



Reformation and Resistance: Authority and Order in England's Foreign Churches, 1550-1585

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Abstract

This thesis discusses relations between the stranger churches in England and their Protestant compatriots on the Continent with specific reference to the Netherlands between 1547 and 1585. It exposes the complex situation in which they found themselves as émigrés in England, first under Edward VI and, after a period of further exile, under Elizabeth I. They were a dispersed group of congregations of several different nationalities, all commonly referred to as ‘stranger churches’ in their English host communities. While the congregations of London were initially most important and certainly the wealthiest, this diaspora eventually came to spread to parts of Sussex, Kent, and East Anglia, not to mention outposts in the north and the west. The thesis employs sources relating to both London’s foreign churches and these provincial congregations and also highlights documents other than the customary consistory records used in previous studies. Hence, there is discussion of the writings of Utenhove, Micronius, and van Haemstede which emphasised the importance of conversion while recognising the need for obedience to secular authorities. The thesis demonstrates the close degree of contact between the stranger churches and the Low Countries throughout this period and also points out how the relationship was placed under strain by the years leading up to the Dutch Revolt. Main findings challenge the assumption that the stranger churches automatically supported resistance in the Low Countries, reveal a number of practical and theological constraints in their thinking, and show how the dilemmas became more acute as open war approached. This thesis offers a refreshed narrative of relations between the stranger churches and the Low Countries, and emphasises the importance of religious thinking throughout rather than politics, and in so doing suggests different important turning points in the chronology.

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Commonly, this section also serves to dedicate the thesis to someone special. Although I am tempted to thank Albrecht Dürer for luring me into the early modern period through his fascinating travel journal, I do not wish to dedicate this thesis to anyone but myself. I have overcome many challenges to be where I am, with little support of others, and am proud of this achievement.

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Abbreviations

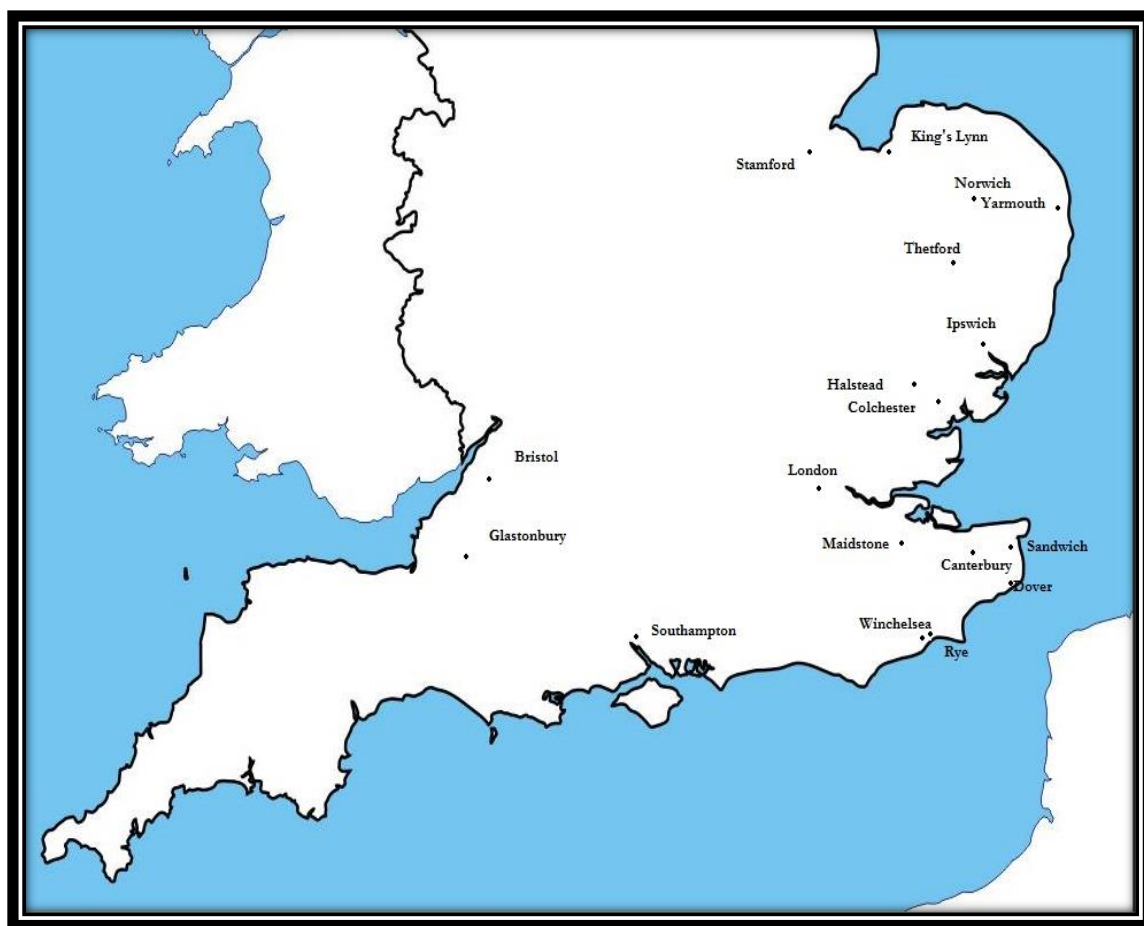
- Acta** *Acta van het consistorie van de Nederlandse gemeente te Londen 1569-1585*, ed. by Auke J. Jelsma & Owe Boersma ('s-Gravenhage, 1993).
- Acten van de Colloquia** *Acten van de Colloquia der Nederlandsche Gemeenten in Engeland, 1575-1609*, ed. by J. J. van Toorenenbergen, Werken der Marnix-vereeniging. 2nd ser., 1 (Utrecht, 1872).
- Actes du Consistoire I** *Actes du Consistoire de l'Eglise Française de Threadneedle Street, Londres, I: 1560-1565*, ed. by Elsie Johnson, Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, 38 (Frome, 1937).
- Actes du Consistoire II** *Actes du Consistoire de l'Eglise Française de Threadneedle Street, Londres, II: 1571-1577*, ed. by Anne M. Oakley, Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, 48 (London, 1969).
- Archivum** *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum. Epistulae et tractatus*, ed. by Johannes H. Hessels, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1887-1897).
- Backhouse** Marcel Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities at Sandwich during the Reign of Elizabeth I (1561-1603)*, Klasse der Letteren 57, nr 155 (Wetteren, 1995).
- CCA** Canterbury Cathedral Archives.
- Colloques et Synodes** *Les Actes des Colloques des Églises Françaises et des Synodes des Églises Étrangères en Angleterre 1581-1654*, ed. by Adrian

Chamier, Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, 2 (Lymington, 1890).

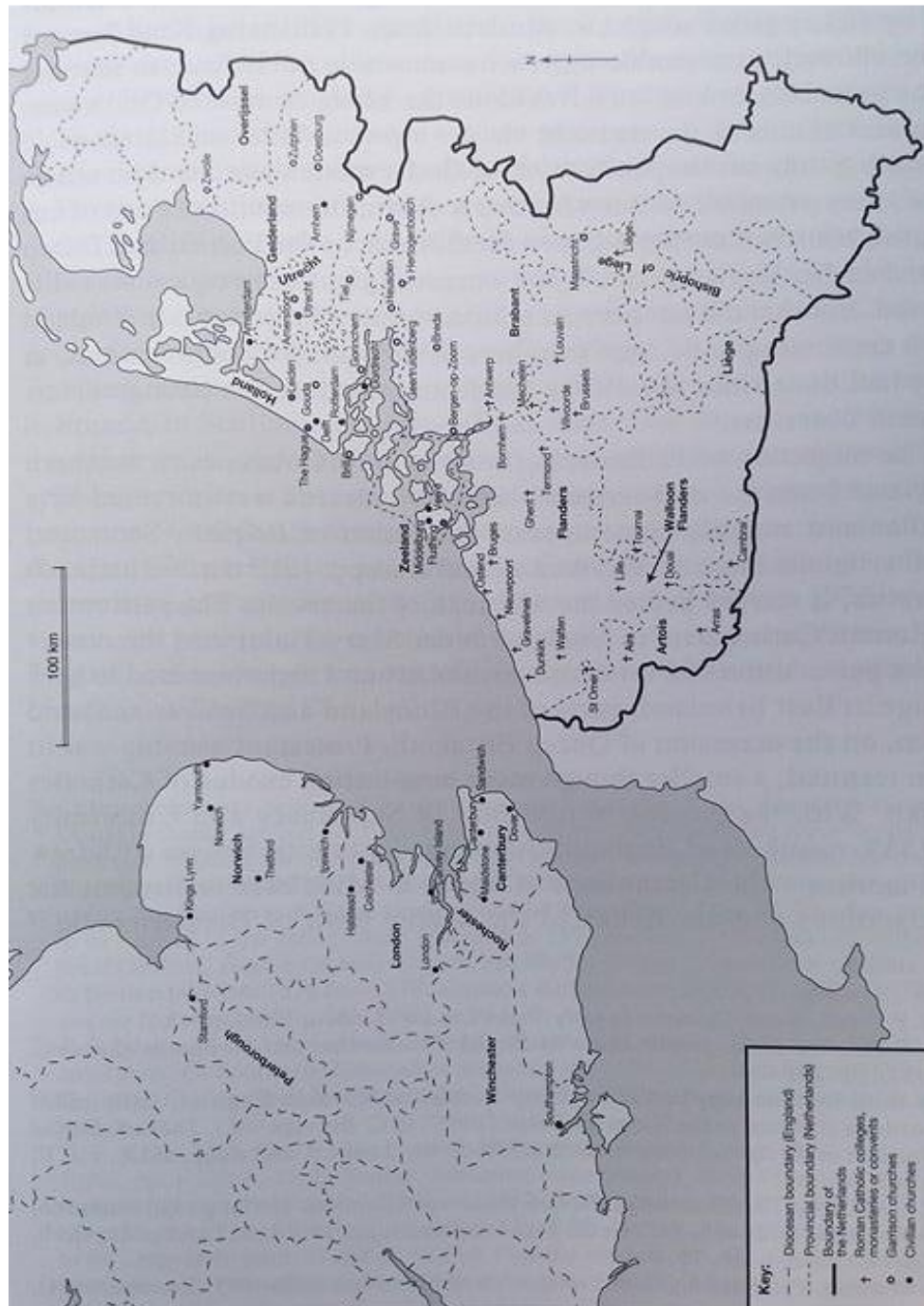
- Kerkeraads-protocollen** *Kerkeraads-protocollen der nederduitsche vluchtelingen-kerk te London, 1560-1563*, ed. by Aart A. van Schelven, Werken uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap (gevestigd te Utrecht), 3rd ser., 43 (Amsterdam, 1921).
- LMA** London Metropolitan Archives.
- Pettegree** Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford, 1986).
- Spicer** Andrew Spicer, *The French-speaking Reformed Community and their Church in Southampton, 1567-c. 1620*. Southampton Record Series, 39 (Stroud, 1997).
- TNA** The National Archives, Kew.
- Unity in Multiformity** *Unity in Multiformity. The Minutes of the Coetus of London, 1575 and the Consistory Minutes of the Italian Church of London, 1570-1591*, ed. by Owe Boersma and Auke J. Jelsma, Publications of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 59 (London, 1997).
- van Schelven** Aart A. van Schelven, *De Nederduitsche vluchtelingen kerken der XVIe eeuw in England en Duitschland in hun betekenis voor de Reformatie in de Nederlanden* ('s-Gravenhage, 1909, edn 2008).

Maps

Map 1: Geographical locations of the foreign churches in England, 1550-1585



Map 2: Low Countries



Map of the Low Countries and immigrant communities in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, from Hugh Dunthorne, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt, 1560-1700* (Cambridge, 2013).

Introduction

The colloquium of the Dutch churches in England in 1576 discussed whether or not to readmit brethren who had left England for the Low Countries to fight as rebels or plunderers pretending to be in the service of the Prince of Orange.¹ This question illustrates a typical dilemma which the foreign churches faced concerning obedience and order in the Elizabethan period. The founding fathers of the foreign churches, John à Lasco, Jan Utenhove, Wouter Deleene, and Martin Micronius had postulated that good Christians respected godly order and resisted violence in their writings in the 1550s. This standpoint, linked to the Pauline doctrine of obedience, clashed with growing resistance against persecution among Reformers in the Low Countries and the members of the foreign churches from 1560 onwards. This problem was of nearly existential proportions for the foreign churches. Questions over ecclesiastical authority and order surfaced and divided church congregations, while in the Low Countries the issue was entangled with concerns about political power and the future of Reformed movements. This thesis explores the tensions which the dilemma of resistance brought to the foreign churches and shows comparatively how these churches handled the question. In doing so, it directly investigates the foreign churches' behaviour and views towards the Dutch Revolt, Reformation, and resistance in the Low Countries. I analyse sources concerning the Dutch/Flemish and French/Walloon churches in England between 1550 and 1585 but start the narrative in 1547.

This thesis is of interest to both historians of the foreign churches and Low Country researchers. It taps into the involvement of the foreign churches in events in the Low Countries and the connections between Reformed thought and resistance, topics

¹ Acten van de Colloquia, p. 30.

which have aroused interest from both groups of historians. Yet no conclusive or summarising study exists on the foreign churches' behaviour and political thought. This is one of the reasons I felt drawn to undertake this research. Despite this, there is a plethora of studies concerning the foreign churches. The historiography of the churches' involvement in the Revolt and Reformation in the Low Countries largely coincides with that of the history of the churches since most studies on the foreign churches pay some attention to the question. Two notable trends are visible in the historiography of the foreign churches in England, that is a focus on their economic significance and church organisation, and a more recent interest in integration and xenophobia.² At the same time, research concerning continental exile communities has focused on confessionalisation and toleration.³ A decade after the last major publication on England, it is time to view the refugee churches in England from a different perspective, that of their relation with violence and resistance, perhaps a topical question.

An early study which considered a large part of my research scope is Aart van Schelven's *De Nederduitse vluchtelingen kerken der XVIe eeuw in Engeland en Duitschland en*

² The economic side of the migrants has led the debate about the strangers in London for the last century and a half. The latest study on the theme of the economic value of the refugees is Lien Bich Luu's *Immigrants and the Industries of London 1500-1700* (Aldershot, 2005), which provides a good introduction to the historiography of the economic evaluation of the foreigners, pp. 2-15. The latest trend in the historiography of the foreign churches has been a focus on xenophobia and integration, potentially influenced by a modern concern surrounding migration. Laura Hunt Yungblut investigated integration, governmental policies towards the aliens in the reign of Elizabeth I, and xenophobia in her monograph *Strangers settled here amongst us. Policies, perceptions and the presence of aliens in Elizabethan England* (London/New York, 1996). Nigel Goose also picked up on the latter theme in his article "Xenophobia" in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England: An Epithet Too Far?, in *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England* (Brighton, 2005), ed. by Nigel Goose & Lien Luu, pp. 110-35.

³ Among others Heinz Schilling, 'Die niederländischen Exulanten des 16. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zum Typus der frühneuzeitlichen Konfessionsmigration', *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, 43 (1992), 67-79; Jesse Spohnholz, *The Tactics of Toleration: A Refugee Community in the Age of Religious Wars* (Newark/Plymouth, 2011); *Exile and Religious Identity, 1500-1800*, ed. by Jesse Spohnholz and Gary K. Waite (London/New York, 2014); *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*, ed. by Ole Peter Grell and Bob Scribner (Cambridge, 1996); *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Benjamin J. Kaplan (London, 2009).

hun betekenis voor de Reformatie in de Nederlanden (1909). The title demonstrates its focus on the significance of Dutch exile churches for the Reformation in the Low Countries only. The study forms a good overview, but the analysis is consequently also general.⁴ Most significant for the research area under consideration in this thesis, however, is the pioneering research of Andrew Pettegree, Marcel Backhouse, and Ferdinand de Schickler, who have opened up the question concerning the connections between resistance in the Low Countries and the foreign churches. The theological origins of Dutch resistance or the obedience principle, both of which significantly influenced the ecclesiastical discipline and functioning of the churches, did not form a part of the research scope of their studies. This is the contribution this thesis seeks to make. Instead, they emphasised the intricate connections between the organisation of violent resistance against persecuting authorities in the Low Countries and the presence and actions of militant Reformers in England.

The most relevant work which offers a closer look at the relations of the exile church of Emden with London and the Dutch Revolt is Pettegree's *Emden and the Dutch Revolt* (1992).⁵ While he brings London into the spotlight, his focus lies on Emden in this study. Perhaps Pettegree saw this book as a supplement to his previous study, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (1986), which had already shone a light on the question.⁶ This work mainly provided a modern history of stranger communities in London from the foundation of the stranger churches up to their restoration under Elizabeth. Pettegree's study forms the main English work for the history of the stranger churches. It is also the only study on the foreign churches to touch upon the ambivalent attitude of the strangers towards the Dutch Revolt, as well as the many divisions within the communities concerning resistance, but he did not further dwell on the topic.

⁴ Van Schelven.

⁵ Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt. Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism* (Oxford, 1992).

⁶ Pettegree.

Pettegree's excellent studies serve as important building blocks for this thesis but do not satisfy the need for a summary nor a validation of the current assumptions concerning the question under consideration in this thesis, nor did it completely fit my own, more detailed, reading of the sources. Further, a diplomatic rather than institutional examination can be found in Ferdinand de Schickler's superb French study, which almost forms an older French equivalent of Pettegree's work, albeit with an emphasis on the French Church. It shows the religious and secular networks of the stranger churches in an English context and demonstrates the intricate diplomatic connections between the churches and English authorities.⁷

Marcel Backhouse addressed the issue of the churches' involvement in resistance most prominently. Backhouse specialised in the connections between the Flemish Church of Sandwich and the Westkwartier. One of the most influential works on the debate concerning the refugees' actions of resistance in the Low Countries is Backhouse's study on the strangers in Sandwich. Backhouse suggested that the refugees from the Flemish Church in Sandwich orchestrated the Iconoclastic Fury in the Flemish Westkwartier region in 1566.⁸ Apart from a chapter in his book on Sandwich, Backhouse wrote several articles in which he touched upon the aftermath of the Iconoclastic Fury in connection with the strangers of the Flemish Church of Sandwich.⁹ He ascribed a significant role in resistance in the Low Countries to the foreign churches in Sandwich, Norwich, and

⁷ Ferdinand de Schickler, *Les Églises du Refuge en Angleterre*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1892).

⁸ Backhouse.

⁹ Marcel Backhouse, 'The Flemish refugees in Sandwich (1561-1603)', in *Revolt and Emigration, Refugees from the Westkwartier in Sandwich in the XVIth Century*, ed. by Jaak Decaestecker (Dikkebus, 1988), pp. 91-117; 'De Vlaamse vluchtelingen in Sandwich (1561-1603). Voorlopige bevindingen', *Westboek, Genealogisch Jaarboek*, 4 (Dikkebus, 1987), 139-56; 'Dokumenten betreffende de godsdiensttroebelen in het Westkwartier: Jan Camerlynck en tien zijner gezellen voor de Ieperse vierschaar (1568-1569)', *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis*, 138 (1972), 79-381; 'Beeldenstorm en Bosgeuzen in het Westkwartier (1566-1568). Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de godsdiensttroebelen der Zuidelijke Nederlanden in de XVIe eeuw', *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Kring van Kortrijk*, n.s., 38 (Middelburg, 1971), pp. 5-173.

London. His study is intriguing and groundbreaking, but it begs the question as to how the Sandwich refugee community compared to the stranger churches in London.

Next to these previously mentioned general works which indirectly address the research question, several articles exist concerning the churches and resistance which usually focus on just a part of the period under consideration. A more direct investigation of the refugees in England in the Dutch Revolt specifically is Robert Fruin's 'Nederlandsche ballingen in Engeland, betrokken in den opstand hunner landgenoten tegen Spanje' (1892).¹⁰ The article displays an interest in the connection between exiles and the Revolt but remains superficial in its examination and conclusions. Almost four decades later Aart van Schelven published 'Het begin van het gewapend verzet tegen Spanje in de 16de-eeuwsche Nederlanden' which took the exiles in England into account. Van Schelven broke new grounds by focusing on the early prison breaking in this article, and also showed the involvement of refugees from England in his article on the 1566 iconoclasm.¹¹ More recently then, Pettegree revisited the exile churches in connection to the 1566 Iconoclastic Fury in 'The Exile Churches during the Wonderjaar' (1988).¹² These studies certainly form a basis for my own research but do not explore the ambivalence among the refugees.

Studies on provincial foreign communities also display valuable observations concerning the congregations' relations with the Low Countries. Various articles and books based on Ph.D. theses about migrant communities in England appeared over the

¹⁰ Robert Fruin, 'Nederlandsche ballingen in Engeland, betrokken in den opstand hunner landgenoten tegen Spanje.' in *Bijdragen tot de Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde*, 3rd series, 6 (1892), 57-74.

¹¹ Aart A. van Schelven 'Het begin van het gewapend verzet tegen Spanje in de 16de-eeuwsche Nederlanden', *Handelingen en mededelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden*, 28 (1914-1915), 126-56.

¹² Pettegree, 'The Exile Churches during the Wonderjaar', in *Church, Change and Revolution. Transactions of the fourth Anglo-Dutch church history colloquium (Exeter, 30 August-3 September, 1988)*, ed. by J. van den Berg & P. G. Hofstijzer (Leiden, 1991), pp. 80-99.

last forty years.¹³ Most studies focus on the social, economic, and ecclesiastical aspects of the institutions and refugees, albeit with sporadic comments on the connection between refugees and the Low Countries. Only Andrew Spicer's study on the Southampton's strangers contains large sections focusing on the origins and ongoing connections between Southampton's immigrants and the Continent, while also touching upon their involvement in privateering.¹⁴

There are plenty of older, general works available for the study of the history of the stranger churches.¹⁵ The historiography of the churches is so large that some studies have solely focused on one church.¹⁶ These studies examined the broader history of these churches, not just the Elizabethan period, and are rather limited in analysis considering the topic of interest in this thesis. While they form part of the historiography of the

¹³ Raingard Esser converted her thesis on the migrant settlements and churches in Norwich into the book *Niederländische Exulanten im England des 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1996). Through her work she updated the previous study on the Norwich migrants by William J.C. Moens's *Walloons and their Church at Norwich. 1565-1832*. 2 vols., Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, 1st ser. (Lymington, 1887-1888). Beate Magen described the Walloon Church at Canterbury in her *Die Wallonengemeinde in Canterbury von ihrer Gründung bis zum Jahre 1653* (Bern/Frankfurt, 1973). This study followed the older work of F. W. Cross, *History of the Huguenot Church at Canterbury*. Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, 15 (Lymington, 1898; reprint 1969). Andrew Spicer made a significant contribution for the history of migrants in Southampton in his *The French-speaking Reformed Community and their Church in Southampton, 1567-c. 1620*. Southampton Record Series, 39 (Stroud, 1997). William Moens also gave an introduction to the Dutch Church in Colchester in his *Register of baptisms in the Dutch Church at Colchester from 1645 to 1728*, Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, 12 (Lymington, 1905). Recently Nigel Goose has focused on the Dutch Church in Colchester in 'The Dutch in Colchester in the 16th and 17th centuries: Opposition and Integration', in *From Strangers to Citizens. The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550-1750*, ed. by Randolph Vigne & Charles Littleton (Brighton, 2001), pp. 88-98.

¹⁴ Spicer, especially pp. 2-15, 127-140.

¹⁵ John Souterden Burn, *History of the French, Walloon, Dutch, and other Foreign Protestant refugees, settled in England, from the Reign of Henry VIII. to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes: with notices of their trade and commerce, copious extracts from the registers, lists of the early settlers, ministers, &c., &c. and An Appendix, containing copies of the charter of Edward V., &c.* (London, 1846); William Cunningham, *Alien immigrants to England* (London, 1897; 2nd edn, with an introduction by C. Wilson, London, 1969); H. Schilling, *Niederländische Exulanten im 16. Jahrhundert* (Gütersloh, 1972).

¹⁶ J. Lindeboom, *Austin Friars, Geschiedenis van de Nederlanse Hervormde Gemeente te Londen, 1550-1950* ('s-Gravenhage, 1950); Charles G. D. Littleton, 'Geneva on Threadneedle street: The French Church of London and its Congregation, 1560-1625' (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1996); Robin Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage. The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (Brighton, 1985, 2nd edn, 2001); Unity in Multiformity.

churches and help with background narratives in this thesis, they have little to say in terms of the historiography of the relations of the strangers with events in the Low Countries.

Owe Boersma is another researcher who narrated the aid to the revolt from the three stranger churches in London in a chapter in his doctoral thesis (1994).¹⁷ Although well-researched, the question is constrained into one chapter only and talks about the London churches. His examples created a narrative of active involvement in the Low Countries' Revolt and Reformation which I believe to be one-sided. Another recent study on the foreigners in England appeared a few years later from the hand of Bernard Cottret, whose work on the settlement of foreigners in England primarily addresses social questions surrounding the migration, settlement, and the community of the strangers.¹⁸ He engaged with the foreign churches' relations with the Low Countries but again does not focus on it.

As mentioned, this thesis is also of interest to Low Country historians focusing on the Dutch Revolt, Dutch Reformation, and Dutch political thought. This thesis profits from a plethora of studies on the Revolt and the Reformation in the Low Countries which mention the role of the refugees.¹⁹ Especially valuable for this study is Auke Jelsma's 'The Weakness of Conscience'.²⁰ Jelsma's article demonstrates and explains the lack of support for Orange among Reformed churches in the Low Countries. His ideas also shine a light

¹⁷ Owe Boersma, 'Vluchtig voorbeeld. De Nederlandse, Franse en Italiaanse vluchtelingenkerken in Londen, 1568-1585' (Ph.D. diss., Theologische Academie Kampen, 1994).

¹⁸ Bernard Cottret, translated by Peregrine and Adriana Stevenson, with an afterword by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *The Huguenots in England. Immigration and Settlement c. 1550-1700* (Cambridge, 1991).

¹⁹ For instance, *Troubles religieux du XVI^e siècle dans la Flandre maritime, 1560-1570: documents originaux*, ed. by Edmond de Coussemaker, 4 vols. (Bruges, 1876); Guido Marnef, *Antwerpen in de tijd van de Reformatie. Ondergronds protestantisme in een handelsmetropool 1550-1577* (Amsterdam/Antwerpen, 1996); Johan Decavele, *De Dageraad van de Reformatie in Vlaanderen (1520-1565)* (Brussels, 1975); J. A. C. De Meij, *De Watergeuzen en de Nederlanden, 1568-1572* (Amsterdam, 1972).

²⁰ Auke Jelsma, 'The 'Weakness of Conscience' in the Reformed Movement in the Netherlands: The Attitude of the Dutch Reformation to the Use of Violence between 1562 and 1574', in *The Church and War. Papers read at the twenty-first summer meeting and the twenty-second winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. by W.J. Sheils (Oxford, 1983), pp. 217-29.

on the foreign churches' reservations concerning Orange and can be linked to Martin van Gelderen's analysis of Dutch political thought in *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt 1555-1590* (2002) which considers the history of resistance ideas in the sixteenth-century Netherlands.²¹ Phyllis Mack Crew has shown a more practical application of resistance in her study concerning the Iconoclastic Fury and the ministers involved around that time.²² Peter Arnade's *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots* has also gone a long way to explain the interconnection between religion and politics among iconoclasts.²³ These studies confirm that in the Low Countries there was also no uniform support for Orange and resistance among Reformers. Are these assertions also valid for the foreign churches?

So far, however, the existing literature leaves several important questions open about the nature of the churches' contributions to the initial resistance, the Reformed movement, and the eventual revolt, especially in comparative perspective. How vital was the presence of these foreign churches in England for the Dutch Revolt? How was the relation between church and community on the topics of revolt and resistance? These are questions which are crucial for our understanding of the differences between a radical and magisterial interpretation of violence which was present in the foreign churches.

The foreign churches' role in the Low Countries' Reformation and Revolt cannot be overlooked, especially between 1550 and 1566. Yet, for various reasons it was constantly limited in its working. In my analysis, I distinguish between the church as an official institution and the attitudes of the members and the consistory members as private individuals, which goes further than Pettegree's suggestion that we need to

²¹ Martin van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt 1555-1590* (Cambridge, rev. edn. 2002).

²² Phyllis Mack Crew, *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands 1544-1569* (Cambridge, 1978, reissue edn 2008).

²³ Peter Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots. The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca/London, 2008).

distinguish between consistory and members.²⁴ In that respect I identify and follow the writings of key figures within the foreign churches, among others John à Lasco, Jan Utenhove, Martin Micronius, Jean Cousin, Godfried van Winghen, Sebastiaan Matte, and Joris Wybo. King Edward VI and Queen Elizabeth I also played a role in the larger international Calvinistic movement as the protectors of refugees and Evangelical Protestants in general. Exile played an important role in the development of international Calvinism.²⁵ To what extent did the foreign churches in England regard Elizabeth as their protector and did she shape their policies?

Although invaluable in their exploration of the link between resistance and refugees, the assertions concerning this topic in the most prominent books and articles about the foreign churches are largely in agreement. They simply declare that the refugees and their influence on the Reformation in the Low Countries and the Dutch Revolt cannot be underestimated, with some reservations, and with an emphasis on the militant refugees. This brings me to a second reason for me to undertake this study, that is that the foreign churches' primary sources nonetheless show another side of their involvement, or rather a lack of involvement. The churches did send money and ministers to the Low Countries on several occasions, but the churches' attitudes towards the Dutch Revolt were cautious, or, as Andrew Pettegree described, ambivalent.²⁶ Pettegree is the only researcher of the foreign churches who recognised an underlying problem with a straightforward recognition of the support the foreign churches gave to the fatherland

²⁴ Pettegree briefly mentioned this distinction in Pettegree, 'The Exile Churches during the Wonderjaar', p. 84 but did not expand on it.

²⁵ Heiko A. Oberman, 'Europa afflicta: The Reformation of the Refugees', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 83 (1992), 91-111.

