tended to occur during exile, whereas now it precedes it.

Exile had a radicalising impact on Catholics and Protestants alike. In a comparison of the radicalising potential Catholic and Protestant exile communities were subjected to during the Dutch Revolt, Janssen discerned three major similarities. Firstly, religious facilities in exile instilled a strictly disciplined and more radical faith in adherents, be it either through welfare or preaching (e.g. the Jesuit seminary at Douai or Sandwich's stranger church). Secondly, the refugees used their host communities as bases of operation from which they would launch their propaganda against the regimes back home. They were empowered in their endeavours by the establishment of printing presses that helped unleash a tidal wave of internationally read polemical pamphlets. Thirdly, some of the exiles' preferred destinations were ultimately to become "international training camps", such as Douai or Geneva.[2] Exile was thus often instrumental in turning – in the words of Andrew Pettegree – "a vague Reformed sympathy into a deep and informed commitment to the faith"[3], although the same is true for Catholics and their religiosity.

An important line, however, needs to be drawn between a mere radicalisation of their faith and actively working to (re-)establish that particular faith in their native countries, by the de facto subjugation (or even annihilation) of the rival faith that had induced their exile in the first place. Regardless of the fact whether radicalisation played a significant part in their actions or not, religious exiles on both sides of the fence often found themselves entangled in what their former sovereigns invariably deemed treason and conspiracy. For Elizabeth and Philip II fought a "cold war of 16th century espionage" with their exiled subjects, as Albert J. Loomie brilliantly called it.[4]

a. "The infamyes that wilfull exyle doth bryng"

As was already evidenced by the concerned Jesuit's letter in the previous chapter, Catholics in England experienced great difficulty trying to reconcile their faith with being a loyal subject

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[1] A. Munday, *A watch-woord to Englande to beware of traytours and tretcherous practises, which have beene the overthrowe of many famous kingdomes and common weales* […], London: John Charlewood, 1584, p. 35.
[2] G.H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 94.
[3] A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 236.
[4] A.J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans*, p. 53.

to the crown – an issue explored by Stefania Tutino in *Law and Conscience*.[1] Well-meaning English Catholics who had chosen to flee the country without prior permission – thus automatically deemed traitors – had an even harder time trying to convince the government, family members or even themselves of their own innocence. English historians on both sides of the confessional divide have jumped into the fray ever since the English Reformation, either painting a black picture of villainous *quasi Guy Fawkses*, or else of wholly innocent martyrs of the true faith. Centuries of confessional historiography have resulted in two long-lasting myths that have still not been entirely dispelled, according to Michael Questier. On one hand there is the firm belief that English Catholicism equalled treason, evidenced by countless conspiracies bent on overthrowing Elizabethan rule engineered in English Catholic circles, both domestic and foreign. The other, opposite myth is one of eternal, unquestioned Catholic loyalty to a Queen who martyred her most faithful of subjects. Catholic attempts to dethrone Elizabeth are then often shrugged off as a mere intended temporary inconvenience for the Queen during which Catholicism could be firmly installed in England once again – followed, naturally, by Elizabeth's return to the throne.[2]

In his public letter to the nation, dismayed former Catholic exile Lewis Lewkenor conveyed an image of an expatriate community entirely in thrall of King Philip II. "Beholde the dangerous estate wherein they have plunged themselves", Lewkenor exclaimed, "the infamie and scorne wherein they live, yea, under those whom they serve as hirelings." Trying to return to the Queen's good graces after his brief sojourn in the Netherlands, he voiced his utter contempt about the existence of "so many conspiracies, murthers, violences, pracises, and treasons".[3] In fact, most of the accusations that were expressed had something to do with the Spanish. Regardless of whether they were guilty of the plotting the government suspected them of, some tried to wash their hands in innocence by prostrating themselves in letters to the authorities or the sovereign. Sir Thomas Copley, addressing his own good conduct in the third person, pleaded with the Queen to reassure herself of where his loyalties exactly lay:

> "your Highnes lowly and obedient servaunt and subject, Thomas Copley esquier, that wher in the whole time of the said suppl[icant] his five yeers absence and more, only for the quiet and libertie of his conscience in matters of faithe, in neither hathe nor coulde with anny truthe faull out to this houre in the examinacon of anny offendor, or suspectid p[er]son, that ever the said suppl[icant] was of cownsell, or did consent to any undutifull practis, or forsible attempt, ageinst your Majestie's royall person (which Godd long preserve) or ageinst his naturall countrey."[4]

It is unclear whether Copley was intentionally being vague or not, but attention should be drawn to the fact that he "did not consent" to engage in any treasonous practices, instead of outright denying thus – while he actually constituted a traitor, strictly speaking, by accepting a Spanish pension. Most of the exiles vehemently denied the participation of their community in scheming and intriguing, claiming instead the crimes they were being accused of were figments of the mind of Burghley or Walsingham. Robert Southwell complained in a letter about the government's tendency to collate English exiles with plots on the Queen's life:

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[1] S. Tutino, *Law and Conscience: Catholicism in Early Modern England, 1570-1625*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007, pp. 4-5.
[2] M.C. Questier, "Elizabeth and the Catholics.", pp. 70-71.
[3] [L. Lewkenor], *The Estate of English Fugitiues Vnder the King of Spaine and His Ministers* […], London: John Drawater, 1595, p. [2].
[4] T. Copley and R. Copley Christie (ed.), *Letters of Sir Thomas Copley*, p. 23.

> "They [=the English government] since, as often before, raised a report that were certaine priests and Papists come out of Spayne to kil the Queen, and caused, thereupon, watches in the innes and great adoe – no such imagination being in any man's head but their owne, nor any priests being then come over."[1]

Important to note is that Southwell, a Jesuit himself, immediately rushed to the defence of the seminary priests who, even more than Catholic laymen, have been the focus of allegations of treason.

Even John Bossy, whom it is impossible to accuse of being negatively inclined towards early modern English Catholics, made a concession to the myth of the inherently traitorously predisposed Catholic exiles in the form of the Jesuits, who "were subversive of all order, political and ecclesiastical. They were responsible for turning the mission into a political machine in the service of the Spaniards".[2] Whereas the English Catholic exiles in general have only very recently been acquitted of their blanket reputation as Spanish-funded conspirators,[3] the seminary priests have received little quarter – at least coming from non-Jesuit, or even non-Catholic corners. Historian Victor Houliston, S.J., posited in the recent past that in the mind of the seminary priest, there was no such thing as 'disloyalty' to a regime that had condemned the Catholic creed and reduced its adherents to outlaws.[4] Perhaps we ought to look to the renowned Reformation historian A.G. Dickens, author of the seminal volume *The English Reformation* who was exceptionally lenient in his treatment of the missionaries.

> "Seen as individuals, these missionaries are true heroes and martyrs, yet the fact remains that they were sent by superiors and rulers with every intention of arousing civil war and of using their work as a basis for the forcible imposition of a foreign Catholic monarch upon England."[5]

Although Dickens's explanation is not completely satisfactory either – for was Philip II not extremely reluctant to invade England until the 1580s?[6] – it raises a valuable point, in that we ought to distinguish between the individual and the collective. The immense difficulty this implies is perhaps best personified in Roberts Persons, who "is viewed as pacifist in the early 1580s, a political activist and promoter of armadas in the late 1580s and early 1590s, and finally as a defeated pacifist in the last few years preceding James's accession". The answer to the question of Catholic exile loyalty requires veritable "mental gymnastics", in the words of Michael L. Carrafiello.[7]

The loyalty or, alternatively, the subversiveness of the Netherlandish Protestant exiles has not had to endure the same scrutiny by historians as that of the English Catholics. Much like Queen Elizabeth, they have not been the subject of much 'bad press'. Perhaps because they are not commonly associated with tragic events like the Gun Powder Plot, the St.

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[1] R. Verstegan and A.G. Petti (ed.), *Letters and Despatches*, p. 3.

[2] J. Bossy, *The English Catholic Community*, p. 53.

[3] In the introduction to *English Catholic Exiles in Late Sixteenth-Century Paris*, Gibbons affirmed she wished to disprove the widely believed distinction between faithful domestic and treacherous foreign-based English Catholics. Cf. K. Gibbons, *English Catholic exiles in late sixteenth-century Paris*, p. 4.

[4] V. Houliston, "The Missionary Position: Catholics Writing the History of the English Reformation." In: *English Studies in Africa*, 54 (2011), 2, p. 26.

[5] A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation*, London: Batsford, 1989, pp. 339-343.

[6] R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés Anglais*, p. 96; T.O. Hanley, "A Note on Cardinal Allen's Political Thought.", p. 329.

[7] M.L. Carrafiello, "English Catholicism and the Jesuit Mission of 1580-1581." In: *The Historical Journal*, 37 (1994), 4, p. 764.

Bartholomew's Day massacre or the assassination of William of Orange that early modern Catholics have been linked to, back then as well as today. Furthermore, Catholic 'confessional historians' in the Low Countries seem to have reserved most of their bile for the Calvinist republics, instead of going after the exiles in general. The Netherlandish refugee community knew its share of scheming, intriguing and insurgency as well, however.

Just like the English, the Dutch exiles were deeply mistrusted by the authorities at home. "All here in England are called heretics and agitators", complained Adriaan Wallewein in a letter to his dear friend and cousin, Gelein Everaert. Wallewein wished his cousin to seek out his former servant and advise him against crossing the Channel, for he did not wish the young man to undergo the same fate as the other exiles: to be uniformly dubbed traitors by the Habsburg regime.[1] The court of Philip II was as suspicious of the Netherlandish exiles as Elizabeth's was of the English. Philip insisted on being kept up to speed on their movements and ordered his ambassador to keep close watch on the strangers. It was feared that Elizabeth might use her Dutch subjects against the Habsburg regime in the Netherlands.[2] Their incursions into Habsburg territory and their more audacious plans, as well as those of the English Catholics, will be discussed in the following subchapter.

Alba's attempts to "purge Netherlandish society of religious and political dissent", according to Janssen, succeeded in creating "a formidable enemy outside Habsburg territory".[3] This formidable enemy came in the form of a church. The stranger churches in England, and especially the one in Sandwich, were exceptionally well-suited as bases of operations for revolutionary action in the Habsburg Netherlands, thanks to their proximity and the relative degree of autonomy they enjoyed. London's French church was vehemently opposed to any form of violence undertaken by Protestants against their rightful governments, insisting instead on pacifist defiance of tyrannical rule. The Dutch churches, however, were a lot more divided on the issue.[4] The main point of contention until the late 1560s was how they ought to deal with William of Orange and the Sea Beggars.

Norwich in particular – or at least its consistory – frantically avoided being associated with its radical fringe. The *Book of Orders* stipulated "receyvinge & harbrowenge dyverse Ireligiouse persons" – i.e. the Sea Beggars – went "directlye agaynste the ghospell of god", wherefore "all suche supporters to be culpable of their robberies". They imposed the punishment of excommunication on "all impenitente and obstinate rebelles".[5]

In late 1568 there was a schism at Austin Friars, between those newly arrived from the Netherlands and the "old" members of the church. The consistory and many of the older members preferred not to mingle in the Dutch Revolt and would, in fact, rather preach against than for William. On the other hand, the fresh off the boat strangers wanted nothing more than the stranger churches to support the rebels with able-bodied men and money. When it seemed clear that there could be no reconciliation between both sides, a sizeable pro-interventionist part of the congregation left London and settled in Norwich instead.[6]

Sandwich has generally been viewed as the most obstinately rebellious of the stranger churches. Gustaaf Janssens called its stranger church "a radical satellite-church" of London's Austin Friars.[7] Backhouse however argued that it would be wrong to view Sandwich's Flemish congregation as a radical counterpart to Austin Friars. Although very vocal, the

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[1] Translation: "al die hier in Inghelant nompt ketters en[de] uproermaekers". H.Q. Janssen, "Hervormde vlugtelingen", p. 254.

[2] R. Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten*, p. 31.

[3] G.H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 33.

[4] M. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, pp. 143-144, 138.

[5] S. Slaughter, "The Dutch Church in Norwich.", p. 40.

[6] O. Boersma, *Vluchtig voorbeeld*, pp. 188-189.

[7] G. Janssens, "Verjaagd uit Nederland: Zuidnederlandse emigratie in de zestiende eeuw. Een historiografisch overzicht." In: *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 75 (1995), 1, p. 107.

militantly Calvinist element was but a minority. Even most members of Sandwich's church consistory preached non-violence. Exceptional were the ministers, perhaps. Before the Wonder Year, a puny three out of twelve ministers, assistant ministers or proponents were of a decidedly pacifist persuasion. "The other nine", Backhouse stated, "were all inclined to militancy."[1] Nonetheless, the radicals at Sandwich had a very troublesome relationship with London's 'moderates'.

Between 1570 and 1572, however, the relationship between Orange and the stranger churches improved considerably. They received several envoys from William, who requested financial support and subsequently returned with some rather generous donations.[2] The Habsburg regime would be hurt the most by the Sea Beggars. "Almost all of them were exiles, impoverished, impassioned by hatred and a lust for revenge, but also by a fiery wish to injure and expel the enemy", dixit de Meij.[3]

b. Espionage and insurgency

In 1583, when the threat of a Catholic invasion grew more real by the day, Lord Burghley addressed the nation in *The execution of justice*, warning that "these notable traitors and rebels, have falsely informed many Kings, Princes, and States, and specially the Bishoppe of Rome, commonly called the Pope". The exiles, however, had gone beyond merely providing intelligence. They wished to act, "to take armes against their lawfull Queene, to invade her realme with forreine forces, to pursue al her good subiects and their native countries with fire & sworde".[4]

A fear had started to spread throughout England during the early 1560s, as the Council of Trent drew to a close, and culminated after the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in 1572, that a great Catholic conspiracy was forming, bent on the forcible return of England into the clutches of Rome (cf. infra, fig. 6). This grand scheme reached up into the highest echelons of European society, including the Spanish king and the pope, with the perfidious Catholic exiles serving as their faithful minions.[5] These fears propelled the Privy Council to secure Queen and country against a looming Catholic threat. Sir Francis Walsingham, a sixteenth-century equivalent of J. Edgar Hoover if you will, operated a vast intelligence network spanning most of Europe, communicating daily with spies that kept a watchful eye on the movements of foreign princes and English expatriates alike.

Although the majority of English émigrés would have been virtually oblivious of these plans, they were no mere figments of Walsingham and Burghley's imagination. In 1571, a plan was fostered – later called the Ridolfi plot – that had terribly bold aims: the conspirators wanted to capture and imprison Elizabeth, to install the Queen of Scots on the English throne and to abolish the Church of England. Roberto Ridolfi, the Florentine banker who lent his name to the plot, found support with the exile community in Brussels, but was shrugged off as a delusional madman by the Duke of Alba – though he found more favour with the Pope and King Philip. The conspiracy was nipped in the bud when English port officials confiscated some rather alarming letters crossing the Channel.[6] The Babington plot of 1586, that resulted in Mary Stuart's execution, aimed to have Elizabeth assassinated and her kingdom invaded by

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[1] M. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, pp. 138-140.

[2] O. Boersma, *Vluchtig voorbeeld*, p. 190.

[3] J.C.A. de Meij, *De watergeuzen en de Nederlanden*, p. 155.

[4] W.C. Burghley, *The execution of iustice in England for maintenaunce of publique and Christian peace, against certeine stirrers of sedition, and adherents to the traytors and enemies of the realme,* […]. London: [Christopher Barker], 1583, pp. [2-3].

[5] R. Bonney, *The European Dynastic States, 1494-1660*, Oxford: Oxford UP, 1991, p. 131.

[6] A. Plowden, *Danger to Elizabeth*, Stroud: The History Press, 2010, pp. 97-101.

Spanish forces. This plot fell through because Walsingham's agents were able to intercept the correspondence passed between the conspirators in England and those in exile.[1] It is important to note that the above were just two of several plots largely engineered in exile that were ultimately unsuccessful.

The Netherlandish exiles shared similar designs, though they are less well known and seem to have enjoyed less support from Protestant princes other than William of Orange. No incursions conducted by the Protestant émigrés are more well-known than those of the Sea Beggars, though many think of them as acts of liberation rather than early modern terrorism. From their lairs in Dover and Sandwich, the *watergeuzen* embarked on violent campaigns targetting not only representatives of the Habsburg regime, but symbols of the Roman Catholic Church as well. During their inland raids, they mercilessly sacked and looted monasteries, cloisters and churches encountered in their path.[2] Jacob Baert from Sandwich was an important figure among the Sea Beggars. During the early 1570s, he was planning an assault on the town of Nieuwpoort. He travelled back to the Westkwartier in 1573 to try and muster men for their cause, but the plan fell through as local authorities became aware of the impending assault.[3] Another plan was fostered in Sandwich around 1569 for an invasion of the Westkwartier. Protestant refugees were to be at the vanguard of the campaign with Antoon Utenhove as their leader. Much like the aforementioned Catholic schemes, they wanted to destroy the powers that be from within. As is evident, these plans never came to fruition either, though Utenhove was to join the Sea Beggars in their campaigns against the Spanish later that year.[4] Well-informed like his royal colleague in England, Philip II was in the know about these plans. His ambassador, Don Guerau de Espés del Valle, was as busy plotting against Elizabeth as he was occupied keeping an eye on the Dutch strangers, and had already informed the King earlier that year.[5]

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[1] J. Cooper, *The Queen's Agent: Francis Walsingham at the Court of Elizabeth I*, London: Faber and Faber, 2011, pp. 231-233.

[2] J.C.A. de Meij, *De Watergeuzen: piraten en bevrijders*, Haarlem: Fibula-Van Dishoeck, 1980, p. 88.

[3] M. Backhouse, "Jacob Baert uit Belle, radicaal calvinist, bosgeus, watergeus en vluchteling tijdens de tweede helft van de 16de eeuw." In: *Westhoek-info*, 6 (1990), 3, p. 85.

[4] L. Vandamme, "Charles Vasquez", p. 135.

[5] R. Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten*, p. 31.

POPISH PLOTS
AND
TREASONS

From the beginning of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.
Illustrated with Emblems and explain'd in Verse.

Figure 1.

THE *Pope* aloft on Armed Shoulders Rides,
And in vain Hopes the English spoils divides;
His *Leaden Bull* 'gainst good *Eliza.* roares,
And scatters dire Rebellion round our Shoars.
The Priest *Blesses* the Villians, Chears them on,
And promises Heav'ns Crown, when her Crown's won.
But God doth blast their Troops, their Counsels mock,
And brings bold Traitors to'th'deserved *Block.*

Figure 3.

Spains *King,* and *Romes* Triple-Crown'd Pelate Joyn,
And with them both bold *Stukely* does Combine
Ireland to conquer, And the Pope has sent,
For that Blest work, an *Holy Regiment*;
But in their way at *Barbary* they call,
Where at one Blow the *Moors* destroy them All.
See here, what such Ambitious Traitors Gain,
The shame of Christians is by *Pagans* Slain.

Figure 5.

What trusty Janizaries are Monks to *Rome,*
From their dark Cells the blackest Treasons come.
By the Popes License horrid Crimes they Act,
And Guild with piety each Treacherous Fact.
A seminary Priest, like Comets Blaze,
Doth always Blood-shed and Rebellion Raise;
But still the fatal Gibbet's ready fixt
For such, where Treason's with Religion mixt.

Figure 7.

Whilst *Spains* Embassador here Leiger lies,
Designs are laid the English to surprize;
Two Catalogues his Secretary had Got
The better two effect the Hellish Plot.
One all our Havens Names, where Foes might Land,
To'ther what Papists were to lend an hand.
For this base Trick he's forc'd to pack to *Spain*
Whilst Tyburn greets confederates that remain.

Figure 9.

The Jesuites vile Doctrines do Convince
Parry, 'Tis Merit for to kill his Prince,
The fatal Dagger he prepares with Art,
And means to sheath it in her Royal Heart.
Oft he Attemps, and is as oft put by,
By the Majestick Terrors of her Eye;
At last his Cursed Intentions he Confest
And So his welcom'd a fit Tyburn Guest;

Figure 11.