²⁶ Andrew Pettegree, 'The Exile Churches during the Wonderjaar', in *Church, Change and Revolution. Transactions of the fourth Anglo-Dutch church history colloquium (Exeter, 30 August-3 September, 1988)*, ed. by J. van den Berg and P. G. Hoftijzer (Leiden, 1991), pp. 80-99 (p. 83).

but still proceeded to value their help to the Revolt as ‘certainly crucial to the military effort’.²⁷

The churches’ sources showed a lack of involvement which crosses many of the assertions on the topic in the historiography. While sending some aid, for instance, the Dutch Church regularly replied negatively to letters from the Continent asking for support. Moreover, the churches were annoyed about the continual requests for support from William of Orange and especially with the extortion techniques he used to put pressure on the migrants to donate or lend money. Orange used threats against all those who ‘declined to lend, as for instance, declaring them in the name of the prince, rebels, deserters of the common cause, enemies of the fatherland, forbidding them all traffic on water and land, and confiscating their property’. The Dutch Church criticized his behaviour and, strikingly, found itself defending the rights of Philip II.²⁸ The Dutch Church of London also perceived the prison breaking in the Low Countries to free Protestant prisoners as a crime.²⁹ Even about the Iconoclastic Fury a part of the strangers and the ministers expressed a negative opinion as they considered the iconoclasm a sin which caused more severe persecutions.³⁰

How can this dual attitude of the church towards the revolt be explained? How can it fit in and complement the existing narratives which sometimes mention but do not explain this behaviour? How is it possible that the migrants were involved in the

²⁷ Andrew Pettegree, ‘Coming to Terms with Victory: The Upbuilding of a Calvinist Church in Holland, 1572-1590’, in *Calvinism in Europe, 1540-1620*, ed. by A. Pettegree, A. Duke, G. Lewis (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 160-180 (p. 161); The latter is also a conclusion to which David Trim, from the perspective of the military side of the Revolt, adheres. His work partially addresses my research questions but lacks an understanding of the working and limitations of the foreign churches since it does not focus on the church institutions. David J. B. Trim, ‘Fighting “Jacob’s Wars”’. *The Employment of English and Welsh Mercenaries in the European Wars of Religion: France and the Netherlands, 1562-1610* (Ph.D. diss., King’s College, University of London, 2002).

²⁸ *Archivum*, 2, Letter 90, pp. 302-305 (November 1568), as we will see in chapter 5.

²⁹ See chapter 4.

³⁰ See chapters 4 and 5.

Iconoclastic Fury and its aftermath, as Backhouse demonstrated, when the churches did not support such undertakings? Should we perhaps alter our perceptions of their involvement? The disapproval of the use of violence and the Iconoclastic Fury caused conflict within the London Dutch Church as many of the newly arrived refugees were presumably involved in one of the previously mentioned ‘crimes’. Can any indications on the popular opinions on the Dutch Revolt among the members of the churches be found? There are indications as to the involvement of refugees in Sandwich in the Iconoclastic Fury and in rebellion, according to Backhouse, but what about the other foreign congregations? How, for example, did the French Church react?

The previously mentioned ambivalence lies at the heart of any understanding of the foreign churches’ behaviour and views towards the Low Countries. Throughout this thesis I explore the problematic dichotomy between ideals and practice, magisterial and radical Reformed thought, and Reformed theory and violence, which underpinned the ambivalence in the foreign congregations in England. The larger argument running through the work is this: I believe that the tension between ideal and practice influenced ecclesiastical practice, divided the members of the congregations, and created difficult relations with their home countries, especially on the idea of rebellion. The difficulties in accepting the ideal of non-violence were shaped by underlying biblical ideals which challenged most European Protestant communities. Should they purely follow theological ideals of non-violence, or let mobs cleanse the churches? Should they defend their faith through violence as reaction to persecutions? Carlos Eire has pointed out that several Protestant leaders, particularly Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin, encountered these questions.³¹

³¹ Carlos M. N. Eire, *War against the Idols. The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge/New York, 1986), pp. 92-93, 70-71, 74, 227, 265-72.

George Williams identified similar divisions between radical Reformers and what he called ‘magisterial Reformers’, or the leading and elite Reformers in the Peasants’ War.³² Although this is a concept meant to describe German communities in roughly the first half of the sixteenth century, I engage with this division because there were similar problems within the foreign churches. This study therefore also forms a case study on the involvement of the strangers, or rather the limited involvement of the church institutions versus that of popular Reformers. It serves as an important addition to the study of the Dutch Revolt as well as to our understandings of the development and early problems of Protestant movements. The Reformers had been successful in undermining the religious authority of the Catholic Church, but now had to build up a new church. This struggle became clear in the way they handled their lasting relations with and conflict in the Low Countries, as I will show. The consistories endeavoured to support the spread of the Reformation in the Low Countries, yet encouragement of violent resistance against this illegality would not only go against the Pauline, biblical ideas of violence, but would also bring obedience to the authority of the consistory into danger.³³

Their struggle for authority made the churches vulnerable to accusations of tyranny from within its own communities as well as to disappointment which sprung from the difference in interpretations of Evangelical thought between prominent Protestant leaders and the popular reception of Protestant ideas. This is what I want to call the ‘authority paradox’. A paradox also existed in the subsequent call for obedience of the Protestant Evangelical churches. When Reformed church leaders claimed obedient and quiet behaviour among the members on the idea that God ordained their ecclesiastical function and discipline, it followed that members should also be obedient

³² George H. Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (Philadelphia, 1962); *The Radical Reformation*, ed. by Michael G. Baylor (Cambridge, 1991), pp. xi-xxv.

³³ Romans, chapter 13; Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought. Vol. 2: The Age of Reformation* (Cambridge, 1978), p. 193.

to secular governments. Yet, secular governments in the Low Countries persecuted Protestants who held illegal meetings.

The main question in this thesis is the following: what was the significance of the contributions of the foreign churches in England to resistance, revolt, and Reformation in the Low Countries? One untrodden way of researching this question is digging into the churches' theological discourse relating to violence and resistance and show how theological values shaped their involvement in the conflict as well as the governance of the churches. The help the foreign churches offered, or did not offer, to the Dutch Revolt, Protestant resistance, and the Reformation also reflected their sentiments towards the Revolt. The novelty of my study lays in three characteristics: in the investigation of the relations between liturgy, ideals and practice, and in the detailed and nuanced analysis of all the exile churches in England on this topic, thus being a comparative work. As an underlying conceptual investigation, I also examine the relationship between violence and religion.

Lastly, this study also contributes to our understanding of confessionalisation and the concept of exile. Recent studies on these subjects for the Reformation have focused on the exile churches in Germany.³⁴ Migrants with Reformed sympathies in the religiously hostile Low Countries had several options in dealing with their situation: they could go into exile, or simulate and fool the authorities, although Calvin condemned this behaviour as Nicodemism. They could become martyrs, or they could stay in their homeland and

³⁴ While many recent studies on migration to Germany from the Low Countries have appeared, such as Achim Dünwald, *Konfessionsstreit und Verfassungskonflikt. Die Aufnahme der niederländischen Flüchtlinge im Herzogtum Kleve 1566-1585* (Bielefeld, 1998) and Spohnholz's *The Tactics of Toleration*, see also the prominent studies of confessional migration to Germany of Heinz Schilling, 'Die niederländischen Exulanten des 16. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zum Typus der frühneuzeitlichen Konfessionsmigration', *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, 43 (1992), pp. 67-79 and Schilling, *Niederländische Exulanten im 16. Jahrhundert* (Gütersloh, 1972).

engage in active resistance.³⁵ Exile was the way in which refugees initially resisted persecution. This experience deepened their sense of self-perception and identity as biblical examples could guide them when struggling in exile. Obermann has argued that after the Augsburg Interim, exile movements became the heart of the Reformation. This was also the case for the Reformed movement in the Netherlands, which developed in exile especially since the 1540s onwards with the settlement of exile congregations in Wesel (1544) and in England. Exile played an important role in the survival of Dutch Reformed thought. Oberman described the international Calvinist or Reformed movements as ‘the gathered community of the elect’, God’s chosen people. He saw the exile communities in London as an example of this refugee Reformation. Calvin, he argued, considered himself ‘a soldier stationed in Geneva’ who compared himself to the biblical David whom God called to kingship.³⁶ Oberman believed that the Calvin also reacted against early forms of royal absolutism.

Exile is an important theological research category for the examination of violence in the foreign churches, as the concept of exile was linked closely to radicalisation and militancy. Yet, as Alexander Schunka has shown, scholars should also thread carefully on the word ‘exile’, as the term diverts us from the high mobility and socio-economic opportunities underlying religious migration.³⁷ The term exile can cause confusion. Schunka believes migrants used the term increasingly in the sixteenth-century to denote ‘religiously motivated self-perceptions of someone being temporarily removed from his

³⁵ Andrew McKenzie-McHarg also considers suicide to have been an option, for further thought on the options and idea of martyrdom see his ‘Martyrdom and its Discontents. The Martyr as a Motif of Migration in Early Modern Europe’, in *Migrations in the German Lands, 1500-2000*, ed. by Jason Coy, Jared Poley, Alexander Schunka (New York/Oxford, 2016), pp. 35-50.

³⁶ Heiko A. Oberman, ‘*Europa afflicta*: The Reformation of the Refugees’, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 83 (1992), 91-111.

³⁷ Alexander Schunka, ‘Konfession und Migrationsregime in der Frühen Neuzeit’, *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 35:1 (2009), 28-63; Schunka, ‘No Return? Temporary Exile and Permanent Immigration among Confessional Migrants in the Early Modern Era’, in *Migrations in the German lands, 1500-2000*, ed. by Jason Coy, Jared Poley, Alexander Schunka (New York, 2016), pp. 67-87.

or her homeland'.³⁸ Geert Janssen also points out its semantic meaning of 'formal banishment', and prefers to use the term, as I do, interchangeably with that of refugee, and even fugitive, as boundaries were often blurred.³⁹

Moreover, like Mirjam van Veen has recently argued, exile and radicalisation are not necessarily intricately linked. Her case study demonstrated that exile did not necessarily lead to confessionalisation nor militancy.⁴⁰ It is also easy to confuse religious radicalisation, or confessionalisation, with radical militancy. While exile clearly played a role in the formation of identity and militancy in England, this thesis will similarly show that migrants in England did not necessarily radicalise in a militant manner, nor identify with the foreign churches and strict discipline, especially at the start of the Elizabethan period. Traumatic violence and persecution in the home countries formed an equally radicalising factor.

The communities in England, and especially in London, formed one of the main exile communities, which, especially during the Edwardian period, was part of an international Calvinist/Reformed network of exiles. The foreign churches shared features with refugee communities on the Continent, Catholic and Protestant, and in this way formed part of a period of heightened migration from and in the Low Countries. Moreover, exile in the early modern period was a cross-confessional phenomenon.⁴¹ Protestant migrants from the Low Countries also fled to refugee communities in the Holy

³⁸ Alexander Schunka, 'Migrations in the German Lands: An Introduction', in *Migrations in the German lands, 1500-2000*, ed. by Jason Coy, Jared Poley, Alexander Schunka (New York, 2016), pp. 1-34 (p. 5).

³⁹ Geert H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, 2016), p. 10.

⁴⁰ Mirjam van Veen, 'Dirck Volckertz Coornhert: Exile and Religious Coexistence', in *Exile and Religious Identity 1500-1800*, ed. by Jesse Spohnholz and Gary K. Waite (London/New York, 2014), pp. 67-80.

⁴¹ See among others Schunka, 'Konfession und Migrationsregime'; Heinz Schilling, 'Die frühneuzeitliche Konfessionsmigration', in *Migration in der europäischen Geschichte seit dem späten Mittelalter*, ed. by Klaus J. Bade (Osnabrück, 2002), pp. 67-89.

Roman Empire. Exile communities existed in Wesel, Frankfurt, Cologne, Aachen, in the lower Rhine area, and in Cleves, and some refugees also took shelter in other places like Frankenthal, Bremen, and even Nuremberg.⁴² As among others Jesse Spohnholz has shown, these communities similarly provided poor relief and education which brought a sense of solidarity and confessional identity, but also relieved the local community of any such burdens, avoiding local agitation. Spohnholz also states that the refugees in Wesel were militant and supported the rebel cause through money collections, planned invasions, and plotting against Philip II's government.⁴³ As I will show in the English case, the involvement of the foreign churches in resistance in the Low Countries was not that straightforward. Another difference with the German exile centres is that English exile communities did not experience the same degree of interconfessional strife as they were not living among Lutherans but formed part of the English church, even though their presence equally caused religious agitation. The strangers were largely confessionally tolerated, especially, as Raingard Esser has shown, in Norwich.⁴⁴

Similarly, I must point out, exile movements of Catholics existed, especially from the 1570s onwards, when the Reformers attempted to dominate the northern Netherlands. Both denominations found support for the harsh conditions of exile in biblical examples of exile. Furthermore, Janssen pointed out many similarities in exile between Reformed and Catholic denomination, foremostly the experience of a sharpened confessional identity in exile. Catholic refugees also formed letter networks and provided

⁴² See Heinz Schilling's comparative study *Niederländische Exulanten im 16. Jahrhundert; ihre Stellung im Sozialgefüge und im religiösen Leben deutscher und englischer Städte* (Gütersloh, 1972); Robert van Roosbroeck, *Emigranten, Nederlandse Vluchtelingen in Duitsland (1550-1600)* (Keulen, 1968). More detailed studies concerning these migrants in the Holy Roman Empire should hopefully soon spring from Mirjam van Veen and Jesse Spohnholz's project *The Rhineland Exiles and the Religious Landscape of the Dutch Republic, c.1550-1618*.

⁴³ Jesse Spohnholz, 'Calvinism and Religious Exile During the Revolt of the Netherlands (1568-1609)', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 32:3 (2014), 235-64 (p. 239).

⁴⁴ Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten*, pp. 245-46.

educations through Jesuit schools. Many Catholic refugees become more militant while in exile, making plans to recatholize the Low Countries, while some had opposed Alba's oppressive regime.⁴⁵ Catholic exile and former bishop Willem Lindanus proposed Catholic exiles to take top functions in ecclesiastical and secular government in the Low Countries in order to strengthen resistance against Protestantism in 1578. In the following decade, Catholics returned to the Low Countries and wiped out memories of Protestantism in the south, which Janssen termed 'Catholic iconoclasm', thus impacting the Counter-Reformation in the Southern Netherlands.⁴⁶

The foreign churches in England had a rich history as the result of a historically prominent mass-migration movement which demonstrated a character of religious and cultural identification- rather than national alliance. King Edward VI had first permitted the foundation of churches for strangers fleeing religious persecution on the Continent in 1550. He granted a charter towards the German and French strangers in the city of London, allowing them to celebrate the communion according to their own Reformed customs and language. Under the guidance and superintendence of the Polish baron John à Lasco, Edward promised these church communities a residence in the old church of Austin Friars.⁴⁷ I do not study the foreign communities in England before 1547 because these were not Protestant ecclesiastical institutions, hence the focus of this thesis on Edward VI's reign from 1547 onwards. When Mary came to the throne after the death of Edward VI, she revoked this privilege and ordered the Reformed community to leave the country.

After their 1553 expulsion from England, 1559 again meant a turning point for Protestant exiles. Under Queen Elizabeth, the strangers returned to England where the

⁴⁵ Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt*, pp. 119-20.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 120, 140-45.

⁴⁷ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 14, pp. 4-7.

Queen promised a renewal of certain privileges of the charter in 1560, albeit under the enforced supervision of the Bishop of London.⁴⁸ As we will see in chapter 1, the stranger churches grew more independent from each other, became a part of the English Church, and started to receive increasing numbers of religious refugees, some of them radical, militant Reformers. The foreigners held an extraordinary position in English society with religious and economic privileges which helped to accommodate its poor members. The thesis concentrates on the timespan that covers a part of the reign of Elizabeth I (1558-1603), that is 1558 to 1585, with occasional references to the Strangers' Church and its leading figures under Edward VI (1547-1553), and to their exile under Mary I (1553-1558). The reason why the research stops at 1585 is the change in situation brought by the official involvement of England in the war in the Low Countries.

The foreigners felt both religiously and legally caught between England and their home countries during Elizabeth's reign. In January 1559 Peter Martyr Vermigli, an influential Protestant theologian, had proclaimed his happiness about the accession of Elizabeth to the English throne in a letter to Jan Utenhove, a Flemish nobleman and leading figure in the formation of the Strangers' Church under Edward. Elizabeth's accession incited Vermigli's hope that she would continue her half-brother Edward VI's diligence in reforming the English Church. Being optimistic about Elizabeth's intentions concerning religion, Vermigli decided to dedicate one of his forthcoming books to her. In the same letter Vermigli reported rumours that Philip II of Spain had announced that 'nobody shall suffer death for the sake of religion' at Valladolid, Spain, and that Philip would shortly proclaim the same in Flanders.⁴⁹ Philip ruled in the Low Countries and so such a declaration promised a halt to the persecution of religious dissenters and to their migration to more tolerant countries. However, this optimistic promise remained

⁴⁸ For a broad outline of the settlement negotiations see Pettegree, pp. 133-71.

⁴⁹ Archivum, 2, Letter 35, pp. 107-09.

unfulfilled as religious tolerance was not generally proclaimed in the Low Countries. Instead, the persecution of religious dissenters turned hundreds of refugees towards the foreign churches in England. In the 1560s, strangers in London had several foreign churches to pick from; as there was a Dutch or Flemish church, a French or Walloon church, an Italian church, and, occasionally, a Spanish congregation.

Jacob Bucer, a prominent Dutch Reformed minister, commenting on the influx of Dutch migrants in 1562, noted that ‘such multitudes flock daily’ to the Dutch churches in England because of ‘the persecution in Flanders’.⁵⁰ Not all the refugees crossed the Channel for religious motives though, and not everyone joined the churches. A 1573 query recorded that of 7,143 aliens within the city of London, 35 per cent of those questioned had come to England ‘solely in search of employment’, rather than for religious reasons.⁵¹ The reasons were more often mixed than straightforwardly religious. Next to that, Spicer has pointed out that many foreigners proclaimed to be ‘of no church’, and that these were often people who tried to hide their real faith or people who did attend foreign churches but were not prepared to become members.⁵²

The French Church reported counting 342 members at the Lord’s Supper in May 1564, men and women. By December 1565 that number had gone up to 410.⁵³ Yet, as Spicer has shown, the actual church attendance might have been higher. While participation in the Lord’s Supper was only available for members, many sympathisers did not become members.⁵⁴ In June 1561 the Dutch Church reacted to rumours under

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Letter 68, pp. 208-09.

⁵¹ Lionel Williams, ‘The Crown and the Provincial Immigrant Communities in Elizabethan England’, in *British Government and Administration. Studies presented to S.B. Chrimes*, ed. by H. Hearder & H.R. Loyn (Cardiff, 1974), pp. 117-31 (p. 117).

⁵² Andrew Spicer, “‘Of no church’”: Immigrants, *liebbebers* and Confessional Diversity in Elizabethan London, c. 1568-1581’, in *Forgetting Faith? Negotiating Confessional Conflict in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by I. Karremann, C. Zwielerlein & I. M. Groote (Berlin, 2012), pp. 199-220.

⁵³ The numbers of the French Church can regularly be found in their consistory acts, around the times of their Lord’s Supper. For instance, *Actes du Consistoire I*, pp. 59, 123.

⁵⁴ Spicer, “‘Of no church’”, p. 208.

inquiry of the Bishop of London, Edmund Grindal, that there were 40,000 foreigners in both foreign churches. It proclaimed that it had around 227 married men among its members.⁵⁵ Including children and young unmarried men and women, both church communities probably counted between one thousand and two thousand members in the first half of the 1560s, but the number of fellow countrymen present in London was naturally much higher than that.

It is a subject of speculation as to how many immigrants were living in London and the rest of England in general, but it seems that a minority did not join any churches.⁵⁶ Pettegree estimated that between 1550 and 1585 some 40,000 to 50,000 foreign refugees may have come over to England.⁵⁷ In comparison, the Spanish ambassador in England in 1572 estimated that about 20,000 subjects of the Spanish King Philip II, originating from the Low Countries, lived in England.⁵⁸ The majority of the alien population residing in London and Westminster in 1567, as much as 75 per cent, appears to have originated from the Low Countries.⁵⁹ As it is impossible to give exact numbers of the alien population in London during the reign of Elizabeth, a population which was constantly changing depending on events in the Low Countries and France, it is hard to tell what percentage of the immigrants in London became members of the London stranger churches. After the Iconoclastic Fury of 1566, the inquisition into heretical practices increased in the Netherlands and more refugees fled to Germany or England. At the same time the churches' populations decreased in periods of plague. The community was severely struck by plague in 1562, for instance, when several of its consistory members

⁵⁵ Kerkerads-protocollen, p. 210.

⁵⁶ Spicer, "Of no church", p. 206.

⁵⁷ Pettegree, p. 299.

⁵⁸ Kenneth H. D. Haley, *The British and the Dutch. Political and Cultural Relations through the Ages* (London, 1988), p. 32.

⁵⁹ Yungblut, p. 14 as quoted in Raymond Fagel, 'Immigrant Roots: The Geographical Origins of Newcomers from the Low Countries in Tudor England', in *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, ed. by Nigel Goose and Lien Bich Luu (Brighton/Portland, 2005), 41-56 (p. 41).

died.⁶⁰ If we consider Lien Luu's estimate which pointed out that alien immigrants formed perhaps ten per cent of London's population in the early 1570s, then the population of immigrants would have accounted for up to 10,000 migrants.⁶¹ This shows that many foreigners did not join the congregations.

Due to the growing arrival of destitute refugees in the 1560s, the London community could hardly sustain its members. Gradually, the presence of migrants from the Continent increased in cities and towns outside London. The Privy Council granted privileges to some of these settlements at the request of either representatives of the stranger groups themselves, or of the city councils, which recognised a certain economic value in the presence of these exiles. The earliest Elizabethan foreign church outside of London was that of Sandwich, which Queen Elizabeth officially recognised in 1561.⁶² Sandwich, in Kent, was a convenient port through which many of the new migrants arrived from the Continent. The French-speaking part of this community moved to Canterbury in 1575 as the group became too large.⁶³ Similarly, in 1565 the Norwich Dutch and French churches opened and a part of the Sandwich community relocated to this congregation.⁶⁴ Other communities of Reformed strangers could be found in Elizabethan England in Rye, Winchelsea, Halstead, Colchester, Great Yarmouth, Southampton, Maidstone, Dover, York, Thetford, Glastonbury, Stamford, Coventry, Ipswich, and King's Lynn.⁶⁵ The immigrants moved frequently between settlements and also between

⁶⁰ Kerkerads-protocollen, p. 202.

⁶¹ Luu, p. 97; Pettegree, p. 299; see also Vanessa Harding, 'The Population of London, 1550-1700: A Review of the Published Evidence', *The London Journal*, 15:2 (1990), 111-28.

⁶² According to Backhouse, a small Flemish colony in Sandwich asked for official recognition from the local authorities in May 1561. By July 1561 Elizabeth I signed the Letters Patent. See Backhouse, pp. 17-18. The London Dutch consistory also discussed the negotiations for the new settlement. A written record of this can be found in, Kerkerads-protocollen, pp. 192-93.

⁶³ Backhouse, pp. 34-35.

⁶⁴ *Letters Patent from Queen Elizabeth I*, 1 Nov. 1565, as referred to and edited by Moens, *The Walloons and their Church at Norwich*, 2, pp. 244-45, and Raingard Esser, 'Strangers within the Gates: Dutch and Walloon Refugees in Norwich', *Westhoek Info*, 8:1 (April 1992), 28-34 (p. 29).

⁶⁵ For more info about the history of the foundation of these settlements check: de Schickler, 1, pp. 292-303 (Rye and Winchelsea); *Register of baptisms in the Dutch Church at Colchester*, pp. v-vi

England and the Low Countries. They did not only make crossings under the pretext of trade but also to visit relatives or friends, with the risk of civic authorities apprehending them. The strangers did not remain isolated from the Continent throughout their residence in England.

A large network of correspondence connected the churches in England with the Reformed and Calvinist churches across the Channel.⁶⁶ The nature of these networks varied, sometimes emphasizing mercantile links, to family relations, or bonds of religious identity. The geographic location of the foreign churches in England facilitated these networks since most foreign churches were situated in the South and East of England. Geographically the thesis focuses on England and the Low Countries and specifically on the links between both areas through the migrants in England originating from the Continent.

It is important to define what the term ‘Low Countries’ implied and which regions they entailed since the geographical borders of this region have changed considerably throughout history.⁶⁷ They encompassed contemporary Belgium and the Netherlands as well as parts of northern France in the sixteenth century. During the timespan of the reign of Elizabeth I this region was composed of duchies and counties united under the rule of Philip II of Spain, who reigned from 1555 to 1598. These territories were independent in the high Middle Ages, before the Burgundian and Habsburg houses united them, and displayed varying regional cultures. It was and still is easy to confuse these regional

(Colchester and Halstead); Cross, pp. 3-8, 12-21, 62-64 (Canterbury); van Schelven, pp. 189-90 (Halstead), 199-200 (Maidstone), 200-01 (Yarmouth and Stamford), 202 (Ipswich, Thetford, and King’s Lynn), 203 (Dover), 204 (Coventry); Valery Morant, ‘The Settlement of Protestant Refugees in Maidstone during the Sixteenth Century’, *The Economic History Review*, n.s., 4:2 (1951), 210-14 (p. 211) (Maidstone); Spicer, pp. 2-34; For the Edwardian community in Glastonbury see H.J. Cowell, ‘The French-Walloon Church at Glastonbury, 1550-1553’, *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 13 (1923-29), 483-515 (p. 484). See Map 1.

⁶⁶ The Archivum illustrates this clearly.

⁶⁷ See Map 2.

identities, such as Flemish or Frisian, with the terms ‘Dutch’ and ‘German’. The name ‘Flemish’ does not solely reflect the county of Flanders but contemporaries often used it as a trade mark, or a *pars pro toto*, for the whole region of the Low Countries. The sixteenth-century travel guide author Ludovico Guicciardini provided some reflections on this phenomenon: ‘Ceste partie du Roy communement s’appelle le País Bas, de leur basseur vers la mer Oceane. Pareillement presque par toute l’Europe s’appelle Flandres : prenant vne partie pour le tout, à cause de la puissance et splendeur d’icelle Region’.⁶⁸

There was also a ‘Walloon’ identity within the Low Countries. Alastair Duke defined the Walloon provinces linguistically as Artois, Namur, Hainault, French Flanders, and Rommanbrabant.⁶⁹ These provinces were largely those provinces in the Low Countries in which a localized variant of French was the common language. This is not to be confused with the Walloon part of present-day Belgium; it also embraced parts of what is nowadays northern France, despite the area identifying more as Flemish than as Walloon during the Reformation period. Robert Stein has argued that the linguistic division was not clear cut and that people communicated with ease across languages.⁷⁰ The French-speaking Walloon refugees from the Low Countries typically attended the French-speaking French or Walloon churches. The French Church in London therefore contained a mixture of refugees from the Low Countries and France. There was a Walloon Church in Canterbury, for instance.

⁶⁸ Ludovico Guicciardini, *Description de tout le País-Bas autrement dict la Germanie inferieure ou Basse-Allemagne* (Antwerp, 1568), p. 4; Alastair Duke also remarks the use of the *pars pro toto* in ‘The elusive Netherlands. The Question of National Identity in the Early Modern Low Countries on the eve of the Revolt’, in: *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries*, ed. by A. Duke, J. Pollman & A. Spicer (Ashgate, 2009), pp. 9-56 (pp. 10-39).

⁶⁹ Duke, ‘The elusive Netherlands’, p. 19.

⁷⁰ Robert Stein, ‘Introduction’, in Robert Stein and Judith Pollmann (eds.), *Networks, Regions and Nations: Shaping Identities in the Low Countries, 1300-1650*. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, 149 (Leiden/Boston, 2010), pp. 1-41 (p. 16).

In this study, I usually refer to the London Reformed foreign churches as stranger churches. I agree with and adopt Michael Springer's use of the name Strangers' Church to describe the London Reformed foreign churches under Edward VI.⁷¹ This refers to the unity among the churches which John à Lasco shaped. Under Elizabeth, however, the churches appeared less unified and lost their independent superintendent. From this moment onwards, it is more suitable to speak about several churches, like they did themselves. The churches used a variety of names to describe themselves throughout Elizabeth's reign. The name of the French Church was generally beyond doubt as the French part refers to the French language, even though it could be referred to as a Walloon church because of its large Walloon membership. This church referred to the other foreign churches as 'les églises estrangières', or the strangers' churches throughout its sources. The Dutch Church received and assumed various names, among which 'the Flemish Church', 'Ecclesia Germanica', 'Ecclesia Belgica', 'Ecclesia Londinogermanica', '(Neder)Duytscher ghemeynte', and 'Ecclesia Belgico Germanica'. Even within the church, members used different terms, for instance when in 1577 Godfried van Wingen signed a document as the minister of the 'Ecclesia Londinogermanica', while Joris Wybo wrote that he was the minister of 'Ecclesia belgiogermanica' in the same document.⁷² The name thus must have practically referred to the Dutch language, although a political element relating to the German connection of à Lasco's Emden superintendence cannot be excluded.

Throughout their historiography, the foreign Reformed churches in London have become known as the 'stranger churches' in the Elizabethan period, sometimes spelled with capital letters, despite its grammatical shortcomings. De Schickler, van Schelven, and

⁷¹ Michael S. Springer, *Restoring Christ's Church. John à Lasco and the Forma ac ratio*, St Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot, 2007).

⁷² Archivum, 2, Letter 117, pp. 410-11.

Burn seemed to prefer the term ‘refugee churches’, ‘exile churches’, or ‘foreign churches’, which are other potential interpretations of the word ‘peregrinorum’ which the churches used to describe themselves.⁷³ I will regularly use these terms to offer some variation. When I refer to the ‘stranger churches’ I mean those of London, while ‘foreign churches’ will usually refer to all the refugee churches in England. Similarly, the names of Reformers relating to the churches can differ in spelling as well as the use of vernacular and Latinized forms. I have adopted the forms of the names which I believe to be most commonly among historians, such as Nicholas des Gallars, Godfried van Wingham, Wouter Deleene, Peter Deleene, Martin Micron, and Adriaan van Haemstede. I take exception to references in which their books are referenced and I prefer to use the name on the book, which is usually Latinized.