Nor was't with *Spain* alone, Great *Betty's* Strife;
Now *France* attempts upon her pretious Life;
The Guises cause th' Ambassador to Bribe
Moody, and others, of the Roman Tribe,
To Cut her off. To which they soon Consent,
But watchful Heav'n does that Guilt prevent.
Stafford doth to the Councel All disclose,
And Home with shame perfidious *Mounsieur* goes.

Figure 13.

But now a private horrid Treason view
Hatcht by the Pope, the Devil, and a Jew;
Lopez a Doctor must by Poison do
What all their Plots have fail'd in hitherto:
What will you give me then, the *Judas* Cries;
Full *fifty thousand Crowns,* t'other replies.
'Tis done — but hold, the wretch shall miss his hope,
The Treasons known, and his Reward's the Rope.
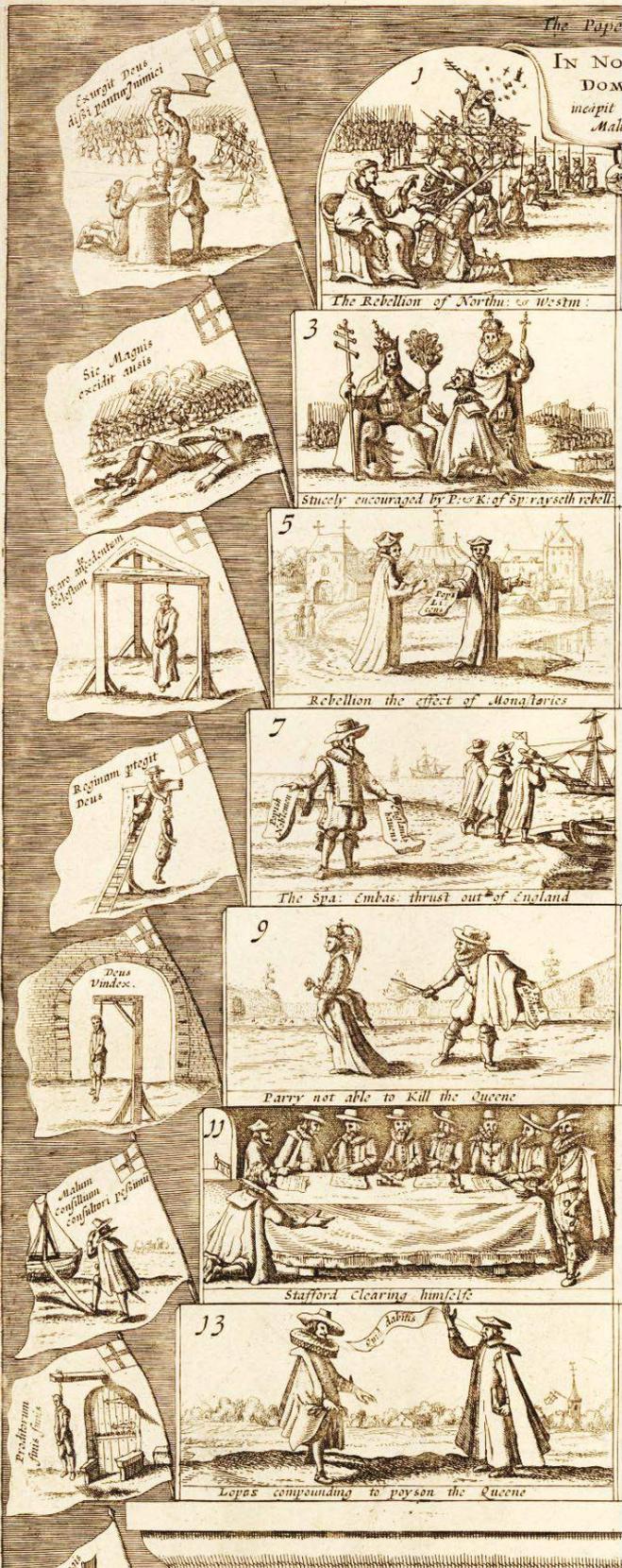
(Fig. 6a) The first half of the broadsheet above depicts a series of 'Popish plots' (numbered) and the fate that befell the plotters.
Cornelis Danckerts, *Popish Plots and Treasons; Thankful Remembrance of God's Mercie*, 1625, British Museum.
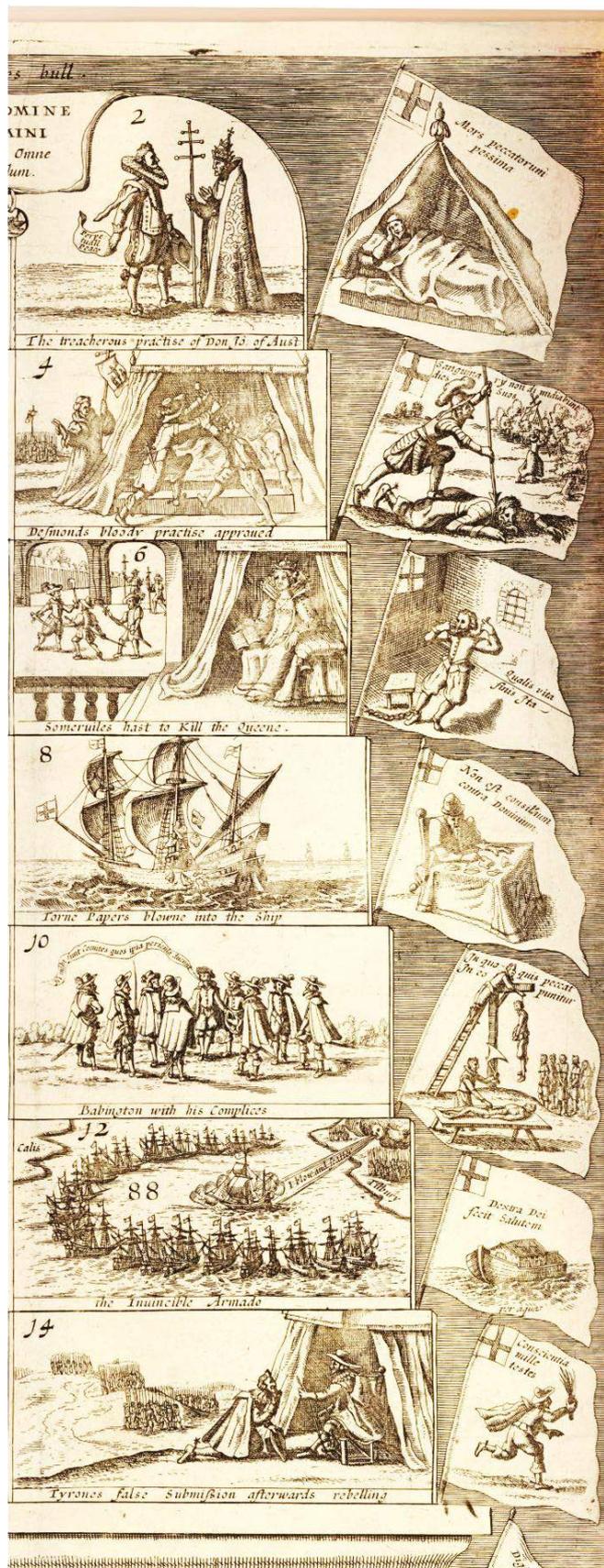
Figure 2.

Don John, who under Spain did with proud Hand
The then unsever'd Neitherlands Command,
Contrives for Englands Conquest, and does Hope
To Gain it by Donation from the Pope.
Yet to Amufe our Queen does ftill pretend
Perpetual peace, and needs will feem a friend;
   But Heav'n looks through thofe Juggles and in's prime,
   Grief Cuts off Him and's Hopes All at a time.

Figure 4.

The Priefts, with Croffes Enfigne-like difplaid,
Prompt bloody Defmond to thofe fpoiles he made
On Irifh Proteftants, and from afar
Blow Triumphs to Rebellions Holy War;
But againft Providence all Arts are vain,
The Crafty, in their Craft are over-tane;
   Behold where kill'd the Stubborn Traitor lies,
   Whilft to the Woods his Ghoftly Father flies;

Figure 6.

Mad Sommervil, by Cruel Priefts infpir'd
To do whatever mifchiefe they requir'd,
Swears that he inftantly will be the death
Of good and Gracious Queen Elizabeth.
Affaults her Guards, but Heav'ns protecting pow'r
Defeats his rage makes him a Prifoner:
   Where to avoid a juft, though fhameful Death,
   Self-ftrangling hands do Stop his loathfome breath.

Figure 8.

View here a Miracle—— A Prieft Conveys,
In Spanifh Bottom o're the path-lefs Seas,
Clofe treacherous Notes, whilft a Dutch Ship comes by
And ftreight Engag'd her well-known Enemy:
The Confcious Prieft his Guilty Papers tears,
And over-board the fcatter'd fragments bears;
   But the juft winds do force them back o'th' Decks,
   And peice-meal all the lurking plot detects.

Figure 10.

Here Babington and all his defperate Band,
Ready prepar'd for Royal Murder ftand,
His Motto feems to glory in the Deed,
These my Companions are whom dangers lead.
Cowardly Traitors, fo many Combine
To Cut off one poor Ladies vital Twine;
   In vain,— Heaven's her Guard, and as for you;
   Behold, the Hangman gives you all your due.

Figure 12.

Spain's proud Armado, whom the Pope did blefs,
Attacques our Ifle, Confident of fuccefs.
But Heav'ns juft Blaft doth Scatter all their force,
They fly and quite round Scotland take their Courfe:
So many taken, burnt, and Sunk i'th' Main,
Scarce one in Ten did e're get home Again;
   Thus England like Noahs Ark, amidft the Waves
   Indulgent providence from Danger faves.

Figure 14.

The Great Tyrone that did fo oft embrew
Ireland with Blood, and Popifh Plots Renew:
Here vanquifht Swears, upon his bended Knee,
To the Queens Deputy fidelity.
Yet breaks that vow, and loaded with the Guilt
Of perjuries and Blood which he had fpilt.
   Being forc'd at laft to fly his Native Land,
   Carries in's Breaft a fting, a Scourge in's hand

(Fig. 6b) The second half. In field 10, Anthony Babington is shown with his fellow conspirators. In the banner to the right they are being hanged, drawn and quartered.
Cornelis Danckerts, *Popish Plots and Treasons; Thankful Remembrance of God's Mercie*, 1625, British Museum.

One failed conspiracy after another may convey an image of the English and Netherlandish émigrés as blundering fools. Alford described the Catholics in particular as "men whose organizational ability was lamentable",[1] yet that is a reputation entirely undeserved. The exiles, as a matter of fact, commandeered impressive intelligence networks of their own.

At the centre of the English counterintelligence network stood Richard Verstegan, an illustrious figure called "the English Counter-Reformation's most tireless publicist" as well as a "one-man media company".[2] He was undoubtedly the most important link in the communication between Catholics and missionary priests in England on the one hand, and the exile communities in Europe on the other. Verstegan provided Robert Persons with weekly newsletters of all that was occurring back home, while at the same time passing on instructions to Catholic intelligencers and Jesuits in England. By bribing port officials, smugglers and merchants, he was able to perform another of his duties: the distribution of Catholic literature and various insidious pamphlets.[3] Anthony G. Petti, who compiled and edited several of Verstegan's letters and despatches, claimed "Verstegan's letters emerge extremely well from the point of view of reliability". They were "more than a match" for the famed Fugger newsletters of the day, and that all on his own.[4]

Other important intelligencers among the English expatriates in the Netherlands were Richard Hopkins and Thomas Covert. The most prolific English Catholic spy was perhaps Hugh Owen, who stalked the governors' court in Brussels. He was able to win the confidence of both Alexander Farnese and Archduke Albert. Whatever he learnt at their court, he shared with the leaders of the English Catholic community. And whenever he rooted out a spy from the English government, he denounced that person before the governor and tried his best to have him banished.[5] Verstegan and Owen were the "the bugbears of the English intelligence agents operating in the Low Countries", according to Arblaster.[6]

The curious case of dr. John Story testifies that a well-functioning counterintelligence network was no luxury for the English refugees. Story had been a loud-mouthed, high-ranking official in the Marian regime, infamous for his passionate persecution of the realm's Protestants. He escaped imprisonment after Elizabeth succeeded Mary and was able to flee to the Netherlands. The Duke of Alba recognised his particular talents, earning Story an office as a port official in Antwerp. Over the years, Story befriended a fellow Elizabethan exile named John Prestall – who is today presumed a double agent by historian Ronald Pollitt. One day, as as Story was going about his business as a customs officer, he was lured into boarding an English ship. This turned out rather unfortunate, as the men aboard had been sent in a plot to abduct Story, masterminded by Lord Burghley himself.[7] Dr. Story was returned to England, tried and executed on the grounds of high treason in 1571.[8] This set an alarming precedent for the English émigrés, as it showed there was no escaping the English government – not even in exile.

Neither did the Netherlandish exiles rest idly in the face of Habsburg espionage. Radical minister Jacob de Buyzere set up an intelligence network of his own, keeping close watch on

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[1] S. Alford, *The Watchers*, p. 16.
[2] A. Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558-1660*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999, p. 15; P. Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World*, p. 49.
[3] P. Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World*, pp. 49-50.
[4] R. Verstegan and A.G. Petti (ed.), *Letters and Despatches*, pp. xxxv-xxxvi.
[5] A.J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans*, pp. 52-56.
[6] P. Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World*, p. 44.
[7] R. Pollitt, "The Abduction of Doctor John Story and the Evolution of Elizabethan Intelligence Operations." In: *SCJ*, 14 (1983), 2, pp. 132-142.
[8] A.J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans*, p. 8.

the home front and the regime. The thoroughness with which it functioned was attested to by Backhouse:

> "A striking example of the efficiency of this information network is illustrated by the case of Hansken Nuens. On 17 October 1563, the latter, an inhabitant of Nieuwpoort, was arrested in Ieper and soon thereafter transferred to the castle of Nieuwpoort. Within days his capture was known to Jacob de Buyzere. During the night of 23-24 October Hans Boiteur and a group of co-religionists left Sandwich and managed to free their brother from his Nieuwpoort jail."[1]

The strangers too remained ever vigilant of Habsburg spies in their midst. Just like Hugh Owen in Brussels, the Sandwich congregation was adept at smoking out impostors. In March 1562, they discovered that Maillaert Zoete, a former Protestant, had been sent to spy on the strangers by the attorney-general of the Council of Flanders. Zoete was immediately imprisoned. Seven months later, another spy was apprehended. A man called Karel van Dale was ordered to "departe this towen forthwith upon payne of losing his heyers".[2] Whenever a Habsburg spy was discovered, the stranger churches made sure the inculpated would find no more rest in any of the Netherlandish colonies in England.

c. Conclusion

Although this particular subject is extremely fascinating, it is also incredibly complex and puzzling. Peter Marshall stressed the difficulties involved with trying to explore networks that ran on the efforts of spies who might just as easily have been double or even triple agents.[3] Yet historians have tried to make sense of it all, tried to gain insight into the scheming, intriguing and the insurgency undertaken by the exiles and have – based on their conclusions – created an image of the refugees as either wholly good or wholly evil all too often. The English Catholics have clearly received the short end of the historiographical stick, although admittedly they were implicated in more high-profile conspiracies than the Dutch – not to mention the fact that some had ties all the way back to the Vatican. Important, however, is that plotting was always the preserve of a radical minority among the English as well as the Netherlanders. Exile ultimately had the effect of radicalising the convictions of some who had become embittered over the loss they had suffered – Sea Beggars, Jesuits or otherwise. Those who did engage in conspiracy were invariably convinced they were innocent. What they did, after all, was God's work: they aimed to restore their faith which had been compromised.

Facing governments that presided over infinitely more manpower and funds, it is quite surprising that the English and Netherlandish intelligencers were able to hold their own. The plots they conceived may not always have been that particularly effective, but to a certain extent they succeeded in keeping their communities intact and protecting them from harm's way.

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[1] M. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, p. 140.
[2] Ibidem, pp. 139-140.
[3] P. Marshall, "Religious Exiles and the Tudor State.", p. 274.

VII. Literary output and correspondence

The exiles took up the pen for a number of reasons. The Netherlandish émigrés provided religious treatises for their fellow exiles, whereas the Catholics fought the Tudor regime in an endless barrage of polemical tracts. On a more personal level of course, they each tried to keep in contact with their friends and family back home. The first subject up for comparison is the self-representation of the exiles in their writing, as well as how they were perceived in the sixteenth century; the second is the correspondence of the exiles and the means through which they conveyed it.

a. Self-representation and contemporary perception of the exiles

Joos Desfrez, in a letter to his sister, remarked she was wrong in describing herself an exile: "And that you write that you are an exile is not true, because you were never summoned and still have possession of your things here, not to mention your brother, that are in good hands."[1] If Desfrez was not simply trying to comfort his sister, his definition of exile thus seemed to hinge on a court sentence and the confiscation of goods.

Early modern Protestant perceptions of exile have been given more attention than those of Catholics in the same period. Nonetheless, there are some rather striking similarities. A question asked by authors on both sides of the fence was whether religious exile was morally acceptable, because in sixteenth-century Europe the sentiment prevailed that flight was an obstruction of divine providence.[2]

A more favourable interpretation for exiles was the perception of exile as divine punishment for the sins of their flock, drawing on earlier Jewish interpretations of the Babylonian exile.[3] Writing from Norwich in 1567, reformed minister Karel Rijckewaert justified his own flight making allusions to the Babylonian exile and thus urged his friend to do the same: "Because this is the will of God, that we serve Him alone […] do they prosecute you, says He, in one place, flee to another. God grants that we are not deemed scorners of the guidance of Christ."[4] Others went in search of more inventive ways of legitimising their flight. In *A treatise intitled, beware of M. Jewel*, Elizabethan exile John Rastall proposed differentiating between two categories of exile, namely internal spiritual and external physical exile. According to Rastall, the English Catholic émigrés had chosen the lesser of two evils. They were only in physical exile because in spirit they remained true to the remaining Catholics in England.[5] Others completely turned the tables on critics, positing they had committed a "heroic act of self-sacrifice" instead, dixit Alexandra Walsham. After all:

> "It was to sever oneself from one's roots, to abandon friends, family, property and material posessions, to opt for an insecure and introverted life among strangers who spoke an unknown tongue. In embarking overseas, religious refugees exposed

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[1] Translation: "Ende dat ghy scryft, dat ghy ballinck syt, dat en es niet waer, want ghy noyt in gedaecht geweest en hebt, nochte mael u broeder, ooc u dynghen dat ghy hier noch hebt es noch in goeder bewarenesse." A.L.E. Verheyden, "Une Correspondance inédite", p. 179.

[2] G.H. Janssen, "Quo Vadis? Catholic Perceptions of Flight and the Revolt of the Low Countries, 1566-1609." In: *Renaissance Quarterly*, 64 (2011), 2, pp. 478-479.

[3] G.H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 99.

[4] Translation: "Want dit es de wille des Heere[ns], dat why hem alleene diene[n] zulle[n] […] vervolgen men, segt hy, u in een plaetse vliet in de ander. God gheve, dat wy gheen verachters des raets Christi bevonden en zijn." H.Q. Janssen, "Hervormde vlugtelingen", p. 216.

[5] C. Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, pp. 30-31.

themselves to financial hardship, xenophobia, civil disabilities and economic restrictions...”[1]

Especially the first, scholarly wave of Elizabethan exiles would adopt this view, seeing their sojourn in Louvain as somewhat of an adventure. A similar effort to legitimise exile was to identify with Christ. “Only in the name of Christ have I left Flanders behind”, Jacob Muus wrote to his wife, “and have I followed in the footsteps of Christ.”[2]

(Fig. 7) Satirical, anti-Catholic engraving. While Protestant Netherlandish gentlemen play cards against three (losing) munks, the pope and a cardinal try to steal their gains.
Anonymous, *Anti-Catholic Satire*, 1598-1600, British Museum.

The Catholic as well as the Netherlandish refugees laboured effortlessly at reshaping their image of fugitive outlaws into one of victims of tyrannical Elizabethan and Habsburg persecution. Exiles could find a justification as well as a condemnation in biblical precedents. The exile of the Israelites seemed an encouragement, whereas other texts clamped down on exile.[3] Whether addressing the homeland or the host society, they were automatically defined by their flight. In fact, the power of Calvin's teachings has been attributed to its addressing of followers as if they were “uprooted wayfarers who had signed up for the hazardous trek to the eternal city”, according to Heiko Oberman. Calvin actively propagated that true Christians were to live their lives as refugees, as exiles.[4] The exilic status was therefore to become the hallmark of the Netherlandish and English refugees' identity.

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[1] A. Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, p. 182.

[2] Translation: “Alleenlick om de naeme Cristy wille hebic Vlaenderlant ghelaeten en[de] ben de voetstappen Cristy naer ghevolcht.” H.Q. Janssen, “Hervormde vlugtelingen”, p. 224.

[3] G.H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 40.

[4] H. Oberman, “Europa Afflicta: The Reformation of the Refugees.” In: *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 83 (1992), pp. 102-103.

A means, mostly peculiar to the English Catholic exiles, through which they asserted and defended their exilic identity was polemical debate. English Catholic polemicists waged a relentless print war against the Tudor regime and other English, non-Catholic authors. In return, the Louvainists and the seminary priests at Douai belonged to what Questier called a "systematic answering machine"[1] defending itself against the pamphlets of prodigious writers like Lord Burghley. Between 1559 and 1570 alone, at least 85 polemical works written by English expatriates were published in just Antwerp and Louvain.[2] T.H. Clancy distinguished three distinct groups of English Catholic polemicists: the Louvainists, the 'Allen-Persons Party' and the 'Appellants'.[3] The first group stood strongest during the early decades of Elizabeth's reign, but later dissipated into the pro-Spanish and pro-Jesuit Allen-Persons Party that was particularly prone to regular bouts of infighting with the Appellants.

The polemical output of the Netherlandish exiles in England was not as vigorous as that of their Catholic counterparts in the Low Countries, but thankfully some rather elaborate treatises have been handed down. One such polemical tract is the *Val der Roomscher Kercken* (Downfall of the Roman Church) that was written during the reign of Edward VI.[4] The anonymous author expressed pointed criticism against the doctrine of substantiation – especially Catholics' idolatry of sacramental bread. "The Papists say that the bread is Christ", he complained, "Then how are we supposed to get along?"[5]

Perhaps they were too occupied conducting polemical warfare with the home front, as few histories were written by the English exiles – excepting the martyrologies, of course. Nicholas Sanders's *De origine ac progressu Schismatis Anglicani* (On the Origins and the Progress of the English Schism) was the only contemporary English Catholic history of the reformation in England. Originally written in Latin, it would take until the late nineteenth century before an English translation was finally published.[6] Nonetheless, Victor Houliston called it a "foundational work of Reformation-era Catholic national identity."[7]

In comparison with the English, the Netherlandish refugees were more passionate about historiography than polemics. Raingard Esser spoke of an interest to write and relate the history of the strangers among the intellectual "Merchant-Ministers" at Austin Friars, the clearest example of which is to be found in the form of Emanuel van Meteren. According to Esser, the strangers were convinced they read clear signs of the work of God in the history of their exiled community.[8]

b. Correspondence

Exile, as Esser stressed, is only rarely an irrevocable shattering of all ties with the homefront.[9] Expatriates usually maintained – or at least tried to maintain – contact with their native

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[1] M.C. Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, 1580-1625*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996, p. 18.

[2] A. Walsham, "'Domme Preachers'? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print." In: *P&P*, 168 (2000), p. 81.

[3] T.H. Clancy, *Papist Pamphleteers*, pp. 2-3.

[4] The oldest known edition was published in Norwich around 1550.

[5] Translation: "De Papisten seggen dattet broot Christus sy. Nu hoe connen wy over een comen?" S. Cramer and F. Pijper (eds.), *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica, geschriften uit den tijd der hervorming in de Nederlanden*, 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1903, vol. I, p. 406.

[6] C. Highley, "'A Pestilent and Seditious Book': Nicholas Sander's Schismatis Anglicani and Catholic Histories of the Reformation." In: *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 68 (2005), 1-2, p. 153.

[7] V. Houliston, "The Missionary Position". 22.

[8] R. Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten*, pp. 132-133.

[9] R. Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten*, p. 224.

countries. Greengrass detailed the importance of post-masters in exile networks. They were instrumental in the maintenance of communication links between people now far removed.

> "The intimacy of the letter was able to support and sustain the *sociabilité à distance* that was a necessary component to confessional identities. Letters were also convenient vehicles for the inevitably informal organisational arrangements that sustained the cause. They provided an appropriately personal medium for the conveyance of strong, affective emotions."[1]

Among the most prominent of high-profile Catholic exiles were several such "information brokers", as Janssen called them. They were engaged in "sharing books, distributing pamphlets and connecting exiles through various writings".[2] The example par excellence of an exile information broker is of course Richard Verstegan.

> "Verstegan was at the centre of a very elaborate communication system in the 1590s. It is difficult to over-estimate his importance in this respect. He was the connecting link at Antwerp for a number of leading English Catholics in England, Spain, Italy, France, and the Low Countries, despatching and forwarding letters to and from each of these countries with amazing speed and efficiency, considering the precarious state of letter-carriage at the time."[3]

According to some estimates, Richard Verstegan's communication network was responsible for the circulation of more than 1,000 separate newsletters.[4]

The Protestant exiles were equally passionate communicators. In Ch. IV's prosopography, it was already noted how they were a remarkably literate community. The Dutch strangers exploited mercantile networks across the Channel to stay informed of what was happening on the continent. And it was not simply the stranger churches that kept in touch.[5] Charles Littleton argued that, judging by the intensity of the correspondence with friends and family across the Channel, the source of communication between England and the home-front must have been constant, relatively dependable, if "occasionally haphazard", and very widespread. In fact, evidence suggests "both that communication was frequent and that it was haphazard enough that correspondents had continuously to assure each other that their letters were getting through."[6]

There was, after all, an ever-present risk of interception. Governments on both sides employed spies and intelligencers who tried to trace the exiles' correspondence networks and to intercept the letters sent between them. According to Petti, Verstegan, during "a short period in 1592", ceased his circulation of despatches in Europe when he became aware that an Elizabethan spy had figured out his scheme and was reporting the exiles' activities to the government.[7] A particular method English Catholics employed, trying to conceal their correspondence with coreligionists at home, was to use a false address. It was not unknown for an English exile to address a letter to a Netherlandish stranger in London, for instance.[8] Ever wary of governmental agents intercepting their letters, they employed a variety of codes and substitutions to conceal the contents of their correspondence. Robert Persons, for

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[1] M. Greengrass, "Two Sixteenth-Century Religious Minorities", p. 323.
[2] G.H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 107.
[3] R. Verstegan and A.G. Petti (ed.), *Letters and Despatches*, p. xvi.
[4] M. Greengrass, "Two Sixteenth-Century Religious Minorities", p. 328.
[5] A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 234.
[6] C.G.D. Littleton, "The Strangers, their Churches and the Continent", pp. 181-182.
[7] R. Verstegan and A.G. Petti (ed.), *Letters and Despatches*, p. xxii.
[8] Ibidem, p. xxiii.

instance, used words like 'merchant', 'factor', 'merchandise' or 'English wares', all of which evidently had double meanings.[1] An example of number substitution is to be found in a letter from Verstegan to Persons, dated 29 October 1592:

> "181 [Verstegan] dothe thinck it best to stay for a fewe weekes to send any 239 [letter] to any 139 [priest] in 25 [England], because Mr. 9 m 12: [Poly?] dothe here by 227 [spying?] meanes very much seek to understand which way and how 181 [Verstegan] dealeth, insomuch that some of the parties he hathe enquyred of have told it to 181 [Verstegan], which maketh him the more wary"[2]

Needless to say they make for some rather challenging reading material. Or at least what survives of it. The Netherlandish strangers employed similar strategies, forwarding their letters to intermediaries or asking recipients to burn their letters after they had read them.[3]

Most of the surviving correspondence between the Catholic exiles is clerical in nature, though Greengrass warns us not to underestimate the laity's communicational industriousness.

> "We are over-dependent on clerical evidence. There was doubtless much more familial, friendly, official, and unofficial traffic, that transcended confessional boundaries and overlay these confessional components, and not merely among the laity."[4]

The surviving Protestant correspondence includes more letters that were casual in nature however, addressed to loved ones, inquiring about matters peculiar to their family. Alfons Verheyden broadly distinguished three main, often recurring themes in the correspondence between the strangers and their family at home. First is the said informal conversation relating *faits divers* appertaining to the family and daily life. Secondly, matters of a more explicitly economic nature (e.g. a request for money). Thirdly, information about the larger events on the home front, such as the persecution of Protestants by the Council of Troubles. In the 79 letters treated by Verheyden, 21 relayed information about the religious troubles in the Netherlands.[5]

The sentiments expressed in these letters would not seem unfamiliar to twenty-first-century readers. Benoît de le Court, for instance, received a letter from his mother telling him how dearly she missed her son and grandchildren, urging him to write her more often.[6]

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[1] M. Greengrass, "Two Sixteenth-Century Religious Minorities", p. 327.

[2] Interpolations between brackets are Petti's, not my own. R. Verstegan and A.G. Petti (ed.), *Letters and Despatches*, p. 87.

[3] A. Duke, "Eavesdropping", p. 118.

[4] M. Greengrass, "Two Sixteenth-Century Religious Minorities", p. 336.

[5] A.L.E. Verheyden, "Une Correspondance inédite", pp. 113-114.

[6] Ibidem, pp. 141-142.

VIII. Survival Strategies

An interesting concept certainly worth entertaining in the study of exiles during the Early Modern Age is that of the "survival strategies". Willem Frijhoff, a Dutch historian specialising in the history of mentalities, urged historians of early modern Catholicism to borrow this concept from the social historians.

> "Historians are aware that individuals, groups, or communities often have to live in hostile settings. This leads them to search for ways in which people have in the past and in profoundly different economic, political, social, and cultural settings, sought to cope with poverty, adversity, social inferiority, political pressure, or religious prosecution. This conceptual approach is most promising for the renewal of religious history, because it quits the too-simple paths of traditional, empiricist church history."[1]

This approach would prove worthwhile in the study of both English Catholics and Netherlandish Protestants in exile.

Sadly, socio-historical research on Elizabethan exiles is almost non-existant. Braun notes that except for some anecdotes relating their miserable circumstances, petitions presented to Philip II requesting a pension or other correspondence, sources are few and far between.[2] We are less unfortunate, however, concerning the Netherlandish Protestants. The direct impact they had on the English economy has been the subject of scholarly attention for almost a century. However, English historians until the late twentieth century simply reiterated whatever Cross, Burn, Moens and Cunningham had said about the strangers without performing any new research concerning the economic influence the exiles had on England.[3] A major comprehensive study of the economic consequences of the strangers' stay in England had to wait until 1972, with the publication of Heinz Schilling's *Niederländische Exulanten im 16. Jahrhundert*. This lack of innovation is hardly surprising, as Pettegree stressed, seeing as most historians who had dealt with the stranger churches until Schilling had been church historians.[4]

a. General prosperity

"The Catholic exile in Belgium", according to Guilday, "was not a labourer. He knew nothing about trade and commerce, and his presence had no effect one way or the other on the economic situation of the Low Countries."[5] Although Guilday's quote is as rash as it is bold (and will be partially contradicted down below), it sheds a light on the precarious situation of the Elizabethans in the Southern Netherlands who were undeniably in a tough spot. A group largely consisting of people belonging to the leisure class was suddenly robbed of all income and forced to look for new sources of revenue. In letters, diaries and petitions, the émigrés lamented their sorry fate. In one of his many newsletters, dated 1592, Richard Verstegan wrote of an impoverished fellow exile: "Sir Thomas Marckenfeild died this last week in Bruxelles in very extreeme want, in a most miserable poore cotage".[6] In 1598, five women

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[1] W. Frijhoff, "Shifting identities in hostile settings", p. 12.
[2] B. Braun, "Katholische Konfessionsmigration", p. 96.
[3] M. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, pp. 11-12.
[4] A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 5.
[5] P. Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent*, p. xix.
[6] P. Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World*, p. 37.

requested permission from Archduke Albert to return to England. They had been reduced to poverty because their husbands, serving in the English regiment, had not received their pay from the Spanish military treasury in twenty months.[1] Elsewhere reports surface of a Mr. Middleton, a gentleman and an intelligencer, claiming over "dyverse daies together he has drunk only water".[2] Likewise, another gentleman of exceptional pedigree in Brussels was said to have had "altro che acqua" (nothing but water) in over eight days.[3]

Many of the exiles arrived in the Low Countries with little more than the clothes on their backs. Arblaster posited that the only reason Elizabethan exiles were able to cope with such hardship was because they were given a lot of respite when the bills had to be paid. "Receivers of royal pensions [...] paid when they could."[4] It needs mentioning that not all exiles withered and died where they stood, however. Sir Thomas Copley regretted only being able to maintain a household of 14 (including his eight children), whereas he was used to boasting one nearer to forty.[5] Lechat mentioned the decadence of the Earl of Westmorland, who was always attended by at least 12 servants, or Sir Francis Englefield, who constantly wanted four horses at his disposal. "C'est que, pour ces nobles personnages," Lechat concluded sardonically, "en être réduit à douze serviteurs ou quatre chevaux, c'est presque la misère."[6]

The general prosperity of the Netherlandish exiles was decidedly better. Throughout England and beyond they were known for their industriousness. They were responsible for the introduction of new industries like glassmaking, the new draperies, paper and cordage, copper and brass, but at the same time reinvigorated existing industries. The silk industry as well as the craft of dyeing both received a much needed update.[7] It was nothing out of the ordinary for strangers to co-operate and conduct business with one another, even if they belonged to different communities or congregations. Strype's *Annals of the Reformation* for instance lists two Flemings, Gillis Vanhil and a "Peter Apple", who bought their cloth from respectively Sandwich and Norwich, after which they sold said cloth again in London and presumably made a handsome profit.[8] Whereas the English exiles, according to Guilday, "had no effect one way or the other" on the local economy, the Dutch strangers formed an integral part of it – if not the backbone of the economy in the provincial centres.

In stark contrast to the English Catholic expatriates, many of the Netherlanders were able to turn their exile into a profitable enterprise. Some strangers even became exorbitantly rich in England. In his will, Carel Wits bequeathed 7,600 guilders to friends and family, equalling 95 years of unskilled wage labour.[9] Merchant Paul Trion's financial assets, accumulated by selling cloth produced in Norwich, were estimated at £60,000. He used his fortune to sponsor English war efforts against the Spanish Armada.[10]

One must take care, however, not to misrepresent the majority of Netherlandish exiles. During the early waves at least, research by Pettegree suggested that the Netherlandish exiles in London were quite well off. During Edward's reign, more than half of the churchgoers at Austin Friars (of whom the subsidy payments can be traced) paid taxes on an estimated value of goods worth over £3. Considering that one was thought to be fairly prosperous at £2, and

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[1] A.J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans*, p. 11.
[2] R. Verstegan and A.G. Petti (ed.), *Letters and Despatches*, p. 96.
[3] Ibidem, p. 259.
[4] P. Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World*, p. 39.
[5] T. Copley and R. Copley Christie (ed.), *Letters of Sir Thomas Copley*, p. 53.
[6] R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés Anglais*, pp. 51-52.
[7] L. Luu, "Alien Immigrants to England", pp. 223-224.
[8] R.E.G. Kirk, and E.F. Kirk (eds.), "Returns of Aliens Dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London from the Reign of Henry VIII to that of James I." In: *PubHSL*, 10 (1900-1908), p. 390.
[9] M. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, p. 134.
[10] C.A. Rahlenbeck, "Les réfugiés belges", pp. 30-31.

thus eligible for the subsidy, the stranger community seemed rather prosperous as a whole.[1] It has to be emphasised however that many of these Dutch churchgoers had settled in England during the 1540s and some perhaps even earlier, i.e. preceding the first major exile wave. These people would have had the time to adjust and lay the foundations of a profitable household – a luxury the later, hurried exiles did not enjoy. There was a lot more poverty and reliance on welfare among the strangers, especially in London. In part this can be explained by the fact that London functioned as a central hub for fresh off the boat immigrants before relocating elsewhere. Strangers, who had not had the time to properly prepare for exile, rapidly accumulated in the metropolitan capitol city and found themselves competing over absurdly expensive, yet decrepit housing. The situation was slightly better in the provincial centres. In Sandwich, for instance, the majority of strangers fell into the two lowest tax brackets, suggesting most families were of sufficient though modest income.[2]

That the exiled Protestant nobility fared little better than the refugee Catholic nobles is clear from the Returns. Two Flemish nobles, van Cabillau and Vanden Ryne, were said to be living "by their owne expenses upon monny that they brought over the sea with them". Nobleman Charles Vasquez was able to survive in England by severely limiting his expenses. He never bought a house and stayed with acquaintances whenever he could. As his yearly expenses always ranged between 30 and 40 pounds, he evidently lived a frugal life in exile – at least for a man belonging to the nobility.[3] De Meij deemed it hardly surprising that many, if not most, of the Netherlandish exiles belonging to the nobility came to be involved with the Sea Beggars. Commoners had normally exercised a profession back home and often found employment in exile with little effort, especially when they practiced trades that were highly sought after in England. The refugee nobility, on the other hand, had found itself robbed of its income, yet it could hardly be expected to lower its standards and to take up menial labour. To do so was an affront, after all. Their poverty in exile, their pride and the prestige bestowed on those whom commanded military vessels were all constituting factors in leading the Dutch nobles into the arms of the *watergeuzen*.[4]

Esser, finally, has urged historians to nuance the innovation the Netherlandish exiles brought to England's textile industry, claiming it is one of the "hardiest clichés in historical research on the economic and social history of England". The exiles, according to Esser, did not entirely introduce new fabrics and techniques with their coming. These had been known in England for quite some time after they had been diffused and popularised in the Netherlands first. Esser reasoned that the exiles had stimulated and expanded the textile industry, rather than revolutionised it.[5] Donald Coleman was slightly more nuanced in downplaying the role of the strangers as economic innovators. He believed most areas in England had adapted on their own accord to a changing market influenced by other foreign centres, "whilst in East Anglia the new drapery techniques were established by direct foreign immigration".[6]

b. Additional sources of income

The surest way of providing an income for many of the Catholic exiles was the procurement of a Spanish pension, also called the 'entretenimiento'. These had to be approved in Spain and were paid from the military treasury in the Spanish Netherlands (the pagadorie'). Normally

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[1] A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 80-81.
[2] M. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, pp. 129-130.
[3] L. Vandamme, "Charles Vasquez", pp. 133-135.
[4] J.C.A. de Meij, *De watergeuzen en de Nederlanden*, pp. 154-155.
[5] R. Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten*, pp. 174-175.
[6] D.C. Coleman, "An Innovation and Its Diffusion", p. 428.

pensions were paid on a monthly basis.[1] Despite the best of intentions, the Spanish pension system soon proved inadequate as payments were made on a rather irregular basis. Pensioners often had to wait months on end before finally receiving them. Even high-ranking figures did not escape the slowly grinding gears of the Habsburg bureaucracy. The Countess of Northumberland consulted the Duke of Alba "for the contynuynge of her pensions, whyche were now restrayned".[2] So too Richard Verstegan: "We heare not, as yet, of any pay," he wrote in August 1592, "and this is the 11 monethe that we had nothing but the third parte of one monethe's pay."[3] A year later, the situation had all but improved.