Sixteenth-century English governmental sources referred to the migrants as ‘aliens’, ‘strangers’, and, less frequently so, as ‘foreigners’. The term ‘foreigner’ could equally indicate migrant Englishmen, new to a certain English city or region. This study will often adopt the terms listed above when describing the migrants, presuming these words are neutrally positioned. There is no evidence of these terms having pejorative connotations in the types of sources used in connection with this study. Lastly, I want to mention that I prefer the word Reformed to Calvinist in the context of the Low Countries. The founding members of the stranger churches were not strictly Calvinist.⁷⁴ Only the French Church was under Calvinist leadership.

There is a large range of source material available for the history of the foreign churches, and especially for the London Dutch Church. I claim no originality in finding

⁷³ This is visible in the titles of their studies: de Schickler, *Les Eglises du refuge en Angleterre*; van Schelven, *De Nederduitsche vluchtelingen-kerk der 16de eeuw in Engeland*; Burn, *History of the French, Walloon, Dutch, and other Foreign Protestant refugees*.

⁷⁴ Pettegree, *Emden*, pp. 22-24.

sources but rather give a detailed analysis of the discourse of well-trodden sources of which I ask different questions. The archives of the churches are fairly well preserved. The majority of the Dutch Church of London's sixteenth century archival material can be consulted as printed sources. The main body of source material for this church is printed in the *Ecclesiae Londino-Bataviae Archivum*, a series of four books edited by Jan Hendrik Hessels which presents the correspondence of the London Dutch Church. The letters show a regular correspondence with other Reformed churches, as well as with the Privy Council.⁷⁵ The disadvantages to these letters occur in the cases in which we only have drafts available for letters and the fact that in other instances we do not have the letters which the London churches sent in the first place in certain correspondences.

The books recording the consistory acts form another type of primary material for the Dutch Church of London. Large parts of the consistory records of London have been printed by Abraham Kuyper in his *Kerkeraads-protocollen der Hollandsche gemeente te London, 1569-1571* (1870), and by Aart van Schelven in his *Kerkeraads-protocollen der Nederduitsche vluchtelingen-kerk te London, 1560-1563* (1921).⁷⁶ Sources with similar contents exist in yet another book with printed acts of the consistory of the Dutch Church in London; Auke Jelsma and Owe Boersma's *Acta van het Consistorie van de Nederlandse Gemeente te London, 1569-1585* (1993).⁷⁷ There is, however, a hiatus in the consistory acts between 1565 and 1569. We do not have any consistory sources for this crucial period. The previously mentioned sources, and other sources of the Dutch Church which have not been printed, can nowadays be found at the London Metropolitan Archives. There

⁷⁵ Archivum.

⁷⁶ *Kerkeraads-protocollen der Hollandsche gemeente te London, 1569-1571*, ed. by Abraham Kuyper, Werken der Marnix-vereeniging (Utrecht, 1870); *Kerkeraads-protocollen*.

⁷⁷ Acta.

are amongst others deacons' memoranda books and membership lists. They contain useable material but are not as rich as the letters and acts.⁷⁸

The Dutch or Flemish churches in England regularly assembled for colloquia. The minutes of these meetings capture discussions on the events in the Low Countries and related issues. Johannes van Toorenenbergen's *Acten van de Colloquia der Nederlandsche Gemeenten in Engeland* (1872) consists of the printed minutes from Dutch colloquia.⁷⁹ These documents indicate the collaboration between the foreign churches but also the financial and disciplinary struggles. It tells us more about the smaller refugee churches. Another work by van Toorenenbergen, namely *Symeon Ruytinck. Gheschiedenissen ende Handlingen die Voornemelick Angaen de Nederduytsche Natie ende Gemeynten Woendende in Engeland ende Bysonder Tot London* (1873), is the printed edition of a history of the Dutch nation and church of London, written by one of its members, Symeon Ruytinck, in the early seventeenth century.⁸⁰

There are also personal sources available in the form of letters from the refugees to their families on the Continent and vice versa. Alphonse Verheyden published some remaining correspondance in an article in 1955 which contains the transcriptions of about seventy letters from mostly French speaking families from the region of northern France to their relatives in England.⁸¹ Hendrik Quirinus Janssen and Johan Hendrik van Dale printed a second series of letters in 1857. The article contains sixty-four letters to families

⁷⁸ LMA, CLC/180 Dutch Church, Austin Friars (collection), for instance CLC/180/MS07400 Deacons memoranda and petty imbursement books, CLC/180/MS07397 Acta books of the Consistory, CLC/180/MS07414 Summary of the dispute in the London Dutch Church concerning the safeguarding of doctrine and ministry, CLC/180/MS35158 Charter of Edward VI, CLC/180/MS07407 Register of contributors to students' fund.

⁷⁹ *Acten van de Colloquia*.

⁸⁰ *Symeon Ruytinck. Gheschiedenissen ende Handlingen die Voornemelick Angaen de Nederduytsche Natie ende Gemeynten Woendende in Engeland ende Bysonder Tot London*, ed. by J. J. van Toorenenbergen, *Werken der Marnix-Vereeniging*, 3rd ser., 1 (Utrecht, 1873).

⁸¹ 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)', *Bulletin de la Commission Royal de l'Histoire*, vol. 120 (1955), 95-257.

in Ypres from refugees who were at the moment of writing, which was 1568 for most letters, living in Norwich or London. The article is particularly valuable as the original documents have been destroyed when the Ypres Cloth hall, where they were stored, burned down in World War I.⁸²

The records of the French Church are less extensive than those of the Dutch but need examination as the French Church was also linked to the Low Countries through its Walloon members. The largest parts of the consistory acts of the French Church have been published under two studies, namely Elsie Johnson's *Actes du consistoire de l'Eglise Française de Threadneedle Street, Londres, 1v. 1560-1565* (1937) and Anne Oakley's *Actes du consistoire de l'Eglise Française de Threadneedle Street, Londres, 2v. 1571-1577* (1969).⁸³ I also examined the sources in Adrian Chamier's *Les Actes des colloques des Eglises Françaises et des Synodes des Eglises Etrangères en Angleterre 1581-1654* (1890) which revealed more about the colloquia that were regularly held as a meeting point for all French and/or Walloon churches in England.⁸⁴ Another type of meeting which the stranger churches held was the Coetus. In *Unity in multiformity. The minutes of the coetus of London, 1575 and the consistory minutes of the Italian Church of London, 1570-1591* (1997) Boersma and Jelsma printed the remaining minutes of this Coetus as well as the consistory meetings of the Italian Church. This confirmed that there were suspicious numbers of Dutch members in the Italian and French churches and tried to give an account as to why this was the case.⁸⁵

I also investigate sources of smaller communities for which most of the evidence consists of municipal records, such as the *Little Black Book* in which the Sandwich city

⁸² H. Q. Janssen & J. H. van Dale, 'De hervormde vlugtelingen van Yperen in Engeland. Geschetst naar hunne brieven. Een bijdrage tot de Hervormingsgeschiedenis van Yperen en Norwich', *Bijdragen tot de oudheidkunde en geschiedenis inzonderheid van Zeeuwsch-Vlaanderen*, 2 (1857), 211-304.

⁸³ *Actes du Consistoire I; Actes du Consistoire II*. There are more unpublished sources, among others consistory acts for 1577-1588, in the French Protestant Church in Soho, London.

⁸⁴ *Colloques et Synodes*.

⁸⁵ *Unity in Multiformity*, p. 26.

council kept ordinances and membership lists regarding the strangers in their city.⁸⁶ For Norwich there is a Dutch and Walloon Strangers' Book of Orders of 1564 to 1643 as well as several membership lists.⁸⁷ The Walloon Church at Canterbury uniquely has remaining consistory records available from 1576 until 1584.⁸⁸ A register of the Walloon Church of Southampton survives under the name 'Register of the Church of St. Julian, or God's House, of Southampton'.⁸⁹ It provides evidence on the comparative perspective of this study outside of information in the letters of the Archivum. I will comment on the relevant sources at the start of each chapter.

The comparative character of this study is self-evident since I study all the foreign churches. As I show in chapter 1, the foreign churches had unified relations as they were all Reformed migrants who held intensive contacts and very similar church disciplines, but they did not necessarily form a uniform group. This, in conjunction with the transferability of my research questions, makes the foreign churches suitable for comparative study. From this comparative study, I take the results to form larger conclusions of the politics between the foreign churches and their members. Yet, I must point out that the sources for the Dutch Church as well as its engagement with the Low Countries were more extensive than those of the French Church. My analysis emphasises the Dutch Church, despite the French Church consisting of many French-speaking members of the Low Countries. French-speaking Calvinist and Reformed Walloon churches in the Low Countries remain an understudied subject.

⁸⁶ Kent History and Library Centre, Maidstone, Sa/Ac4 The Little Black Book, Sa/Ac5 The New Red Book.

⁸⁷ Norfolk Record Office, MC 189/1, 634X3(a) Record of the 'politijcke mannen', NCR Case 17d/9 Book of orders, FC 29 French Walloon Church.

⁸⁸ CCA, U47/A1-5 Actes du Consistoire.

⁸⁹ TNA, RG4/4600 FOREIGN CHURCHES: 1567 -1779 Walloon Church of St. Julian or God's House of Southampton (Walloon and French Protestant).

The rest of this thesis consists of six chronologically ordered chapters. Chapter one adopts a comparative approach concerning the relations between the foreign churches. Whereas we would expect uniformity between the churches, the chapter demonstrates that the churches maintained an independent identity, albeit time reliant. This chapter considers their co-operation in order to investigate the potential of collaboration between the foreign churches. If the churches were relatively independent, how could they have collaborated on issue concerning the Low Countries?

The second chapter analyses the foreign churches' contributions to the Reformation in the Low Countries between 1547 and 1565 in order to assess their relations with the Low Countries. I examine migration patterns, the missions of ministers, and the production, spread, and influence of books and psalms. Did the churches organise an ideological invasion or were they rather self-protecting? The chapter shows the role of individuals and how their influence competed with growing churches under the Cross in the Low Countries and other exile centres. For the Elizabethan period, I conclude that the foreign churches did not fully participate in the development of Reformed churches in the Low Countries. This demonstrates the struggle for authority within the churches.

Protestants in the Low Countries envisaged increasing persecutions and with them the question of potential resistance of governmental and secular authorities who were trying to put these persecutions into practice in the first half of the 1560s. Chapter three considers the foreign churches' role in this resistance and their views on the topic. It shows broad divisions within the churches and between the foreign churches and the Low Countries. Whereas previous narratives concerning the churches have demonstrated the growing militancy among the foreign churches, the chapter emphasises the pacifist

side's indignance towards resistance and its attempts to soften persecutions through political actions.

Chapter four considers the engagement of the foreign churches in the Iconoclastic Fury of 1566 and its aftermath. The chapter shows the practical implications of the dilemma concerning obedience and resistance among the churches as the Fury formed a highpoint of resistance. Although it marked significant discontent in the Low Countries, I show that the foreign churches in England suffered from the event. The chapter adds to our understanding of the Fury as it demonstrates the conservative side of the London Dutch Church. I also investigate the different views on the Iconoclastic Fury among foreign churches, and how these views formed part of conflicts within the churches undermining consistories' and ministers' bids for authority.

The fifth chapter treats the churches' relations with William of Orange and their support for the Dutch Revolt. What contribution did the foreign churches in England make to the revolt in the Low Countries between 1568 and 1585? Were the war efforts as large as we would expect? If not, what held the communities back? Opinions within the foreign churches seem initially divided. I also examine what their actual contributions to Orange's war efforts were, as well as how the churches and the members of their consistories behaved towards Orange. Bringing in the English context, I also consider the influence of Elizabethan politics on the churches' involvement.

The sixth and final chapter of this thesis deals with the same time period as the fifth chapter but directs the focus of research towards the contributions of the foreign churches in aid of Reformed churches in the Low Countries. The stranger churches held two strategies to contribute to the Reformation in the Low Countries. The first one was to invest in their own existence, the second one was to aid the churches in the Low Countries as a way of spiritually reconquering them. Yet the churches struggled keeping

a balance between these two strategies, as well as dealing with their presence in the English Church. The common element in all the chapters is the comparative perspective and an emphasis on Reformed interpretations concerning events in the Low Countries.

1. The location and changing circumstances of the foreign churches in England: an overview, 1547-1585

This chapter discusses the location, coherence, and unity of the foreign churches in England between the reign of Edward VI and Elizabeth I. It illustrates the importance of London, well-understood by previous historians, and relations with foreign churches in the provinces.¹ This forms a group of roughly twenty congregations, found most notably in East Anglia and the south-east of England.² It also seeks to reveal the extent to which the foreign churches, as a group, maintained close relations with their compatriots on the Continent throughout the period in question. This approach is important because previous studies have perhaps overstressed the significance of London and individual churches. One aim of this thesis is also to highlight the complex nature of the relations between the foreign churches in England, individually and as a group, with the Reformation on the Continent.

The Elizabethan foreign churches' members had similar geographical origins, France and the Low Countries, and religious backgrounds, Calvinist or Reformed. As the migrants organised themselves in churches of their reformed religion and language, we might expect to see the existence or the formation of a uniform network of church institutions, and perhaps even actions set up in aid of the Low Countries through these institutions. We might also expect to find close relations and co-operation between the foreign churches, as well as attempts to preserve a form of unity between the churches in exile and the Dutch and Walloon/French Reformed and Calvinist churches in the Low Countries or France.

¹ See especially Pettegree's work.

² See map 1.

So how were the foreign churches organised and what kinds of internal and international co-operation did they set up? In order to answer this question, I investigate their interactions and organisation on three levels. I start this chapter by considering the links and co-operation between the stranger churches in London since these were the first Reformed foreign churches in Elizabeth's reign. Next, I investigate the co-operation and interaction of the foreign churches on a countrywide level with a special focus on the 1570s and 1580s as this period is the best documented. Finally, I examine the foreign churches' engagement with Reformed and Calvinist churches on an international level. This final section examines the place of the foreign churches in the Reformed networks in the Low Countries.

The only historian who has so far considered the co-operation between the stranger churches of London in detail is Owe Boersma. He believed that the London stranger churches formed tight bonds during the Elizabethan period and proposed that we consider them one church, a unity, existing of two or three church communities because of their close co-operation with each other.³ I agree that there was close partnership between the London churches, but examining the stranger churches as one church would be overstating their co-operation. Andrew Pettegree also examined the churches in London while regularly demonstrating connections with provincial churches, but he did not study the stranger churches' co-operation in particular.⁴

Relating to the third section of this chapter, Charles Littleton has already demonstrated the connections between the members of the French Church and their

¹ Owe Boersma, 'Vluchtig voorbeeld: De Nederlandse, Franse en Italiaanse vluchtelingenkerken in Londen, 1568-1585' (Ph.D. diss., Theologische Academie Kampen, 1994), pp. 16-28, 240.

⁴ Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*; 'The Strangers and Their Churches in London, 1550-1580' (D.Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 1983).

family on the Continent.⁵ While Littleton looked at the connections between these migrants and their kin, I explore the church institutions' relations. Through an exploration of how the foreign churches interacted with each other and with the Low Countries, I show how the foreign church institutions in England functioned and identified with each other within the local and international network of Dutch and Walloon Reformed churches.

This chapter firstly argues that the churches were largely independent from an overarching institutional network and that there was 'unity' between the foreign churches but little 'uniformity'.⁶ With unity I mean that the foreign churches had unifying connections: they communicated, considered themselves connected to each other through identification in foreign status and ecclesiastical Protestant institutions which support each other, but they did not officially belong to an overarching institution except for the English Church. The foreign churches remained independent from each other. Their ecclesiastical policies and rituals were not uniform, and only in the 1580s did the churches attempt to create uniformity in the foreign churches. This could point to a change in behaviour once it became clear that the success of the Dutch Revolt in the southern Low Countries looked bleak, as Jesse Spohnholz has witnessed among the exiles in Wesel.⁷ Secondly I point out how this changed over time. This chapter adds to the larger argument of this thesis by asserting that conflict within the churches and between

⁵ Charles G. D. Littleton, 'The Strangers, their Churches and the Continent: Continuing and Changing Connexions', in *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, ed. by Nigel Goose and Lien Luu (Brighton/Portland, 2005), pp. 177-91.

⁶ In that respect I find the title of Boersma and Jelsma's study 'Unity in multiformity' very useful since a sense of unity between the churches in London is visible through their cooperation, yet multiformity also shows that the churches, especially after the 1560s, held onto their own form of ecclesiastical government, and, as I would argue, institutional identity. I believe that Boersma overemphasised this unity in his 'Vluchtig voorbeeld', where he suggests on p. 19 that the stranger churches in London still considered themselves as being in a bond of close unity with each other, but he demonstrates a better balance in his *Unity in Multiformity*.

⁷ Jesse Spohnholz, 'Calvinism and Religious Exile During the Revolt of the Netherlands (1568-1609)', *Immigrants and Minorities* 32:3 (2014), 235-64 (pp. 241-53).

the churches complicated the search for ecclesiastical authority and organisation. The churches did not exist as a uniform platform from which they could organise actions in the Low Countries.

The content of this chapter rests on documents from the Elizabethan period mainly, since we have very little information on the Edwardian period. This chapter largely relies on consistory records, the Archivum letter collection, records of the colloquia, and records from synods in the Low Countries. Unfortunately, we remain quite in the dark about the period 1566 to 1569 as there are no surviving consistory records for any of the churches in this period.

I. The Strangers in London: one, two, or three churches?

In 1550 John à Lasco fashioned the foreign Reformed congregations in London to be part of one Strangers' Church, united under his own supervision and worshipping in the same building, while congregations and ceremonies were held separately. The charter also depicts the strangers as one group when Edward VI through the charter promised a church in London for the congregation of 'Germans and other foreigners'.⁸ According to the charter, one superintendent and four ministers governed the congregation and formed one corporate and political body.⁹ In this way we can speak of a Strangers' Church in the Edwardian period, rather than stranger churches, or the more grammatically correct strangers' churches.¹⁰ In the Elizabethan period, however, we can arguably speak about

⁸ Archivum, 3.1, pp. 4-7.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Special thanks go to George English who questioned me about the use of the name stranger churches and why historians tend to prefer this name rather than the grammatically correct Strangers' Churches.

two churches, no longer united through the charter or by à Lasco. The French Church and Dutch Church adopted a separate identity from the start of the Elizabethan period.

Elizabeth appointed the Bishop of London as the superintendent of the stranger churches. Their superintendent was now an external English cleric through which the foreign churches became part of the English Church. The churches consulted their superintendent together or separately when troubles arose within the communities. While the Dutch Church maintained à Lasco's church discipline, the French Church adopted its own church orders which Nicholas des Gallars introduced during his time as its minister. The French Church chose a church discipline which drew more closely to the Genevan model than the Dutch Church. There was no longer institutional and constitutional unity like there had been under à Lasco.

Although the stranger churches formed two separate institutions, they worked out a system of mutual support through regular meetings called the 'Coetus'. This was a meeting which the Elizabethan stranger churches decided to adopt from the Strangers' Church. As migrant communities both churches had to deal with common problems and concerns, which they would address in these meetings. Similarly, the Italian Church joined the Coetus meetings from 1569 onwards. Initially the Coetus meetings took place monthly. Boersma and Jelsma argued that the Coetus was originally a meeting in which deputies of the churches discussed concerns of mutual importance. They explained that after the Elizabethan resettlement the Coetus became a 'collegial consultant body of the Dutch and French churches in London' with only a few consistory members. They believed that des Gallars was the principal advocate of the Coetus. This was why, according to them, the Coetus did not continue to meet after des Gallars left London in 1563.¹¹ While des Gallars' departure was one factor for the halt of the Coetus meetings,

¹¹ Unity in Multiformity, pp. 11-19.

the other one was probably the strain of constant conflict on the functioning of the Dutch Church in the 1560s. Unfortunately, no consistory records exist from 1564 to 1569 for the Dutch Church, and from 1566 to 1570 for the French Church.¹²

The churches re-established the Coetus in 1569, when the Dutch ministers suggested a new structure for it.¹³ The re-established Coetus was supposed to gather monthly.¹⁴ Boersma and Jelsma pointed out that the Coetus' authority now lay most prominently in handling appeals from church members against their own consistory, although the ultimate decision lay with the superintendent.¹⁵ Both ascribed a certain degree of authority to the Coetus as an institution. They pointed out that the Privy Council, Bishop Grindal, and William of Orange addressed letters to the Coetus and that the Coetus organised collections on behalf of William.¹⁶ Yet this observation should not diminish the churches' independent identities since both also received direct letters from the same persons. The presence of the Coetus meetings is evidence of unity between both churches, but at the same time also it displayed their diversity through their differences and the discontinuity of the meetings.

A large degree of co-operation between both churches is visible for the first years after their resettlement and the French Church occasionally attempted to help the Dutch Church in their troubled early years. Yet, as a result of the Dutch Church's internal quarrels, the churches slowly grew apart. The Dutch Church experienced problems with Adriaan van Haemstede, their minister, as early as 1560. In the view of leading members of the consistory, he took too friendly a stance towards Anabaptism and caused theological disputes and severe arguments within the church. This eventually led to van

¹² With the exception of a document relating to the troubles in the Dutch Church in 1565. This document rests in the LMA, MS 7414.

¹³ *Unity in Multiforimity*, pp. 11-14.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

Haemstede's excommunication, as well as that of a few of his supporters. The churches deliberated together about the actions they would undertake against van Haemstede and the way they would communicate the incident to other churches.¹⁷ By 1564 a new thunderstorm was hanging over the Dutch Church, namely a quarrel over godparents, which divided the church to such an extent that the Dutch Church could not operate for several months. The presence of godparents at baptism caused disputes within the Dutch Church since all Continental Reformed communities used the practice, except for the Reformers in the Low Countries.¹⁸

This major dispute in the early history of the Dutch Church was more severe and longstanding than any of the troubles in the French Church. At the start of the dispute over the godparents in 1564, the Dutch Church asked the French Church for help regarding a disagreement between the elders and the deacons, but the French Church's minister, Cousin, initially told them to consult Grindal instead. Later the consistory felt obliged to intervene.¹⁹ The French Church had a reason for doing so. Although the Dutch Church had officially asked Grindal for help, not everyone within the consistory agreed with this intervention. Some elders from Sandwich spoke to the French consistory in the name of some members of the Dutch Church declaring that they would rather solve things without the help of the bishop but with the support of the French.²⁰ In 1565, however, the French Church was again involved in solving a dispute in the Dutch Church. This time there was a debate about the account books and the deacons of the Dutch Church. The French Church examined the account books and eventually lent money to the Dutch Church, showing considerable co-operation and trust.²¹

¹⁷ Actes du Consistoire I, pp. 17-18.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xxviii.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 72-74.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. xxviii, 73.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. xxix, 112.

The Coetus formed a battleground for the Dutch consistory. Even though Dutch consistory members as well as elders from Sandwich had asked the French Church to intervene in smaller disputes within the larger set of disagreements surrounding the godparents question, the French remained careful not to interfere if possible. The problem with the Dutch deacons was probably an extension of the godparents question, which also started to find its way to the French Church when a married couple reportedly argued over the issue and the consistory silenced them.²² Remembering the troubles in their own Church in the early 1560s over Pierre Alexandre and his rivalry with Nicholas des Gallars, as we discuss below, the French Church decided not to engage deeply with the Dutch Church's problems out of fear of bringing division on the question over their own church and to break its peace.²³ At the same time questions about the arrangement of elections arose in the French Church. The consistory believed that this pressure had arisen from the troubles in the Dutch congregation which had seduced an outspoken member into favouring re-elections without giving the idea much consideration.²⁴ The question of whether elections were necessary or not was only resolved through communication about the issue with des Gallars, who had left London in 1563.²⁵

The French Church showed an obsession with preventing what they called 'the ruining of the church'.²⁶ In 1560 Pierre Alexandre, who held a Prebend in Canterbury and was a Rector of All-Hallows, preached to a French congregation in London, and felt entitled to take a prominent place in the new-born French Church.²⁷ At the establishment of an organised French Church in 1560 its consistory members enquired with Calvin for

²² *Ibid.*, p. 117.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. xxix-xxx.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 49, 60.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. xv.

a Genevan minister.²⁸ Calvin sent des Gallars to London. Alexandre saw des Gallars as a rival and both held the support of differing parts of the congregation. This caused tensions within the community. When the congregation decided to hold elections in 1561, Alexandre was not happy with the result and proclaimed his disdain publicly.²⁹ In this case the conciliatory function of Grindal was essential. Grindal frequently acted as an intermediary between both parties, at which the Dutch Church was often present.³⁰ Yet the Dutch Church did not record any of these reconciliatory meetings.³¹ The French Church was so greatly affected by it that it could not keep consistory records for several months in 1561, and this rivalry was probably one of the reasons des Gallars left London in 1563. Although both churches showed fraternity towards each other, difficulties within both churches regularly hindered their co-operation.

Many of these quarrels led to people leaving the churches. Some went back to their country of origin, others moved to the northern Netherlands. Still others joined exile communities outside London, a local English church, or another stranger church.³² The *Act for Uniformity* of 1558 ruled that everyone should join their local parish church, yet Protestant foreigners had held the privilege to establish their own churches and expected to renew this privilege. Joining a local English parish church rather than another foreign church also seemed to be an appealing option for many of the refugees.³³ Migrants could do so for reasons such as integration, commerce, or a dispute with a foreign church. The local churches themselves seemed keen on attracting members. The Dean of Westminster

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xv.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

³⁰ Patrick Collinson, 'Calvinism with an Anglican Face: The Stranger churches of Early Elizabethan London and their Superintendent', in his *Godly People, Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London, 1983), 213-44 (p. 225).

³¹ The Dutch consistory records only mention the case when Pierre Alexandre publicly complained about the new election before the French congregation just before des Gallars left for the colloquium of Poissy in 1561. Kerkerads-protocollen, p. 234.

³² See Actes du Consistoire I, p. xxv for instance.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

reprimanded two members of the French Church in 1564 for not attending their local English church.³⁴ Similarly a native of Lille, who lived in Norwich before an exile church was established there, asked the French Church in London in 1561 how to deal with the English Church in Norwich, which demanded that he joined a local parish church.³⁵ To eliminate conflict, Grindal issued a letter in 1565 to the clergy in his diocese, after consultation with Cousin, stating that none of the refugees should be received in their parishes.³⁶ According to Johnston, Grindal allowed the opposite, English brethren in the stranger churches, but only with moderation. Queen Elizabeth, however, would regularly prohibit this.³⁷ Yet, some people attended the sermons without becoming members, both Englishmen and, as Spicer has shown, foreigners who did not want to commit.³⁸ These foreigners who did not want to commit, sometimes also called ‘*liefhebbers*’, and the attendance of parish churches, demonstrate the limits of confessionalisation and radicalisation in the foreign communities.

Church members who begrudged their consistory could sometimes join or attend services in another London stranger church, especially when their spouse was a member of one of the other churches. Their application for membership at other churches was not always successful since they were required to provide a good testimony from their previous church. The churches regularly communicated with each other about their members and the mobility of their members provided them with information concerning newcomers.³⁹

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. xxvii; Archivum, 2, Letter 127, pp. 456-60.

³⁸ Andrew Spicer, “‘Of no church’: Immigrants, *liefhebbers* and Confessional Diversity in Elizabethan London, c. 1568-1581’, in *Forgetting Faith? Negotiating Confessional Conflict in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by I. Karremann, C. Zwierlein & I. M. Groote (Berlin, 2012), p. 208.

³⁹ The French Church often decided not to accept members of the Dutch Church, yet they made a few exceptions. Actes du Consistoire I, p. xxix.

Occasionally, foreigners also had the chance to join a third stranger church in London. The Italian Church, formed between 1565 and 1568, existed for a large part of Flemish and English members, as the Italians formed a minority group in their own church, according to Jelsma and Boersma.⁴⁰ Both pointed out that the first known consistory members of the Italian Church in 1568 were Dutch refugees. An Italian minister and three elders further completed the Italian consistory.⁴¹ The members of the church formed an eclectic group and in 1567 became engaged in a conflict around the theological beliefs of Antonio del Corro, a Spanish preacher and member of the Italian Church. Since del Corro was a contested figure in the religious landscape of London, the other stranger churches were suspicious of him. According to Jelsma and Boersma, he was the reason why the stranger churches did not consider the Italian Church as an equal partner until 1569, the year in which it joined the Coetus.⁴² Del Corro also had strong links with the Reformed community in Antwerp, thus attracting members from the London Dutch Church who were dissatisfied with their church's stance against resistance in the Low Countries.⁴³ Dissenting members could also congregate with another church occasionally in existence, the Spanish Church, to escape their own consistory. A Spanish Church which had started gathering in a private house in 1559 and existed a few years only, had attracted members of the Dutch congregation.⁴⁴ There was little unity nor uniformity between the Spanish Church and the other two stranger churches.

A large part of the problems in the churches, and especially the Dutch Church, arose from their strict surveillance over the discipline of the members, as well as struggles over authority of strong personalities within the church. In the case of the minister

⁴⁰ *Unity in multiformity*, pp. 25-26.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 24, 34.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Actes du Consistoire I, p. xx.

Godfried van Winghen there was a clash between himself and the members of the Dutch Church over issues such as the godparents question and the problem of resistance in the Low Countries in the 1560s. In a sermon to the Dutch congregation in 1564 James Calphill, an English clergyman, exhorted the community to show respect for van Winghen, not in regard of his person but his office.⁴⁵ The struggle with van Winghen in the Dutch Church demonstrated that the stranger churches followed the problematic pattern which Jelsma described as the perceived weakness of Protestantism.⁴⁶ Some members of the churches had particular problems with the idea of the strict discipline within the church and felt imprisoned rather than freed from the papal yoke throughout the entire Elizabethan period.⁴⁷ This indicates a tension between the theologically trained minister and some members of his congregation.