> "The extreme misery of our nation here is wounderfull great, and perswasion to patience hathe no force to resist hunger. Their harts are even broken with sorrow considering that now almost in two yeares they have had no one pay. They in England rejoyce at it and proclaime it to the world. [...] Others do bothe say and write that it is intended by some either to starve us or to drive us away."[4]

It was not until January 1594 that Verstegan reported that "our nation have now gotten their generall liberança payd".[5]

Sir Francis Englefield and his compatriots at the Spanish court were daily presented with a plethora of petitions and requests from exiles in the Netherlands who had yet to receive their pensions. Sir Francis did not seem the least disheartened by the relentless barrage, however. Writing to William Allen, he entrusted the leader of the mission that he viewed them as a form of doing penance.

> "I am easely inducyd to beleve that you fynde these courtly sewtes for money very tediouse and disagreable to your mynde: for truly my self dyd fynde them so to me many yeares together; but therin you must exercise your pacience as not the lest penance incident to our banyshment."[6]

William Allen recognized this situation was both untenable and potentially threatening for the mission, writing to the rector of the English seminary in Rome: "If we cannot support them in exile, many will be forced to leave."[7] The pope too provided some funds in support of the English Catholics. In September 1560, a fixed sum of money was set aside to be distributed annually amongst those in exile and those imprisoned at home.[8] However J.H. Pollen pointed out that papal financial support never matched that of the Spanish crown, which from 1570 onwards spent more than 4,000 escudos yearly on the English refugees.[9]

To accept a Spanish pension was not an easy choice, either. The dilemma became ever more complicated when one had exhausted all options of sustenance, for to accept a pension meant entering the Spanish payroll and thus taking sides with England's adversary. In a letter dated December 1572, Sir Thomas Copley pleaded with Lord Burghley that his refusal to accept Spanish alms – until 1574 at least – despite his destitution evidenced his loyalty to the Queen:

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[1] A.J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans*, p. 28.
[2] R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés Anglais*, p. 61.
[3] R. Verstegan and A.G. Petti (ed.), *Letters and Despatches*, p. 63.
[4] Ibidem, p. 136.
[5] Ibidem, p. 199.
[6] W. Allen and T.F. Knox (ed.), *Letters and Memorials of William, Cardinal Allen*, p. 106.
[7] A.J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans*, p. 29.
[8] R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés Anglais*, p. 30.
[9] J.H. Pollen, *The English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1920, pp. 248-249; B. Braun, "Katholische Glaubensflüchtlinge – eine Spurensuche", pp. 524-525.

"I have had no pennie of releefe out of Englande, sins maye was twelve moneth, I owe in this towne above 400 lb., I live exceedinge chargeablie and cannot avoide it. This my debt hath growne by forbearinge thus longe, for love to my prince and coontrie, the bindinge my dewtie to anie other prince or state by acceptinge foreine pension which beleeve me (my lord) I maie have and that to mainteine me in equall countenance with honorable personages as shall soone appeare if necessitie growinge to me by the unkindnes of my countrie, force me to take the same."[1]

Veiled as it may be, the threat in Copley's letter is clear as day. 'Fail to support me in my demands and I shall find another hand to feed me.' The overt threat of treason coming from a man who spent over a decade trying to convince Queen and country of his loyalty emphasises his experienced state of severe deprivation. Gibbons noted that there is an urgent need for more research on the extent to which exiles survived exclusively on Spanish pensions.[2]

Presumably a majority of English Catholic émigrés did not enjoy the privilege of receiving Spanish benefits and were thus forced to find other means of sustaining themselves in exile. Sometimes these were found in England. According to Lechat, a fair few exiles were able to escape the mass-confiscations of Catholic-owned land by the Privy Council and, in such a way, continued living off their real estate profits abroad. Others were sent alms by their family in England now and again. The government was not amused and forbade Englishmen in 1584 to financially support countrymen who had left England unauthorised.[3] Some merchants among the exiles had been able to bring along a final shipment of cargo before slipping across the Channel and then used the profits to set up a new business venture in the Low Countries.[4] English cloisters tried to supplement Spanish pensions with dowries paid by new female novices.[5] Especially the gentry that saw itself forced to leave after the Northern Rebellion tried to facilitate a comfortable life in exile. They exchanged money in London, had letters of exchange prepared and – if possible – tried to secure ways to channel the profits from their domestic estates abroad.[6]

With the advent of the Reformation, there was an attempt to "resacralize" the poor relief system that had slowly slipped away from the control of the mendicant orders during the late Middle Ages into the hands of the municipal authorities. In the sixteenth century the reformed churches, instigated by Calvin, wished to take control of poor relief again *in lieu* of secular authorities.[7] The stranger churches in England were pioneers in this evolution.

The exiles could not depend on local English charitable institutions, causing all the weight of the exile community's poor relief to fall on the shoulders of the exile churches. The distribution of alms was one of the priorities of the stranger churches and as a task belonged to the deacons of the church. Their sacral duty was described thusly in the Norwich strangers' *Book of Orders*:

"It[e]m that the Deacons shall dyligentlye gather in, and feythfullye dystrybute the awlmes lyke as they have done hether to So that they shall mynister unto the poore. Of

[1] T. Copley and R. Copley Christie (ed.), *Letters of Sir Thomas Copley*, p. 3.
[2] K. Gibbons, *English Catholic exiles in late sixteenth-century Paris*, p. 62.
[3] R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés Anglais*, p. 51.
[4] A.J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans*, p. 26.
[5] C. Bowden, "Patronage and Practice", p. 487.
[6] K. Gibbons, *English Catholic exiles in late sixteenth-century Paris*, pp. 28-29.
[7] A. Spicer, "Poor Relief and the Exile Communities." In: B. Kümin (ed.), *Reformations Old and New. Essays on the Socio-Economic Impact of Religious Change, c. 1470-1630*, 1996, pp. 238-239.

whome the mynisters shall geve them to understande accordinge to the weight of ther offyce in suche wise as the most voyces of the mynisters and deacons shall conclude."[1]

The stranger churches were most generous in their distribution of alms to the poor, even for the newly arrived. A rather substantial part of the donations went to continental reformed ministers in exile – an effort to bind them to the church. The French church in Threadneedle Street spent some £20 monthly on alms for refugee ministers from July 1573 onwards.[2]

Most of the stranger churches' finances came from donations. At Austin Friars, the consistory presided over a fund called the *dienstgeld* (service money) which was provided by members of the congregation. A church elder would go from door to door receiving monthly or quarterly membership fees. According to Jelsma and Boersma, only 1 out of 5 members were able to pay this stipend. In order to deal with increasingly expensive poor relief, deacons started collecting money during church services.[3] But there were other, more inventive sources of revenue. The Norwich congregation, for instance, sponsored its welfare through the fines they imposed on selling cloth outside of the town's designated cloth halls.[4]

Like the Catholic exiles, the strangers generally brought anything with them that was not too heavy to carry. Most arrived with whatever money they had gotten hold of and their most valuable possessions. Some forwarded money or goods to England, either by way of a messenger or else through family and acquaintances. Martin Desquint, for instance, sent his brother Michel supplies so he could set up a business in England.[5] Others depended on family that was about to join them to bring something along. Clais van Wervekin urged his wife in a letter to come and join him in Norwich, claiming she "would never think to stay in Flanders" if she witnessed life in England. As well as trying to lure her, Clais asked his wife whether she could bring half their property with her.[6] Some strangers, who were probably in some kind of financial predicament, asked their families and friends to sell off their possessions at home and to send them the profits. Pieter de Ketelaere, for instance, instructed his family to sell his bellows.[7]

In a few rare cases, transfers of goods and money went in the opposite direction as well. Jeanne Géguenter expressed her worries in a letter to her brother, Jacques, that the money he had promised to send from England had still not arrived after a month.[8]

c. Occupations

And now to return to Guilday's quote above. It is certainly true that English nobility in the Netherlands were not going to demean themselves by picking up a trade in exile, but there are nonetheless many examples of refugees who did work for a living. As reported by Lechat before, a host of English commoners resided in the Low Countries for an extended period of time and, though we know little of their fates, it is highly unlikely they were able to fully support themselves through benefits received from either the Spanish crown, the pope or otherwise. Numerous scholars, first of all, found employment at Netherlandish institutions, such as Thomas Stapleton and Owen Lewis who became professors at the universities of

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[1] S. Slaughter, "Dutch Church in Norwich", p. 35.

[2] A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 211.

[3] A.J. Jelsma and O. Boersma, *Acta van het consistorie*, p. xxiv.

[4] A. Spicer, "Poor Relief", p. 244.

[5] A.L.E. Verheyden, "Une Correspondance inédite", p. 142.

[6] M. Backhouse, *Flemish and Walloon Communities*, p. 124.

[7] A.L.E. Verheyden, "Une Correspondance inédite", p. 200.

[8] Ibidem, p. 121.

Louvain and Douai.[1] In fact, Stapleton was appointed rector at the University of Louvain from 1595 to 1596.[2] The clergy did remarkably well too whom, Arblaster remarked, succeeded to high offices of the church hierarchy in the Low Countries.[3] George Chamberlain, relinquishing his soldiering days, was appointed bishop of Ypres, while William Gifford was to become deacon of Lille and in 1621 eventually archbishop of Rheims.[4] Cardinal William Allen was even nominated archbishop of Mechlin, though he never received confirmation from the Pope.[5] Many of the secular English clergy who were not able to enter office received prebends from the cathedrals of Tournai and Cambrai.[6] Chaplaincy was also an option. Take Philip Middleton, for instance, the son of an exile from Antwerp, who ministered to the Spanish troops at Antwerp.[7]

Literate exiles who were slow in receiving their calling from God could always make a living translating books into English.[8] As Catholic devotional books could no longer be sold or printed overtly in England, the exiles sensed they were sitting on a goldmine. After all, the supply had dried up but there remained a high demand – not the least of which in the countryside's recusant gentry households. Men like Richard Verstegan seized the opportunity and established a printing press in the Netherlands. Partly because of the harsh penalties imposed on getting caught importing such items, smugglers of Catholic treatises made an awful lot of money when they succeeded.[9] John Marshall however, a polemicist based in Louvain, lamented the alienation of the profits. For where the smugglers extorted exuberant sums of money from their eager buyers, the authors were left with only a margin of the profits.[10]

The surest way of earning a living as a male Catholic exile was to join the English regiment, according to Loomie. Alexander Farnese, the Duke of Parma, openly encouraged exiles to join his army in the Netherlands and sincerely tried to secure funds for their payment.[11]

English refugees who were skilled wielding neither the sword, nor the pen – who were undoubtedly many – sometimes found employment in the household of a well-off exile. Thomas Marshal, for instance, became the Earl of Westmorland's personal sommelier.[12] Pauline Croft described how some English Catholic exiles in Spanish dominions offered their services to the Inquisition. Not only did they want to put food on the table this way, but it was also a means of thwarting their Protestant compatriots' mercantile endeavours in Spain. They used their role as informant of the Inquisition to get ahead in their personal vendettas.[13]

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[1] A. Morey, *The Catholic Subjects of Elizabeth I*, p. 100; T.F. Knox (ed.), *The first and second diaries of the English College, Douay*, p. xxx.

[2] G. Anstruther (ed.), *The Seminary Priest: A Dictionary of the Secular Clergy*, vol. I, p. 333.

[3] P. Arblaster, "The Southern Netherlands connection: networks of support and patronage." In: B. Kaplan (ed.), et al., *Catholic Communities in Protestant states: Britain and the Netherlands c. 1570-1720*. 2009, p. 134.

[4] J. Gillow, *A Literary and Biographical History, or Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics from the Breach with Rome, in 1534, to the Present Time*, London: Burns & Oates, 1885, vol. I, p. 458; Ibidem, vol. II, pp. 458-460.

[5] Ibidem, vol. I, p. 19.

[6] G.H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 109.

[7] G. Anstruther (ed.), *The Seminary Priest: A Dictionary of the Secular Clergy*, vol. I, p. 230.

[8] C. Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, p. 42.

[9] P. Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World*, pp. 50-51.

[10] C. Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, p. 42.

[11] A.J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans*, p. 27.

[12] R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés Anglais*, p. 49.

[13] P. Croft, "Englishmen and the Spanish Inquisition, 1558-1625." In: *The English Historical Review*, 343 (1972), p. 253.

As was shown in Ch. IV, the Netherlandish community counted fewer members belonging to the leisure classes than the English exiles most likely did. Once settled they immediately got to work. In London the strangers plied a plethora of different trades. There were *doosemaekers* (box-makers), *orlogers* (clock-makers), *blauverwers* (dyers), *molitors* (millers), *forbisseurs* (polishers) and *paedagogi* (schoolmasters). The strangers sought employment as *pictors* (painters) or *surgyns* (surgeons). Accounts even exist of strangers who made a living as organ-makers and perfumers.[1] Selwood indicated that, even though they were active in a range of different industries and trades, the strangers were predominantly employed in three chief sectors: the textile industry, metalwork and commerce. A staggering 47 percent of all Netherlandish and French strangers in London were active in the production of cloth, which is more than twice the percentage of native-born Englishmen. 13 percent occupied themselves with trade and 8 percent were involved in the metalworking industry.[2] Most strangers operated out of small, family-based economic units with no more than two or three servants in their employ.[3]

Like the Catholic exiles, the strangers were also very active in the printing industry. England had long failed to keep up with leading continental centres of print and saw its book trade dominated by imported works. Foreign printers, mostly settled in London, provided a boost to its production of books. During Edward's reign alone some 70 foreigners worked in the printing trade, the majority of which were Netherlanders.[4] The same is true for the sale and binding of books. In Norwich during the 1560s and '70s, at least four separate Netherlandish booksellers were active.[5] According to D.W. Davies, printers from the Netherlands – or from anywhere else, for that matter – had a rather hard time trying to set up shop in England, as printing and publishing were both exclusively reserved for those who were full-fledged members of the Stationers' Company. Nonetheless, most were able to overcome the obstacles in their path as "the competence and skill of the foreigners, in general superior to that of the native printers, was bound to be recognized and employed" (foreign language editions were notoriously abysmal, Ferraro Parmelee noted)[6]. The majority settled for the inferior rank of 'brother of the Company', which did not allow them to take apprentices of their own or to print books not sanctioned by a full member.[7]

As mentioned in the subchapter on the reception of the strangers, the Netherlandish exiles often found their economic endeavours thwarted by jealous competitors. Laws were pushed trying to forbid them from exercising certain professions. Other laws, some of which had been in place for centuries, hampered their professional activities as well. In London, non-denizens could only run 'closed' shops, which meant they were not allowed to publicly display their wares and, as such, were forced to board up their homes. This caused many conflicts with local authorities, as people lacked the required natural lighting during the day to ply their trades. In 1587 the City of London admitted this situation was untenable and allowed aliens to provide a sufficient level of natural light, as long as passers-by could not look directly inside.[8]

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[1] R.E.G. Kirk, and E.F. Kirk (eds.), "Returns of Aliens", pp. xvii-xxi.
[2] J. Selwood, *Diversity and Difference*, p. 34.
[3] I. Scouloudi, "Alien Immigration and Alien Communities in London", pp. 35-36.
[4] A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 84-85.
[5] R. Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten*, p. 132.
[6] L. Ferraro Parmelee, "Printers, Patrons, Readers, and Spies: Importation of French Propaganda in Late Elizabethan England." In: *SCJ*, 25 (1994), 4, p. 858.
[7] D.W. Davies, *Dutch Influences of English Culture*, pp. 21-22.
[8] L. Luu, "Natural-Born Versus Stranger-Born Subjects", p. 64.

d. Conclusion

When all is considered, the Dutch seem to have endured less hardship in exile than the English have – or at the very least, they were distinctly less vocal about their misery. Whereas the former constituted a working middle class generally speaking, the latter belonged to a rural leisure class in large measure. Accounts of their economic futility have been grossly exaggerated, however. A striking similarity is that the noble Netherlandish refugees faced a similar predicament to that of the English gentry: they too were forced to radically alter their lifestyle and to adapt to a more frugal standard of living. Yet at the same time, we must not exaggerate the Dutch émigrés' wealth. Even in provincial centres, where they were usually better off, the overall majority of stranger households had a modest though sufficient income.

On the subject of welfare, there is a rather startling resemblance to be found in that the acceptance of poor relief could have severe repercussions. The main sources of welfare were either Spanish pensions or alms from the stranger churches. Accepting the former automatically implied an English subject was a traitor, whereas the latter made one suspect in the eyes of the Habsburg regime. For accepting alms drove people in the bosom of the church, which deeply worried a regime that remained vigilant against those associated with militant Protestantism. To receive poor relief from either could thus drastically diminish an exile's odds of safely returning home. Refugees on both sides of the fence struggled with this issue.

The most pronounced difference between the English and Netherlandish refugees is perhaps their economic impact. Depending on which economic historian you ask, the Dutch either revolutionised, reinvigorated or simply improved the English economy. From what we know, the English on the other hand had only a very limited impact on the economy in the Low Countries. Another parallel, however, is that they were both industrious writers, publishers and book sellers, aiming for a domestic as well as an international audience.

IX.   Space

A question worth asking is why both the English and Netherlandish exiles went to live where they did and why they chose almost exclusively for urban environments. As Geert Janssen said: "In a society in which prospects of work and material support largely depended on personal networks and reputation, a migrant's choice of settlement was rarely random."[1]

This chapter will treat the ways exiles used and dealt with space – from geographic to material to imagined. Taken into consideration are respectively: where the exile communities chose to live; their use of space within the cities and towns they inhabited; their mobility between places in their host county and mobility between host and native country; subsequently a particular focus on the mobility the exile students; and finally, space in its abstract sense – the public sphere.

a. Settlement

The English Catholic exiles in the Southern Netherlands, though fewer in number than the Protestant exiles, obviously felt less pressed to stick together abroad. Mirroring the highly urbanised density of the south, a patchwork of closely knit cities and towns (one smaller than the other), they settled all over the Netherlands with hardly any consistency.[2] As a result there was very little cohesion between the different exile colonies.[3]

Probably the most densely settled by the English were Louvain and Douai, home to universities and an English seminary. 'Probably' indeed, as these were the preferred destinations of the clergy and the scholars of Oxford and Cambridge, about whom we are best informed and who are the easiest to trace due to their intense literary output. Although even if our view of their demographic significance is rather skewed, it does not negate the overall importance of these centres to the community in exile and in England as a whole. Through Louvain and Douai passed a ceaseless current of scholars who made either the universities or the seminary their home for a few years and then left for another Catholic centre of learning on the continent. According to Highley, Louvain was a "home-away-from-home" for the exiles, where an expatriate solidarity helped create a cohesive group identity.[4] "The major destination of the early Catholic exiles" was seen as a bastion of orthodox Catholicism in England and even as a nail in the coffin of the Tudor monarch. The city thanked this reputation to the university's stubborn refusal to consent with the annulment of the marriage between Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon. This may partly explain why English Catholics had fled to Louvain since the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI.[5] Douai thanked its popularity to the seminary rather than its – recently established – university, although it employed a host of English scholars. Initially the seminary was intended as a "dissident university" to replenish the Catholic clergy and scholars in exile when they would inevitably come to pass. Plans changed, however, as William Allen made it the heart of the English mission from whence the Jesuits would try to rekindle Roman Catholic sentiment in the hearts of the English populace.[6]

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[1] G.H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 64.

[2] R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés Anglais*, p. 49.

[3] A. Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, p. 186.

[4] C. Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, p. 32.

[5] Ibidem, p. 26.

[6] J. Bossy, "The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism.", p. 46.

Merchants, on the other hand, tended to settle in Antwerp, a city they were largely familiar with due to Antwerp and England's long-established historical trade ties.[1] According to Bossy, the link between the exiles and Antwerp was even more obvious: "Their connexion with England was short and easy: passengers, post, books and money passed without difficulty through Antwerp".[2] It was the most popular destination for English exiles in the first decades following Elizabeth's accession to the throne. The port city's reputation as a safe haven for religious dissidents of any kind explains the presence of both Catholic and Protestant exiles during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary.[3] Several English printers set up shop in Antwerp as well, such as Richard Verstegan and John Fowler.[4] The English regiment, furthermore, was stationed at Antwerp most of the time.[5] One of the most prominent exiles in Antwerp was Sir Thomas Copley, who lived there from 1572 to 1576.[6]

Brussels was home to a host of prominent receivers of Spanish pensions. Lechat counted at least thirty around 1575, but the community would experience its most pronounced growth after 1588 when the exiles started returning from Paris.[7] It has been reported how a fair deal of scheming and intriguing took place in the Brabantine capital's exile colony. Also worth mentioning is the cloister of the Benedictine nuns founded by Jane Berkely in 1598.[8] One of Brussels's more prominent exiles was Lord Leonard Dacre, one of the rebels during the Northern Rebellion.[9]

More than a few Englishmen lived in Bruges, though Lechat stressed that the overall majority of them were proper Anglicans. Hence most English exiles in the Netherlands tended to mistrust Englishmen from Bruges, as they always feared they might be dealing with Elizabeth's agents.[10] At the same time Bruges was home to the English Carthusians whose prior, Maurice Chauncy, became a leading figure within the city's exile community.[11] Chauncy and the Carthusians joined an existing community of Flemish Carthusians at first, situated outside the city walls in the parish of Sint-Kruis, but later obtained a house of their own within the city. Their community grew considerably in size as they were joined by alumni from the seminary at Douai.[12]

Although Ghent might not have boasted an impressive number of English refugees, the city's exile community was nonetheless responsible for an impressive literary output that could almost rival that of Antwerp and Louvain.[13] Especially notable is the Chamberlain family that settled in Ghent.

Mechlin, the seat of the Archdiocese of Mechlin, was the destination of choice for a few high-ranking expatriates, among whom the most prominent were undoubtedly Cardinal William Allen and Lady Jane Dormer the Younger, Countess of Northumberland.[14] A

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[1] B. Braun, "Katholische Glaubensflüchtlinge – eine Spurensuche", p. 523.

[2] J. Bossy, "Rome and the Elizabethan Catholics: A Question of Geography." In: *The Historical Journal*, 7 (1964), 1, p. 135.

[3] C. Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, pp. 24-25.

[4] R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés Anglais*, p. 50.

[5] A.J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans*, p. 146.

[6] T. Copley and R. Copley Christie (ed.), *Letters of Sir Thomas Copley*, p. xxvii.

[7] R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés Anglais*, p. 50.

[8] Ibidem, p. 201.

[9] Ibidem, p. 45.

[10] Ibidem, pp. 50-51.

[11] Ibidem, pp. 27-28.

[12] P. Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent*, pp. 42-44.

[13] C. Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, p. 64.

[14] T.F. Knox (ed.), *The first and second diaries of the English College, Douay*, p. xxv; A.J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans*, pp. 96-100.

community of English Bridgettines, previously located at Dendermonde and later Zeeland, lived in Mechlin between 1572 and 1580, before being forced out by the religious troubles.[1]

Lille, furthermore, housed some exiled scholars and clergymen, such as the polemicist John Marshal and Thomas Hide, whom assisted William Allen in the foundation of the seminary of Douai.[2]

During the 1570s Liège and Cambrai were populated by a select few prominent exiles who had been unfortunate enough to appear on the Privy Council's radar. Elizabeth and the Governor General of the Netherlands concluded a commercial treaty that included a clause, stipulating that thirty exiles who had taken part in the Northern Rebellion were to be expelled from Spanish holdings in the Low Countries.[3]

As for exiles in smaller towns and the countryside we are generally reduced to sporadic anecdotes. Wielding the criterion that more information must be available of an individual refugee than just the name, we were able to compile a database of a hundred English Catholic exiles who spent some time residing in the Southern Netherlands. Only a handful stayed in towns not mentioned above, such as Nieuwpoort and Mons. Except for a select few noble exiles who spent some time on the estates of the Netherlandish nobility, there are no records of English Catholics taking to the countryside. It is highly unlikely that there were none, however. Robert Lechat, the only scholar to ever conduct a general survey of the English Catholics in the sixteenth-century Netherlands noted that the exiles were incredibly decentralised, which puts them in stark contrast with the Netherlandish Protestant exiles.[4] Geert Janssen as well stressed that Catholic exiles were inconceivably harder to trace than their Protestant counterparts, as the former lacked institutions like the Protestant refugees' stranger churches in England.[5] These exile churches produced copious archival sources which often included information about where their members dwelled in the city.

The Dutch strangers in England tended to settle in the south and east of England, closer to the exiles in proximity as well as in religious climate. "The inhabitants of London and the east-coast ports, after all," Palliser noted, "were in regular contact with the continental reformed churches."[6] A notable difference with the settlement patterns of the English refugees is not only that the strangers tended to settle in the same towns and neighbourhoods, but also that they were subject to a greater deal of governmental regulation and interference. There were three steps a stranger community had to pass if it wanted to obtain letters patent for an officially established settlement. Firstly it was to look for a suitable location. Secondly, discussions were of course to be held with the native English community. Finally the Privy Council was to lend its consent and propose a number of refugees that could settle, so that the strangers could have their settlement officially sanctioned by letters patent.[7] Unsurprisingly, the majority of Protestant immigrants settled in towns, as urban areas were more prone to Protestant ideas from the very beginning – especially those in South and East England.[8]

Of all avant-garde towns in the south-east, the "vanguard" of Protestantism, London reigned supreme as a beacon for exiled continental Protestants. Nigel Goose attributes this to

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[1] P. Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent*, p. 56.

[2] R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés Anglais*, p. 34 ; J.J.E. Proost, "Les Réfugiés Anglais et Irlandais en Belgique", pp. 291-292.

[3] P. Marshall, "Religious Exiles and the Tudor State.", pp. 116-120.

[4] R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés Anglais*, p. 49.

[5] G.H. Janssen, "The Exile Experience." In: A. Bamji (ed.), et al., *The Ashgate Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, 2013, p. 80.

[6] M.D. Palliser, "Popular Reactions to the Reformation during the Years of Uncertainty 1530-70." In: F. Heal and R. O'Day (eds.), *Church and Society in England: Henry VIII to James I*, 1977, p. 45.

[7] M. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, p. 17.

[8] N. Goose, "Introduction: Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England.", p. 4.

its long-standing tradition of Lollard sympathies and, from 1518 onward, the vibrant circulation of Lutheran writings. London was a city teeming with Protestant activity, a city where "ideas were spread by an underworld of 'evangelical brethren' who successfully infiltrated the Inns of Court and – when persecuted – fled to the continent from where they provided inspiration and a steady flow of smuggled books and tracts."[1] London appealed to many religious exiles, but gravitation towards the up-and-coming metropolis was strongest among Calvinist merchants. Geneva, which had seen its number of inhabitants double due to the influx of exiles during the early diaspora, now suffered a stagnating economy, whereas London's star was steadily rising.[2] Pettegree stressed that London's foreign population was ever changing, "even in normal times", such as the intervals between periods of major exile influx.[3] About two-thirds of all Dutch refugees were living in London during the 1560s.[4] In 1572 they numbered around 6,500.[5] By 1593, no fewer than 7,113 Dutch and French-speaking strangers lived in the city. Although people from countless different nationalities and backgrounds inhabited London, the Netherlandish and – to a lesser degree – French immigrants far outnumbered them.[6] Fagel estimated that 75% of all foreigners in the city came from the Netherlands.[7]
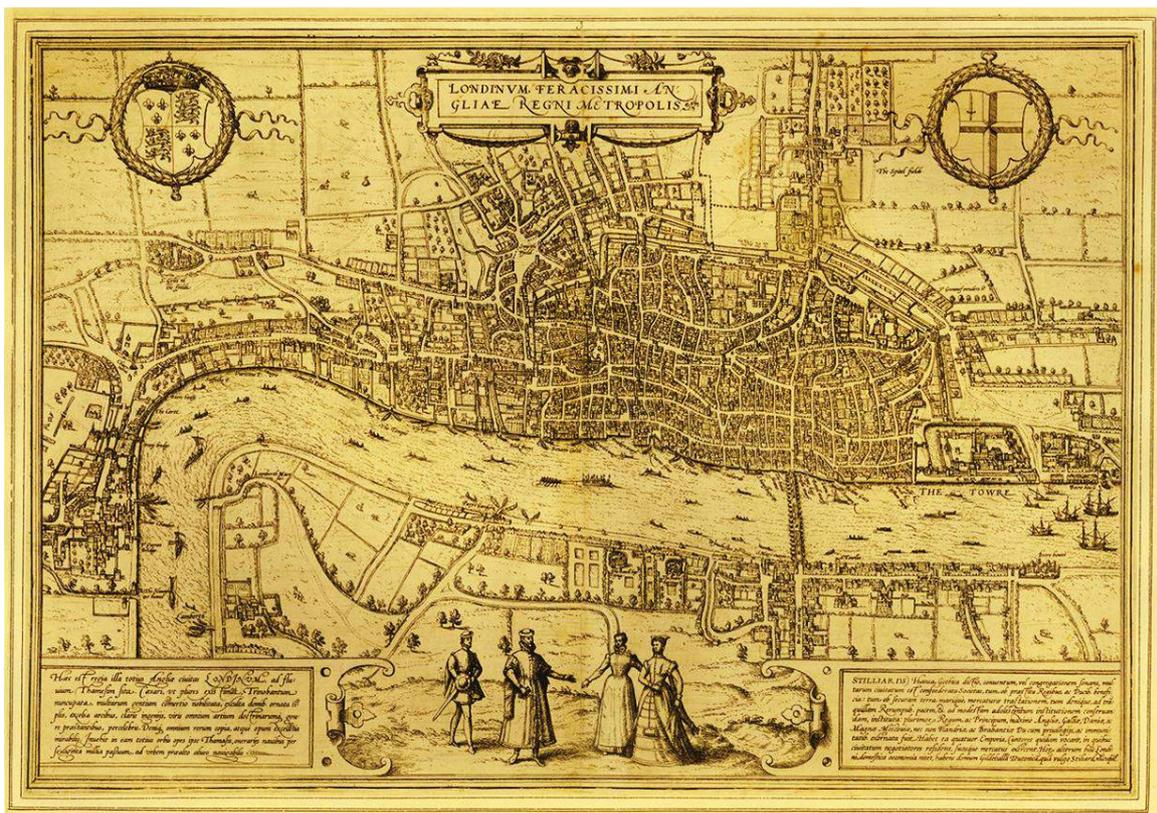
(Fig. 8) Map of London during the second half of the sixteenth century.
Frans Hogenberg, *Londinum feracissimi angliae regni metropolis*, 1572, British Museum.

There were, of course, destinations in England other than its capital. The Protestant exiles settled extensively in the south-east's provincial centres and the so-called Cinque Ports, the port towns that had long-established trade relations with the continent. Responsible for the

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[1] N. Goose, "Introduction: Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England.", p. 4.
[2] O.P. Grell, "Merchants and Ministers", p. 256.
[3] A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 216.
[4] R. Fagel, "Immigrant Roots", p. 48.
[5] J. Selwood, *Diversity and Difference*, p. 25.
[6] Ibidem, pp. 2-3.
[7] R. Fagel, "Immigrant Roots", p. 41.

spread of the refugees were both the central and municipal authorities. The former had two reasons for distributing the strangers evenly across the region, according to Douglas Rickwood. Firstly the Queen knew the implications of turning down religious refugees seeking asylum for conscience' sake, yet at the same time she could not indulge them too much so as to alarm the Spanish ambassador in London who reported to Philip II. Secondly, the strangers would be easier to keep track of and to control when split into smaller entities across different towns and cities. At the same time, Rickwood adds, the government was eager to reap the economic benefits from the presence of the exile craftsmen.[1]

Yet the settlement of the strangers in the provincial centres of the south and the east was not merely instructed from above. Many towns had suffered from economic recession during the first half of the sixteenth century. Canterbury, Sandwich and Norwich, home to the biggest stranger congregations by the end of the century, actively sought to attract skilled Flemish artisans in order to reinvigorate stagnant industries. Each of them presented a petition to the Queen, seeking the right to establish a stranger colony in their towns. All three had their requests granted during the 1560s with official letters patent. The town council of Sandwich, for instance, was permitted to receive "men of knowledge in sondry handy crafts, belonging to the churche of strangers in our saide citie of London", who were in return granted "thexercise there of the facultie of making saes, bay, and other cloth".[2] They were so pleased with their industrious immigrants they later even petitioned the Queen to refuse the same right to other towns who wanted in on their success.[3] But let us now take a closer look at the individual provincial stranger communities.

Described by a mesmerised contemporary as "either a city in an orchard or an orchard in a city", sixteenth-century Norwich boasted the biggest exile community outside of London.[4] Here local authorities sought to attract Flemish craftsmen for the purpose of reinvigorating their economy in decline. The initial plan was to settle 30 master craftsmen and 300 accompanying servants. The Duke of Norfolk agreed with this plan in 1565. In a matter of mere months, however, the Norwich community soon expanded far beyond what was originally intended.[5] By August 1568 there were 339 Walloons living in Norwich and 1,132 Flemings. The following year, the stranger population had grown to 2,866.[6] Most of the exiles had previously come from London.[7] Not only would Norwich become the city with the highest number of strangers, it would also boast the second highest stranger-to-native ratio of all sixteenth-century English cities. By 1570, the town counted some 4,000 strangers out of 12,000 inhabitants. Three years later, 6,000 out of 16,000.[8]

Sandwich housed one of the earliest exile communities after London. The town had a share of Flemish émigrés that petitioned for official recognition of their community in May 1561. In the following years, around 150 people emigrated from London to Sandwich. As reasons for moving to Sandwich, Goose pointed out its proximity to Flanders, the cheaper housing costs when compared to London, and finally the fact that most who settled in Sandwich were Calvinist militants.[9] When exile Emanuel Van Meteren claimed the Flemish had repopulated many almost entirely deserted English towns and cities, he was certainly

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[1] D.L. Rickwood, "The Norwich Strangers", p. 121.
[2] F.W. Cross, "History of the Walloon & Huguenot Church at Canterbury." In: *PubHSL*, 15 (1898), p. 13.
[3] Ibidem, p. 19.
[4] P. Clark, "Introduction." In: P. Clark (ed.), *The European City and Green Space*, 2006, p. 1.
[5] N. Goose, "Introduction: Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England.", p. 18.
[6] P. Denis, "Pour une histoire economique et sociale des réfugiés wallons et flamands à Norwich au 16e siècle. Travaux récents et sources inexplorées." In: *Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique*, 1975, p. 475.
[7] N. Goose, "Introduction: Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England.", p. 18.
[8] P. Denis, "Pour une histoire economique", p. 473.
[9] N. Goose, "Introduction: Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England.", p. 20.

speaking the truth for as far as Sandwich was concerned.[1] Sandwich held the largest exile community in England after respectively London and Norwich. Slightly more impressive is that it was the only town in England that counted more strangers than native Englishmen (although some sources claim the same of Norwich).[2] Backhouse estimated that Sandwich counted 2,400 Flemish and 500 Walloon exiles in 1575, whereas the English population reached no more than 1,600.[3] Backhouse noted a few defining characteristics of the Sandwich strangers. Firstly, they married mostly members from within the community in Sandwich, thanks to the rather impressive size of their colony. Secondly, most children were given biblical names as was decided by the consistory. Thirdly, the deacons and elders at Sandwich were generally particularly wealthy.[4]

After London, Norwich and Sandwich, Canterbury had the next most impressive expatriate community in terms of size. Impressive as well was its longevity: "Established in 1575, it was probably the most resilient of the sixteenth-century planted communities, surviving into the eighteenth century."[5] Also worth mentioning is that Canterbury was technically home to one of the oldest stranger congregations in England, being formed after Archbishop Cranmer had invited reformers John à Lasco, Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius to join him at his seat in Canterbury.[6] When the stranger community at Sandwich had expanded beyond its initial proposed limits to such an extent, the city's sizeable community of Walloons – at least those who had not received permission to settle there – was forced to move to Canterbury, by orders of the Queen in 1575.[7] Initially Canterbury was to shelter no more than a hundred families, but by 1582 the strangers had reached the number of 1,679. By 1597 this number had climbed further to 2,068. Estimates have been made that the Walloons made up more than a third of Canterbury's population.[8] The immigrant community, especially the French, became even more numerous during the seventeenth century. J.M. Cowper calculated strangers formed half of Canterbury's St. Peter's parish halfway the seventeenth century.[9]

The earliest proof of Netherlandish strangers in Colchester was found in a letter, dated 23 October 1562, addressed to the consistory of Austin Friars by Jacobus Bucerus, minister to the Dutch-speaking congregation at Sandwich. In 1563, the city council of Colchester discussed how to deal with the "the takinge in of the numbre of Duchemen banished for Goddes worde. And for establishinge of their chuche in this towne".[10] In 1565, 55 people, divided over 11 households, moved from Sandwich to Colchester. By 1571, 177 out of 185 foreigners settled in the town were Dutch. In 1573 this number rose to 431 but the real boom came during the 1580s. In 1586, Colchester counted no fewer than 1,291 Dutch immigrants.[11] Although most sources dealing with the strangers in Colchester refer to them as 'the Dutch', the overall majority were actually Flemish.[12] Only when the stranger community gained its letters patent in 1571 would there be a noteworthy influx of non-Netherlandish strangers.[13] Roker stressed that the Protestant exiles were not the first Flemings to arrive in Colchester.

[1] J.G.C.A. Briels, "De emigratie in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden", p. 193.
[2] S. Slaughter, "Dutch Church in Norwich", p. 31.
[3] M. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, p. 32, 34.
[4] Ibidem, pp. 165-167.
[5] N. Goose, "Introduction: Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England.", p. 19.
[6] F.W. Cross, "History of the Walloon and Huguenot Church", p. 3.
[7] Ibidem, p. 19.
[8] N. Goose, "Introduction: Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England.", p. 19.
[9] J.M. Cowper, "The Foreign Element in the Parishes of St Peter and Holy Cross, Canterbury." In: *ProHSL*, 2 (1887-1888), p. 200.
[10] L.F. Roker, "The Flemish and Dutch Community in Colchester", p. 15.
[11] N. Goose, "Introduction: Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England.", p. 21.
[12] L.F. Roker, "The Flemish and Dutch Community in Colchester", p. 16.
[13] D.L. Rickwood, "The Norwich Strangers", p. 124.

Flemish merchants had been living there for over a century. Important to note is that they did not form separate congregations, joining existing Anglican parishes instead.[1]

Southampton's congregation was markedly smaller than the exile communities above. When exiles started arriving in 1567 the town's economy was not doing too badly. It has been argued that the strangers were so willingly accepted because Southampton was eager to expand its manufacturing that had long been found lacking. It sought the establishment of new drapery production in particular. In July 1567 letters patent allowed for the settlement of up to 40 households, consisting of no more than twelve persons (i.e. a maximum of 480 people).[2] The town housed a predominantly French-speaking community, originating from Hainaut rather than Flanders.[3] Goose noted that Southampton, as opposed to most of the other communities, did not rapidly exceed its quota. In 1584 the town counted 186 exile communicants among its ranks, in 1596 297. Goose hypothesised that the exile community would have died out completely in the seventeenth century if it had not been for an influx of French Huguenots during the 1660s.[4]

According to G.H. Overend, four successive strangers congregations can be distinguished in Dover. The first was a Dutch-speaking church which was established under Queen Elizabeth; the second French, existing a mere two years under James I; the third Walloon, which was founded in 1646; the fourth another French church, established after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.[5] Most of Dover's first generation of refugees, just like those from Sandwich, came from the Westkwartier.[6] In 1571 it counted 277 men, women and children, most of whom were active in the town's dormant textile industry. The congregation at Dover seems to have been particularly destitute, "pleading poverty and paucity of numbers" in 1578 and 1586. Goose claimed they held out for another while, even though they had lost half their numbers in one year's time by May 1595.[7] Overend posited two reasons for the brevity of the strangers' stay in the Kentish port town. Firstly, the scarcity of labour opportunities is to blame, as the town offered little else than employment in the shipping business. Yet most important of all, Overend claims, is the government's general reluctance to settle foreigners in Dover. They feared "the danger that might arise if a large body of aliens were allowed to take up their residence in a port offering so convenient a landing-place in case of a foreign invasion."[8] Yet one might wonder why the Privy Council was so eager then to settle strangers in any of the other port towns they came to inhabit?