While among others Schunka has ascribed an important role for the ministers in encouraging the group identity and confessionalisation of exile communities in German lands, the London Dutch Church lacked a uniting ministerial figure.⁴⁸ It is an aspect which we can see reflected in the popularity of other exile churches in England to which members from London migrated, Norwich and Sandwich in particular. Overall the stranger churches in London held close co-operative relations so we can indeed speak

⁴⁵ Actes du Consistoire I, p. 88. James Calphill's presence in itself is interesting. He was ordained deacon by Grindal in 1560 and became Oxford Professor of Divinity in 1564. He was rather radical in his thinking about the evolution of the ceremonies in the English Church. His presence shows the interest English clergy took in the stranger churches, and via them, in the Protestant churches on the Continent.

⁴⁶ Jelsma considered the statement 'Why the Reformation failed' and emphasised a lack of unity in his *Frontiers of the Reformation. Dissidence and Orthodoxy in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 91-109.

⁴⁷ Kerkerkaads-protocollen, p. 297; Acta, pp. 27, 29, 114, 119-20, 140, 146, 175, 232, 371, 405, 529.

⁴⁸ Alexander Schunka, 'Migrationen Evangelischer Geistlicher als Motor Frühneuzeitlicher Wanderungsbewegungen', in *Konfession, Migration und Elitenbildung. Studien zur Theologenausbildung des 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Herman J. Selderhuis & Markus Wriedt (Leiden/Boston, 2007), pp. 1-26.

about unity in multiformity like Jelsma and Boersma pointed out, although describing the churches as one institution in the Elizabethan period would be a bridge too far.

Their self-fashioned independence and many difficulties internally and between the churches limited this co-operation and their organisational capacities. The churches' independent identity, albeit as part of a group of foreign churches in London rather than a single strangers' church, is visible in the discourse within their letters. They did not sign letters naming themselves stranger churches, although both used the name randomly in Latin and French in letters, but with several variants on 'Dutch Church' and 'French Church'. Boersma claimed in his doctoral thesis that we should still consider the stranger churches one Strangers' Church after 1560.⁴⁹ However, even the French Church spoke in the plural, 'églises estrangères', when describing the collective of foreign churches in London.⁵⁰ The French consistory records demonstrate that there was a large amount of co-operation between the churches through which one could indeed adopt the view of a unified church, however co-operation is just one symptom of unity. At one Coetus meeting the three stranger churches also adopted a common lecturer in theology.⁵¹

Still the churches saw themselves as separate entities, especially the Dutch. By 1572 the Dutch Church did not seem or chose not to remember the period in which both churches formed part of à Lasco's Strangers' Church to which the charter had designated the Austin Friars church. When the French chapel in Threadneedle street became too small to accommodate the entire French congregation in 1572, the French Church thought it necessary to make its claim over the Austin Friars church. The French consistory asked the Dutch Church for some time slots in which they could put on extra gatherings to accommodate the growing French community, now swollen by increased

⁴⁹ Boersma, pp. 16-28, 240.

⁵⁰ For examples see for instance Actes du Consistoire I, pp, 28, 79.

⁵¹ Actes du Consistoire II, p. 101.

migration after the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre. The Dutch Church was surprisingly uncooperative, going so far as to say that the French Church did not have any rights to the church of Austin Friars. The French Church continued to point out that they did hold the right based on the Edwardian charter. While the Edwardian Strangers' Church had assembled both language groups within the St Anthony hospital on Threadneedle Street, the congregations became divided over two spaces at the start of the Elizabethan period. The French Church claimed it still held the right to assemble in the Austin Friars church. The quarrel for a solution caused tensions between the churches.⁵² The Dutch Church occasionally allowed the French Church in 1573 to preach in the Austin Friars church, but the communities had further disagreements about this space in 1579.⁵³

II. Churches in the English provinces: unity and attempts at uniformity with a differing outcome

The French Church described provincial churches across England in 1575 as stranger churches. Most congregations held connections with particular areas in the Low Countries or France since a majority or large part of their members originated from that area.⁵⁴ In Southampton, for instance, over one third of the congregation originated from Valenciennes.⁵⁵ In Sandwich, by contrast, the community had mostly come over from West-Flanders.⁵⁶ While provincial foreign churches had existed in Canterbury and Glastonbury during Edward's reign, there were congregations in Sandwich, Colchester,

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. vii, 93, 108.

⁵³ Acta, p. 537.

⁵⁴ Spicer, p. 159; Raymond Fagel, 'Immigrant Roots: the geographical origins of newcomers from the Low Countries in Tudor England', in *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, ed. by Nigel Goose and Bich Lien Luu (Brighton/Portland, 2005), pp. 41-56 (pp. 51-52).

⁵⁵ Spicer, p. 2.

⁵⁶ Backhouse, p. 18.

Norwich, Southampton, Great Yarmouth, King's Lynn, Maidstone, Rye, Winchelsea, Stamford, Canterbury, Thetford, Dover, York, and Halstead in the Elizabethan period.⁵⁷ On the Channel Islands too, there were Calvinist churches, but they remained largely separate from the foreign churches since these churches sprung from local efforts to Reform the religious practices of the islands, with the approval of the Privy Council. Their proximity to France and some of its inhabitants' Marian exile in Geneva made them receptive to French Calvinistic influences after Elizabeth's religious settlement, rather than to English religious reforms. As such, they maintained a Presbyterian character and received French refugees.⁵⁸ Some of its members entertained connections with the Walloon Church in Southampton and the French Church in London.⁵⁹ On the English mainland, many churches called themselves Walloon or Flemish, in contrast with the French and Dutch churches in London.

The refugee churches in the provinces identified with those of London in practices, privileges, and networks, while working together through colloquia from the 1570s onwards. While these aspects unified the churches, they often failed to bring the churches closer together through a lack of resources. The churches further differed in names and identity, church discipline, superintendents, and policies. The churches recognised and supported each other. This signified unity, but there was no institutional uniformity. The provincial churches held an independent character, even though, as we will see, there were attempts to create unification within each language group in the 1580s.

The differences between the communities could be due to the origin of the strangers. The differences in identity seem to be reflected in the names of the

⁵⁷ See the introduction of this thesis for a list of secondary literature for these communities.

⁵⁸ Actes du Consistoire I, pp. 37, 45; C.S.L. Davies, 'International Politics and the Establishment of Presbyterianism in the Channel Islands: The Coutances Connection', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 50:3 (July 1999), 498-522; D. M. Ogier, *Reformation and Society in Guernsey* (Woodbridge, 1996).

⁵⁹ Ogier, *Reformation and Society in Guernsey*, pp. 81, 173.

communities and indicate a division between London and the provinces. The founding charter of the stranger churches in London had provided for services in the native language of the strangers, eventually Spanish, Italian, Dutch, or French.⁶⁰ Yet these are only vague and simplified terms for a range of dialects which identified themselves with particular places in France or the Low Countries and immigrant settlement in certain English towns identify with specific towns in the Low Countries and France.⁶¹ The provincial Dutch-speaking exile settlements in England saw themselves as Flemish. It is curious that the Dutch Church did not adopt such a stance. The geographical origin of most of their members probably lay in Flanders and Brabant, yet the church seemed to be slightly reluctant to call itself Flemish as it more frequently referred to itself as the London Belgian Church or the London German Church.⁶² We do not know why the consistory used these particular allegiances. Did London want to sound inclusive by broadening its name? Did they want to avoid xenophobia by not calling themselves Flemish, since many immigrant craftsmen had come from Flanders in the Tudor period? Or did they want to conform to the charter which provided for strangers from ‘German and other nations’? The usage of names for the London Dutch Church stood in sharp contrast to that of provincial churches, which consistently used the name Flemish Church to describe themselves. Peter Delenus or Deleene, the first scribe of the London Dutch Church’s consistory records clearly emphasised the Flemish origin of the brethren from Sandwich and in a way almost distanced himself and the London Church from the word ‘Flemish’ in 1561.⁶³ The curious variation in names indicate a first difference between the London Dutch Church and the provincial churches.

⁶⁰ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 14, pp. 4-7.

⁶¹ Spicer, p. 159; Fagel, ‘Immigrant Roots’, pp. 51-52.

⁶² Especially noticeable in the letters in the Archivum and the way in which they signed the resolutions of the colloquia.

⁶³ Kerkerads-protocollen, p. 221.

The story of the French Church was similarly complicated. The church adopted the name French Church to indicate that it was French-speaking. In this way it assembled both native Frenchmen, Walloon, and other French-speaking immigrants from the Low Countries. Most of the native Frenchmen, however, seem to have come from the northern part of France, as we find regular references to these places in the consistory records, but barely any to other parts of France. Many of their migrants were also French-speaking émigrés from Antwerp. Some of the other exile churches identified as being French, while others named themselves Walloon. However, the word Walloon is problematical, as not all French speaking inhabitants of the Low Countries associated with the term Walloon. In the colloquia then these churches assembled under the diplomatic name of ‘the refugee churches of the French tongue in England’.⁶⁴

There are also differences and similarities between the churches concerning ecclesiastical discipline. It is not known what church discipline the French-speaking Reformed community of Southampton adopted. Grindal had expected them to adopt des Gallars’ *Forma ac ratio*, but Andrew Spicer suggested that they might rather have drawn up their own discipline along Calvinist lines.⁶⁵ If Spicer is right, this suggests a certain degree of independence from the London churches. The majority of the migrants were Walloon, and the settlers had many links with the Low Countries and the Reformed movement there.⁶⁶ Similarly the Walloon Church at Canterbury identified with the Low Countries and their Walloon Churches. It is not known, however, what church discipline they used, but they installed twelve ‘political men’ in 1582 to control the congregation.⁶⁷ This practice reminds us of the Edwardian London settlement and the practices of Norwich. Williams believed that the congregation of Maidstone tended to model their discipline on

⁶⁴ Colloques et Synodes, pp. 1, 2.

⁶⁵ Spicer, p. 101.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁶⁷ CCA, U47/S, p. 49.

that of Sandwich.⁶⁸ In Colchester there had been a Flemish community since 1565, but not much is known either about their ecclesiastical practices. Norwich counted two churches, a Flemish and a Walloon Church, which were united in one political and corporate body. This political and corporate body might have been reminiscent of the practices within the Edwardian Strangers' Church in London. The Strangers' Church had also united both communities in a political and corporate body, a privilege Elizabeth did not renew. Both Norwich congregations used à Lasco's church discipline as their church constitution, according to Raingard Esser.⁶⁹

These examples demonstrate the independent identities of the foreign churches. Although they were all in a similar situation of refuge, which provided a sense of unity, there was no straightforward uniformity among the churches until the late 1580s. In 1588-1589 the French churches attempted to unify the French-speaking churches in England through the common adoption of several articles concerning church discipline, among which articles about national meetings.⁷⁰ Yet Spicer believed that even after the churches accepted these articles, some variations in practices remained.⁷¹ The smaller churches did not leave ample records to draw comparisons, but in 1576 a colloquium of Flemish and Dutch churches decided that all churches, with the exception of London, should attempt to use the Heidelberg Catechism.⁷²

The foundation of provincial churches, each with their own story, also showed the differences and power relations between the churches. While the London church

⁶⁸ Lionel Williams, 'The Crown and the Provincial Immigrant Communities in Elizabethan England', in *British Government and Administration. Studies presented to S.B. Chrimes*, ed. by H. Hearder & H.R. Loyn (Cardiff, 1974), pp. 117-31, 125.

⁶⁹ Raingard Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten im England des 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1996), p. 54.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 71; William J.C. Moens, *The Walloons and their church at Norwich. 1565-1832*. The Huguenot Society of London (Lymington, 1888), p. 48. See further down the chapter for more info.

⁷¹ Spicer, p. 102.

⁷² Acten van de Colloquia, p. 22.

counted on Edward's VI's charter for the foreigners and a renewal of these privileges for religious' sake, the city councils of provincial congregations often emphasised their hope that these congregations would bring economic benefits to the city. The foundation of the provincial communities tended to happen in co-operation with the London stranger churches, but it was usually the city council, influential citizens, or the strangers in a city or town themselves who addressed a petition for privileges for the foreigners to the city council or the Privy Council. Williams, in his excellent article on the settlement of the provincial congregations, rightfully pointed out that a tripartite collaboration lay at the basis of the negotiations of provincial settlements. 'The government, urban authorities, and the settlers negotiated in order to receive privileges. He believed that the process took place in three steps: 'preliminary discussion about a possible urban settlement; detailed negotiation, often assisted by some person of influence; and final governmental consent to a settlement of precise size.'⁷³ Frequently the migrants started negotiations with city councils or influential figures, or city councils approached potential immigrants for economic benefits. They subsequently discussed the issue with the Privy Council.⁷⁴ One common feature of the settlements was an interest of the local authorities in the economic potential of the immigrants who practised the art of producing new draperies and introduced it in many places in England. In contrast with the foundation of the stranger churches in London, the establishment of churches in the provinces heavily depended on the skills of these immigrants, most of them being craftsmen or learning a craft which the city allowed them to perform when in England.

The provincial exile centres also formed a place of refuge for Protestants disagreeing with policies of, or in an argument with, one or more of the other London churches. Sandwich and Norwich happily received members from the London Dutch

⁷³ Williams, 'The crown and the provincial immigrant communities', p. 121.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 121-22.

Church, especially those who were pro-resistance.⁷⁵ Migrants also crossed the linguistic boundaries when joining another church. A member and former elder of the London Dutch Church, Jan Enghelram, who had settled in Canterbury in 1570, attempted to join the Walloon Church there in 1576.⁷⁶ The churches present at the Walloon colloquium of 1581 regretted that members who had behaved ‘scandalously’ still regularly managed to join other churches, even members whom one of the churches had excommunicated.⁷⁷

Although the provincial churches received members from the London congregations who openly or privately disagreed with the churches’ policies, there was a degree of co-operation between the congregations through written communication and personal networks. The churches also started meeting in colloquia in order to discuss common problems. Independent from the foreign churches, the churches on the Channel Islands already exercised this practice and held island colloquia and collective synods from the 1560s onwards.⁷⁸ The foreign churches first considered the formation of a general meeting, under the name of ‘Classis’, for all the churches according to language community in 1571 after the Reformed churches in the Low Countries had adopted this practice at the general Synod of Emden.⁷⁹ The synods in the Low Countries insisted upon the formation of Classes among the foreign churches in England, as I explain in more detail in the next section of this chapter.⁸⁰ Because the foreign churches formed part of the English Church, their respective superintendents did not allow the churches to form Classes to model the Protestant churches in the Low Countries. Despite this, the exile

⁷⁵ See chapter 4. In 1571, for instance, a dominant part of the Norwich Flemish Church was pro-resistance and welcomed members from London, *Actes du Consistoire II*, p. 14.

⁷⁶ See chapter 5, pp. 225-29.

⁷⁷ *Colloques et Synodes*, p. 1.

⁷⁸ Ogier, *Reformation and Society in Guernsey*, pp. 94-95.

⁷⁹ Spicer, pp. 102-03.

⁸⁰ According to Charles G. D. Littleton, ‘The Strangers, their Churches and the Continent: Continuing and Changing Connexions’, in *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, ed. by Nigel Goose and Lien Luu (Brighton/Portland, 2005), pp. 177-91 (pp. 184-85).

congregations started meeting in their language groups across England a few years later. The Dutch and Flemish churches in England were the first ones to meet in a colloquium in 1575. Initially they met yearly, but a lack of motivation and financial means meant that in 1577 already only four out of eight churches were present at the colloquium, and in the 1580s they gathered periodically instead.⁸¹ In the meeting in 1576 the deputies demonstrated a certain degree of independence by stating that the representative congregations did not have an obligation strictly to follow all the resolutions made in the colloquia, if they had a good reason not to.⁸²

The French churches in England first met in a colloquium only in 1581 and were supposed to assemble yearly, although the frequency diminished after 1590.⁸³ The French-speaking churches held similar views on the adoption of resolutions in their 1582 colloquium as the Dutch.⁸⁴ The records of their colloquia clearly demonstrate that although the churches worked towards unity, via among others a common discipline, the churches were often free not to implement the resolutions commonly made.⁸⁵ It is not clear why the French churches only started gathering in a colloquium from 1581 onwards, but the Dutch colloquium of 1575 specified that they had not invited the Walloon churches to the colloquium because the Synod had not specifically asked for their presence.⁸⁶ Next to this, the French churches were very careful not to offend English authorities, which might explain their late start.

The function of the colloquia was to discuss questions which the individual consistories could not solve, and like the Coetus, to receive complaints from members. After the first few years the main issues which returned yearly were the poverty of the

⁸¹ Acten van de Colloquia, pp. 32-33.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Colloques et Synodes, p. 3.

⁸⁵ See for instance *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁸⁶ Acten van de Colloquia, p. 4; Littleton, 'The Strangers', p. 185.

churches and calls for financial support and ministers. These financial and governmental difficulties were one of the motivations behind the organisation of the colloquia, next to the provision of help for the Low Countries. The colloquia could facilitate the maintenance and support for churches that were struggling to find adequate means and ministers for their congregations, as I show in more detail in chapter 6. The shortage of ministers and financial means left Dutch-speaking churches with organisational problems. The London Dutch Church consequently invested in students and picked out its most able members to lead the services.⁸⁷ Similarly, some provincial French-speaking churches lacked adequate ministers. At their colloquium in 1581 they discussed the problem of performing marriage ceremonies in a church without a minister.⁸⁸ This solidarity formed one of the most important aspects of the relations between the churches.

Above all, the Dutch and Flemish churches in England as well as the French churches hoped to bring ‘unity of thought’ and ‘uniformity’ in ‘church discipline, ceremonial practices and government’ through these yearly meetings in order for the churches ‘to be able to advice and help each other’.⁸⁹ The churches must have experienced a prevalent lack of unity before the use of colloquia. These colloquia, however, did not bring all churches closer together. After a few years the churches stopped meeting yearly. They met at convenience. Some congregations were too poor to send out a representative, while Norwich did not send a representative to the 1581 colloquium stating in a letter that they did not see a point in this unnecessary meeting.⁹⁰ The Flemish Church at

⁸⁷ Acten van de Colloquia., p. 17. In 1576 the churches of Maidstone and Norwich declared that they had two or three able persons who could serve the churches in need of a minister, while Sandwich proclaimed to have eight such persons, three of whom had preached before, perhaps in the Low Countries. The colloquium decided that these persons should be trained to preach. Similarly, the churches would collect money to train talented young members. By 1581 the colloquium again pressed to churches to do their best to raise students. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁸⁸ Colloques et Synodes, p. 2.

⁸⁹ Acten van de Colloquia, pp. 15-16.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

Norwich had not changed its mind by the next colloquium, in 1583, nor in 1586.⁹¹ In 1576 it became clear that the geographical distance between the Dutch communities hindered its working. The communities resolved to divide the churches into two groups. The communities within each group provided advice to each other by letter. There would be a southern group including London, Sandwich, Dover, and Maidstone, and a northern one containing Norwich, Colchester, Yarmouth, and Thetford.⁹² At the end of the same colloquium the churches decided that they would next meet when they felt the need to do so, rather than yearly.⁹³

This is where the Dutch-speaking churches differed from the French-speaking ones. The records of the French-speaking colloquia tend to emphasise the unity which they wished to form within England but also with the churches in the Low Countries. To this end throughout the 1580s they tried to instate one common church discipline, based on the discipline of the French Church in London.⁹⁴ The Dutch churches, although following a common similar discipline mixed with local customs and resolutions from the Dutch synods, only discussed the potential of a common discipline in 1609.⁹⁵ The colloquia continued, albeit less regularly, into the seventeenth century but transformed from being a meeting in which members were free to commit themselves to the resolutions to one which bound the churches together more tightly. By 1586 the French churches instigated a unified discipline.⁹⁶

This is not to say that the churches were not practising forms of solidarity before they started meeting at the colloquia. The London Dutch Church regularly helped other churches. In early 1570, for instance, the Dutch Church received desperate letters from

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 82.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁹⁴ *Colloques et Synodes*, p. 3.

⁹⁵ *Acten van de Colloquia*, p. 105.

⁹⁶ *Colloques et Synodes*, p. 11.

the congregation of Yarmouth. The city had expelled the congregation, which had five weeks left to depart. The congregation begged the Dutch Church to present a request for intervention to Queen Elizabeth.⁹⁷ Yet each congregation had a different superintendent, making a unity or uniformity slightly more difficult. The superintendent was the bishop of the diocese. For the London churches this was the Bishop of London, while for Canterbury it was the Archbishop of Canterbury. The provincial churches had a certain degree of independence in the period under consideration. This is something Spicer agreed with, although he demonstrated that the French churches became more dependent on Threadneedle Street for financial aid and through the colloquia in the 1580s.⁹⁸

The existence of the colloquia did bring the churches closer together, but the system still had its difficulties. The meetings had only come into existence in 1575 and 1581. Before this the churches communicated via letter exchanges and enjoyed relative independence. This is also demonstrated in the 1560s when the churches disagreed about resistance in the Low Countries. The London churches officially prohibited resistance in the 1560s but altered their stance in the 1570s when the churches in the Low Countries openly supported William of Orange's campaign, not without grumbling, and the Dutch Church in London acquired a new minister who was not opposed to resistance in contrast with van Winghen.⁹⁹ The churches in Sandwich and Norwich received hundreds of refugees from the Low Countries in the 1560s. People who had experienced the persecutions in the Low Countries were often drawn towards resistance. Especially in Sandwich a certain number of refugees were militant members, in particular after van Winghen had left Sandwich to take up the ministry in London in 1562.¹⁰⁰ There was much opposition in London too against the condemnation of resistance from van Winghen and

⁹⁷ *Acta*, p. 37.

⁹⁸ Something Spicer seems to agree on: Spicer, p. 104.

⁹⁹ See chapter 5.

¹⁰⁰ See chapter 3.

some of the dominant members. I will explore this issue extensively further in the thesis.¹⁰¹

III. From fragile relationships with the Reformed churches under the Cross to a symbolic unity

This section concentrates on how the foreign churches in England identified with and related to the Dutch Reformed churches in the Low Countries, while touching upon their connection with the English Church. The names of the communities in England are interesting and might give an indication as to their identification with the Low Countries, as opposed to their mutual identities as discussed in the previous part. Again the terms Dutch and French here are problematic. At first the brethren described themselves either as the Flemish Church, or, and more popular among the consistory, as the German Church of London, ‘*Ecclesia Londinogermanicae*’.¹⁰² External sources such as the French consistory records speak of the church as Flemish, while some letters from the Continent addressed to the Dutch Church describe it as ‘*ecclesiae belgicae*’.¹⁰³ By 1569 the consistory of the London Dutch Church described the Dutch-speaking churches in England as the ‘*Duutsche kercken*’.¹⁰⁴ Later, between 1575 and 1580 the scribes for the colloquia described the Dutch-speaking churches as ‘*Nederlandsche kerken*’ or ‘*Nederduytsche kerken*’.¹⁰⁵ The London Dutch Church’s consistory records mention ‘*nederduytsche*

¹⁰¹ See chapters 4 and 5.

¹⁰² See *Kerkeraads-protocollen*, pp. 25, 40, 156, 170 to name a few examples of a term ubiquitous in the Dutch Church’s records.

¹⁰³ In 1561 Petrus Dathaenus addressed Utenhove as ‘*ecclesiae belgicae seniori*’, in *Archivum*, 2, Letter 51, p. 158.

¹⁰⁴ *Acta*, p. 31.

¹⁰⁵ *Acten van de Colloquia*, pp. 3, 11, 15, 18, 23, 30, 32, 34, 38, 57, 61, 70, 77, 81, 87, 102.

kerck' or 'Duytsche kercke'.¹⁰⁶ In 1581 the colloquium spoke of 'Nederlandsche spraak', Netherlandish tongue, as it became more closely associated with the northern Netherlands than with the southern Netherlands.¹⁰⁷ Van Winghen, who presided over the colloquium, was still named 'Ecclesiae Belgio-Germanicae Londinensis Verbi minister' at the signing of the colloquium's report.¹⁰⁸

The foreign churches cared about the Reformed churches in the Low Countries and communicated their decisions and advice. In 1561, for instance, the London French Church decided to write to the French Church of Emden and other French churches in the Low Countries to explain the reasons for the excommunication of Adriaan van Haemstede.¹⁰⁹ A little later they received a request for advice on a governmental question from Antwerp.¹¹⁰ The consistories did not just keep in contact with the Reformed communities in the Low Countries for matters of control over their members but also financially supported the congregations. When in 1572 collections were made in London for the churches in the Low Countries, both the French and the Dutch Church contributed. There were Walloon or French Reformed churches all over Flanders, way beyond the linguistic borders of the French-speaking community. In Antwerp one of the earliest Reformed communities was French-speaking. Protestants also fled France and French-speaking provinces of the Low Countries to settle in the northern Netherlands. In Dordrecht, for instance, there was both a French and a Dutch Reformed community in the 1580s.¹¹¹ The Walloon churches partook in both provincial as national synods with

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 57.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

¹⁰⁹ Actes, p. 25

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ For their communication with the Dutch Church which proves their existence see *Uw Rijk Kome. Acta van de Kerkenraad van de Nederduits Gereformeerde Gemeente te Dordrecht 1573-1579*, ed. by Theo W. Jensma (Dordrecht, 1981) pp. 73, 89.

the Dutch churches. The French Church sent a minister to serve in Flushing, northern Netherlands, in 1572.¹¹²

Yet relations between the consistories and their fatherlands were not always cordial. Especially the Dutch Church in London, which dared to take a stance against churches in the Low Countries, differed over the issue of resistance in the 1560s. Moreover, the Dutch Church of London experienced tensions within their communication with the Dutch Reformed Church in Antwerp and anyone in favour of resistance.¹¹³ The provincial churches, on the other hand, followed the events in the Netherlands with a supporting view. The opinion of Pettegree that ‘the exiles were quick to recognise an obligation to the whole Netherlands’, though not wrong, may be oversimplified.¹¹⁴ The London consistories steered away from too much involvement in the Low Countries before 1572. In the 1570s, they distrusted the intentions of William of Orange.¹¹⁵ We should note, however, that there was also a longing for unification with the churches in the Low Countries among French churches and among Dutch members.¹¹⁶ However, the migrants were very much aware of being part of the English Church.¹¹⁷ The consistories did consider their influence and cooperation with the Low Countries, for instance during the case of the godparents.

In the case of the godparents, the elders from Sandwich consulted the French Church, as mentioned before, at a point at which the division within the Dutch Church was so large that the church had asked Grindal to intervene. The godparents question

¹¹² Andrew Pettegree, ‘The Strangers and Their Churches in London, 1550-1580’ (D.Phil. Thesis, University of Oxford, 1983), pp. 272-73.

¹¹³ See chapter 3, pp. 140-41.

¹¹⁴ Pettegree, ‘The Strangers’, p. 273.

¹¹⁵ See chapter 5.

¹¹⁶ The members of the Dutch Church, apart from van Winghen, seemed, for instance, very keen on following, discussing and implementing the Synod of Emden in 1571, as discussed on pp. 56-57. Similarly, the French Church kept on referring to a ‘unity’ which they wished to upkeep with the Reformed churches in the Low Countries, as discussed on pp. 50-51.

¹¹⁷ Especially visible at the colloquia, see pp. 26-25, 52-59.

along with the issue about resistance, had divided the elders from the deacons. The Sandwich brethren, who presumably sided with the deacons, alerted the French Church that Grindal would only get to hear one side of the story. They warned that if Grindal would oblige the members to take godparents, some would leave the Dutch Church to join the Flemish in Sandwich or return to the Low Countries. Similarly, the question could cause ruptures in Sandwich. Moreover, they proclaimed, if the case was not solved soon, the question might also divide churches in the Low Countries and cause a schism between the Reformed churches in England and the Low Countries.¹¹⁸ The question did not cause any major divisions outside England, yet it is not unthinkable that the Reformed in the Low Countries felt disappointed with the behaviour of the London Dutch Church. When in 1560 the Dutch Church excommunicated van Haemstede, some brethren from the Low Countries expressed their displeasure over his treatment. These reactions came especially from Antwerp, the main Reformed centre in the Low Countries in the 1550s and 1560s, and the former congregation of van Haemstede.¹¹⁹

By the 1570s the churches in the Low Countries had started negotiating a closer cooperation with the foreign churches in England. In the 1570s a dispute over the formation of Classes in London formed a prominent case in the history of the relations of the foreign churches with the Reformed churches on the Continent. The national Synod of Emden in 1571 had adopted the Genevan practice of the use of 'Classes' and had asked the foreign churches to institute it as well.¹²⁰ A Classis was an institutional structure which would bring together deputies from the exile churches in England. The churches would have to take into account any decisions made at synods in the Low Countries, which had invited them as equal partners. The Classis would then serve as a

¹¹⁸ Actes, pp. 73-74.

¹¹⁹ Archivum, 2, Letter 53, pp. 162-64.

¹²⁰ Unity in multiformity, p. 17.

means of discussing the synodal resolutions per region, and in this case the region of England rather than a small province.

In 1571 the Coetus discussed letters through which the Reformed churches in the Low Countries invited the stranger churches to attend the Synod of Emden and spread copies of the letters to other foreign churches in England. Despite the Dutch minister Godfried van Winghen's opposition to this decision, the churches initially decided in the Coetus to send someone to this synod. Van Winghen eventually asserted that they could send representatives if their superintendent agreed on it and if they could get passports for the voyage.¹²¹ By February 1572 some members of the Dutch Church, in contrast to van Winghen, were very keen on honouring the conclusion of the synod and rebuked the French Church for not acting quickly enough to bring the churches together to discuss the matter.¹²² The day before a general meeting of the migrant churches in the Dutch Church in March 1572 to deliberate on the Classis proposal, the French made the decision to oppose it, but decided that the churches could ask their superintendent the permission to hold annual meetings of stranger communities in England for the sake of unity.¹²³ The London consistories sent their ministers to ask the Bishop of London, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Dean of Westminster, and the Bishop of Winchester for advice on the matter.¹²⁴ The English ecclesiastical authorities did not allow them to adopt any decisions made at foreign synods and therefore also prohibited the formation of a Classis in England. The consistories eventually decided not to go to synods but to attempt to obtain local meetings.¹²⁵ The participants of the provincial synod of Dordrecht in 1574 discussed a letter from van Winghen which was supportive of the churches in the Low Countries

¹²¹ Actes du Consistoire II, pp. 18-19.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 62.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

¹²⁴ Actes du Consistoire II, pp. 60-61.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

but stated that he did not wish to bind the Reformed churches in England to any decisions made in the synods.¹²⁶ The churches witnessed the dilemma of loyalty towards their fatherland or towards their adoptive country.