King's Lynn hosted an exile community numbering 226 people in 1570. Otherwise little else is known of its history, however.[9] It may be assumed that the town's congregation was not destined for longevity either.

The local authorities of Maidstone presented a petition to Queen Elizabeth in June 1567, requesting permission for the "receipte and placynge within the same Towne of the number of 3 score families of the straungers peregrines and artificers of the severall faculties and misteries herunder mentioned". The trades they were allowed to exercise were those of baize and say maker, as well as the manufacture of mockadoes (mock velvet), russels (a kind of satin), diapers (patterned linen cloth), armour, paper, hats, Spanish leather, tiles and bricks, and "many other artes and sciences which are not there knowen beinge both necessary and

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[1] L.F. Roker, "The Flemish and Dutch Community in Colchester", p. 16.
[2] N. Goose, "Introduction: Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England.", pp. 22-23.
[3] R. Fagel, "Immigrant Roots", pp. 52-53.
[4] N. Goose, "Introduction: Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England.", p. 23.
[5] G.H. Overend, "Strangers at Dover, Part I, 1558-1644." In: *ProHSL*, 3 (1892), p. 91.
[6] L. Vandamme, "Charles Vasquez", pp. 129-132.
[7] N. Goose, "Introduction: Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England.", p. 26.
[8] G.H. Overend, "Strangers at Dover", p. 91.
[9] N. Goose, "Introduction: Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England.", p. 27.

proffitable for the comon wealthe".[1] In early 1568, Maidstone was settled by some thirty families from the Low Countries.[2] Maidstone was an exceptionally suitable town to receive the new exiles, in that it had developed a reputation of ardent Protestantism from early on. During the reign of Mary, the town had petitioned the Queen to retain its Anglican services. Later when Sir Thomas Wyatt launched his rebellion against the match between Mary and Philip II, Maidstone soon followed suit. Mary, rather fed up with the town's heretical fervour, rescinded its municipal and parliamentary rights for the remainder of her reign.[3] The history of the town's exiles is rather obscure, seeing as all the consistory records of Maidstone's stranger church have perished.[4]

On 12 July 1576 the Privy Council approved of the relocation of some stranger families from Colchester to Halstead.[5] In less than four years, however, all the Netherlanders at Halstead had left again. Hardy assumed most returned to Colchester. The inhabitants of Halstead greatly lamented the exodus of the stranger craftsmen as they had brought the town wealth and labour opportunity. Their swift departure seemed to have stemmed from disagreement with the English baize makers.[6] The initial thirty families were ordered to return to Halstead by way of the Privy Council, although ultimately it mattered little. By 1589 all strangers had permanently left the town.[7]

An even smaller Dutch congregation was to be found in Ipswich, counting no more than 10 or 12 families initially. It was "rarely noticed, and it was clearly precarious and short-lived, its minister writing in 1571 that it rested 'only on the verbal and temporary permission of the magistrate without any written license of Her Majesty'".[8] The Netherlandish congregation at Ipswich must, however, have been sufficiently numerous in order to form a separate church congregation. A letter dated 17 February 1573 was addressed to the Dutch Christians of Norwich, Thetford and Ipswich. The year before, a will listed a donation of 5 pounds to the Dutch church of Ipswich. The congregation was not destined for longevity however. It soon "dwindled away as to leave no lasting record of its existence", according to Vincent Redstone.[9]

Finally, there were several smaller exile communities scattered throughout South and East England that, most likely, hardly exceeded a hundred or so strangers in the sixteenth century. We know little and less of the few dozen Netherlandish immigrants in Yarmouth as none of its consistory records have survived.[10] The stranger community in Thetford is even more obscure, seeing as all we know is that it existed. "The chief Ducheman" and his fellow strangers were to "have the Guyldhall for to use as their Churche untill they shall have a more convenient place for them appointed".[11] Winchelsea was, at least for a short period of time, home to some Flemish baize and say makers. They soon moved elsewhere because according to Edward Yates there were insufficient labour opportunities in the "decayed town".[12] W.J. Hardy found traces of French and Flemish householders at Rye from 1564 onwards, some of whom he believes were religious exiles. The community remained fairly small, however, as

[1] V. Morant, "The Settlement of Protestant Refugees in Maidstone", p. 211.
[2] L. Vandamme, "Charles Vasquez", p. 135.
[3] V. Morant, "The Settlement of Protestant Refugees in Maidstone", pp. 211-212.
[4] A. Spicer, "Consistory Records", p. 654.
[5] R. Lemon and M.A.E. Green, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, vol. I, p. 525.
[6] W.J. Hardy, "Foreign Settlers at Colchester and Halstead." In: *ProHSL*, 2 (1887-1888), pp. 194-195.
[7] N. Goose, "Introduction: Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England.", p. 26.
[8] N. Goose, "Introduction: Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England.", p. 27.
[9] V.B. Redstone, "The Dutch and Huguenot Settlers at Ipswich." In: *ProHSL*, 12 (1924), p. 185, 187.
[10] A. Spicer, "Consistory Records", p. 654.
[11] V.B. Redstone, "The Dutch and Huguenot Settlers at Ipswich.", p. 186.
[12] E. Yates, "Sandwich, Rye, Winchelsea, Three of the Cinque Ports to Which the Huguenots Came." In: *ProHSL*, 18 (1951), p. 394.

by 1568 they only amounted to some 83 men (the source did not include women or children). Most were Frenchmen from Rouen and Dieppe, with a mere 10 people listed as "Wallounes and Fleminges".[1] The town of Rye witnessed a considerable influx of French Huguenots, though only after the events following the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre.[2] Furthermore a community seems to have obtained letters patent to settle at Stamford – near Sandwich – in 1567, although that is about all we know.[3] D.W. Davies claimed there was also a Dutch stranger settlement at Boston, Lincolnshire, though we have found no other sources supporting this claim.[4]

There were of course Netherlanders living in other locations throughout England, e.g. the university cities of Oxford and Cambridge, but most of these immigrants had moved abroad before the first waves of religious exile from the Low Countries.[5] A partial exception is formed by Devonshire in South-West England, which was home to both Dutch and French-speaking communities. The later Flemish congregation at Taunton retraced its roots to a colony of Flemish textile manufacturers who had settled there during the reign of Edward I, 'Hammer of the Scots'. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 they were joined by a Huguenot congregation.[6]

No sources have been found mentioning strangers living in distinctively rural surroundings, although of course one has to keep in mind that not every Netherlandish exile lived in a city the size of Norwich – not to mention London, with a population estimated at 200,000.[7] A fraction of the strangers went to live in smaller towns, such as Maidstone or Dover. A common strategy, when competition became too fierce in a rapidly growing exile community, was to establish satellite colonies in nearby towns. Exiles from Colchester and Norwich, for instance, relocated to respectively Halstead and Thetford. That the establishment of these satellite communities was rarely a success has been illustrated above.

b. "Strangers Within the Gates"[8]

The following subchapter deals with the exiles' use of space within their destination of choice: where did they choose to meet and socialise; did they rent houses or were some able to afford property of their own; were they spread all across the cities they inhabited, or did they tend to live in the same neighbourhoods?

Very similar to their stay in Paris during the 1580s, the English Catholics tended to rent a room or part of a house – whatever they found economically feasible.[9] They rarely stuck together in the same neighbourhoods, like the Netherlandish strangers were prone to do, and were furthermore incredibly mobile. Take for instance the Countess of Northumberland who moved from Bruges to Mechlin and from Mechlin to Brussels, all in the timespan of two decades.[10] Some exiles, who were either successfully earning a living or who had been able to

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[1] W.J. Hardy, "Foreign Settlers at Rye." In: *ProHSL*, 2 (1887-1888), pp. 414-415.

[2] M. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, p. 91.

[3] A. Spicer, "Consistory Records", p. 643; M. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, p. 11.

[4] D.W. Davies, *Dutch Influences of English Culture*, p. 5.

[5] R. Fagel, *Voortrekkers, cultuurdragers, emigranten*, p. 58.

[6] C.E. Lart, "The Huguenot Settlement and Churches in the West of England." In: *ProHSL*, 7 (1901-1904), pp. 286-287.

[7] J. Selwood, *Diversity and Difference*, p. 21.

[8] Title after Raingard Esser's essay; Esser, Raingard. "Strangers Within the Gates: Dutch and Walloon Refugees in Norwich." In: *Westhoek*, 8 (1992), 1, pp. 28-34.

[9] K. Gibbons, *English Catholic exiles in late sixteenth-century Paris*, pp. 66-67.

[10] R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés Anglais*, p. 49,

secure their wealth, could afford to buy a house. Writer slash intelligencer slash printer Richard Verstegan profited from the religious troubles in Antwerp during the 1580s to purchase a stately home at a discount.[1] Maurice Chauncy was able to afford a home for himself and his Carthusian monks, though only after begging Sir Francis Englefield for Spanish alms.[2] It is safe to assume, however, that most were not fortunate enough to do so. Scholars and clergy were generally at an advantage when it came to procuring a roof above their heads. Clergy could enter an English or a Netherlandish monastic order. The scholars accumulating at Louvain and Douai could find boarding with the universities. As a matter of fact, Louvain boasted an Oxford and a Canterbury House at the time.[3] Laypeople who could not afford to buy or rent a home had to depend on the compassion of their contacts in the Netherlands. The Countess of Northumberland and her husband were invited to stay at the townhouse of Cardinal Granvelle, for instance.[4]

A situation similar again to that in Paris during the 1580s is that the universities were exceptionally suited not only for the intellectual pursuits of the exiles, but also as location for their social interactions. "Alongside intellectual and academic exchange it allowed them to interact with their hosts, to appeal to their continental coreligionists, and to articulate their identity as Catholic exiles", Gibbons noted.[5] Besides the universities, the English émigrés tended to frequent outposts of the Jesuits – such as the seminary at Douai. These houses of the Society have been given their due credit as centres facilitating radicalisation in exile.[6] Another important place where the émigrés encountered one another were their printing houses. Those owned by John Fowler in Louvain and Richard Verstegan in Antwerp were frequented by the ever-mobile English exile.[7] Finally, especially suited for the kind of backroom, behind closed doors shady dealing the English refugees were always being accused of were, of course, their own homes. The home of Lady Jane Dormer the Elder, mother to the Countess of Northumberland, was perhaps – after the university – the busiest hub for exiled social life in Louvain.[8] So too Dom Maurice Chauncy's Carthusian house in Bruges became a safe haven from spies employed by the Elizabethan government.[9]

"We live in a good street, where many people pass by, and it is close to the market and the church" Ms. Rollier proudly reported to her friend at home.[10] As related above, the Netherlandish exiles were usually to be found living near each other in the same neighbourhoods in a select few towns across the south-east of England. First of all, one ought to keep in mind that a sizeable proportion of the stranger population did not plan on settling permanently (which applies to London first and foremost). There is a wide gap in the intended longevity of the stay of, for instance, merchants residing in London and the craftsmen living in the east's provincial towns.[11] Many would have found buying a house unfeasible, but also unnecessary if they were intent on returning to the Low Countries at the earliest convenience. In the small stranger community at Ipswich, for instance, the assessment rolls of 1580 and '83

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[1] P. Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World*, p. 36.
[2] R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés Anglais*, pp. 27-28.
[3] T.F. Knox (ed.), *The First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douay*, p. xix.
[4] R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés Anglais*, p. 30.
[5] K. Gibbons, *English Catholic exiles in late sixteenth-century Paris*, p. 75.
[6] G.H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 88.
[7] R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés Anglais*, p. 50.
[8] A. Morey, *The Catholic Subjects of Elizabeth I*, p. 98.
[9] R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés Anglais*, pp. 27-28.
[10] Translation: "ende dat wy in een goede passage wonen, daer zeere wele wolck liet, ende es by der maert en by de kerke." H.Q. Janssen, "Hervormde vlugtelingen", p. 237.
[11] A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 216.

listed only two Netherlanders who possessed a house of their own.[1] Renting a place would have been preferable to most, even if they had to share with other families. One example is London's Tower Ward, where it was possible to wander into a single house that had no fewer than nineteen Netherlanders living in it.[2]

Today we are fairly well-informed of the strangers' residence patterns in London especially. Selwood stressed that many of the Netherlanders pouring into London during the second half of the sixteenth century experienced great difficulty in trying to secure a place of residence. To find appropriate housing "meant negotiating their way through an elaborate web of organizations, from guilds and churches to the courts and councils of civic and national government."[3] Therefore it should offer little surprise that many of the refugees chose to live in the liberties, where they were not as burdened by the regulations and restrictions imposed on those living in the city.[4] The precinct of St. Katherine's, for instance, was very conveniently situated for strangers, Scouloudi argued. It lay right next to the Thames and thus offered easy access for water transport. Furthermore, the masters of St. Katherine had no qualms about populating the liberty with strangers, judging by the size of their community there.[5] Although exiles tended to settle near and next to each other in the same neighbourhoods, it ought to be emphasised that they were not forced to do so by the authorities. In London the strangers tended to huddle together in five relatively poor wards, most of them near the city walls. These wards – and the number of strangers living within them in 1593 – were respectively Bishopsgate (577), Farringdon Within (491), Aldgate (394), Langeborne (332) and Bridge Without (308). Selwood stressed that these statistics take no account of strangers living "beyond the 'bars' of the city" (i.e. the liberties).[6] When looking beyond absolute numbers, the wards of Aldgate, Dowgate, the Tower, Billingsgate and Langborne boasted the biggest shares of strangers, each comprising more than 10 percent of the adult male population. East Smithfield was comprised of at least 20 percent strangers.[7] In Maidstone all the exiles settled in the same borough of Wyke.[8]

The main reason why the strangers encountered so many obstacles in trying to obtain a place of residence in London was their vague legal status. As opposed to the exile settlements in the provincial towns of Norwich, Colchester, etc., where religious and economic privileges went hand in hand, Londoner exiles had no legal documents stipulating their economic privileges.[9] One of these privileges was of course the right to rent or buy a home in the city. This did not prove so much of a problem until 1564, when the Court of Aldermen issued a law prohibiting non-denizens (i.e. aliens) to rent within the city.[10] The main way to circumvent this problem – as well as the added taxes and restrictions – was to obtain letters of denization; a strategy many of the Londoner exiles opted for.[11] Naturally there were plenty of strangers who took their chances and decided to rent illegally, but they always lived with the threat of being exposed to the local authorities.[12] That enough benevolent landlords could find it in their hearts to rent out lodgings to the Netherlandish exiles is attested to by sixteenth-century

[1] V.B. Redstone, "The Dutch and Huguenot Settlers at Ipswich.", p. 185.
[2] R.E.G. Kirk, and E.F. Kirk (eds.), "Returns of Aliens", p. 391.
[3] J. Selwood, *Diversity and Difference*, p. 19.
[4] I. Scouloudi, "Alien Immigration and Alien Communities in London", p. 32.
[5] I. Scouloudi, "Notes on Strangers in the Precinct of St. Katherine-by-the-Tower c. 1500-1687, and on the Flemish Cemetery." In: *ProHSGB*, 25 (1989), pp. 77-78.
[6] J. Selwood, *Diversity and Difference*, p. 32.
[7] J. Selwood, *Diversity and Difference*, p. 33.
[8] V. Morant, "The Settlement of Protestant Refugees in Maidstone", p. 212.
[9] L. Luu, "Natural-Born Versus Stranger-Born Subjects", pp. 57-58.
[10] A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 284.
[11] R. Fagel, *Voortrekkers, cultuurdragers, emigranten*, p. 28.
[12] A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 283.

Londoner theater. A recurring trope in contemporary drama was that of the native Englishman unable to find appropriate lodgings in the city, because everything was rented out to strangers. An example is to be found in Robert Wilson's *The Three Ladies* where a naive landlord is advised to reap huge profits from her stranger tenants by a shady Italian character named Mercatore:

> "Let dem to strangers dat are content
> To dwell in a little room and to pay much rent.
> For you know da Frenchmans and Flemings in dis country be many,
> So dat they make shift to dwell ten houses in one very gladly
> And be content a for pay fifty or threescore pound a year
> For dat which Englishman say twenty mark is too dear."[1]

The surest way for guaranteed smooth sailing was to acquire both a letter of denization and the freedom of the City of London, whereupon strangers became 'free denizens'. This process was "neither cheap nor easy", as it required approval from either the crown or someone high up the bureaucratic food chain.[2]

Particularly striking about the exiles in London, Colchester, Ipswich, Devonshire, and possibly other exile communities in England, is that they merged with earlier, pre-existing Flemish colonies.[3] Oftentimes they went to live in the same neighbourhoods. These colonies had become well-assimilated into English culture (the Returns of 1567 listed several "Duchemen" that had been living in London for over fifty years)[4], however, and presumably attended Anglican parish churches rather than the exiles' stranger churches. English Catholic exile Richard Verstegan, for instance, was the grandson of a Dutchman from Gelderland who had migrated to London around 1500.[5]

Other than sticking close to their countrymen, the choice of where to settle was usually dictated by their professional occupations. Dorman described the rationale behind their settlement in the provincial towns of the south-east.

> "The workers in sayes, bayes, and flannel, fixed themselves at Sandwich, at the mouth of a river which had communication with the interior parts of Kent, and afforded them an easy export to the Continent. The silkworkers settled higher up upon the banks of the same river, at Canterbury. The workers in thread seated themselves upon the Medway, at Maidstone."[6]

Life for the strangers was not all work and no play, however. The social life of the Netherlandish exiles centred around the exile churches; their social role being "as important as their spiritual function".[7]

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[1] D.W. Davies, *Dutch Influences of English Culture*, p. 27.
[2] L. Luu, "Natural-Born Versus Stranger-Born Subjects", p. 62.
[3] P. Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World*, p. 14; L.F. Roker, "The Flemish and Dutch Community in Colchester", p. 16; V.B. Redstone, "The Dutch and Huguenot Settlers at Ipswich.", pp. 183-184; C.E. Lart, "The Huguenot Settlement and Churches in the West of England." pp. 286-287.
[4] R.E.G. Kirk, and E.F. Kirk (eds.), "Returns of Aliens", pp. 317-365.
[5] M. Netzloff, "The English Colleges and the English Nation: Allen, Persons, Verstegan, and Diasporic Nationalism." In: R. Corthell (ed.), et al., *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England*, 2007, p. 247.
[6] T. Dorman, "Notes on the Dutch, Walloons, and Huguenots at Sandwich in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." In: *ProHSL*, II (1887-1888), pp. 210-211.
[7] A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 205.

"the temple had come to represent the very heart of the exile community; it was the one place where they gathered together en masse. It was the hub of the community's religious life; it is where they met for worship, listened to sermons, and scripture and sang the psalms; baptised their infants; catechized their young and assembled for the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The temple served as a communal focal point at times of adversity or celebration – often related to the fluctuating fortunes of their co-religionists on the continent – where they met for prayers and fasting, or services of thanksgiving."[1]

It goes without saying that the gravitational pull of the stranger churches was strongest amongst those who had fled the religious persecution of mainland Europe. The churches offered them not only a place to openly practice their contested faith, but also to get in touch with those who had suffered the same fate. Once more we are best informed of London's stranger churches, the Dutch-speaking congregation of Austin Friars and the French-speaking of St. Anthony's. Although members of the stranger congregations only made up half of London's foreign population during Edward's reign, Pettegree points out we would do well not to underestimate the influence held by the stranger churches among the foreign communities. Their services were attended by many who never, or at least not initially, became full members. To obtain full membership was, after all, preceded by "intensive doctrinal instruction" which many potential followers might have shied away from, avoiding the "public scrutiny of their beliefs" in front of the congregation.[2] Rickwood stressed that the Dutch exile congregations were more than mere churches. In the first letters patent granted by Edward VI, the stranger congregation was denoted with the term *corpus corporatum et politicum*, "a corporate and political body", signifying they were a nation as well as a church. There was a distinction between both terms, regardless of their intimate connection, and the stranger congregations' identity as nations "sometimes occupied the greater place".[3]

Lien Luu, indeed, emphasised there were other convincing reasons for strangers to apply for church membership, rather than just religious convictions. Firstly, exiles were offered "a measure of social identity and representation" through their membership of a congregation that operated in their native language. Secondly, they chanced upon a "meeting place for strangers uprooted from their homelands". Here the foreigners found support from people who had experienced similar adversities, suffering the same hardships and prejudices. Thirdly, a "place of information exchange" where they had easy access to established communication channels from and back to the home front. Fourthly, the economic support offered by the stranger churches. They served as "sources of alms and reliefs", helping the exiles to survive in an environment that was extremely competitive, if not, outright hostile. In the fifth and last place, the function of representation as mentioned above. Stranger churches often acted as intermediaries between their worshippers and the government, "petitioning the Queen and the Privy Council on behalf of their members for protection against informers and for securing privileges."[4]

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[1] A. Spicer, "'A Place of Refuge and Sanctuary of a Holy Temple.': Exile Communities and the Stranger Churches." In: N. Goose (ed.), et al., *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, 2005, p. 91.
[2] A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 78.
[3] D.L. Rickwood, "The Norwich Strangers", p. 119.
[4] L. Luu, "Natural-Born Versus Stranger-Born Subjects", pp. 68-69.