The question of whether to attend the Synods and to adopt the Classis system came at a time in which governmental authorities in England were concerned about puritanism. Edwin Sandys, Bishop of London between 1570 and 1576, described the state of the English Church as follows in 1573:

our church, which is most sadly tossed about in these evil times, and is in a most wretched state of confusion [...] New orators are rising up from among us, foolish young men, who, while they despise authority, and admit of no superior, are seeking the complete overthrow and rooting up of our whole ecclesiastical polity, so piously constituted and confirmed, and established by the entire consent of most excellent men; and are striving to shape out for us I know not what new platforms of a church.¹²⁷

The English church authorities had to deal with Puritans who zealously attempted to drive the Church towards a more purely Reformed ecclesiastical system for which they found inspiration in the stranger churches. In 1572 and 1573 they had tried to pass several bills through Parliament in order to challenge and change the English Church, which culminated in the *Admonition to Parliament*, which I explain in more detail in chapter 6. The influence of the foreign churches on the English puritan movement was apparent.¹²⁸ The question for permission to build a Classis for the Dutch and French Reformed churches came at a time in which the English Church could not expand the liberties of the foreign

¹²⁶ *Acta van de Nederlandsche Synoden der zestiende eeuw*, ed. by F. L. Rutgers. Werken der Marnix-Vereeniging, 2nd ser., 3 (Utrecht, 1889), pp. 214-16.

¹²⁷ *The Zurich letters, comprising the correspondence of several English bishops and others, with some of the Helvetian reformers, during the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. by John Hunter & Robinson Hastings, The Parker Society (Cambridge, 1842), Letter no. XCIV. 15 August, 1573. Edwin Sandys to Henry Bullinger, as printed in Claire Cross, *The Royal Supremacy in the Elizabethan Church* (London/New York, 1969), pp. 159-61.

¹²⁸ See Collinson, 'Calvinism with an Anglican Face' and chapter 6.

churches. By not granting them their wish, the English governmental and church authorities kept the stranger churches within the boundaries of the English Church at a moment at which it was crucial for the strangers to keep in line and to steer away from too much uniformity with continental churches.

Instead of instating the opposed Classis, a few years later the Dutch churches organised the colloquia discussed in the previous section.¹²⁹ The colloquia did not differ much from the Classis and their function was fairly similar. At the colloquia, representatives of the Dutch and French churches in England would discuss synodal resolutions, yet they were not obliged to adopt any. A Classis was a regional meeting, and England would also have to be divided in different Classes according to region. The colloquium was different to the Classis in that it also served as a place where members could present complaints about their church consistories, which was not the case in the Classis. Despite this, there was little difference between the colloquia and the Classes, the largest difference being their names. One writer in the records of the French-speaking colloquia finished the report of the 1584 colloquium by announcing the following colloquium to be held by using the title ‘Assemblée de la Classe’.¹³⁰

Important here is the influence of the Low Countries in the formation of these colloquia. The records of the Dutch Church mention that the colloquium in 1575 was the result of letters from representatives from the churches of the Low Countries who asked for advice. Since these letters did not explicitly mention any inclusion of the ‘Walloon Churches’ in discussion of their call for advice, the Flemish decided not to invite them and the French churches only held their first colloquium six years later.¹³¹ The Dutch churches planned a second colloquium in the year 1575 but emphasized that it would be

¹²⁹ See pp. 52-59.

¹³⁰ *Colloques et Synodes*, p. 9.

¹³¹ *Acten van de Colloquia*, pp. 4-5.

cancelled if letters from ‘the churches from over the sea’ would deem it unnecessary to meet.¹³²

The existence of, and decisions made at, the colloquia demonstrated the foreign churches’ attachment to their international contacts. The churches wishing to take on a new minister could pick one according to their own customs, but Dutch churches agreed that ministers had to sign a recognition of the articles of faith from the Low Countries and France in order to take on the function.¹³³ Moreover, the churches in England trained ministers for the Low Countries. In 1577, for instance, the colloquium again stressed that the churches should send as many members capable of preaching out to other communities in England and, especially, to the Low Countries.¹³⁴ Next to the distribution of ministers in England and the Low Countries, churches on the Continent also looked at London for advice via letters, or as in one specific case, as a model. The churches in Cleves, which formed a Classis that identified itself with the Reformed churches of the Low Countries, believed that on matters of excommunication it was most convenient to use à Lasco’s ordinances for the London churches as a model.¹³⁵ The Dutch Church was especially well-known for its practice of excommunication, as they had experienced a few well-known cases such as those of van Haemstede and his supporters.

The importance of pressure from the Low Countries to hold the colloquia again becomes clear from the Dutch colloquium in 1578 in which the churches decided not to meet early in 1579 but rather to wait until a call for discussion came from the churches in England or from those overseas.¹³⁶ The colloquia paid attention to the organisation of

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹³⁵ *Classicale en Synodale Vergaderingen der verstrooide gemeenten in het land van Cleef, Sticht van Keulen en Aken, 1571-1589*, ed. by H.Q. Janssen en J.J. van Toorenenbergen, *Werken der Marnix-Vereeniging*, 2nd ser., 2 (Utrecht, 1882), pp. 112-13.

¹³⁶ *Acten van de Colloquia*, p. 56.

the churches in the Low Countries.¹³⁷ Slowly letters from the Low Countries became points of discussion in the colloquia rather than only in the consistory meetings of individual churches. The Dutch colloquium of 1578 decided to send two representatives to the general Synod of Dordrecht, claiming it was for the good of the fatherland.¹³⁸ In 1584 on the other hand the churches resolved not to send anyone to the Synod in Antwerp since they deemed it too dangerous.¹³⁹

The Dutch and Walloon colloquia discussed the decisions of synods in the Low Countries and who to send as a representative of their churches in England to these meetings.¹⁴⁰ In some years the Dutch colloquia decided to adopt a few of the resolutions made in the synods in the Low Countries. In 1577, for instance, the Dutch colloquium accorded not to let any former Catholic clerics or monks fulfil a ministerial function without extensive examination of their thought and life ‘in accordance with the acts of other Synods of the Reformed churches.’¹⁴¹ They approved the resolutions the synod made as useful for the fatherland but conformed themselves to their superintendent and the English Church. The churches partook in the Synod of Dordrecht that year and in later synods in the Low Countries in an advisory function in a mission to build up the Reformed faith in the Low Countries, rather than form a part of it.¹⁴² Despite the opposition of the Flemish Church of Norwich, the colloquium of 1581 resolved to send representatives to the national Synod of Middelburg.¹⁴³ After the synod the churches

¹³⁷ A clear illustration of this: “De broederen van Londen hebben gesonden Jacobum Regium, Dienaer des Woordts, ende Jan van Roo, Ouderlinck der Ghemeinte Christi aldaer, om te handelen tot gemeene opbouwinge der kercke Christi hier in desen lande ende ooc over zee.” (The brothers of London sent Jacobus Regius, minister, and Jan van Roo, elder of the Christian congregation there to discuss the common formation of the church of Christ in this country and also overseas.) *Acten van de Colloquia*, p. 33, also a similar one on p. 38 in 1578.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹⁴⁰ For instance, *ibid.*, p. 40; *Colloques et Synodes*, p. 1.

¹⁴¹ *Acten van de Colloquia*, p. 19.

¹⁴² *Acta van de Nederlandsche Synoden der zestiende eeuw*, pp. 304-06.

¹⁴³ *Acten van de Colloquia*, pp. 58-59.

gathered in a colloquium meeting again to discuss the resolutions of the synod, but Norwich refused to attend and proclaimed not to care about the proceedings.¹⁴⁴

In contrast, the churches of the French-speaking colloquium in 1581 were very keen on sending a minister and an elder to the Synod of Middelburg. It served to them as ‘a witness of the union which the refugee churches of the French tongue in England wanted to form with the brethren assembled in this synod. And not to subject themselves to what will be decided among them’.¹⁴⁵ The French-speaking churches could not submit to the decisions made in the synod for several reasons. First they were bound to the English Church and their superintendents would not accept them following the resolutions made in the synods too closely. Secondly, they argued, adhering too closely to the churches on the Continent in the adoption of all their practices instead of following some of the English practices such as holidays would shed a division between the strangers and the locals in favour of those antagonistic towards the strangers and their churches. The French-speaking churches in England had also already established stable church disciplines within their own political and geographical contexts. Moreover, the French-speaking churches equally existed of French migrants and resolved to keep a balance between synods of France and the Low Countries.¹⁴⁶ Instead the churches wished to join the colloquia as a symbol of union and to offer counsel to the churches in the Low Countries.¹⁴⁷ The attendance was for a part symbolic, yet a symbol which it held onto dearly.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

¹⁴⁵ *Colloques et Synodes*, p. 1.

¹⁴⁶ In 1584 for instance, the colloquium wanted to deliver the warning that churches at the Continent should not accept brethren coming from England without a good testimony from their previous churches. In order to do so it requested one representative to deliver the message at a Synod in the Low Countries, and another one for the Synod in France. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

¹⁴⁷ *Colloques et Synodes*, pp. 3-4.

The high mobility of these migrants between England and the Low Countries was a factor which intricately connected the congregations. Migrants swapped one congregation for another, especially when they had misbehaved or fallen out with the consistory or their families. The churches had to constantly press each other not to receive anyone without an attestation letter.¹⁴⁸ Especially the large quantity of sexual offenses from which the offender could walk away through migration troubled the churches. The churches were also sensitive about behaviour in the Low Countries. Both communities punished members who had committed idolatry or attended Roman Catholic services in the Low Countries.¹⁴⁹

The churches' growing independence from the Continent can also be measured in their letter collection. The stranger churches received fewer letters from the Swiss cities in the 1570s and 1580s than before. The letters primarily came from Geneva, and Theodore Beza was the sender in most cases. The prominent theologian communicated with the minister of the French Church, Robert de la Fontaine in particular.¹⁵⁰ The Archivum, or letter collection of the Dutch Church edited by Hessels, also contains letters belonging to the French Church and their members. The collections contain about one letter a year from Beza addressed to de la Fontaine. This means a contrast with the extensive contacts which the London churches held with the Swiss cities in the 1550s and 1560s. The outward focus of the churches changed. The London churches initially served

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁴⁹ Among many instances: *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁵⁰ Robert le Maçon, Sieur de la Fontaine, 'dict de la Fontaine', was a nobleman from France who had preached in Orleans and a close friend of Peter Martyr. Although he was helping with the petition for and at the foundation of the stranger churches, he only became minister of the French Church in 1574, until 1611. See Ferdinand de Schickler, *Les Églises du Refuge en Angleterre*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1892) pp. 1, 124, 198, 240, 268; also referenced by Joseph C. McLelland, who shows the interesting relation between Martyr and de la Fontaine in 'A literary history of the *Loci Communes*', in *A Companion to Peter Martyr Vermigli*, ed. by Torrance Kirby, Emidio Campi, and Frank A. James III (Leiden/Boston, 2009), pp. 479-94 (pp. 489-90); also Charles Littleton, 'The French Church of London and European Protestantism: the role of Robert le Maçon, dit de la Fontaine, Minister, 1574-1611,' in *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 26 (1994), 45-57.

as outposts of the Swiss and Dutch Reformation in England, as I argue in chapter 2. The smaller churches did not maintain such international networks but focused on the reception of refugees.

IV. Conclusion

The churches in London were well-connected with the Reformed exile churches in the rest of England, the Reformed churches in the Low Countries, and the Protestant Churches on the Continent via letter networks and meetings. Yet these connections differed throughout the period under consideration, and there was not always much uniformity among the Reformed churches in England. The story had its ups and downs, and many churches struggled internally, while quarrels also broke out between churches.

The consistories attempted to create more interaction and co-operation between the churches in England by means of the Coetus for London and colloquia for the French-speaking and Dutch-speaking churches in England. They were, moreover, ready to help other congregations financially and governmentally. The Coetus meetings functioned well in the first years of the 1560s and in the 1570s. Internal struggles in the Dutch Church, however, halted the meetings for several years. The London churches realised that too close an association might cause division to run from one church to another. The consistories, and especially the French one, were constantly obsessed with preventing the ruining of the churches through divisions. The Coetus did not take place in the crucial years of the 1560s for the events in the Low Countries. The French Church unfortunately did not leave any records for this period, nor did the Dutch Church. The latter did not do so partially because of their constant internal quarrels. The Dutch Church

appeared disorganised and divided. The Coetus could not function. It is hard to see how the consistory, in contrast to its individual, 'private' members, could have staged operations in the Low Countries.

In the 1560s the churches in London still struggled with the formation of stable communities. In contrast a real process of unification primarily took place in the 1570s by picking up the Coetus again and through the colloquia from 1575 onwards for the Dutch-speaking churches, and in the 1580s for the French-speaking churches. Yet it is necessary for the study of their behaviour towards the Low Countries to consider the unique character of each Reformed foreign church in the England. There was little uniformity among the churches. Although the churches advised each other on difficult ecclesiastical cases, the London churches got involved in quarrels over their congregational space. On the level of the Coetus and the colloquia, it was mostly the French Church which was very committed to form a unity. The French churches overall expressed their sympathy with France and the Low Countries and their wish to be part of their unity but at the same time emphasised their unique position within England rendering them independent. Their function within synods in the Low Countries was more symbolic and advisory, although they took resolutions made in the synods seriously and investigated their ideas. Through the colloquia, the French churches attempted to unify their consistories and the authority of the colloquia increased sharply by the end of the 1580s. The French churches were also very keen to participate in synods in the Low Countries and France.

The Dutch churches in contrast were more constrained on the topic of synods. Initially Godfried van Winghen was not very keen on attending the Synod of Emden in 1571, in contrast with some of the other members of the Dutch consistory. His resolution to ask the English church authorities for advice concerning the attendance and adoption

of resolutions of the synods in the Low Countries brought caution over their mingling with these synods. Yet the Dutch churches were the first ones to embrace the idea of forming a Classis put forward by the Synod of Emden and put it into practice under the form of colloquia, making sure not to call it Classis to avoid a clash with English authorities. Although they took an early start, their colloquia soon began to fall apart. Some churches were too poor to take part, while others, and in particular Norwich, lost their interest in partaking, especially when synodal matters were on the agenda. The Dutch colloquia, although the churches continued meeting for decades, soon only took place sporadically. In the 1570s and 1580s they served mainly to regulate the existence, financially and governmental, of all the churches through solidarity. By the end of the 1580s the London Dutch Church dominated the meetings. It is not unfair to say that although supportive of the Reformed churches in the Low Countries and interested in their synods, the immigrant churches in England formed independent institutions, limited in their participation within the ecclesiastical affairs in the Low Countries in several ways. This is something that stood in contrast to the desire to actively support the events in the Low Countries of many of their members, as we will see in the next chapters.

This chapter argues that the foreign churches as institutions and communities held independent identities despite the existence of extensive communication networks, and despite, or perhaps because of, the restraints of their legal dependence on the English Church. The correspondence of the foreign churches' consistories with the churches in the Low Countries showed that these churches enjoyed a certain self-asserted independence within this network. The co-operation, identification, and uniformity between foreign churches in England and between those in England and the Low Countries differed in time. While the early stranger churches struggled to get organised and went through many internal disputes trying to maintain authority, especially in London, by the 1580s they made more attempts towards uniformity. By this point the

geographical focus of the Reformed churches in the Low Countries was shifting north, and the formation of an institutional framework connecting all Reformed communities in the Low Countries intensified as well. The differences of opinion in the London Dutch Church and between the churches before the 1580s would have made it hard for them to actively support the Dutch Revolt, or even to have set up organised attacks on prisons or images in the Low Countries, in contrast with the private actions of many of its members, and even consistory members.

2. The London Stranger Churches in the International Reformation, 1547-1565

This chapter contextualises the history of the stranger settlements, their ministers, and churches in the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth. This highlights the importance of London for these early émigrés, while signalling the growing significance of provincial congregations. The key question throughout this chapter concerns the influence of these churches on the Reformation elsewhere in Europe, and in particular in the Low Countries, between 1547 and 1565. It illustrates differences between the situation of stranger churches in Edwardian as opposed to Elizabethan times. I argue that the stranger churches in the earlier period played a more significant role in the Reformation in the Low Countries, and were more outward-looking than their Elizabethan counterparts. I question the degree of influence that has previously been attributed to the stranger churches in the Reformation, while exposing the tensions that being caught between Reformations placed upon the refugees.¹ Commencing in the reign of Edward VI is a tribute to the significance of his charter to the stranger churches of 1550.² Stopping in 1565 is a reference to the importance of the Wonderjaar as a key turning point for the Reformation in the Netherlands.³

Discussion will centre on the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth, because there was obviously a hiatus between 1553 and 1558 when Mary came to the throne. Many of the foreign exiles found themselves ‘re-exiled’, along with many English Protestants, an interesting formative experience for both. While some did remain in London, records of

¹ See especially Aart A. van Schelven ‘Het begin van het gewapend verzet tegen Spanje in de 16de-eeuwsche Nederlanden’, *Handelingen en mededelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden*, 28 (1914-1915), 126-56.

² See later in this chapter.

³ See chapter 4.

their meetings have been lost. What this chapter seeks to reveal is early differences between the London Strangers' Church and the stranger churches that grew elsewhere. It will reveal the extent of communications both between the network of stranger churches in England and their compatriots on the Continent. It will highlight letter collections and joint book production, psalms, engagement in debates, and discussion of discipline. How did the communities organise this ideological offensive and what drove them to do so? Or can we actually speak of self-protecting churches of refugees which preferred the safety of their English haven? What roles did communities outside London play? The key lies in the role of individuals. I chart their paths and look at their influences on the development of Reformed thought in the Netherlands, yet advance my investigation by looking at how surges of the movement came about and grew in the Low Countries.

Most narratives attribute a large responsibility to the Strangers' Church for the development of the Reformation in the Low Countries. Decavele was of the opinion that the chief points of Dutch Reformed activity lay in its refugee churches in the 1540s and 1550s; first in England and after Mary's accession to the throne in Emden, Wesel and Frankfurt. He believed that the refugee communities were active operational bases for the spread of Reformed thought in the Low Countries.⁴ Nonetheless, refugees from the Low Countries fled to both England and the Holy Roman Empire before the settlement of congregations. In the Lower-Rhine area, and Wesel in particular, Low Countries' Reformed refugees settled from 1544 onwards.⁵ In a larger context, the refugee communities in England and the German cities fitted into a mobile group of Calvinists who formed part of international networks supportive of the Calvinist cause, often called

⁴ Johan Decavele, *De Dageraad van de Reformatie in Vlaanderen (1520-1565)*, 2 vols., Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België Jaargang 37, 76 (Brussels, 1975), I, pp. 324-25.

⁵ Achim Dünwald, *Konfessionsstreit und Verfassungskonflikt. Die Aufnahme der niederländischen Flüchtlinge im Herzogtum Kleve 1566-1585* (Bielefeld, 1998), p. 97.

‘International Calvinism’. Many of these Calvinists met in exile in cities where their Calvinist identity and militancy grew, a phenomenon often called the ‘Reformation of the refugees’. A similar international group of Catholics strived for Catholicism years later.⁶ In some towns in Cleves, however, this process of radicalisation did not necessarily occur, as Dünwald has demonstrated that practical considerations also brought Reformers to be more flexible towards local religious demands.⁷ The exile congregations in the Holy Roman Empire were nonetheless critical for the survival of the Reformed faith in the 1550s.

After Elizabeth’s accession, according to Decavele, refugees sent propaganda in favour of the Reformed movement from England to the Low Countries.⁸ While Decavele ascribed an active role in the promotion of the Reformed faith in the Low Countries to refugees in England, Collinson wrote that the superintendence of the Bishop of London over the stranger churches restricted ‘their full participation in the developing organisation of their home churches in the 1560s. Yet Collinson acknowledged that the strangers experienced a large degree of local autonomy under Grindal.⁹ Another claim which Decavele made is that the centre point of the Reformed movement lay in the Westkwartier. He stated that the return of refugees from England in the period after the resettlement as well as the Calvinist thought and migration from northern France heavily affected the movement in this area.¹⁰ Marnef, on the other hand, reckoned that it was Antwerp which filled this role, with some help from the exile centres.¹¹

⁶ Geert H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, 2016), p. 8.

⁷ Dünwald, *Konfessionsstreit*, pp. 49, 267.

⁸ Decavele, *De Dageraad*, I, p. 396.

⁹ Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London, 1967), p. 114.

¹⁰ Decavele, I, p. 434.

¹¹ Guido Marnef, *Antwerpen in de tijd van de Reformatie. Ondergronds Protestantisme in een handelsmetropool, 1550-1577* (Amsterdam/Antwerpen, 1996), p. 105.

Collinson hesitated, but Decavele and Pettegree described the influence of the stranger churches on the Reformed movement in the Low Countries as important, especially in the 1550s. I do not doubt that the refugee communities in England had a significant impact on the movement, yet it is easier to demonstrate than to measure this, especially since our views are coloured by our knowledge of events to come, the Wonderjaar and the Dutch Revolt. In order to enlarge and deepen the scope of investigation into the perception of the importance of the foreign churches for the Low Countries, I refer to Collinson's opinion that the Elizabethan foreign churches did not fully participate in the developing organisation of the movement in the Low Countries. I agree with the general idea, and demonstrate it through an analysis of the congregations' active efforts for the promotion of the Reformed faith in the Netherlands. However, I do not entirely agree with his whole line of thought. It was not so much the English authorities that restrained the stranger churches as their own internal problems. I do not believe that their subordination to the Bishop of London tells the full story of their restricted weight. Following Decavele's statements I investigate the ways in which the communities influenced Reformed thought and groups in the Netherlands, but I also identify the limitations which weighted upon the churches and restricted their functioning. I argue that the Elizabethan consistories were less influential for the course of the Reformed movement than its members, while the Edwardian churches in contrast were very important for the development of the stream's leading figures. In doing so I prepare the way for the following chapters, as it develops the idea that the London stranger churches were in many aspects very different from other exile churches.

I would like to emphasise that there is more source material and literature available for research on the Flemish or Dutch churches in England and their contacts with the Low Countries and the Continent in general than for the French or Walloon churches. Yet the Dutch Church's letter archive does contain some letters addressed to

members of the French community. Spicer and Pettegree believed that the London French Church directed itself more towards France, while the provincial French and Walloon communities were more oriented towards the Low Countries.¹² This is not surprising, as Calvin himself had sent over London's most well-known minister, the French nobleman Nicholas des Gallars, at the request of the stranger churches. This orientation towards France is, however, not necessarily an indication of the presence of a higher level of French refugees than Walloon refugees in the London French Church. It shows the power relations of the more influential, French ministers and elders.

I. From the Edwardian community to the Elizabethan resettlement

Between 1547 and 1553 the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, invited Protestant scholars from the Continent to England.¹³ Cranmer's attempts to gather Continental Protestants were highly significant for the Dutch and Walloon Reformers. Hoping to bring Zwinglian Protestantism closer to England, he welcomed European theologians to Canterbury and Lambeth Palace, and indirectly helped to establish the first stranger churches. Cranmer negotiated the first Edwardian settlement of the London Strangers' Church. This move was not only significant for the Reformation in England, but it also came at an utmost significant time for many continental Reformers wishing to leave German territories after the Schmalkandic War and the Augsburg Interim, which

¹² Spicer, p. 105; Pettegree, pp. 161-64, 265; Andrew Spicer, "A Faithful Pastor in the Churches": Ministers in the French and Walloon Communities in England, 1560-1620, in *The Reformation of the Parishes: The ministry and the Reformation in town and country*, ed. by Andrew Pettegree (Manchester, 1993), pp. 195-214 (p. 204).

¹³ For more on politics and religion in London during that time period, see in Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 490-502 and especially Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (London, 2001), pp. 157-97; Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven/London, 1996), pp. 380, 394-96, 422, 477-79.

left little room for theological thought dissenting from Catholicism and a weak form of Lutheran Protestantism.

The Flemish aristocratic humanist and Reformer Jan Utenhove was one of the continental Reformers in exile who had responded to Cranmer's invitation. After the latter had left his native city, Ghent, to study at the university of Louvain, he had fled to Cologne in 1544 in order to escape persecution. Around 1546 he preached before a small congregation in Strasbourg. In 1548 he travelled to Canterbury following Cranmer's invitation.¹⁴ In Canterbury Utenhove was involved in the establishment of the first Reformed exile church in England, about which little is known.¹⁵ In 1550 he also assisted in the settlement of the first Strangers' Church in London, with the help of other Reformers, among whom were the Flemings Martin Micronius and Karel de Koninck, all from Ghent.¹⁶ Utenhove and Micronius also maintained close contacts with the English Calvinist John Hooper in the 1540s. Micronius was a friend of Hooper, whom he and Utenhove had met in Zurich.¹⁷ The Calvinist Heinrich Bullinger held an interest in the figure of Hooper. He communicated with Utenhove and Micronius through letters and frequently asked them for news about Hooper.¹⁸ Micronius' expectations of Hooper's influence on the English Reformation were high since he told Bullinger that Hooper would become 'the future Zwingli of England'.¹⁹

¹⁴ Francis W. Cross, *History of the Huguenot Church at Canterbury*. Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, 15 (Lymington, 1898; reprint 1969), p. 3; Bernard Cottret, transl. by Peregrine and Adriana Stevenson, afterword Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *The Huguenots in England. Immigration and Settlement c. 1550-1700* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 26; Pettegree, pp. 23-45. See also George B. Beeman, 'The Early History of the Strangers' Church, 1550 to 1561', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 15 (1935), 261-82.

¹⁵ Cross, *The Walloon and Huguenot Church*, pp. 3-4; Sir Robert A. McCall, 'The Huguenots in Kent', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, vol. 13 (1924-29), 18-36 (pp. 22-25).

¹⁶ Cross, *The Walloon and Huguenot Church*, p. 6; Beeman, pp. 264-65.

¹⁷ Pettegree, pp. 26, 44.

¹⁸ Archivum, 2.1, Letter 8, pp. 23-25.

¹⁹ See Charles H. Smyth, *Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI* (Cambridge, 1926), pp. 95-99; Andrew Pettegree, 'The strangers and their churches in London, 1550-1580' (D.Phil. diss.,

The Italian Reformer Coelius Secundus Curio wrote a letter to Utenhove in September 1549 in order to congratulate him with his ‘young and growing church’.²⁰ In this same letter Curio and the Reformed community in Basel, where he was residing, expressed their curiosity for more news about ‘English affairs’ and especially about Hooper, meaning the development of the Reformation in England.²¹ They were not the only ones keen to hear more about the developments in England, as it appears from Utenhove’s letters. Two Bruges Catholics writing from Freiburg and hoping to bridge the breach between Catholicism and Protestantism also took an interest in 1546.²²

The first attempts to form exile churches took place in Canterbury and London in 1547 through the gathering of Continental scholars there through Cranmer. The Italian scholar Bernardino Ochino first brought together an Italian congregation in London and foreign scholars were making similar attempts to form a French-speaking church at Canterbury.²³ The Strasbourg Reformer Martin Bucer expressed one of the early reactions to the settlement of foreign churches in England in 1549: ‘Would that we might soon hear that the foundations of the kingdom of Christ were safely and firmly laid in your place. May the Lord also grant a period of external peace for this work.’²⁴ In this statement he put forward the idea of establishing a safe outpost for Reformers from the Continent. It is not clear which foreign church in England he was talking about, the church set up in Canterbury or the one in London. The first foreign congregations to obtain official recognition in London through a royal charter in 1550 were known as à Lasco’s Strangers’

University of Oxford, 1983), pp. 20-21 who refers to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by Sydney Lee, vol. 27 (New York, 1891), pp. 304-06.

²⁰ Archivum, 2.1, Letter 9, p. 26.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 11-14.

²³ MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, p. 79.

²⁴ Archivum, 2, Letter 6, pp. 17-19.

Church, but attempts at forming a congregation in London took place before the royal recognition.

The international significance of the Strangers' Church becomes clear from the reasons behind Cranmer's scheme to gather Continental Reformers in England, and the potential use of the foreign churches. In his article concerning the Huguenots at Kent, McCall links the wish to bring 'valuable persons' together in the kingdom which Latimer expressed during a sermon that he preached before Edward VI in 1549 to Cranmer's attempts to bring together a conference of religious scholars through invitations to join him at Canterbury and Lambeth.²⁵ Cranmer worked to assemble scholars in the hope of uniting Protestant movements. Calvin did not seem enthusiastic about the scheme, and Pettegree notes that this frustrated Cranmer's plans.²⁶ Although some of the most influential Calvinists declined, the invitation did attract various other Continental Reformers as well as religious refugees in its wake. The Polish baron and zealous Reformer John à Lasco, who would become the superintendent of the Edwardian Strangers' Church, the Flemish Reformers and later consistory members Jan Utenhove, Martin Micronius, and the Walloon theologian Pierre Alexandre came to stay at Canterbury and London.²⁷ Other Reformers connected to the Strangers' Church in

²⁵ McCall, p. 23. This article, however popular it may be in historical and amateur historical circles, was delivered as a paper before the Huguenot Society of London. The society printed it as such; without footnotes and with a selection of the questions and comments from the public after the talk. In this respect, I would like to make some reservations towards this article. It is highly likely that McCall based this narrative on de Schickler, I, p. 27, which gives no reference either. It is, however, possible to find the reference to this quote from Latimer in the edited volumes of his sermons. *Sermons by Hugh Latimer, sometime bishop of Worcester, Martyr, 1555*, ed. by George Elwes Corrie, The Parker Society (Cambridge, 1844), p. 141 (third sermon preached before Edward VI). In this passage Latimer mentioned à Lasco: 'Johannes Alasco was here, a nobleman in his country, and is gone his way again: if it be for lack of entertainment, the more pity. I would wish such men as he to be in the realm; for the realm should prosper in receiving of them [...] and it is for the king's honour to receive them and keep them. I hear say Master Melancton, that great clerk, should come hither. [...]'].

²⁶ Pettegree, pp. 16-17.

²⁷ According to de Schickler, Pierre Alexandre had been a preacher to Mary of Hungary's Court, the sister of Charles V. After that he became professor of theology at Heidelberg. De Schickler, 1, p. 8.

Canterbury and London were Peter Martyr Vermigli, Bernardino Ochino from Siena, the Frenchmen and consistory members of the London French Church François Perucel de la Rivière, Richard Vauville, and Valerand Poullain who was formerly a minister at Strasbourg where he had met Utenhove.²⁸

Among the more distinguished scholars who also met in England after invitations from Cranmer were the eminent Strasbourg-based theologians Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius, and the Spanish translator Franciscus Dryander.²⁹ Utenhove and Fagius were among those who joined the first Continental Reformed church in Canterbury. According to Hessels, Utenhove was a keen member of this congregation since 1548, when Peter Martyr wrote a letter to Utenhove which included the first mention of this community. Hessels was uncertain whether Utenhove established the congregation shortly after his arrival that year or whether this congregation already existed.³⁰ The community's minister was François Perucel de la Rivière.³¹ He would also become a member of the French Church in the reign of Elizabeth. The church's language was French. Hessels interpreted a reference to 'our French Church' in one of the letters in his edition to mean that there was a Walloon Church, but there is no evidence for that.³² Perhaps the confusion between Walloon and French happens rather easily, especially as the Elizabethan Reformed church in Canterbury was a Walloon church. French-speaking is the best description of this church, without it meaning that the church's members originated from France. The later congregation settled in Canterbury in 1574 and 1575. A first stream of French and Walloon migrants came from Winchelsea and Rye to Canterbury in 1574, and in 1575 a

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

²⁹ Archivum, 2, Letter 2, p. 4, fn. 2.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ De Schickler, I, p. 9.

³² *Ibid.*

larger group came from Sandwich and was Walloon in origin.³³ They initially used the St Alphege church for worship before moving to the cathedral's western crypt in 1576.³⁴

Cross presumed that the intelligentsia around Cranmer founded the first Reformed Church at Canterbury as he could not find any evidence of a company of migrants in Canterbury's Burghmote books for the Edwardian period.³⁵ The congregation in Canterbury was very likely the result of Cranmer's scheme. Yet, by 1550 some of the Reformers had a different plan in mind; the foundation of Reformed stranger churches in London. The successful acquisition of the charter from Edward VI which allowed the strangers to form churches in London was in part due to the efforts of John à Lasco. This Polish baron was a prominent Reformer who, through his networks and active negotiation, influenced the development of Protestant thought in several places throughout Europe.³⁶ He furthermore became the superintendent of the Strangers' Church, a position which earned him a salary paid by the English Government of one hundred pounds a year.³⁷ He fled England after Mary's accession to the throne and travelled through Europe with the exiles of the Strangers' Church hoping to find a new home for the Reformed exile congregation. His attempts to establish the Reformed religion in Denmark and Poland failed.

³³ Cross, *The Walloon and Huguenot Church at Canterbury*, pp. 3, 18-19, refers to *Original Letters relative to the English Reformation: Written During the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, And Queen Mary*, ed. by Hastings Robinson, The Parker Society (Cambridge, 1842), I, p. 17.

³⁴ Anne M. Oakley, 'The Canterbury Walloon Congregation from Elizabeth I to Laud', in *Huguenots in Britain and their French Background, 1550-1800. Contributions to the Historical Conference of the Huguenot Society of London, 24-25 September 1985*, ed. by Irene Scouloudi (Basingstoke, 1987), pp. 57-71 (pp. 59-60).

³⁵ Cross, *The Walloon and Huguenot Church at Canterbury*, p. 8.

³⁶ Shortly after his return to the Continent in 1553 he helped settling the exile congregation in Frankfurt. He was also a close friend of Erasmus, whose library he purchased before turning Protestant. Similarly, he was acquainted with and read Melancton. See Michael S. Springer, *Restoring Christ's Church. John a Lasco and the Forma ac ratio* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 1-3.

³⁷ Pettegree, p. 28.

Minet interestingly pointed out that perhaps à Lasco was searching for a refuge place for his Frisian flock. Before his arrival in England à Lasco held the function of superintendent of a few Reformed communities in East Frisia but had to leave for political reasons after the Augsburg Interim.³⁸ A possible reference to this might be the mention in the charter of its recipients as ‘German’, perhaps meaning Lower-German in reference to Frisia and German exile centres rather than Flanders.³⁹ A Lasco was the steering power behind the first Strangers’ Church, but his attention was not focused on the promotion of the Reformed faith in Flanders. He rather devoted himself to the spread of Reformed thought in general, and especially in Poland, and the creation of stable congregations in London and East Frisia.

Another influential member of the English clergy à Lasco befriended was John Hooper. The latter had studied in Zurich around 1548 where he lived in the house of the Fleming Martin Micronius, who later became a minister of the London Dutch Church. Both Hooper and Micronius were also personal friends of Jan Utenhove.⁴⁰ Micronius showed his intimate friendship and respect for Hooper in his letters. One example of this was Micronius’ remark that Hooper would prove the future Zwingli of England.⁴¹ Hooper’s influence on the Court and politics played a role in the acquisition of the charter. This charter, ratified in 1550, appointed à Lasco as the superintendent and four ministers namely Wouter Deleene, Martin Micronius, François Perucel de la Rivière, and Richard Vauville.⁴² Wouter Deleene had held a position, presumably reader or censor, in Henry

³⁸ The Interim was established in Germany and threatened him as he did not want to concede in his religious thought. More about these political problems which had arisen in Frisia, see Susan Minet, ‘Hommage à l’Eglise de Londres, 1550-1950. A résumé of the story of London’s first Huguenot Church’, *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London* Vol. 18 (1949) 232-42 (p. 233); see also Pettegree, p. 42.

³⁹ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 14, pp. 4-7.

⁴⁰ On Micronius see Jan Hendrik Gerretsen, *Micronius, zijn leven, zijn geschriften, zijn geestesrichting* (Nijmegen, 1895); Decavele, *De Dageraad van de Reformatie*, I, pp. 327-28.

⁴¹ See p. 76.

⁴² Archivum, 3.1, Letter 14, pp. 4-7.

VIII's library around 1539, at which time he dedicated a translation of the New Testament to Henry.⁴³

The charter also provided a meeting space for these congregations; the church of Austin Friars, one of the larger churches in London at that time. Yet before they could move in, the church had to be repaired at royal expense while the Lord Treasurer oversaw the works. According to Micronius himself, these repairs progressed very slowly as Lord Treasurer Winchester did not look favourably upon the strangers, telling them that they should embrace the English way of worship.⁴⁴ The settlement of the Strangers' Church formed part of a power game within English politics and presumably represented a significant victory for the more radical-minded Protestants around Edward VI. The communities were obliged to find a different church to preach in and consequently met in the Chapel of St Anthony in Threadneedle street for the first two years. The French Church would also use this chapel as their place of worship in the Elizabethan period. Communities of migrants soon gathered around the Strangers' Church. Cottret notes that the congregations did not only consist of these 'high-powered scholars' but that foreign journeymen, craftsmen, or people of slender means also took an interest in them.⁴⁵

An interesting thought which Cottret put forward is that perhaps these communities served as a social experiment. He pondered over whether allowing this larger group of migrants to celebrate the Reformed religion according to their own rites and customs was a mere concession which the English government had granted to

⁴³ Galterum Deloenus, *Novum Testamentum Latinum, ad Antiquissima Graecorum exemplaria, qua diligentissime castigatum: inq[ue] latinam phrasim transfusum, quicquid erat idiotismi vel Graeci vel Hebraei ...* (London, 1540). Deleene described himself as 'biblioscopus' of Henry VIII's library, but there is no unanimity about the meaning of the term. The Lambeth Library still possesses a copy of the book, which originally formed part of Henry VIII's library. More about the book and Deleene in J. Trapman, 'Delenus en de Bijbel', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 56:1 (1975), 95-113. About the Deleene's function in Henry's library see James P. Carley, *The Books of King Henry VIII and his Wives*, preface by David Starkey (London, 2004), p. 17.

⁴⁴ Beeman, p. 269.

⁴⁵ Cottret, p. 27.

minority groups or whether they set up the Strangers' Church as an example extendable to the rest of England. This idea was not novel, Norwood, as De Schickler before him, put it forward in 1962 when he postulated that the Strangers' Church served as model congregations to whose image the English church could slowly adapt. Norwood believed that their existence 'was intended to influence the direction of the English Reformation'.⁴⁶ Cottret too pointed out that it was thanks to the arrival of these Reformers that the English Church moved further away from Rome in favour of Protestantism.⁴⁷

Just like Cottret, Norwood wrote in the passive voice when describing these ideas and did not explain who would be behind such a scheme. Were the foreigners whom Cranmer had invited behind it, and how large was the involvement of Calvinist Court members? While Norwood believed that Edward VI, Cranmer, and à Lasco carefully planned the scheme, Cottret remained much vaguer on the point.⁴⁸ The latter also presumed that it was à Lasco who zealously worked to establish the foreign churches. The Reformer did interfere in religious debate in England, for instance on the issue of vestments, and held aggressive, polemical theological opinions which also made it harder for the refugees to settle again on the Continent after their Marian expulsion.⁴⁹ Cottret believed that the efforts put into the churches' ecclesiastical constitution, driven by a purification of the understanding of the Gospels, would be inexplicable unless à Lasco had intended the conversion of the whole of England based on his model.⁵⁰ For this

⁴⁶ Frederick A. Norwood, 'The Strangers' "Model Churches" in Sixteenth-Century England', in *Reformation Studies: Essays in Honor of Roland H. Bainton*, ed. by Franklin H. Littell (Richmond, 1962), pp. 181-96 (pp. 181-86); see also de Schickler, I, pp. 31-32.

⁴⁷ Cottret, p. 26.

⁴⁸ Norwood, 'The Strangers', pp. 183-85.

⁴⁹ See among others Ole Peter Grell, 'Exile and Tolerance', in *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*, ed. by Ole Peter Grell & Bob Scribner (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 164-81.

⁵⁰ Cottret, pp. 37-38.

interpretation both referred to à Lasco's dedicatory epistle for King Sigismund of Poland in which he talked about events of the Edwardian settlement.⁵¹

Quoting the same epistle, Johnston pointed out that Edward VI and his Council had welcomed the scheme which à Lasco envisaged and that they had attempted to use this occasion in a larger plan for a drastic reform of the English Church.⁵² These seem reasonable interpretations, yet this fragment is not free of a political programme from the side of à Lasco, who wanted to see his beloved home country turning to the Reformation.⁵³ A Lasco was using the idea that the Edwardian settlement formed part of a larger scheme which Edward and his advisors had concocted in an attempt to convince the Polish king. Since he wrote this epistle after Edward's death, I would urge we take a critical approach to this fragment. As expected, one can also find little trace of such a scheme in the charter, and it does show the importance of the propagation of Edward VI as the defender of the true religion and the idea that Christian kings should pursue a reign inspired by the purified and true religion. It states that a Christian king should not only take the utmost care when ruling his kingdom but also dedicate himself to religion and to

⁵¹ *Ibid.*; Norwood, 'The Strangers', p. 184; see also de Schickler, I, pp. 31-32. See also footnote 53 for the books in which the epistle is to be found.

⁵² Actes du Consistoire I, p. xiii.

⁵³ They seem reasonable interpretations judging from the large quotations both Cottret and Johnston state in their studies. Johnston refers to the *Dedicatory Epistle to King Sigismund of Poland* in *De ordinatione ecclesiarum peregrinarum in Anglia*. (Frankfort, 1555) as being the source for these quotes, and Cottret on the other hands references de Schickler, who, in turn referred to the *Dedicatory Epistle* as well. Yet interestingly, this book is nowhere to be found. It is not even mentioned by the Universal Short Title Catalogue and any references to the book are referring to Kuyper's *Joannis a Lasco. Opera*. A dedicatory epistle to the king of Poland can, however, be found in à Lasco's *Forma ac ratio tota ecclesiastici ministerij, in peregrinorum, potissimum verò Germanorum Ecclesia instituta Londini in Anglia, per pientissimum principem Angliae etc. Regem Eduardum, eius nominis sextum: anno post Christum natum 1550. Addito ad calcem libelli privilegio suae Maiestatis* (Emden, 1554). Could a possible confusion by de Schickler have caused the difficulties with this reference? It seems to be the case. The dedicatory epistle in the *Forma ac ratio* confirms both Cottret and Johnston's interpretations, while Norwood also refers to this work for the epistle, and said that Edward VI wanted to purify the Church in England slowly. Here à Lasco also praised Thomas Cranmer. See Abraham Kuyper's *Joannis a Lasco. Opera. Tam edita quam inedita, recensuit vitam auctoris enarravit*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam, 1866), pp. 10-11.

those exiles who fled for their religious beliefs.⁵⁴ Yet it does stipulate that the strangers could profess and celebrate their religion according to their own rites and the customs of their fatherland among their own people, and in their own language, even though these rites and ceremonies were different from the ones used in the English Church.⁵⁵ This would make their services less accessible to Englishmen.

During the Elizabethan resettlement of the stranger churches, the idea that they would form a model could also have been the motive of some powerful figures who acted in their favour. Even if this was not the case, Johnson, Collinson, and Spicer have pointed out that these Reformed churches served as inspirational living models for among others the Puritan movement.⁵⁶ MacCulloch has also argued, however, that Cranmer had more conciliatory motives, that is bringing together differing religious denomination in a bid to demonstrate the possibility to live in peace through tolerance. Despite Cranmer's tolerance, the Strangers' Church itself, and foremostly à Lasco, did not prove similarly tolerant. As mentioned, à Lasco intermeddled in the vestments dispute on the side of Hooper, and against Cranmer, arguing against vestments for the clergy in order to purify the church. Cranmer, on the other hand, felt the need for tolerance in a transitional church.⁵⁷

If the exemplary function of the churches' presence for the English Reformation was one potential reason for the Edwardian government to grant the charter, another one

⁵⁴ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 14, pp. 4-7.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Introduction to the Actes du Consistoire I, pp. xiv-xvi; Patrick Collinson, 'Calvinism with an Anglican Face: The Stranger Churches of Early Elizabethan London and their Superintendent', in his *Godly People, Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London, 1983), pp. 213-44; Andrew Spicer considers the influence of ordinance of the French Church on the Reformation in France in 'Nicholas des Gallars's Forme de police ecclésiastique de Londres and the French Reformed Church', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 29:4 (2011), 532-63.

⁵⁷ Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'Archbishop Cranmer: Concord and Tolerance', in *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*, ed. by Ole Peter Grell & Bob Scribner (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 199-215 (pp. 213-14).

was the attraction of skilled craftsmen or merchants. Edward VI's journal itself, however, reveals a further motive for the settlement of the Strangers' Church; for the avoidance of sects, especially Anabaptists.⁵⁸ While Susan Brigden emphasised the pertinent problem of these heresies in London during the reign of Edward VI in the ranks of the poor, the servants, and the apprentices, Pettegree noticed that heretics in London were in large part foreigners, who proliferated during the reign of Edward VI. He pointed out that they even went so far as to interrupt sermons in London.⁵⁹ A Reformed Strangers' Church would help to regulate and perhaps eradicate the spread of heretical thought. Foreign heretics were choosing the anonymity of London since the city had for centuries been attracting foreign skilled workers.

England and especially London had been a popular destination for Flemish craftsmen for centuries by the time that a growing number of Flemish craftsmen converted to various Protestant movements. Throughout the sixteenth century, adherents of several 'dissenting' religions attempted to convert Catholics in the Low Countries at the same time. Mennonites and Anabaptists were both equally successful. The Reformed movement was a mainstream Protestant movement which held more intellectual credit than other confessional, new religious streams. In 1558 the Reformer Godfried van Winghen expressed his joy when the Anabaptists could not find any weighty fault in his edition of the New Testament and perceived that the 'opinion of learned men' was with the Reformed movement.⁶⁰ Some ministers of the Reformed churches worried about the souls of people seduced by other confessional movements. They described other religious designations as sects, especially the Mennonites and Anabaptists, whom Catholics and

⁵⁸ *Chronicle and Political Papers of King Edward VI*, ed. by Wilbur Kitchener Jordan (New York, 1966), p. 37, cited in Pettegree, p. 38; *Unity in multiformity*, p. 4.

⁵⁹ Brigden, pp. 492-504; *Sermons by Hugh Latimer*, ed. by Henry Charles Beeching (London, 1906), p. 150, cited in Pettegree, pp. 38-39.

⁶⁰ *Archivum*, 2, Letter 25, pp. 81-86.

mainstream Protestants alike persecuted. The internationally renowned Reformer Peter Martyr stated that in ‘Low Germany’, ‘sects and heresy’ were booming.⁶¹ Other religious beliefs he described as ‘fantasies’.⁶² The Reformed churches were anxious not to be associated with the Anabaptists. Whereas the group of Reformers maintained a large, international base of support from theologians, the Anabaptists did not, and the group became affiliated with the fiasco of the Münster Rebellion.

Yet, the churches’ religious ideology was not straightforwardly Calvinist but rather influenced by Zwinglian thought, or the Reformed thought dominant in Zurich. As mentioned the prominent theologians attached to the Strangers’ Church had studied in Zurich, or maintained close contacts with Swiss Reformers. Connections to Strasbourg were most ubiquitous, as Reformers such as Bucer, Ochino, and Utenhove resided there. More importantly, Hooper, Micronius, Bullinger, Bucer, Martyr, Utenhove, and à Lasco all formed part of the same network of letters, the importance of which for the spread of Protestant thought cannot be underestimated. Pettegree indicated that the Swiss were bringing their own men, Hooper and à Lasco, into the power play of London politics in defence of Reformed thought in the Edwardian period.⁶³ Theologians such as Zwingli and Bucer influenced the English evangelical movement under Henry VIII and Edward VI. Calvin’s initial indifference to Cranmer’s project made room for Reformers from the Zwinglian branch to spread their influence. Cottret went as far as to state that the stranger churches remained relatively resistant to Calvinism in their form of organisation.⁶⁴ Yet from 1560 to 1563 the Frenchman and colleague of Calvin, Nicholas des Gallars, became the main minister of the French Church and steered the French Church into the Calvinist direction. This was a move from Geneva that should not be considered meaningless since

⁶¹ Low Germany is a term used to describe the Low Countries.

⁶² Archivum, 2, Letter 27, pp. 88-90.

⁶³ Pettegree, pp. 19-22, 24.

⁶⁴ Cottret, p. 50.

des Gallars was a nobleman and prominent Calvinist.⁶⁵ It shows that Geneva too was fighting for some influence on the Reformation in England. Yet Bullinger himself warned Utenhove in 1557 not to mix up ‘several religions’, or rather several branches of Protestant thought.⁶⁶ On top of that, many of the Low Countries’ early supporters of the Reformation, such as the Utenhove and à Lasco, stood under influence of Erasmian thought in the first half of the sixteenth century.⁶⁷

Cottret does have a point when he describes the Edwardian refugees as the ‘would-be heralds of a new reforming age which was slow to dawn’.⁶⁸ The accession of Mary drove a few hundred refugees, who had formerly been able to celebrate their beliefs with a relatively large amount of freedom, out of the country, and back to the Continent. In September 1553 à Lasco and Utenhove departed from London with the congregation. They embarked on vessels in Gravesend and sailed in the direction of Denmark. Along the river Thames members of the congregation who stayed behind sang psalms.⁶⁹ After their dispersal, the exiles were able to join refugee congregations in Emden, Wesel and Frankfurt. Some of them went back to their home country. The Westkwartier, Antwerp, or the Flemish part of northern France were the three main bases for the spread of Reformed thought in the Low Countries in the 1550s. Marnef states that Antwerp fulfilled a central role in the spread of Reformed Protestantism in the Low Countries, especially in the southern half of the Netherlands. Refugees from these areas and from France fled

⁶⁵ Spicer believes in the probability that Calvin sent des Gallars to London in the hope that he would establish contacts with ‘patrons of English Calvinism’ and thus to guide the development and establishment of the church in Elizabethan England in favour of European Calvinism. Spicer, ‘Nicholas des Gallars’, p. 534.

⁶⁶ Archivum, 2, Letter 22, p. 73.

⁶⁷ John à Lasco bought Erasmus’ library. Springer, pp. 2-4; Fredrik Pijper, *Jan Utenhove: Zijn Leven en Zijne Werken* (Leiden, 1883) p. 18.

⁶⁸ Cottret, p. 27.

⁶⁹ Cross, *The Walloon and Huguenot Church*, p. 10.

to Antwerp because of its anonymity and trade. From there they could direct events in their homelands.⁷⁰

As I have demonstrated, the Strangers' Church was significant for the Reformation in England but also counted on international support. The Church formed a model for other congregations and counted on an international network of theologians as well as many English church leaders, who had invited them in the first place. This was not the case at the resettlement of the churches after the accessions of Elizabeth. In December 1559, a year after the accession of Elizabeth and when her religious preferences had become clearer, Utenhove and Wouter and Peter Deleene travelled back to London with the hope of re-establishing the churches.⁷¹ Although most narratives of the re-establishment emphasise this event, Pettegree has shown that attempts took place before their return, through representatives in London of the Reformed churches at Emden.⁷² Beeman and Johnston include Micronius in the returning group of Utenhove and Deleene, but this seems very unlikely, since he died in Norden in September 1559.⁷³ Utenhove returned from Poland with the charter, where he had attempted to reform religious thought together with à Lasco. In England they still held a basis of support, especially from those Englishmen who had returned from exile on the Continent under Mary or radical Protestants. One such exile was Edmund Grindal, now consecrated Bishop of London. He would prove not just to be their superintendent but also a friendly ally of the strangers.⁷⁴ This time à Lasco did not accompany them but remained in Poland until his death in January 1560. The negotiations for the re-establishment started in

⁷⁰ Marnef, *Antwerpen*, p. 105.

⁷¹ Beeman, p. 278.

⁷² Pettegree, pp. 133-81.

⁷³ Beeman, p. 278; Actes du consistoire I, p. xiv.

⁷⁴ This becomes clear from the records of the French Church, and Johnston, its editor, briefly described this relationship in the introduction to the Actes du consistoire I, pp. xiv-xvi. Collinson developed the argument in his 'Calvinism with an Anglican Face', pp. 71-102.

December 1559 with a petition to the Privy Council from Utenhove, but the Council did not grant permission until February 1560.⁷⁵

The stranger churches now became composed of a mixture of the migrants who had resided in London under Mary, returning migrants, and new migrants. The old group consisted of migrants who had either remained in London secretly after the first settlement, had converted back to Catholicism, or had settled in England during Mary's reign.⁷⁶ A group of Reformers remained in London for a while or throughout the entire reign of Mary. Peter Deleene was still in London in 1554 to take care of the remaining flock in secret. One of the main reasons for him to remain in England temporarily was, according to Deleene himself, a scarcity of spiritual 'labourers' in London.⁷⁷ The renewed exile of a part of the congregation thus did not mean the rest of the flock was left behind, which was a common argument against flight initially countered in that way.⁷⁸ Especially in the French Church's consistory records we find many indications of old members who wanted to join the church again in the Elizabethan period but had to repent for adhering to Catholicism under Mary.⁷⁹ Next to new migrants, there was also some interest from prominent Englishmen for the churches, as a few regularly joined the Lord's Supper of the French Church and other events, such as a merchant named Eton, who helped organising the elections of the first elders.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, 1547-1580*, ed. by Robert Lemon (London, 1856), Elizabeth, xi, 24, as quoted in Cottret, pp. 46-47.

⁷⁶ It is difficult to estimate the size of these groups. The Dutch Church had about 227 adult members in 1562, according to their own estimates, the French Church about 342 in 1564. Yet these official estimates might be lower than they actually were. Kerkeradsprotocollen, p. 210; Actes du Consistoire I, p. 59.

⁷⁷ Archivum, 2, Letter 15, pp. 40-42.

⁷⁸ Jonathan Wright, 'Marian Exiles and the Legitimacy of Flight from Persecution', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 52:2 (2001), 220-43.

⁷⁹ Actes du Consistoire I, p. xvi.

⁸⁰ Regularly noticeable in the Actes du Consistoire I.

The composition of the consistories also changed. Micronius and Utenhove became elders of the Dutch Church, and Peter Deleene, the son of the former minister Wouter Deleene, became its minister together with Adriaan van Haemstede. The latter initially preached in London, before the arrival of Deleene. Van Haemstede only served for about one year.⁸¹ Through his liberal ideas and attitudes towards Anabaptists, and perhaps his controversial provocation of public preaching in Antwerp, he shocked and divided the church on doctrinal grounds. He very quickly clashed with some of the other consistory members, especially with Peter Deleene and Micronius. Throughout 1560 these consistory members started various procedures against him. Van Haemstede remained stubborn and had supporters within the church. Yet in the same year, the Dutch Church officially managed to move Grindal to proceed with excommunication. Van Haemstede was no longer welcome in the church, nor in London, and on his return to the Low Countries too, he experienced much animosity. He and the Dutch consistory unsuccessfully attempted to reconcile once more when he suddenly turned up at Austin Friars in 1562.⁸² In his writings van Haemstede depicted himself as a true martyr, hated, and without hope of finding a home.⁸³ Peter Deleene took over the role of minister from van Haemstede but succumbed to the plague in 1563. Godfried van Winghen, who had been a tutor to Utenhove's sons in the 1550s, then took over the ministry.⁸⁴

Dutch consistory members who took up their function again after their return found themselves at odds with many of the new refugees. This was not so much a generational conflict, but rather a conflict in the ideals of both groups, perhaps under the influence from Calvinism. The returned Reformers had aimed to build a church to model

⁸¹ Jean-François Gilmont, 'La Genèse du martyrologe d'Adrien van Haemstede (1559)', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 63 (1968), 379-414; Kerkerads-protocollen, p. 23, cited in Patrick Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal 1519-1583: The Struggle for a Reformed Church* (London, 1979), p. 135.

⁸² *Kerkerads-protocollen*, pp. 335-38.

⁸³ *Archivum*, 2, Letter 47, pp. 144-46.

⁸⁴ Pettegree, p. 286.

the European Reformed churches and as an outpost to Zurich and Strasbourg. Moreover, Kirby's investigations suggest that the influence of Swiss Calvinism and theologian Peter Martyr Vermigli on the Elizabethan religious establishment should not be overlooked.⁸⁵ New refugees on the other hand were fleeing persecution and unrest in the Low Countries and some of them wished to use the churches to encourage the spread of their Reformed ideas in the Low Countries. The new refugees hoped to return to their country under religious toleration one day.

Pierre Alexandre initially preached successfully among the French-speaking immigrants. During Edward VI's reign Cranmer had drawn him to Canterbury where he became a prebendary. He moved to Strasbourg under Mary and returned to England in May 1560 at which point he took up this prebendary again.⁸⁶ Yet he was not the only French-speaking preacher that tried to form a congregation in London around that time; the pastor Ebrard Erail also brought together a group of Protestants. Erail had come from the French-speaking Reformed Church at Antwerp.⁸⁷ The groups integrated and formed a church, but Nicholas des Gallars took up the role of minister for the French Church after the re-establishment. Calvin sent him at a request from the French Church for a minister.⁸⁸ The Church elected him as their minister in April 1560.⁸⁹ The Flemish Church received a letter from Geneva announcing that they had chosen des Gallars, thus it seems possible that Utenhove was behind this request.⁹⁰ As Alexandre had already established himself as a preacher in London before des Gallars' arrival in June, the

⁸⁵ Torrance Kirby, 'Peter Martyr Vermigli and the Elizabethan Church', in *The reception of Continental Reformation in Britain*, ed. by Polly Ha and Patrick Collinson, Proceedings of the British Academy, 164 (Oxford, 2010), pp. 83-106 (p. 106).

⁸⁶ Cottret, p. 26; Actes du Consistoire I, p. 15; John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541-1857. III Canterbury, Rochester and Winchester Dioceses*, compiled by Joyce M. Horn (London, 1974) pp. 30-31.

⁸⁷ Actes du Consistoire I, p. xv.

⁸⁸ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS Dupuy 102, fols. 137 ff., as quoted in de Schickler, III, pp. 44-47, also cited by Cottret, p. 47.

⁸⁹ Actes du Consistoire I, p. xv

⁹⁰ Archivum, 2, Letter 42, pp. 132-33.

consistory of the French Church tried to accommodate him as an assistant minister. This caused some tensions within the congregation, as Alexandre did not hold back from challenging his competitor, des Gallars. Alexandre strongly felt that he was the rightful minister, and perhaps understandably so as he was one of the founding members of the Strangers' Church for which he tried to secure a building. It is perhaps due to the diplomatic and successful interventions of Grindal that no larger conflicts divided the French Church. Grindal and des Gallars held each other in mutual respect, while Grindal could not easily condemn Alexandre, who had been one of his hosts during his exile in Strasbourg.⁹¹ By attempting to attract a prominent minister such as des Gallars, figures such as Utenhove, who had obtained Elizabeth's confirmation of a renewal of most of the Strangers' Church's privileges, proved to be outward looking. They erected the churches rather as outposts of Continental Protestantism than as bastions of Low Countries and French resistance and Reformation.

The correspondence of Jan Utenhove, of whom many letters survive in the Dutch Church's archival records, show that in the period under consideration the places from which he received letters most regularly were Frankfurt and Zurich. The largest percentage of his in-coming letters were from Heinrich Bullinger and Peter Martyr Vermigli. The churches held regular correspondence with the continental Reformers through its prominent consistory members. The stranger churches also served as a middle point for letter traffic between the Continent and London. They regularly forwarded letters to the English Court or governmental authorities within the Church of England. In 1565, for instance, Jean Cousin, who was at that point the minister of the French Church, reported going to the Court to hand over a testament which the theologian Beza had sent over addressed to the Queen, and a few other letters towards Robert Dudley,

⁹¹ De Schickler, I, pp. 96, 132, cited in Collinson, 'Calvinism with an Anglican Face', pp. 224-25.