(Fig. 9) The western crypt of Canterbury Cathedral which the
stranger congregation was allowed to use for its services.
F.W. Cross, "History of the Walloon and Huguenot Church at Canterbury."

Of course, church was not the only place the Netherlandish exiles gathered. Held in high regard as they were for brewing ale, the strangers were generous patrons of local taverns and alehouses – even if it was to the great dismay of the stranger church consistories. "Fighters, dronckardes, whooremongers, streete walkers by nighte, contencious or rebellious parsons" did not go down well with the congregations.[1] Most cases the church consistories dealt with can be broken down into the basic vices not only Calvinism sought to combat, but also Tridentine Catholicism: adultery, drunken excesses, gambling and – Catholicism to a lesser degree – dancing. Pettegree has it that the consistories were especially severe where wanton behaviour was concerned if it had come to the attention of English authorities. Those who were dragged before the magistrate could expect a stern lecture from the consistory upon release at the very least.[2]

c. Mobility of the exiles

That keeping track of the movements of exiles within – and without – their host environments is a job not be taken lightly was attested to by Lechat, who voiced his utter frustration at trying to pin down the Catholic exiles.

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[1] S. Slaughter, "Dutch Church in Norwich", p. 36.
[2] A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 188-189.

"La comtesse de Northumberland habite successivement Bruges, Malines, Bruxelles. Le comte de Westmoreland réside à Anvers puis à Louvain. Englefield est tantôt à Louvain, tantôt à Bruges, tantôt à Anvers. Et ce n'est pas seulement d'une ville à l'autre des Pays-Bas qu'ils circulent; ils entreprennent des voyages à travers l'Europe, ils courent à Rome, à Paris, à Madrid. On dirait vraiment qu'on voyageait aussi aisément en ce temps-là qu'aujourd'hui!"[1]

Likewise, Sir Thomas Copley sent letters from successively Antwerp, Lier, Huy, Louvain and Paris between July 1576 and December 1577.[2] The same is true for some of the Protestant exiles, although they rarely ventured outside of the present-day regions of the South East and East of England. Take Paschier Clarebote, a Flemish wool comber, who arrived in London in 1561. He moved to Sandwich, sometime before 1563. Clarebote relocated again, to Norwich this time, in 1565. By 1581 he appears to have been living in Thetford.[3] The motivations for mobility within the host country are more or less self-evident: individuals could be trying to cope with overpopulation, avoiding tensions with the native community or simply looking for new economic opportunities. It is exceptionally interesting, however, to look at the mobility and travel between host and native country.

First of all, mobility between host and native country tended to be a rather clandestine affair. Once an exile had left the Netherlands or England behind without due permission from the authorities, they were liable for arrest upon returning to the fatherland. Exiles who had been banished by the government could reasonably expect to be executed if they were caught. "Cultural and territorial commuting"[4] was risky business.

The Netherlandish exiles who wished to pay a visit back home or to return home indefinitely had to be well-prepared, as Marcel Backhouse stressed:

"To travel to and fro between England and the Westkwartier, when a mistake or misfortune could result in an arrest by the Flemish authorities, required very skillful planning and organization, especially in these cases where exiles carried with them their movable possessions."[5]

Although Pieter de Wulf of Norwich still had business to attend to in the Netherlands, he was all but eager to make the journey. "Seeing as I feel I have not wronged the king", de Wulf expressed, he was afraid to appear "before the duke [of Alba's Council of Troubles]".[6] In like manner a certain Hylle, who had expressed his desire to visit his family back home, was discouraged to do so, on the grounds of the crossing being "ser perykelus" (very dangerous). "I pray you not to do it", a worried relative wrote, "for I would be miserable were you to suffer".[7] The same sentiment was expressed in Pauwels de Coene's letter to his wife, dated 21 August 1567: "For the journey, as we have come to understand, grows daily more perilous,

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[1] R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés Anglais*, p. 49.
[2] T. Copley and R. Copley Christie (ed.), *Letters of Sir Thomas Copley*, pp. 87-110.
[3] R. Esser, "Strangers within the Gates", pp. 29-30.
[4] D. Graizbord, "Becoming Jewish in Early Modern France", p. 149.
[5] M. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, p. 147.
[6] Translation, full excerpt: "om dat ic zoude moeten co[m]pareren, als ghy scrijft voor den duck, jeghens den welcken ic niet en weet yet uutstaens te hebben, overmidts ic niet misdaen en meene te hebben jeghens den coninck." H.Q. Janssen, "Hervormde vlugtelingen", p. 257.
[7] Translation: "Ic soude u bijdden dat ghijt nyet doen en sout, want ic drouve soude sijn dat ghy in lyden campt" A.L.E. Verheyden, "Une Correspondance inédite", p. 180.

and will become more perilous as the devil becomes more enraged."[1] The authorities in the Netherlands were highly suspicious of all and any who had left for England and later returned, after all. Not even the local clergy's assurance of continued religious good conduct and orthodoxy upon return was deemed sufficient to ward off the authorities' deep mistrust.[2]

The English Catholics fared hardly any better when trying to return to England unharmed – or even trying to obtain permission to do so. Sir Thomas Copley is the example par excellence of the penitent exile who sent one letter after another to Elizabeth and her councilors, seeking permission to return to England absolved of prosecution. "All I seeke", Copley wrote, "is but the restitution of min owne so manny yeers deteined from me, the quiett of my conscience, and securite of my person which the Lawes at home deny me". Most of all, Copley feared the reprisals of his enemies at court – "whom I doubt not I should find eager inough to persue me", he solemnly noted.[3] Another penitent exile, eager to return, was William Gifford. In a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, he begged the Secretary of State "to live in oure naturall soyle under the protection of hir Majestie", provided he could do so in freedom of conscience.[4] Gifford never set foot on English soil again, although it might have come as a minor comfort that he would succeed the archbishop of Rheims in 1621, however.[5]

Regardless of the risk involved, many brave English and Netherlandish exiles chose to cross the Channel. The English Catholics, who were arguably more isolated from their families, seem not to have done so as fervently as their Netherlandish counterparts have.[6] They were particularly mobile on the continent, travelling between the Low Countries, Rome, Spain and Paris with relative ease. The Southern Netherlands were the first stop for English Catholics en route to Rome, the so-called "imperial route".[7] A necessary caveat is that the obscure mass of English commoners is less likely to have been so mobile, devoid of funds and contacts as they presumably were. Returning home, then, seems to have been a completely different matter, however. The English émigrés, it might be argued, were hoping for a turning of the tables like was supposed to happen with the Armada of 1588, but gave up all hopes when that failed and anti-Catholic sentiment reached a sixteenth-century *nec plus ultra*. An exception exists in the form of the English mission, which will be treated below. Sir Thomas Copley's son John tried visiting England around 1590, but the manner of his visit was most probably not as he had intended it to be. John Copley was arrested at sea and held prisoner in London for a while.[8]

The Netherlandish exiles were of an entirely different sort. Charles Littleton argued that Netherlandish exiles did in fact keep in touch with the home-front and regularly, even under perilous circumstances, made visits to friends and family left behind in the Low Countries. His research showed "the continuing involvement of the strangers with the affairs of the continent", driven by the desire to participate in the Revolt as well as economic motivations. Craftsmen and merchants among the strangers travelled between England and the Low Countries to purchase trade goods, supplies, or to sell the fruit of their labour. Littleton cited the example of Pierre Heuzeck, who "confessed to Habsburg officials in 1563-4 that many of the fellow exiles he had known in London crossed over frequently to purchase cloth and other supplies at the market at Hazebrouck."[9] Esser too remarked on the

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[1] Translation: "Want de reysen, zoo wy verstaen, zijn daghelix periculeuser, en periculeuser werden zullen, mits dat den duvel te meer rasende werden zal." H.Q. Janssen, "Hervormde vlugtelingen", p. 225.
[2] A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 238.
[3] T. Copley and R. Copley Christie (ed.), *Letters of Sir Thomas Copley*, p. 159, 80.
[4] W. Allen and T.F. Knox (ed.), *Letters and Memorials of William, Cardinal Allen*, p. 262.
[5] J. Gillow, *Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*, vol. II, p. 460.
[6] L. Vandamme, "Charles Vasquez", p. 134.
[7] J. Bossy, "Rome and the Elizabethan Catholics", p. 135
[8] G. Anstruther (ed.), *The Seminary Priest: A Dictionary of the Secular Clergy*, vol. I, p. 87.
[9] C.G.D. Littleton, "The Strangers, their Churches and the Continent", pp. 178-179, 181.

extraordinary mobility of the Netherlandish exiles, whom oftentimes spent only a very brief spell abroad before either returning home or repairing to the Republic.[1]

However it needs to be mentioned that the political climate in the Southern Netherlands was far more unstable during this period than in England. With the notable exception of the failed Spanish Armada of 1588, the Church of England showed little sign of gently rolling over. There was little incentive to return as long as nothing major occurred. The central, maritime provinces of the Low Countries, on the other hand, changed loyalties more than once over the course of the century and not always voluntarily. Returning home seemed a worthwhile gamble for an exile from Ghent who, in a mere decade, witnessed an evolution in his or her hometown from repression to relaxation to severe repression to a full-blown Calvinist republic. Au contraire, a Catholic émigré from Derby would have only seen matters grow worse over the years.

A unique form of mobility between host and native country, as well as a splendid point of comparison between both refugee communities, is that of the exile students, priests and ministers. Like the Catholics who were drilled at the English seminaries by the Jesuits in an effort to support Catholicism in England, many of the Dutch exiles were to return to the Low Countries as meticulously trained Calvinist ministers.

Although hardly ever studied as a form of mobility, the movement between England and the continent that has received the most study by far is that of the English mission. Initiated by William Allen's establishment of the seminary of Douai in 1568, several hundreds of missionary priests would be sent to England over the course of a few decades. Although Allen preferred calling them "spirituall labourers"[2], Elizabeth's government coined the term 'seminary priests' to differentiate the students of Douai, Rome, Rheims and Seville from the Marian 'Massing priests'.[3] According to Pritchard, 803 students were educated at these seminaries during the reign of Elizabeth. 649 would ultimately be sent to England, of which 377 were imprisoned and 133 were executed.[4] A mission to England had never been Allen's plan from the beginning, however. At first, Douai was intended to be a 'dissident university' of sorts. A foundation to replenish the Marian clergy in exile as they inevitably came to pass, so there would still be pastoral care for the English Catholic exiles as they awaited the natural restoration of the Roman Catholic Church in England.[5] Bossy compared their task in England to that of a travelling salesman. The seminary priest represented an old company whose image had been blemished and was now beset on all sides by competitors with fresh, new ideas. Add to that the fact that the goods they peddled were illegal and we can begin to grasp why the priests catered to a select crowd.[6] The missionaries in England would usually stay with a recusant gentry family who offered them room and boarding; in return the priests would hold mass for their hosts' family and servants, serving as a spiritual councilor of sorts. Allen remained steadfast in his belief that the seminary priests were not simply disposable cannon fodder, sent to endure torture on the rack in a vain effort to spread Catholicism in England. "I have made alwayes such choise and difference in addressinge them towards England, that I nether sent all that wold and perchaunce could do good there", Allen wrote to Maurice Chauncy. The missionary priests were only the select few, the most

[1] R. Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten*, p. 23.
[2] W. Allen and T.F. Knox (ed.), *Letters and Memorials of William, Cardinal Allen*, p. 35.
[3] G. Anstruther (ed.), *The Seminary Priest: A Dictionary of the Secular Clergy*, vol. I, p. ix.
[4] A. Pritchard, *Catholic Loyalism*, p. 8.
[5] J. Bossy, "The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism.", p. 46.
[6] J. Bossy, *The English Catholic Community*, p. 20.

learned and skilled, "and some so well lerned that they might have passed with aestimation to any degree of divinitye in our universities when they florished more then they do nowe."[1]

The Netherlandish stranger church of London had ambitions quite similar to Cardinal Allen's. From 1576 onwards, funds were set aside at Austin Friars to have a select few promising young men enroll at the Academy of Geneva.[2] Others went to Heidelberg; later they studied in Ghent, Leiden and Neustadt as well. Annually three students were sent to study abroad, starting from 1576. A few years later, the French church started doing the same.[3] When it was too expensive or too dangerous to send a student to one of the continental Calvinist academies, Austin Friars' best and brightest were sent to Cambridge's Sidney Sussex College instead: "England's own militant Protestant stronghold".[4] It seems strange that proponents were still being sent to Geneva and Heidelberg, while a Protestant university had been established at Leiden in 1574, specifically with the education of reformed ministers in mind. Boersma believed the consistory of Austin Friars wanted their new ministers to be perfectly multilingual (including Latin, French and, if possible, German), which was easier to accomplish in Geneva or Heidelberg than at Leiden.[5] Similarly, one might ask why so few students were educated at Oxford and Cambridge. The first and principal reason is of course that these universities offered studies in Anglican theology, catering to a different crowd than the stranger churches. Secondly and less obviously, one should also keep in mind that the English universities were lagging behind when compared to those of the continent until late in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.[6] Initially, the Dutch Church wanted the students they had funded to minister to the Dutch in London after they had completed their studies. However, by early 1578, Austin Friars was being swamped with requests from Flanders. In the span of a few months Courtrai, Oudezeele, Ghent and Cassel each requested the services of a trained minister for their congregations. Assuerus Regenmortel, for instance, had received a request from the reformed church in Antwerp to serve as one of its ministers. Austin Friars objected, claiming Regenmortel could go as long as Antwerp paid back the money they had invested into his studies.[7]

There is a remarkable parallel here. Just like the English seminary at Douai was initially intended to be some sort of a 'reservoir' where exiled English pastoral care could be preserved, the strangers at first did not plan on providing the Low Countries with their future ministers. Once Douai and Austin Friars grew aware of a rising demand for young, audacious, militant and well-educated 'spiritual labourers', they radically altered their goals and started fostering more ambitious designs. This is a topic well worth further exploring – especially from a comparative point of view.

d. The public sphere: 'International Calvinism' and… 'International Catholicism'?

In these past few years, scholars have started to challenge Jürgen Habermas's assertions that the concept of a 'public sphere' only came in to being during the eighteenth century.

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[1] W. Allen and T.F. Knox (ed.), *Letters and Memorials of William, Cardinal Allen*, p. 32.
[2] A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 257.
[3] O. Boersma, *Vluchtig voorbeeld*, p. 217, 256.
[4] C.M. Billing, "The Dutch Diaspora in English Comedy", p. 126.
[5] O. Boersma, *Vluchtig voorbeeld*, pp. 217-218.
[6] G. Elton, "England and the Continent in the Sixteenth Century." In: D. Baker (ed.), *Reform and Reformation: England and the Continent c. 1550 – c. 1750*, 1979, p. 9.
[7] O. Boersma, *Vluchtig voorbeeld*, pp. 213-214, 218.

Historians increasingly cling to the idea that there already was a public space in the seventeenth, and – dare we say – perhaps even the sixteenth century. Pollmann and Spicer list two main reasons why it took so long before the periodization of the public sphere was drawn into question. First, the concepts conceived by Habermas "seemed to chime so beautifully with the 'confessionalization' theory" that came to the forefront during the 1970s, a theory resting on the principle of the increasingly powerful early modern state. When scholars gradually came to realise state power was perhaps not as absolute as it had seemed to be – and thus the need to cater to public opinion far greater – Habermas's choice for the eighteenth century was more widely disputed. Second, Habermas conceptualised his public sphere as a distinctively secular phenomenon. However, historians have since studied examples of sizeable groups of civilians bringing religious dispute into the public space during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. According to Pollmann and Spicer, Habermas overemphasised the divide between secular and religious, as the preceding centuries knew equally lively political debate yet inherently religious in nature.[1]

Terpstra called the reformations in early modern Europe an "effort to build imagined communities of faith by means of exile and enclosure".[2] Through methods of exclusion as well as inclusion, Catholics and Protestants alike sought to create idealised, pure and godly communities on a local level, but at the same time transcending national borders by forming a connected pan-European body. So too, the English and Netherlandish exile communities were "'virtual' communities, separated by distance but linked by common experiences and shared beliefs."[3]

'International Calvinism' has become something of paradigm in the field, though not one we are about to contest. Alastair Duke perceived Calvin as partially responsible for the perceived cosmopolitan character of early modern Calvinism. The church he envisaged embraced the "multitude of men", regardless of borders and sovereigns, "who profess to worship one God and Christ".[4] There is no similar strong belief in the existence of an 'International Catholicism', which is a fairly new idea at best. It has been argued by several historians that not only British Catholic exiles, but European Catholic exiles altogether, had little love to spare for one another. There seems to have been little interaction between the refugees from different nations, which is further evidenced by the fact that they tended to establish their own institutions abroad.[5] Although more and more researchers are starting to recognise the complex social and intellectual network that existed between Catholic refugee centres throughout Europe. A reason for this lack of appreciation comes down to "the lens of a national religious culture" that has plagued the study of early modern Catholicism for far too long, according to Geert Janssen whose research has proven to be particularly enlightening on the subject of International Catholicism.[6]

If we are to establish one thing from the preceding chapters, it is that the English Catholics were indeed particularly quarrelsome. But at the same time, they maintained communication networks with other European Catholics, they established institutions in several countries, they courted Catholic princes and produced polemical tracts that were read all over Europe. They may have been isolated from their fellow Englishmen, but they were by no means isolated from the rest of Europe. It may be too early to draw any conclusions about an 'International Catholicism', yet if there ever was any such thing during the sixteenth

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[1] J. Pollmann and A. Spicer, "Introduction." In: J. Pollmann (ed.), et al., *Public opinion and changing identities in the early modern Netherlands: essays in honour of Alastair Duke*, 2007, pp. 1-2.
[2] N. Terpstra, "Imagined Communities of the Reformation.", pp. 223.
[3] M. Greengrass, "Two Sixteenth-Century Religious Minorities", p. 337.
[4] A. Duke, "Perspectives on European Calvinism.", p. 2.
[5] G.H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 109.
[6] Ibidem, p. 8.

century, there is little reason to believe the English Catholic exiles did not actively contribute to it.

(Fig. 10) Janssen argued that Verstegan's Theatrum crudelitatum evidences the existence of an international Catholic community. This hugely successful tome integrated the suffering of Catholics in England, France and the Netherlands.
R. Verstegan, *Theatre des cruautez des hereticques de nostre temps.*

e. Conclusion

To sum up, there are some peculiar discrepancies between the spatial organisation and distribution of the Netherlandish and Catholic exiles. In large measure, the Dutch refugees tended to arrive in London and subsequently settle in one of the provincial centres. A minority relocated again, forming satellite colonies in smaller towns surrounding the provincial centres but this rarely proved a lucrative decision. Not by a lack of trying, the strangers remained centralised in the capital and in a few large colonies throughout the south-east. The English Catholics, on the other hand, branched out into the whole gamut of moderately-sized towns and cities that adorned the map of the Southern Netherlands – although it might not seem that way, because their number paled in comparison to that of the Netherlandish refugees and because of their historiographical obscurity. Both, however, seem to have preferred urban to rural environments.