William Cecil, and several other Englishmen.⁹² It was also through these churches that Continental Reformers kept an eye on the Reformation in Scotland and that Scotsmen arranged the migration of Flemish weavers from England to Scotland.⁹³

II. The contribution of stranger church evangelical with regard to books and psalms

Antwerp formed a crossroad for Reformed thought in the first half of the sixteenth century. Its printing houses received international recognition and the book trade flourished. As early as 1520 Albrecht Dürer demonstrated the availability of Lutheran tracts and other published works on the Antwerp market in his travel journal.⁹⁴ While England imported large quantities of books either printed in the Low Countries or through its market, London also increasingly attracted its printers. The London market was not only a fruitful place to sell printed goods, it also provided a place of refuge for persecuted printers. The Ghent citizen and printer Gillis van der Erven, with whom the stranger churches held close contacts, migrated to London in 1550. Van der Erven was a prominent printer of Bibles and theological tracts. He left London after the accession of Mary and followed a large group of migrants to Emden.⁹⁵ Similarly, the Dutch printer Steven Mierdmans took refuge in London in 1546.⁹⁶

⁹² Actes du Consistoire I, p. 115.

⁹³ For more information on this topic see my blog post 'The Stranger Churches and their Link with Scotland', on *Scotland and the Flemish People*, St Andrews Institute of Scottish Historical Research, <https://flemish.wp.st-andrews.ac.uk/2015/04/10/the-stranger-churches-and-their-link-with-scotland/> (last accessed 05/05/2015).

⁹⁴ Albrecht Dürer, *Albrecht Dürer in de Nederlanden*, ed. by Ferdinand Verachter (Antwerpen, 1840), pp. 57, 82.

⁹⁵ Decavele, p. 323.

⁹⁶ Willem Heijting, 'Early Reformation Literature from the Printing Shop of Mattheus Crom and Steven Mierdmans', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkegeschiedenis*, 74:2 (1994), 143-61 (p. 148); Andrew G. Johnston, 'L'imprimerie et la Réforme aux Pays-Bas, 1520- c. 1555', in *La Réforme et le livre*.

How large was the influence of the stranger churches on the moveable medium that formed the written word? That a stream of forbidden books printed in England did go to the Netherlands is evident, and that it was a large stream is deducible from the stress which civil authorities lay on catching book *colporteurs* coming from England. Their attention to anything heretical coming from England reached so far that they arrested Agostino Boazio, a merchant travelling with forbidden books in 1563, not just on the grounds that he possessed and travelled through Antwerp with these books but also because of a letter he had on him which he was planning to send to someone in England. He had to explain who this person was, on what business he was writing to him, and more importantly, what religion this person entertained. The man pointed out that this person in England was just a business connection whom he had met in Calais. He was about to write to him because he awaited money from him. He stressed, however, that this person was of the 'good' religion, a Catholic.⁹⁷ Earlier, in 1560, the Spanish ambassador had expressed his fear that a large book colportage might exist between England and Flanders, set up by the strangers in London.⁹⁸ Although there is no direct evidence that the stranger churches did establish such a scheme, one only needs to look at documents from courts in the Low Countries and the letters in the churches' archives to see the importance of books for the Reformed movement. Utenhove, Micronius, à Lasco, and Deleene were scholars in their own right, and the circulation of books for study as well as their own efforts to translate books become clear from their letters. Similarly, it was often on the basis of forbidden books found on suspects that the courts

L'Europe de l'imprimé (1517- v. 1570), ed. by Jean-François Gilmont (Paris, 1990), pp. 155-86 (p. 160); Andrew. G. Johnston & Jean-François Gilmont, 'L'imprimerie et la Réforme à Anvers', in *La Réforme et le livre*, pp. 191-216 (p. 206).

⁹⁷ 'Personen te Antwerpen in de 16e eeuw voor het "feit van religie" gerechtelijk vervolgd (vervolg). (1559-1567). Lijst en ambachtelijke bijhorige stukken', ed. by Pieter Génard, *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, 9, 1-383 (pp. 153-56).

⁹⁸ Decavele, I, p. 413, with reference to Joseph Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Les relations des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre sous le règne de Philippe II* (Brussels, 1882), II, pp. 526-57.

in the Low Countries were able to condemn Reformers. The case of the three members of the Dutch Church who were imprisoned while travelling in Flanders and then burned at Hondshoote in 1560 again shows all three men carrying books from England.⁹⁹

It is impossible to measure the scale of the book trade, and even more so its influence on Reformed thought. That ideas did spread via the medium of books is well-known, although even on that subject reservations must be made. Since the cost of a book was high, books were only available to a part of the population, and within that circle again only to the literate.¹⁰⁰ Pettegree has successfully shown the importance of other devices to spread ideas in the sixteenth century, especially via the chambers of rhetoric in the Low Countries.¹⁰¹ Another popular method for the spread of the Reformation was the singing of psalms. The singing of psalms was an excellent way to reach the lower classes and could easily lead to revolutionary messages and offensive parodies. Rebecca Wagner Oettinger has proven the importance of music, and singing in particular, for the spread of the Lutheran movement and saw singing as a symbol of Lutheranism.¹⁰² Music soon became a successful medium for the Reformation in England too. As Bishop Jewel wrote to Peter Martyr in March 1560, the practice of church music was succeeding in winning people over to the Elizabethan religious settlement. He described how the practice of singing in public had commenced in one little church in London and that churches near and far away, all over England, soon also committed to

⁹⁹ Decavele, I, p. 412, with reference to Louis Prosper Gachard, *Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche duchesse de Parme, avec Philippe II* (Brussels, 1867), I, pp. 251-52.

¹⁰⁰ According to Andrew Johnston there was a peculiar situation in the Low Countries, where only a very small part of the population seems to have been illiterate and bibles were widespread. See Johnston, pp. 167-80.

¹⁰¹ Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge, 2005).

¹⁰² Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation* (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 204-09.

the idea. He proclaimed that it brought thousands of people together at St Paul's Cathedral after the church services to sing.¹⁰³

Two ministers undertook the task of composing psalms fitting the liturgy of the stranger churches. For the Edwardian French congregations of London and Glastonbury the minister Valerand Poullain composed a psalter along Strasbourg lines. Jan Utenhove on the other hand had commenced the writing of a song book for his London congregation under Edward VI and published twenty-five psalms. The printer van der Erven reprinted them in Emden in 1557 and Utenhove added other psalms in the following years. Robin Leaver, in his large study on Dutch and English metrical psalters, showed that Zurich's theology affected Utenhove's work in many ways.¹⁰⁴ Utenhove also used the 1540 Flemish Souderliedekens as a basis for his psalter, whose rhythms were in its own turn based on folk music.¹⁰⁵ The first few psalms from Utenhove were printed in 1552 in London and subsequently in Emden, to be added to continually and reprinted in 1561 in London. A few months after Utenhove's death in 1566, some members of the Dutch Church improved and expanded Utenhove's psalm project and John Day printed the last edition.¹⁰⁶ Although they formed a blueprint for the psalm in the Dutch Reformed tradition, with influences still noticeable today, congregations stopped using them in 1571.

The success and influence of Utenhove's book of psalms lay in the fact that they did not have to be widely read to make their entrance into popular culture. Psalm singers

¹⁰³ *The Zurich letters, comprising the correspondence of several English bishops and others, with some of the Helvetian reformers, during the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. by Hastings Robinson (Cambridge, 1842) Letter 30 Bishop Jewel to Peter Martyr, pp. 70-72.

¹⁰⁴ Robin A. Leaver, *'Goostly Psalms and Spiritual Songes': English and Dutch Metrical Psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove 1535-1566* (Oxford, 1991), p. 40.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.

¹⁰⁶ Elizabeth Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage. John Day and the Tudor Book Trade* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 53-55. Evenden believes that the Dutch Church commissioned Day for the psalms because of his reputation and since by 1560 all the well-known Dutch printers who could have printed the work were 'either dead or out of business'.

need not necessarily to have read Utenhove's psalm book to know its songs. Although it is hard to establish the trade routes of illegal books, and to know how many books London distributed and what was printed and disseminated, there is plenty of information on the spread of psalm singing in the Netherlands. One only has to look at the documents of civil processes in Antwerp to see how central psalms were to the success and spread of Reformed thought in the Netherlands. Psalms were a medium of empowerment and resistance. When comparing these documents with Oettinger's research on the German Lutheran Reformation, it seems clear that her findings are comparable to the evidence for psalm singing in the Low Countries. She emphasises the sense of identity and community which the singing of psalms evoked.¹⁰⁷ Leaver drew such a conclusion about Dutch psalms only very carefully.¹⁰⁸ Yet it is clear from archival records in Belgium that this was similarly the case for the groups of psalm singers who walked through the streets of Antwerp at night and around its prison, as well as for the Protestants marching from or towards Reformed services. The popularity of the Reformed movement in the Low Countries did not just satisfy scholars, it contained elements of empowerment for discontented masses through the uniting force of ideas and also, importantly, of singing. In the 1550s Reformers who had been connected to the Strangers' Church were directly involved in the dissemination of vital theological books and Bible translations, working especially with printers in Emden and quarrelling about translations. The Dutch Church of London and Utenhove might have foreseen the strength of these psalms, yet in the early Elizabethan period, they were not prepared to allow any form of resistance of civil authorities in the Netherlands.

Utenhove's psalter was successful, especially in his own exile community in London. Yet the book competed with several other psalters, among which those of the

¹⁰⁷ Oettinger, pp. 204-09.

¹⁰⁸ Leaver, p. 272.

Dutch Reformer Petrus Dathenus, whose psalters even the consistory preferred in the London Dutch Church over Utenhove's from 1571 onwards in order to conform with the practices of the churches in the Netherlands to appease newcomers. Perhaps Utenhove's less well-known work *Simplex et fidelis narratio* was at least as important for Dutch Protestants. In this book Utenhove narrated the story of the Strangers' Church under Edward VI and their flight under Mary I. It talks about their dangerous journey and the reception on the Continent, first in Denmark, until their settlement in Emden. This did not only glorify the congregation, showing its suffering for the cause of religious reforms, but also sparked a sense of solidarity, sympathy, and community.¹⁰⁹ The exiles believed Reformers formed God's elect and their exile proved so, and they did not settle easily among host Lutherans.¹¹⁰ A Lasco had previously attacked the Lutheran Eucharist doctrines in 1552 and did not hold back from further criticism on the journey. The text can thus be read as propaganda. Furthermore, Utenhove published his Dutch translation of the New Testament in Emden in 1556.¹¹¹

Another book which finds its origins in the Strangers' Church under Edward is the *Kleine Catechismus*. Martin Micronius wrote it in co-operation with Jan Utenhove and published it in 1552, although they based it on a Catechism from East Frisia, perhaps by à Lasco.¹¹² This book went in reprint several times in the 1550s and 1560s. Micronius presumably also wrote the *Korte Ondersoekinghe*, which was a pamphlet which is often bound together with the Catechism and contains the questions and answers used in the

¹⁰⁹ Jan Utenhove, *Simplex Et Fidelis Narratio De Instituta Ac Demum Dissipata Belgarum Aliorumq; Peregrinorum In Anglia [...]* (Basileae, 1560).

¹¹⁰ See Jesse Spohnholz, *The Tactics of Toleration: A Refugee Community in the Age of Religious Wars* (Newark/Plymouth, 2011), pp. 42-68.

¹¹¹ Utenhove, *Simplex Et Fidelis*, pp. 101-03.

¹¹² Martin Micronius, Jan Utenhove, *De kleyne catechismus kinder oft berichtleere der Duyscher ghemeynte to Londen* (London, 1552).

Strangers' Church to the examination of faith for new members.¹¹³ The Reformed congregation in Den Briel, the Netherlands, adopted it in 1574.¹¹⁴ Later, in Emden Micronius also wrote another booklet which he published around 1556 and directed to Reformers from Ghent. It described the life and execution of Joris vander Katelijne, a former member of the London Dutch Church, who had returned to Ghent for business purposes and had disturbed a celebration of the mass there.¹¹⁵

The French Church was also interested in the book trade, but rather from France to England. As such their connections with Calvinists in Orléans revealed that certain Englishmen were attempting to get a few tracts and a new English translation of the Bible printed there in 1565. These Englishmen did not think that the translations of the Bibles used in England and printed in Geneva were sound enough.¹¹⁶ Book traders also stood in front of the church to sell books to its members in the early 1560s. The church attracted such a large crowd of books sellers and buyers that the people that lived in the house adherent to the church felt compelled to complain to the consistory in 1561. The people could barely enter their houses because traders had taken up the space in front of it for the sale of books.¹¹⁷

A week earlier the consistory had considered the necessity for des Gallars to publish his Latin church ordinances in French before the adherents of the contested member of the Dutch Church van Haemstede could do so and 'abuse' the text through

¹¹³ à Lasco, Johannes, Gualterus Delenus, and Martin Micronius, *Een korte ondersoekinghe des geloofs, ouer de ghene die haer tot de Duytsche Ghemeynte: die te Londen was, begeuen wouden. Uitghestelt door de Dienaers der selver* ([Emden?], 1559).

¹¹⁴ Gerretsen, pp. 24-26, in which the author also argued that it was Micronius who wrote the *Korte Ondersoekinghe*, rather than it being a work by Micronius and Utenhove.

¹¹⁵ Martin Micronius, *Een waerachtighe historie van Hoste (gheseyt Jooris) vander Katelyne, te Ghendt om het vry openlick straffen der afgodische leere, ghebrandt ten grooten nutte ende vertroostinghe aller Christenen gheschreven. Waer in ghehandelt werdt vander Misse* (Emden, [1556]). See pp. 183-84.

¹¹⁶ Actes du Consistoire I, p. 118. The Actes do not give any more information about this peculiar extract.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

subtle alterations to words in the translation.¹¹⁸ Members of the consistory funded the project of printing the ordinances which the consistory decided to undertake. The consistory decided that the elder Anthoine Cappelle would lend money to undertake the project while Anthoine Du Ponchel provided the paper, which was the costliest expense. The profits of the sale would go to the poor of the church.¹¹⁹ The French Church must have hoped for a large dissemination of the text. This was the French edition, des Gallars having previously published the text in Latin. We do not know how many books the consistory ordered, but Johnston estimated that the norm for the issue of printed books and pamphlets around that time was 500 to 2500, with an average of 1000 copies for a printed book.¹²⁰ The French Church realised the potentially explosive situation of the publication of the translation falling into the hands of opponents. Van Haemstede's adherents were reluctant to accept the authority of the stranger churches as they had felt mistreated.¹²¹

Marnef believes that the exile churches in England and Germany took the lead as producers of Dutch reformatory literature from 1550 onwards.¹²² The safe climate of the refugee centres moved the Reformers to write. The writing of letters to other Reformers or to family and friends in the Low Countries also stimulated the movability of news. The mere existence of these exile centres had a large influence on the Dutch Reformation. Protestants in the Low Countries knew that if they were persecuted for expressing their beliefs, they could flee. They knew that Reformed Dutch churches could flourish elsewhere, since Dutch churches existed in exile. More importantly the refugee churches provided living and working models for churches in the Low Countries, complete with

¹¹⁸ See p. 91 for more about van Haemstede.

¹¹⁹ Actes du Consistoire, p. 39.

¹²⁰ Johnston, pp. 167-80.

¹²¹ See p. 91 for more about van Haemstede.

¹²² Marnef, *Antwerpen*, p. 69.

church regulations. These church regulations formed some of the most prominent literature produced in these exile centres, and especially in London.¹²³ The presence of a network of Reformers and a relative freedom to convey religious ideas and experience in London and Canterbury for foreign scholars under Edward VI, made it possible for à Lasco to experiment with the congregation and write out church regulations. Micronius and Utenhove helped him to produce the Catechism in several versions, which would become a standard work for members of continental Reformed churches.¹²⁴ Their writings, especially fruitful when working in London, formed a blue print of the early literature of the Dutch Reformation.

During the reign of Edward VI several printers had moved to London amongst whom were the Ghentish Gillis van der Erven and Steven Mierdmans from Antwerp. Nicholaas van den Berghe, who anglicised his name to Nicholas Hill, and Wouter van Lin were two other printers who moved from Antwerp. According to Marnef, they were responsible for the printing of most of the Dutch Protestant works in London under Edward VI.¹²⁵ Presumably a large part of their printed works went to the Netherlands, perhaps via the networks of the London congregations. However, before leaving Antwerp Mierdmans already printed large amounts of works in English, especially various Bibles and New Testaments by Coverdale and Tyndale for both the English market and the English at Antwerp.¹²⁶ The accession of Mary and her order for the Protestant strangers to leave the country forced these printers to flee England in favour of Emden, which took over as the largest centre of Reformed printing for the Low Countries. Most

¹²³ Studies on des Gallars and à Lasco emphasise the influence of the church regulations, as we shall see. In particular Springer, *Restoring Christ's Church* and Spicer, 'Nicholas des Gallars'. See the following pages.

¹²⁴ The earliest version was Martin Micronius, Jan Utenhove, *De kleyne catechismus kinder oft berichtleere der Duyscher ghemeynthe to Londen*. (London, 1552).

¹²⁵ Marnef, Antwerpen, p. 69.

¹²⁶ Heijting, pp. 149-50.

writings of Utenhove, Micronius, and à Lasco were printed in Emden, and some in Basel. The congregation of Emden counted Nicholaas van den Berghe and Steven Mierdmans as its main printers.¹²⁷ Other printers in the Low Countries printed large amounts of books in secret, either locally or under commission in France. The prominence of London as a printing centre for books for the Low Countries was short-lived because of Edward VI's early death, yet the place formed an inspiration for the strangers to write their influential church orders.

Two church orders have characterised the stranger churches in the period under consideration. The first one was the *Forma ac ratio*, a book in which à Lasco wrote down the church regulations of the Strangers' Church.¹²⁸ It was first published in Emden in 1554, after the dissolution of the Strangers' Church, and was meant to serve as a model for congregations in the rest of Europe. It was indeed, as Michael Springer described it, one of the most complete church ordinances available to Protestants.¹²⁹ à Lasco based it on an earlier work from 1551, namely his *Compendium Doctrinae*, which served as a book for confession for the Strangers' Church.¹³⁰ He was a prolific writer, but his *Forma ac ratio* remains his most important work. A Dutch summary by the hand of Micronius appeared in 1554. A French translation of the 1555 edition followed in 1556, and a complete Dutch translation in 1557.¹³¹ Springer emphasised that the work survives in several editions and

¹²⁷ Johnston, p. 158; Gustaaf Janssens, “‘Verjaagd uit Nederland’: Zuidnederlandse emigratie in de zestiende eeuw, een historiografisch overzicht (ca. 1968-1994)”, *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 75:1 (1995), 102-19 (p. 114).

¹²⁸ John à Lasco, *Forma ac ratio tota ecclesiastici ministerij, in peregrinorum, potissimum verò Germanorum Ecclesia instituta Londini in Anglia, per pientissimum principem Angliae etc. Regem Eduardum, eius nominis sextum: anno post Christum natum 1550. Addito ad calcem libelli privilegio suae Maiestatis* (Emden, 1554).

¹²⁹ Springer, p. 5.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 47. John à Lasco, *Compendium doctrinae de vera unicacque dei et Christi Ecclesia, eiusque fide et confessione pura: in qua Peregrinorum Ecclesia Londini instituta est, autoritate atque assensu Sacrae Majestatis Regiae. Quem Deus Opt. Max. ad singulare Ecclesiae suae decus ornamentum ac defensionem (per gratiam suam) servet, gubernet et fortunet* (London, 1551).

¹³¹ Springer, pp. 6-7. Springer also emphasises that a German version of Micronius's summary also existed by 1565 and that an Elizabethan English manuscript version exists.

many copies, something which demonstrates its significance.¹³² The importance of it lay, according to him, in its usability for exile congregations and in the establishment of Protestant religious practices in the 1550s and 1560s. He argues that exiles who returned to the Continent after the death of Edward VI used this model in other congregations, such as the case in Reformed churches in Emden, Frankfurt, Geneva, and Wesel.¹³³ à Lasco's influence reached out over the congregations at Frankfurt, where he helped settling exiles and was involved in its internal controversies.¹³⁴ Rodgers and MacCulloch even argue that à Lasco's work shaped the English and Scottish Reformation.¹³⁵

The *Forma ac ratio* also heavily influenced the church ordinances of the French churches. The minister of the foreign Reformed congregation of Glastonbury during the reign of Edward VI, Valerand Poullain, had published his own set of church regulations in 1552. Various Reformers had criticised this work and a new version showed a larger influence from à Lasco, demonstrating a Strasbourg and Genevan background to the book.¹³⁶ In 1556 à Lasco nonetheless had a French translation of the *Forma ac ratio* published.¹³⁷ In 1561 Nicholas des Gallars, the prominent minister of the French Church in London, decided to reform the church institutions of this church, and wrote the *Forme de Police Ecclésiastique de Londres*.¹³⁸ Des Gallars used à Lasco's *Forma ac ratio* as a basis but

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 111-47.

¹³⁴ Several publications of his deal with the controversies in Frankfurt. For instance, John à Lasco, *Purgatio ministrorum in ecclesiis peregrin. Francofurti, adversus eorum calumnias, qui ipso rum doctrinam, de Christi, domini in coena sua praesentia, dissensionis accusant ab Augustana confessione* (Basel, 1556).

¹³⁵ Dirk W. Rodgers, *John à Lasco in England* (New York, 1996), Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'The importance of Jan Laski', in *Johannes a Lasco (1499-1560): Polnischer Baron, Humanist und europäischer Reformator*, ed. by Christoph Strohm (Tübingen, 2000), pp. 315-45; and Springer, pp. 144-47.

¹³⁶ Springer, p. 50. Valerand Poullain, *Doctrine de la Penitence Publique et la Forme d'icelle ainsi comme elle se pratique en l'Eglise des estrangers à Londres, deuant qu'on vienne à l'excommunication. Ensemble aussi la forme d'administrer la Sainte Cene* (London, 1552). See also Valerand Poullain and John à Lasco, *L'ordre des prieres et ministere ecclesiastique, avec la Forme de Penitence Pub. et certaines Prieres de l'Eglise de Londres, et la Confession de Foy de l'Eglise de Glastonbury en Somerset* (London, 1552).

¹³⁷ John à Lasco, *Toute la forme et maniere du ministere ecclesiastique en l'eglise des estrangers dresse a Londres en Angleterre, par le Prince tresfidele dudit pays, le roy Edouard. VI. de ce nom: L'an apres l'incarnation de Christ. 1550. avec le preuilege de la Majesté a la fin du liure* ([Emden], 1556).

¹³⁸ Nicholas des Gallars, *Forme de police ecclésiastique instituée a Londres* ([London], 1561).

remodelled it. Collinson suggested that the influence of Genevan Calvinist thought is clearly visible in this model which served to shape the community. Des Gallars initially published the book in Latin, but the French Church commanded a French translation, something which, according to Collinson, suggests that there was a large market for this work across the Channel too.¹³⁹ Des Gallars's *Forme* widely gained recognition and the London French Church used it as a basis for its constitution.¹⁴⁰ Yet this does not mean that all its members accepted it. In 1564 one of the members of a Calvinist church in France who wished to join the French Church claimed that the book was adequate enough, but that he did not agree with everything it contained. He criticised the work saying it was useful as guidelines for congregations in some places but not for every community. The consistory reprimanded him for his criticism and commanded him to hand over the copy which he had read and annotated mockingly.¹⁴¹ The Church wanted new members to observe this book when joining, which implied that the majority of its members must have been able to read.

The existence and stability of the Edwardian Strangers' Church gave Reformers the chance to write books or pamphlets, even though most of them only saw the printing presses at Emden. The authors of the booklets attempted to appeal to a broad market both through the format of their books, for instance through psalms and a catechism, but also through the popular content of their writings. The success of these booklets was a major achievement for Dutch Reformed faith and served the communities at Emden and Elizabethan London as well as the spread of Reformed thought in general.

¹³⁹ Patrick Collinson, 'The Elizabethan Puritans and the Foreign Reformed Churches in London', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 20:5, (1964, for 1963), 528-55 (pp. 533, 563).

¹⁴⁰ Spicer, 'Nicholas des Gallars', pp. 552-63.

¹⁴¹ Actes du Consistoire I, p. 8

III. The influence of the stranger churches on their continental brethren

Although the strangers wrote authoritative books during their stay in England under Edward VI, and later on in Emden, this period more specifically had an impact on the formation, confessionalisation, and institutionalisation of the Dutch Reformed movement. The dispersal of members of the first Strangers' Church meant the return of convinced Reformers to the Low Countries. Yet many were eager to return to England when Elizabeth came to the throne. As mentioned, it is impossible to measure the influence of the existence of the stranger churches, and their book trade, on the Reformation in the Low Countries in the period under consideration. What is more straightforwardly visible from their letters and consistory records is their active participation or instigation of the promotion of the Reformed faith in the Low Countries. I will look here at their information networks, the return patterns of immigrants, their exile status, the sending of preachers, their relationship with the English government, and their finances. Again the consistory's official actions feature prominently, but I will also consider the behaviour of its members.

There are no remaining consistory records for the Edwardian period. Most of the letters which form part of the Dutch Church's archival remains for this period originated from Utenhove.¹⁴² To get a better idea of the Reformers' aims for the promotion of their faith I consider here their correspondence and published writings. The churches' ministers and elders regularly engaged in correspondence with esteemed theologians on the Continent. Utenhove and à Lasco identified with a top-down Reformation in which they, as scholars, would show the example to be followed. Most of the church's ministers in the period under consideration formed part of a network of distinguished Reformed

¹⁴² The correspondence in Archivum.

scholars or noblemen meeting each other in major Protestant cities. Utenhove and à Lasco, for instance, were noblemen. Looking at the writings of the Reformers in more detail, I discovered a problematic tension between theory and practice which surfaced when Reformers attempted to write booklets to appeal to a larger public.

A good example of this tension between the theoretical calls for obedience and a practical resistance against persecutions can be found in Micronius' writing of around 1556 on the execution of Joris vander Katelijne.¹⁴³ In this booklet he praised this church member, who was executed in Ghent as a heretic. The aim of the book was threefold. First, it served to turn Katelijne's story into a narration about a true martyr and innocent soul for the public memory. Secondly, Micronius wished to contradict the idea that Katelijne's interruption of the mass in Ghent was an act of rebellion. In this way he both confirmed the martyr status of Katelijne and the intentions of the Reformed movement which he declared were solely to instruct the people and to open up debate but not to revolt. The writer wished to see everyone partaking in the Reformed religion and the people instructed in his 'true' faith. Thirdly, he attempted to gain the sympathy of his readers, again to purify Katelijne's name and to promote the Reformed movement. The Reformers writings would only find a market in the Low Countries after the Strangers' Church's dispersal.

The congregation's move to Emden and other German cities brought clear attempts to promote the faith in the Low Countries.¹⁴⁴ The Reformed congregation of Emden successfully sent Adriaan van Haemstede, who presumably resided in London with the congregation under Edward VI, to Antwerp as a preacher at the request of the

¹⁴³ Martin Micronius, *Een Waerachtighe Historie*.

¹⁴⁴ Archivum, 2, Letter 21, pp. 63-72.

minister Gaspar van der Heyden to help him carry his growing flock.¹⁴⁵ Yet, the inclusion of London exiles in Emden was problematic and caused van Winghen to write to Utenhove that the situation in Emden was miserable. He complained that he had grown weary with men's ingratitude and had abandoned all hope for promoting 'the purity of the Gospel' in the Netherlands.¹⁴⁶ At the same time, in German exile cities the integration and tolerance of refugees often depended on their influence on social, economic, and religious circumstances and the congregations did not always find a stable home.¹⁴⁷

Utenhove's Dutch translation of the New Testament brought van Winghen considerable pains since the latter was responsible for its production and arguments with the printer prevented it from being printed in a more accessible quarto version. The work moreover provoked large discussions about its long title and the translation of certain words. In the end the printers sent a few hundred copies of this New Testament to the borders of Flanders, but five or six hundred of these copies contained errors as an overseer did not notice a page being printed upside down. In a similar fashion 2500 other copies were spoiled at Emden, yet the printer had been able to resolve the problem. The sale also incurred linguistic problems in Flanders since van Winghen and Utenhove used a version of Low German which was not entirely compatible with the Flemish market. Enraged about the whole affair and translation disputes, the printer Herman van den Ende accused van Winghen of being too devoted to Utenhove and his translation of the New Testament. Since van Winghen did not want to deviate too much from Utenhove's original version when editing it, van den Ende decided to ask Micronius instead to compile a version adapted to the Flemish printing market. This was a decision which

¹⁴⁵ W. G. Goeters, 'Dokumenten van Adriaan van Haemstede, waaronder de gereformeerde geloofsbelijdenis van 1559', *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis*, 5:1 (1907), 1-67 (p. 2).

¹⁴⁶ *Archivum*, 2, Letter 21, pp. 63-72.

¹⁴⁷ Dünnwald, *Konfessionsstreit*, p. 49.

displeased van Winghen since it meant that Micronius bothered him severely with threats against him not consenting to this cause.¹⁴⁸

At the same time another Emden printer had asked van Winghen to work towards a collation of the Liessfeld Bible, the Zurich edition, and the edition of Luther in a bid to compete with a version of another Emden printer. The Reformers themselves were not the only ones who instigated the publishing of Protestant books; the competing printers also arranged the dispersal of books to Flanders.¹⁴⁹ Moreover, throughout the Emden period, Utenhove and à Lasco very much concentrated on the conversion of Poland to the Protestant Reformation. Both spent time in Poland trying to negotiate with the Court. In the end their mission did not succeed. This led Utenhove to write in 1558 that religion in Great Poland was only making slow progress. Utenhove was, however, concerned about the sale of his New Testament. Curiously, he sent his booklet on the adventures of the London congregation in Denmark after their dispersal to Geneva for publication, and not to Emden, perhaps hoping for a larger public.¹⁵⁰ However, according to Hall, Calvin did not want to see it published in Geneva.¹⁵¹

Hall might have jumped to conclusions too quickly. A letter from Sebastian Pech, à Lasco's servant, in 1559 talked about several books which he had sent to Geneva for publication, one of which was presumably this booklet. He revealed to Utenhove that Calvin thought they had been published a while ago and that the city council of Geneva did not want to see the books published there. Pech concluded that his connections at Geneva had not been too bothered about their publication.¹⁵² Eventually a printer in Basel published it and in 1560 Petrus Dathenus held forty copies in Frankfurt, another exile

¹⁴⁸ Archivum, 2, Letter 21, pp. 63-72.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ Archivum, 2, Letter 23, pp. 76-78.