What they did in their urban environments was probably remarkably similar, with the caveat of course that the Netherlandish exiles were a lot more visible doing it. Whereas Londoners worried themselves seeing hundreds of Dutch and French churchgoers congregate on the steps of Austin Friars and St. Anthony's every week, a Netherlandish parishioner might have never known that the gentleman slipping into church at the last moment was actually an English exile. After all, the English had no need of separate churches as Roman Catholic mass

was said in Latin. While the centre of the Netherlandish refugees' social life was the stranger church, that of the English seems to have been less defined: scholars and clerics massed at the universities and seminaries; intelligencers and the politically ambitious flocked to the court in Brussels; the aristocracy received guests at their stately borrowed townhouses; and what English lay commoners did in their spare time seems a question likely to remain unanswered.

As for their mobility, similarities equal the differences. Although many Catholic expatriates longed to grace Albion with their presence again, they were not particularly inclined to suffer the consequences of their unwarranted leave – with the notable exception of the missionaries. The Dutch were more eager to cross the Channel, which can be explained in part by the shifting allegiances of the central, maritime provinces. The risk of getting caught was high for exiles of either community. On the other hand, the English exiles seem to have been particularly mobile on the continent, always on the move from one place to another.

A peculiar form of mobility between host and native country the English and Netherlandish exile communities shared is that of students, ministers and priests. Just like the English Catholics sent their sons to the continental seminaries so they could return as priests to England, countless aspiring young men were granted a scholarship by the exile churches to study Calvinist theology and ultimately apply their knowledge in the Low Countries.

Finally, a remaining point of contention is whether the English Catholic exiles – or even European Catholics in general – cultivated something in the way of an 'International Catholicism', as is widely accepted to have been the case for early modern Calvinism. It can hardly be denied, however, that the English exiles created bonds that transcended national boundaries.

X. Conclusion

In retrospect, the objective of this thesis was to offer a comparative study of several subjects dealing with the English Catholic and Netherlandish Protestant exiles' lives in respectively the Southern Netherlands and England – the latter having received infinitely more study than the former. The first set of conclusions appertained to the persecution of the refugees and the factors that influenced their exile. The persecution of Protestants in the Low Countries was entirely different to that of the Catholics in England, which was far more constant. The number of executions and banishments carried out in the Netherlands was considerably higher than that in England, however. As to the importance of religious versus economic factors, it has been argued that both cannot be separated. The main difference between the exiles' motivations is more pronounced when we look at the push and pull factors. Whereas the – especially economic – pull factors were considerably higher for the Netherlandish artisans, the English gentry was pushed out rather than pulled in.

The differences between both communities were more marked in the prosopography of the exiles. The Dutch, first of all, were obviously far greater in number, although a necessary caveat needs to be maintained that there was most likely a considerable segment of English lay expatriates of whom we are mostly ignorant. Furthermore, the strangers were of decidedly urban origins whereas most of the Elizabethan expatriates tended to come from the countryside. As for social composition: the English could be roughly divided into two main categories of scholars and clerics on the one hand, and gentry and (higher) aristocracy on the other. The Dutch were a slightly more diverse collective, but can be broadly defined as a well-educated, urban middle class. Finally, the waves and stages of both diasporas had a noticeable impact on one another. Yet whereas specific social groups could be loosely tied to individual English immigration waves, this was not so much the case for the Netherlandish refugees. As was the case for their persecution, the waves of Catholic exile were more constant than those of the Dutch émigrés.

In the next chapter, argument was brought against the thesis that both bodies were mostly uniform entities by exploring the issues that deeply divided them, namely the role the Spanish were to play in the future of England and the (in)tolerance of Anabaptist strands of belief. In the follow-up subchapter on the reception of the refugees, the ambiguity was explored of the seemingly warm welcome the strangers received in England, by pointing to the discrepancy between the attitudes of the central and local government and the hostility towards those who – paradoxically – were either too poor or too successful. In return, an *argumentum ex silentio* was presented for the acceptance of the English Catholics in the Southern Netherlands.

Subsequently we explored the loyalties of the Catholic and Protestant expatriates. While the English émigrés have spawned laborious myths, ranging from unyielding fidelity to Queen Elizabeth to a reputation of irredeemable dastardliness, the Dutch strangers have escaped most 'bad press'. Historians have cut the English exiles some slack in recent years, but redemption for the Jesuits seems forlorn hope. A similar treatment has not been reserved for the Sea Beggars. Neither exile community, it was shown, was entirely devoid of scheming and intriguing, though such was mostly the preserve of a select few who presided over sufficient funds, contacts and time to even consider planning any mischief. While most conspiracies never amounted to anything, both colonies were able to muster impressive counterintelligence networks which sometimes proved necessary to safeguard members of the community against governmental agents.

The following chapter analysed the self-representation of the expatriates in writing, the perception of exile in the sixteenth century and the correspondence of the refugees. Protestant

as well as Catholic exiles were all presented with the argument that flight was an obstruction of divine providence. Already faced with devastating existential crises, they equally sought to combat this sentiment with (mostly biblical) references to the Babylonian flight or by stressing the *imitatio Christi*. English refugees further tried to assert and defend their exilic identities in polemical treatises, while the strangers sought to legitimise their position with the help of the muse Clio. As for their correspondence, the evidence is yet again somewhat distorted. Both corresponded with particular vigour, but what survives of the Catholics is generally of a clerical nature. Nonetheless, it was shown that letters were an essential link between the exile communities and the homefront.

Chapter eight scrutinised survival strategies. Whether the strangers were simply more stoic in their suffering we shall never know, but the English aristocracy were undeniably in for a rough time in the Low Countries. The average prosperity of the Dutch on the other hand seems to have been of a middling sort, with most families procuring a sufficient though modest income. However, while striking it rich in exile might have sounded fairly far-fetched to an English expatriate, the *Albion Dream* was a reality for a select few Netherlanders. There was an interesting resemblance between the welfare the Catholic and Protestant émigrés received, in that the acceptance of Jesuit or consistory alms facilitated treason in the eyes of Habsburg and Elizabethan authorities. Doing so was therefore a potentially difficult choice. The most pronounced discrepancy, finally, between English and Netherlandish exiles lay in their economic impact. Although opinions diverge, it is generally agreed upon that the strangers had a positive impact on the sixteenth-century English economy. The Elizabethan émigrés were probably of little consequence for the Netherlandish economy, however. Although not entirely insignificant, we might add. Case in point is their active involvement in the distribution, manufacture and sale of devotional treatises – something they shared with their Netherlandish counterparts.

The final chapter dealt with their use of space. English exiles were notoriously decentralised, scattered all over the Southern Netherlands, while the strangers tended to huddle together in the same neighbourhoods in the same towns. The former preferred Louvain, Douai, Antwerp and Brussels above all; the latter generally settled in London, which for many was followed by relocation to Norwich, Sandwich or Canterbury. The occupation of urban space has gone largely unanswered for the Elizabethans, but can be said to have centred on the stranger church for the strangers. Mobility between host and native country, subsequently, seems to have been somewhat of a hobby for the Netherlandish exiles, whereas the English mostly left crossing the Channel to missionary priests and smugglers. Although countless students braved the crossing in order to obtain a proper education in the faith they could not or were not allowed to study at home. In closing, it was asked whether the English émigrés could have attributed to an 'International Catholicism' as the strangers are commonly accepted to have done for 'International Calvinism'.

Now that all is said and done, it may be worthwhile to assess the impact and the historical significance of the English and Netherlandish exiles; the influence they exerted on both their host and native communities.

Guilday, as has been mentioned before, was hardly impressed by the impact the English Catholic exiles had had on the Low Countries. The English, he felt, had had no effect whatsoever on their host environment. "It is England and England alone which was most influenced by the exile of her loyal sons and daughters for the Faith."[1] Nor did Alexandra Walsham believe they played an important role abroad. "Their capacity to shape events across the Channel was limited", she argued, because they were geographically decentralised; spread

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[1] P. Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent*, p. xx.

thin across universities, seminaries, abbeys and towns all over the Southern Netherlands. The English Catholic community was all but cohesive, according to Walsham.[1] Lechat, then, saw the exiles as some sort of medium between England, on the one hand, and Rome and the rest of Catholic Europe on the other.[2] Concerning the role of the exiles as a medium of sorts, Gibbons proposed imposing a distinction between the English Catholics who only spent brief spells abroad and those who did not. The latter often had nothing to go back to in England, whereas the former tended to maintain elaborate networks of friends and acquaintances. It is this group that kept the home front up to speed about developments on the continent and the machinations of their exiled coreligionists, while at the same time keeping the exiles informed of events in Britain.[3] In the long run, it may be said that English Catholic exile in the sixteenth century prepared the way for two developments: firstly, from the first few English religious colonies elicited a flourishing English monastic life on the continent;[4] secondly, as the gentry's sons crossed the Channel in order to obtain a wholesome education they inadvertently laid the foundations of what was to become the Grand Tour of well-to-do European young men for centuries to come.[5]

The Netherlandish exiles, to the contrary, have been heaped with praise for the change they wrought in England as well the Dutch Republic. Lien Luu cited two main reasons why Netherlandish exiles made such a long-lasting impact on English culture and society. Firstly, the transplantation of entire communities and sectors of the economy was something that had not been witnessed for quite a while in England. Least of all "this type of sudden, targeted population transfer." Secondly, because a great many of the expatriates were either skilled artisans or highly educated intellectuals. Especially the former "long furnished England with manufactured goods to meet its material needs."[6] Fagel was more enthusiastic about the role the intellectuals among the strangers played. He saw them as *cultuurdragers* (purveyors of culture): a small, but influential movement of scientists and artists whose writings and works of art were ultimately influential throughout the whole of Europe.[7]

Other historians have commented on the fundamental importance of the stranger churches for the evolution of Protestantism in not only the Republic, but in England, on the continent and in America as well. Pettegree claimed the stranger churches "played a crucial role in the survival and eventual triumph of the Reformed faith in the Netherlands". The Church in the Dutch Republic owed a considerable lot to the stranger churches, as it copied the programme written out by John à Lasco, and as many former refugees (or children of refugees) eventually took up the ministry of a congregation.[8] In England and in wider Europe, the strangers exerted a powerful influence on the development of Puritanism. "The attraction of the stranger churches as models for the English puritans in their aspirations for a further reformation" is generally accepted among historians of the English Reformation.[9] Robert Brown, whom in Norwich founded the first Congregational Church, admired the strangers for their deep religion and is believed to have borrowed some of his views from them – especially from the Anabaptist element in the community.[10] Brown's followers, called 'Brownists' and –

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[1] A. Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, p. 186.
[2] R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés Anglais*, pp. 50-51.
[3] K. Gibbons, *English Catholic exiles in late sixteenth-century Paris*, p. 174.
[4] Already twenty-one enclosed English convents had been founded by 1678. Cf. C. Bowden, "The English Convents in Exile and Questions of National Identity c. 1600-1688." In: D. Worthington (ed.). *British and Irish Emigrants and Exiles in Europe, 1603-1688*, 2010, p. 297.
[5] K. Gibbons, *English Catholic exiles in late sixteenth-century Paris*, p. 161.
[6] L. Luu, "Alien Immigrants to England", p. 223.
[7] R. Fagel, *Voortrekkers, cultuurdragers, emigranten*, pp. 12-13.
[8] A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 215, 306.
[9] P. Collinson, "Calvinism with an Anglican Face", pp. 72-73.
[10] S. Slaughter, "Dutch Church in Norwich", p. 32.

more commonly – 'Dissenters', would later be among the first to set foot on the Mayflower in July 1620, the beginning of yet another fascinating tale of religious exile.

Nederlandse synthese

Het doel van deze verhandeling was een comparatieve benadering te brengen van verschillende aspecten die betrekking hebben tot het ballingschap van Engelse katholieke en Zuidnederlandse protestantse ballingen in respectievelijk de Zuidelijke Nederlanden en England. Waar die laatsten vrij goed onderzocht werden (mits enige hiaten), zijn Engelse katholieke ballingen steeds een onderbelicht onderwerp gebleven in de historiografie van de vroegmoderne tijd. Het eerste deel van deze studie behandelde de vervolging van religieuze dissidenten in Engeland en in de Habsburgse Nederlanden, alsook de verschillende religieuze en economische factoren die vluchtelingen mogelijks dreven tot ballingschap. De vervolging van protestanten in de Nederlanden, ten eerste, was aanzienlijk intenser maar van een eerder wisselvallige aard; in England was ze echter eerder opbouwend, met een doorheen de tijd steeds groeiend aantal terechtstellingen en antikatholieke maatregelen. Wat betreft de religieuze en economische factoren werd besloten dat deze onmogelijk van elkaar te scheiden zijn. Het voornaamste verschil tussen de motivaties van de Engelsen en de Nederlanders schuilt in *push* en *pull* factoren. Waar er voor Nederlandse ballingen in zekere zin aantrekkelijke *pull* factoren waren om voor ballingschap te kiezen, kan men voor de Engelse katholieken uitsluitend spreken over *push* factoren.

De verschillen waren meer uitgesproken in de prosopografie van de beide gemeenschappen. De Nederlandse vluchtelingen waren, ten eerste, aanzienlijk talrijker, hoewel we mogelijks met een onzichtbare massa van niet-geaffilieerde katholieke leken in de Nederlanden opgezadeld zitten waarover vrijwel niets geweten is. Verder kon ook geduid worden dat de Nederlanders een veeleer stedelijk karakter toegeschreven kon worden, terwijl de Engelsen van hoofdzakelijk rurale oorsprong waren. Vervolgens werd de sociale compositie van de ballingen besproken. De Engelsen kon men ruwweg in twee grote categorieën onderverdelen, namelijk de *gentry* en de hogere aristocratie enerzijds, en anderzijds de geleerden en de clerus. De Nederlanders waren een uitgesprokener divers gezelschap, in grote mate samengesteld uit handwerklieden uit de Zuidelijke Nederlanden. Drie trefwoorden hierbij waren geleerd, urbaan en middenklasse. Ten slotte de verschillende golven van ballingschap. Hier kon gewezen worden op verschillende ontwikkelingen in de fasen van ballingschap van de ene groep die een impact kenden op dat van de andere groep en vice versa.

Het volgende hoofdstuk ging in tegen de vaak gestipuleerde these dat de Engelse en Nederlandse ballingengemeenschappen vrijwel uniforme, zowaar monolithische entiteiten waren. Deze tegenwerping werd kracht bijgezet door op twee fenomenen te wijzen die diepe verdeeldheid zaaiden in de Engelse en Nederlandse kolonies: respectievelijk het vraagstuk over Spaanse inmenging en de houding van de vreemdelingenkerken tegenover de wederdopers. In het tweede deel van dit hoofdstuk werd de ontvangst van de ballingen geanalyseerd. Er werd gewezen op de zeer ambivalente houding van Engeland tegenover de *strangers* van enerzijds de overheden en anderzijds de rest van de bevolking. Voor de Engelse vluchtelingen werd een *argumentum ex silentio* gebracht voor een vrij goede acceptatie vanwege de bevolking en overheden in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden.

Daarna werd het loyaliteitsvraagstuk onder handen genomen. Waar Engelse katholieke ballingen afwisselend werden gezien als consequent staatsgevaarlijke terroristen en samenzweerders, dan wel als onvoorwaardelijk loyaal tegenover koningin Elizabeth, zijn de Nederlandse protestantse ballingen in grote mate ongemoeid gelaten. Nochtans kenden ook zij complotten en terrorisme, onder meer in de vorm van de watergeuzen. Niettegenstaande was het smeden van complotten een tijdverdrijf van zij die het zich effectief konden permitteren. Verder werd gewezen op het bestaan van heuse contraspionagenetwerken die de

ballingengemeenschappen dienden te beschermen tegen talloze spionnen van de overheid die overal en altijd op de loer lagen.

Vervolgens werd de zelfrepresentatie en de literaire output van de ballingen kort op de korrel genomen, alsook de algemene zestiende-eeuwse visie op ballingschap. Zowel protestanten als katholieken moesten opboksen tegen de gangbare visie dat ballingschap een obstructie was van goddelijke voorzienigheid. Uit zelfbehoud trachtten beide gemeenschappen hier een antwoord op te formuleren, waarin ze hun identiteit als balling bekrachtigden en legitimeerden, vaak aan de hand van Bijbelse verwijzingen. De elizabethaanse ballingen deden dit hoofdzakelijk aan de hand van polemieken, terwijl de *strangers* plachten te grijpen naar de historiografie. De briefcorrespondentie van beide kolonies, ten slotte, werd behandeld als een noodzakelijke levensader tussen de groep in ballingschap en het thuisfront. Het beeld dat we van de Engelse correspondentie hebben is echter enigszins vervormd doordat ze hoofdzakelijk van klerikale aard is.

In het volgende hoofdstuk werden de overlevingsstrategieën van de ballingen besproken. De *strangers* konden misschien dankzij hun diepgeworteld geloof iets meer stoïsch omgaan met hun tegenspoed, maar de Engelse ballingen lijken een minder aangename tijd tegemoet gegaan te zijn in de Nederlanden. Niettegenstaande was de gemiddelde welvaart onder de Nederlanders in England vrij gematigd, maar onderscheidden ze zich van de elizabethaanse ballingen doordat enkelen ook effectief rijk werden van hun ballingschap. Daarna werd gewezen op een merkwaardige parallel tussen de liefdadigheid die ze beiden ontvingen. Een Spaans pensioen of een aalmoes van de vreemdelingenkerken aanvaarden was immers verdacht in de ogen van respectievelijk Engelse en Habsburgse overheden, die te rade gaan bij de Spanjaarden of de vreemdelingenkerken associeerden met hoogverraad. Het grootse verschil school in de economische impact die de ballingen hadden op hun gastlanden. Hoewel meningen sterk uiteen lopen kan met een hoge mate van zekerheid gesteld worden dat de *strangers* een positieve invloed uitoefenden op de Engelse economie, hoofdzakelijk dankzij de rol die ze speelden binnen de linnennijverheid. Elizabethanen in de Nederlanden lijken slechts een geringe invloed gehad te hebben op de Zuid-Nederlandse economie. Een uitzondering vormt hun actieve betrokkenheid in de distributie, vervaardiging en verkoop van allerhande religieuze traktaten en pamfletten – een activiteit die ook bij de Nederlandse vluchtelingen in zwang was.

Ten slotte de ballingen en ruimte. Engelsen waren sterk uitgezaaid over het lappendeken van verschillende middelgrote en iets grotere steden in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden. De Nederlandse ballingen daarentegen vestigden zich vaker in dezelfde buurten in dezelfde steden. Een vaak terugkomend vestigingspatroon hierbij, was dat men eerst in Londen ging wonen en later naar één van de provinciale steden verhuisde. Topbestemmingen voor de Engelsen waren Leuven, Dowaai, Antwerpen en Brussel; de Nederlanders trokken bij uitstek naar Londen, Norwich, Sandwich en Canterbury. Het gebruik van de stedelijke ruimte is vrijwel onbekend voor de Engelse katholieken, terwijl het leven van de *strangers* zich voornamelijk afspeelde rond de vreemdelingenkerk. Daarna werd de mobiliteit van de ballingen tussen thuisland en gastland op de korrel genomen. Een vaststelling hierbij was dat de Nederlandse ballingen vaker het kanaal overstaken, niet alleen om een rol te spelen in de Nederlandse Opstand maar ook om bijvoorbeeld zaken te doen. De Engelsen, met uitzondering van de seminaristen, waren beduidend minder happig om de oversteek te maken. In het laatste deel van dit hoofdstuk werd 'International Calvinism' tegenover het minder bekende broertje 'International Catholicism' geplaatst. Steun werd hierbij uitgesproken vóór het bestaan van deze laatste en de daarin ondersteunende rol van de Engelse katholieke ballingen.

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