¹⁵¹ Basil Hall, 'John à Lasco, 1499-1560. A Pole in Reformation England?', *Friends of Dr Williams's Library*, Twenty-Fifth Lecture (London, 1971), 1-36 (p. 33).

¹⁵² Archivum, 2, Letter 39, pp. 118-23.

centre, presumably to be sold at the large annual fair, and 150 copies went to Poland with à Lasco's servant, just after the death of à Lasco.¹⁵³ Yet Utenhove also kept in touch about developments in the Low Countries. In the same year Arnoldus Piscator, a Reformed minister, wrote from Loppersum, near Emden, that in Antwerp twelve brethren, who were members of the Church under the Cross there, had been imprisoned and awaited death.¹⁵⁴ Not only Reformed men developed these communication networks; from the letters it is clear that women also held correspondence with the Reformers or, more often, with their wives. The greetings which their men had to convene and the complaints about certain women not replying to their wives' letters were ubiquitous. Unfortunately, none of their letters survive, pushing these women into obscurity.¹⁵⁵

In January 1559 Peter Martyr informed à Lasco and Utenhove about politics in England and said that they would enjoy the news of Elizabeth's accession to the English throne and to 'the kingdom of Christ'.¹⁵⁶ Discussions of whether or not most of the migrants from the Low Countries came over for economic or religious reasons have regularly surfaced ever since. A persuasive answer seeks to combine economic and religious reasons with other factors. A combination of economic problems in the Low Countries and the attraction of the Reformed religion lured many of them into fleeing to England. Perhaps the poor care which the churches offered was an incentive to some. Yet others might have found a combination of unhappiness with their economic, religious, and even family life lying at the base of their decision to cross the Channel. Similarly, people from other exile centres, such as Frankfurt, came over to London because there were better chances of employment there.¹⁵⁷ A number of the stranger

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, Letter 41, pp. 128-31.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Letter 24, pp. 79-80.

¹⁵⁵ Especially noticeable in *Archivum*.

¹⁵⁶ *Archivum*, 2, Letter 35, p. 107.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Letter 51, pp. 157-58.

churches' members after the Elizabethan resettlement of the churches were people who had lived there since Edward VI and did not flee under Mary because of the need for craftsmen in London at that time. Publicly they turned Roman Catholic again. This was a 'sin' which was easily forgiven to them by the Elizabethan stranger churches after repentance. Refugees and ministers active in the Low Countries started increasingly using the churches as short term shelters.

Some of the migrants soon felt disillusioned with the London Dutch Church. Insults contained comparisons of the church with the pope or found the 'Turkish' to be 'more sympathetic' than the consistory.¹⁵⁸ They felt imprisoned as the church monitored their lives. This means that they either had little experience with the Presbyterian style consistory in the Low Countries, or that the Reformed churches of London were stricter in ecclesiastical discipline than those in the Low Countries. I think therefore that they did not so much come for one or the other factor but combined both persuasive reasons to await better times. This also implies that we need to be careful with the usage of the terms exiles and refugees. Some members travelled back and forth between England and the Continent. This also shows that confessionalisation and radicalisation did not necessarily happen smoothly.

That members regularly returned becomes clear in many sources, two of the most obvious ones being the consistory records themselves and court sources in the Low Countries. Chapter 3 displays the well-known cases in which members, and even elders and deacons, of the Dutch Church of London and the Flemish Church of Sandwich partook in prison breaking, secret and armed public preaching between 1559 and 1565. This happened especially in West-Flanders, which was strongly connected with the Sandwich congregation. Peter Deleene, minister of the London Dutch Church travelled

¹⁵⁸ Especially noticeable in the Dutch Church, Kerkerads-protocollen, p. 297.

to the Low Countries in 1560.¹⁵⁹ The Dutch consistory acts regularly mention members getting caught, about seven cases of execution, and about fourteen members leaving for the Low Countries. Some members asked the consistory whether it would be permitted to them to leave for the Low Countries. While in 1560 the consistory of the Dutch Church reacted encouragingly to invitations from congregations in the Low Countries to capable Reformers in the foreign churches to assist with the ministry, the church increasingly gave negative travel advice. When a certain Adrianus Moravius, potentially another name for Adrian Saravia, asked the consistory permission to leave for a ministry in the Low Countries, the consistory permitted him to go, but only if it was safe.¹⁶⁰

Before 1562 several persons departed for the Low Countries for ‘the evangelical cause’, thus to preach, yet the Dutch Church did not command them to do so. Willem de Schildere and Hans Broiteur left in 1560 after a call for assistance from Godfried van Winghen who still served as a minister in Flanders. Broiteur told the consistory that he would become assistant preacher in Flanders.¹⁶¹ For a few other people we have no indication as to why they departed. In another case the consistory found out that a member had departed only after they sent out a messenger to invite him for a meeting with the elders.¹⁶² The consistories themselves did not appear to have been actively sending ministers over to the Low Countries, yet their members and ministers did go, often after a call for assistance from Reformers in the Low Countries.

Despite its cautious stand about sending ministers to the Low Countries for safety reasons, the Dutch consistory initially hoped that the Reformed movement would conquer Flanders from within. In their Catechism, Utenhove and Micronius reminded

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

Reformers that they should not let themselves be prevented from learning and attending the Sacraments by unjustly causes.¹⁶³ The consistory seemed less pleased about members travelling to the Low Countries from 1562 onwards, when unruly behaviour in the Low Countries could compromise the churches' reputations. The Dutch Church, placed a large emphasis on the congregation living a quiet life and the consistory acts demonstrate the constant need to reprimand members into a peaceful co-existence. This would validate the usefulness of the congregation's Presbyterian-like principles, which were not tenable in practice. A peaceful and obedient congregation would also form a defence against informers and hatred from local craftsmen from which the congregations greatly suffered. This could be a defence against any kind of attacks by locals but also showed their goodwill towards the English government.

A different aspect of the same point is the idea that the churches served as an outpost for Reformed thought and as such were performing a model function. Petrus Dathenus, a representative of the Frankfurt exile churches, wrote to Utenhove about its internal disagreements which led to problems with the city council in 1561. In the letter Dathenus warned that the dissensions within the Frankfurt exile churches caused scandal all over Europe, something which he hoped would lead other Reformed churches to be more careful in their government.¹⁶⁴ This too was a reason for London to be careful in its dealings with the Low Countries, to protect both their own exile status in England as their international reputation. It would explain why the churches treated the excommunication of their first minister, van Haemstede, very firmly. As such they incurred their first disagreement with the Antwerp congregation of which many remembered van Haemstede as their former minister. Even Utenhove's uncle believed

¹⁶³ Jan Utenhove, Martin Micronius, *De Catechismus, oft kinder leere, diemen te Londen, in den Duytsche Ghemeynte was ghebruykende* (Emden, 1558), fol. 27.

¹⁶⁴ Archivum, 2, Letter 56, pp. 172-74.

that the consistory of the London Dutch Church had treated van Haemstede too harshly and declared that this was the popular opinion in Antwerp.¹⁶⁵ Although London was a major exile centre for Dutch Protestants, Reformers in the Low Countries did not always look upon the stranger churches favourably.

Despite the churches' caution, Grindal actually expected them to promote Reformed thought in the Low Countries. He wrote a letter to the Frankfurt city council in 1561 in a bid to change its mind about their threats of expulsion towards the Flemish and French Reformed churches there. In this letter he demonstrated the English hospitality towards the strangers and proclaimed that God would bless them if they decided to let the brethren stay. Moreover, he argued, it would also be beneficial towards the Evangelical movement to keep the Flemish refugee church in its city since the Gospel would then be promoted in Flanders thanks to Frankfurt.¹⁶⁶ The English government supported the promotion of the Gospel in Flanders through the churches. The stranger churches of London's caution towards the Low Countries was not solely an act of self-preservation. The stranger churches did wish to see the Gospel promoted in the Low Countries, yet their opinion about the ways in which this would happen differed from that of their brethren, scared as they were of any kind of violent or rebellious behaviour, which would look bad on their church and could lead to comparisons with Münster.

Their financial situation as well as internal conflicts also distracted the churches from the Low Countries. The churches maintained a network of poor relief and many of its members arrived in London with only a minimum of belongings. Yet the churches did count wealthy members, and wealthy English supporters. In 1562 Grindal asked Utenhove to assist in trade negotiations between England and the Netherlands, and in

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 162-64.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 170-80.

persuading him to do so decided to remind Utenhove how much the Dutch Church was indebted to the Company of Merchants.¹⁶⁷ It would be hard to believe how poor the churches were considering how rich some of its members were, but the churches, as public institutions, had many burdens to carry. The churches complained to Elizabeth and the Privy Council in 1560 that many of its members were molested by informers on a daily basis, even though they enjoyed the privileges and liberties given to these strangers. They claimed that it hindered members from trading, feeding their families, and paying taxes.¹⁶⁸

Moreover, the plague hit the stranger churches hard in 1563 and 1564. The French minister des Gallars's wife succumbed to the plague, as well as Peter Deleene. The minister had acquired an assisting minister, Nicolaus Carineus, since November 1562. Deleene became ill in August and died September 1563, and Carineus a short while later.¹⁶⁹ After their death, Godfried van Winghen took up the ministry of the London Dutch Church and left the Flemish Church at Sandwich. The churches also saw themselves obliged to visit the sick. Some consistory members, and undoubtedly many Londoners, fled the city.¹⁷⁰ Others approached the churches and offered their help hoping to get a remuneration in return. The consistories admonished people attending the sick not to leave. The churches opened up plague houses, paid for caretakers to assist the consistory members in visiting the sick, gathered financial support, and assisted in the production of testaments. The churches hired surgeons whom they paid a weekly stipend to care for their poor. Master Rembartus, the surgeon of the Dutch Church would also visit the richer members of the church, but these paid for the surgeon themselves.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 210-14.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 124-26.

¹⁶⁹ Kerkerads-protocollen, pp. xii-xiv; Actes du Consistoire I, p. xxvii.

¹⁷⁰ Actes du Consistoire I, p. 110.

¹⁷¹ Kerkerads-protocollen, pp. 428-30.

However, when Rembartus died at Norden in the northern Netherlands two years later, a representative of the congregation there wrote to Utenhove that the Dutch Church was still indebted to him for his services during the plague. He urged the Church to send the money to his impoverished widow.¹⁷² The churches continued to assemble the Coetus to discuss their measures in the times of plague and hoped to learn from each other's methods.¹⁷³ In July 1563 the Coetus decided to push the richer members into giving more financial support.¹⁷⁴ The churches also arranged burials for their dead.

The frequent quarrels which divided the Dutch Church also limited its potential to function. This was an element from which the French Church was relatively spared. The French Church was aware of the danger of internal division and stayed clear of making judgements relating to certain theological conflicts which the Dutch Church struggled with, in order not to bring 'ruin' to their own church.¹⁷⁵ The Dutch Church, however, firstly went into dispute over van Haemstede between 1560 and 1562. After the subsequent plague, it was completely divided over a question about godmothers and godfathers following the accession of van Winghen to their ministry. This was accompanied by quarrels between the deacons and the elders. We will discuss these quarrels in more detail in the next chapter. The latter issue hindered the celebration of the Lord's Supper and caused a part of the congregation to section off from the Church. It caused 'great scandal' all over Europe, as this theological disagreement raged between 1564 and 1565, and occasionally stirred up again until 1568.¹⁷⁶ Any unofficial or secret organised activity towards the promotion of the Reformed faith in the Low Countries by the Dutch Church would in that way be jeopardised, as well as any control over their

¹⁷² Archivum, 2, Letter 79, pp. 244-45.

¹⁷³ Kerkerads-protocollen, pp. 428-30.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 431.

¹⁷⁵ Actes du Consistoire I, p. 49.

¹⁷⁶ Archivum, 2, Letter 80, pp. 246-54.

members. There is little evidence of Walloon or French-speaking subjects returning to the Low Countries in the records of the French Church in the period under consideration. From the moment which des Gallars became minister of the French Church, its policies became more oriented towards France and Geneva.

IV. Conclusion

The Edwardian Strangers Church' formed a model congregation for Dutch Reformers with strict congregational principles and a theology which was rather Zwinglian in origin. The institutional aspects of those congregations were not entirely comparable to any other ones, despite influences from Zurich and Genevan principles, as they stood under the superintendence of John à Lasco. The latter was the main figure behind the form of government which the churches took. His legacy would extend to English puritanism and Emden, the mother church of Reformers in the Low Countries. Although the congregation served as an outpost of Reformed thought and was designed as a model for future congregations, the churches did not concentrate on any active promotion of Reformed thought among people in the Low Countries. Moreover, they would not have had the time to do this since Edward VI died only three years after his official recognition of the Strangers' Church. Their dispersal brought convinced Reformers and ideas for the organisation of consistories back to the Continent.

While these first Strangers' Church shaped the institutional form of Dutch Reformed thought, the Elizabethan stranger churches as institutions did not convey such significance to the Low Countries. They did not actively promote the Reformed faith in the Low Countries and only allowed their members to preach in the Low Countries if it

was safe to do so. Ministers of the Strangers' Church had, however, been keenly publishing Reformed works after their dispersal. In the Elizabethan period, the French Church grew closer towards France and Calvinism, rather than the Low Countries, although they kept in contact with Walloon churches. The importance of the stranger churches for the Reformed thought in the Low Countries lay not so much in its institution but rather in both its mere existence as the enthusiasm of some of its members. In contrast to later periods, the ministers of the early Elizabethan Dutch Church identified with those of the Edwardian period, having been members of this church and having formed part of a circle of Dutch scholars who met in German cities even before the first settlement.

As the popularity of Reformed thought increased in the Low Countries, the Dutch Church lost control over its congregation. Missing the charisma of John à Lasco, internal divisions plagued the Elizabethan stranger churches. Competition between two ministers, des Gallars and Alexandre, initially troubled the French Church, but des Gallars soon governed the Church with firm hand while creating a new discipline. His strong leadership eventually established a stable community. This Church was terrified of the troubles which divided the Dutch Church infecting their congregation. Quarrels hindered the Dutch Church's internal working. The ideological thought of its scholarly ministers, the divisions within the congregation hindering the inner working, its finances, and its Presbyterian-like principles of behaviour internally as well as externally towards their host country, limited the Dutch Church in undertaking any active promotion in the Low Countries. In the early Elizabethan period, the churches slowly lost their international appeal and started to concentrate on the establishment of two stable foreign congregations. They barely sent out missionaries to preach in the Low Countries, yet their Flemish members, excited by both the persecutions and the existence of Dutch and Flemish Churches in England, engaged actively in influencing events across the Channel.

As we will see in chapter 4, their behaviour tended towards rebellion, acts which the Dutch ministers heavily opposed. There was little unity within the churches and throughout connections between Dutch, Flemish, and Walloon Churches both in England as under the Cross.

3. The entanglement of Stranger Churches with growing resistance in the Low Countries, 1560-1565

This chapter assesses the role which the foreign consistories and exiles played in the tension and outbursts of resistance in the years before the revolt, 1560 to 1565. A turning point for resistance in the Low Countries was when on 12 July 1562 two hundred persons gathered in the cemetery of the Flemish village Boeschepe. The crowd attended a public sermon which took place at the same time as the mass. Backhouse has described this gathering as a provocative event that shocked civil authorities since some of the attendees carried weapons.¹ This was the first time participants brought weapons to a Reformed meeting in the Low Countries in order to protect themselves against a potential violent breaking-up of the illegal preaching. Moreover, this was the first provocative event of the kind in an otherwise rather quiet neighbourhood. Following the incident, the Ypres city council and regent Margaret of Parma took direct action attempting to arrest attendees.² The preacher himself, Gheleyn Damman, originated from the area and had been a minister at Hondschoote but had also resided in England, presumably between 1559 and 1562.³ Backhouse, who was an expert on the history of the Sandwich strangers as well as the history of the Reformation in the Flemish Westkwartier, detected a connection between Sandwich and the Westkwartier via its migrants in the period under consideration in this chapter. He established the idea that these migrants influenced the surges of open resistance against civil authorities in the Netherlands and believed that

¹ Marcel Backhouse, 'The Official Start of Armed Resistance in the Low Countries: Boeschepe 12 July 1562', *Archiv für Reformationgeschichte*, 71 (1980), 198-226 (p. 199).

² *Archives d'Ypres. Documents du XVI^e siècle, faisant suite à l'inventaire des chartes*, ed. by Isidore L. A. Diegerick, 4 vols (Bruges, 1874-1877), I (1874), p. 16; *Inventaire analytique et chronologique des chartres et documents appartenant aux archives de la ville d'Ypres*, ed. by Isidore L. A. Diegerick, 7 vols (Bruges, 1853-1868), 6 (1864), pp. 152-54.

³ Backhouse, pp. 141, 146-47; Backhouse, 'The Official Start', 203.

they used Sandwich as an operational base for the spread of Calvinist propaganda in Flanders.⁴

In the period under consideration the Reformed movement of the Low Countries rapidly increased in popularity in every layer of society, even though they faced persecution. The communities grew so large that city authorities were often reluctant to persecute them. Slowly the audacity of some of the ministers increased. Reformed preaching started to take place in public spaces in the city or the countryside instead of in secret meetings from about 1560 onwards; moving on towards armed gatherings in the following years. Instances of violence which Reformers committed against secular authorities, such as prison breaking to release the persecuted, started occurring. The justification of violence against magistrates and the law became a contested topic within the movement itself. Reformed communities, including the exile settlements, dealt with this question throughout the early 1560s. The issue of violence was partially reflective of a larger problem within Protestant communities all over Europe of behaviour towards, and the authority of, religiously opposed rulers. Yet, it met with distinctive features of discontent and a unique political situation and stream of Reformed thought in the Low Countries.

The use of violence or provocation formed a way in which the Reformers could channel frustration with persecutions and the illegality of Reformed practices. The consistories of the London stranger churches were aware of the tensions the presence of the large group of adherents of the illegal Reformed faith in the Netherlands created. The violent behaviour under the guise of religious reform is largely limited in this chapter to prison breaking, armed public preaching, the use and carrying of weapons near magistrates, as well as any abusive behaviour towards officers. Public preaching took place

⁴ Backhouse, 'The Official Start', 203.

in the city or town, just outside the city walls, or in the countryside. It occurred from 1558 onwards, before the famous hedge preaching in the year of the iconoclasm, 1566. Hedge preaching, in some cases called hedge sermons, was a Low Countries' Reformed phenomenon meaning the celebration of religious services in open-air, often in the countryside and specifically in large groups around 1566. In this chapter I will only use the term public preaching as this general term is more justly applicable to the period under consideration.⁵ It is likely that the public preaching started to take place because the number of interested observers of Reformed services increased dramatically.⁶ During the first half of the 1560s this practice seems to have continuously grown more popular. Hence, afraid of reprisals by civil authorities, the preachers and listeners began to flock to meetings either armed or with armed bodyguards from 1562 onwards.

Backhouse has shown the involvement of the strangers at Sandwich in the organisation of armed sermons and prison breaking.⁷ Furthermore, Pettegree has dedicated a chapter of his study on the Dutch Church of London to relations between the church and the Netherlands for the whole period of Elizabeth's reign.⁸ The reader can also find short references to the involvement of the stranger churches in various studies on the Reformation in the Low Countries, such as in Marnef's work on the Reformation in Antwerp, Decavele on Flanders, and Crew for Calvinist preaching

⁵ On the term 'hedge preaching' (also written as hedgepreaching or hedge-preaching) see Robert Fruin, 'Over het woord haagpreek', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde*, 15 (1896), 308-15. He assumes that the word was first used in 1566 in a denigrating context. Historians, of which Phyllis Mack Crew is a good example, tend to use the term alternately with public preaching as well as the word 'prêche', which was the term used by contemporaries to describe the Reformed preaching in the 1560s. Hedge preaching thus tends to refer specifically to the mass open-air sermons in 1566, while public preaching can refer to Reformed preaching in the period under consideration.

⁶ No precise numbers are available, but many sources state that by 1566 people gathered in groups of hundreds or even thousands. Several examples for Antwerp can be found in Guido Marnef, *Antwerpen in de tijd van de Reformatie. Ondergronds Protestantisme in een handelsmetropool, 1550-1577* (Amsterdam/Antwerpen, 1996), p. 127.

⁷ Backhouse, 'The Official Start'.

⁸ Pettegree, pp. 215-61.

throughout the Low Countries.⁹ Studies which look at English exile communities, in particular Pettegree and Backhouse but also Boersma and van Schelven, tend to focus on the same aspects and interpretations of the source material left by the London Dutch Church, yet all from different angles.¹⁰ Through this material, and these studies, readers form the idea that the stranger churches were very much involved in the illegal practices of resistance in the Low Countries. However, they are told, not everyone was in favour of these actions and this caused uproar within the London Dutch Church since a part of the consistory condemned this resistance.

With the foremost issue of the involvement of exiles in England, this chapter brings the debate on stranger churches' participation in and organisation of resistance in the Low Countries to life. While there is no doubt about the foreign churches' involvement in the organisation of resistance, as the previous studies prove, this chapter provides an understanding of the lack of sympathy and differences in opinion among the churches. This chapter maps the interactions between these Reformed communities on the topic of resistance. It does not just examine the Dutch or Flemish Reformed churches but also takes the Walloon churches into account, both local and in exile. Throughout this chapter I argue that the influence of the London Dutch Church's consistory on other churches as well as Reformed individuals on the topic of resistance was limited.

One distinction vital to understand the churches' involvement is the impact of the human agent separate from their membership of any church. Essential, but easily

⁹ Marnef, *Antwerpen*; Johan Decavele, *De Dageraad van de Reformatie in Vlaanderen (1520-1565)*, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België Jaargang 37, 76, 2 vols (Brussels, 1975); Phyllis Mack Crew, *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands 1544-1569* (Cambridge, 1978, reissue edn. 2008).

¹⁰ Owe Boersma, 'Vluchtig voorbeeld: De Nederlandse, Franse en Italiaanse vluchtelingenkerken in Londen, 1568-1585' (Ph.D. diss., Theologische Academie Kampen, 1994); Aart A. van Schelven, 'Het begin van het gewapend verzet tegen Spanje in de 16de-eeuwse Nederlanden', *Handelingen en mededelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden*, 28 (1914-1915), 126-56; van Schelven.

forgotten, are any reflections concerning the tendency of using the term ‘the church’ as a *totum pro parte*, or to standardize the actions of persons related to the Reformed institutions as falling under the direct authority of the church. A notable exception to this is Pettegree, who urged his readers to differentiate between the consistory and the church members.¹¹ Backhouse too, yet not explicitly, attempted to distinguish the acts of individuals.¹² In this section and throughout this study, I want to take their argument further and differentiate between the actions of the church’s consistory, the exile community surrounding the churches, and the human agent within both.

The London consistories as churches were distinctly different in opinion on the topic of violence and provocation from the Sandwich and Low Countries Reformed consistories. Above all, however, the refugees consisted of roughly two groups, pro- and anti-resistance. Within the Sandwich community many members did not use the town as a place of permanent exile but rather as a haven from which they could commute to Flanders. In this period the London Dutch Church lost a part of its bonds with Reformed churches and did not have much control over events in the Netherlands.

In this chapter I firstly examine the way the stranger churches and their communities interacted with the movement and events in the Low Countries between their resettlement in 1560 and 1565, the year before the iconoclasm of the *Wonderjaar* which I will treat in the next chapter. What information did the consistories in their official role receive from the Low Countries on the promotion of the churches? In contrast to the previous chapter, this chapter asks how and why the exiles reacted to this information, and whether we can find out the reaction of some of the immigrants. Above

¹¹ Pettegree briefly mentions this distinction in Andrew Pettegree, ‘The Exile Churches during the *Wonderjaar*’, in *Church, Change and Revolution: Transactions of the fourth Anglo-Dutch church history colloquium, Exeter, 30 August-3 September, 1988*, ed. by Johannes van den Berg and Paul G. Hoftijzer (Leiden, 1991), p. 84. but does not develop it.

¹² Backhouse, pp. 135-62.

all, how were the immigrants and their churches involved in the creation of the religious tensions in the Netherlands throughout this period? The chapter relies on sources from the Low Countries and consistory acts to balance out views concerning the churches' involvement in resistance.

I. How the stranger churches dealt with persecution in the Low Countries

In this section I describe the problem of resistance in the Low Countries, after which I investigate how the foreign churches, with an emphasis on the stranger churches, reacted to and dealt with the increasing persecutions and resistance. In the early 1560s the Reformed churches' pursuit of legality in the Low Countries increasingly went together with violent behaviour which Reformed Christians provoked, such as rebellion against persecution and Catholic privileges. Yet, Reformers' use of violence went back to at least the 1530s and 1540s but was never as frequent and offensive as the public preaching and prison breaking in the 1560s. Phyllis Mack Crew ascribed a part of the success of the Reformed movement in the Low Countries to a power vacuum both before and during the Dutch Revolt. Although each city reacted to the religious question differently, she observed that city councils often either supported the movement or did not take prompt action to arrest suspected heretics since Reformers came from every layer of society.¹³ In some instances the city authorities refused any cooperation with persecutors.

Such was the case in the Flemish village of Wervik in 1562 when bailiff Joos De Cat opposed inquisitor, and dean of Ronse, Pieter Titelmans's attempt to arrest five

¹³ A topic well covered by Crew, pp. 133, 151.

citizens.¹⁴ De Cat himself entertained Reformed ideas.¹⁵ His daughter had been executed at Antwerp in 1556 on the charge of Calvinist heresy.¹⁶ Yet, as a bailiff of Oosthove, representing a legal institution, he opposed the authority of dean Pieter Titelmans, as the different levels of persecution occasionally clashed over authority.¹⁷ Similarly illustrative of this power vacuum was the capture of Levinus Pontanus in 1558. Pontanus was an adherent of the Reformed faith who was born at Ghent and caught in the same city.¹⁸ Arnoldus Piscator, a Reformer from Loppersum in the Netherlands, wrote to Jan Utenhove around the time that Titelmans had imprisoned Pontanus. Piscator asserted the possibility that Pontanus would be released on account of a letter to Titelmans from a landgrave, presumably the German Protestant Philip of Hessen.¹⁹ It is not clear whether the prisoner was released, but this occasion once again illustrates the political limitations and doubt cast over Titelmans' authority. However, when religious violence became more provocative from 1562 onwards, city authorities could no longer turn a blind eye.

The relation between politics and religion was a problematic one for the Reformers. The ministers of the London Dutch Church wished to deal with spiritual

¹⁴ John Desreumaux, 'Wervikse Geuzen en Hervormden 1544-1576', *Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Stedelijke Oudheidkundige Commissie Wervik*, 4 (1985), 3-51 (pp. 22-24).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ 'Personen te Antwerpen in de 16e eeuw voor het "feit van religie" gerechtelijk vervolgd (vervolg). (1559-1567). Lijst en ambachtelijke bijhorige stukken', ed. by Pieter Génard, *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, 9, pp.1-383 (p. 3).

¹⁷ Desreumaux, 'Wervikse Geuzen', pp. 22-25; Gert Gielis & Violet Soen, 'The Inquisitorial Office in the Sixteenth-Century Habsburg Low Countries: A Dynamic Perspective', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 66:1 (2015), 47-66 (pp. 59-62); Aline Goosens, *Les Inquisitions Modernes Dans Les Pays-Bas Meridionaux, 1520-1633. Tome 1 La Legislation* (Brussels, 1997), pp. 145-57.

¹⁸ Not much is known about Levinus Pontanus. His Flemish name is unknown, yet if we translate this Latinised version, the result might well be Lieven Verbruggen Lieven Dupond, Lieven Bruggeman.

¹⁹ Arnoldus Piscator, presumably the Latin name for Arnoud De Visscher, was a Reformer living in the very north of the Netherlands. He seems well-connected to other Reformers as he assumed a correspondence with Jan Utenhove, who was a foremost humanist, Reformer and patrician from Ghent. Utenhove lived in Poland at the moment the letter reached him. On Utenhove see Frederik Pijper, *Jan Utenhove: zijn leven en zijne werken* (Leiden, 1883). For this particular letter see LMA. CLC/180/MS07428/001 Letter 24 or Archivum, 2, Letter 24, pp. 79-80.

matters only.²⁰ The Reformed churches found themselves compelled to reconsider their attitudes and that of their members towards civil authorities and worldly politics with the occurrence of prison breaking and iconoclasm. Later, tensions between the Reformed churches and William of Orange regularly surfaced throughout the revolt.²¹ Prison breaking started happening before the resettlement of the stranger churches. The judicial records of Antwerp's city archives register several cases of prison breaking before 1560 as well as regular image breaking.²² In January 1562 Margaret of Parma issued a command that people watch out for vagabonds, some of whom were trying to get money or goods from people preaching and singing psalms. In her writing, she established a connection between Protestant movements and sedition and uproar, saying that many of these people had broken open prisons and robbed convents and churches in the countryside.²³

Even before the period under consideration, throughout the Edwardian and Emden period, the consistory recognised that the hostile attitude of the government was problematic. As I will explain in more detail in the following chapter, the *Korte Ondersoekinghe*, or short examination, of people wanting to become members of the Edwardian Dutch Church, published in Emden in 1559, stressed that the government has the right and duty to kill 'bad' people righteously, since it was serving God.²⁴ Yet in the preface of the *Catechismus*, or *Kinderleere*, an educational catechism for young members printed in Emden in 1558, with an earlier version in Edwardian London, Jan Utenhove

²⁰ Auke Jelsma, "The "Weakness of Conscience" in the Reformed movement in the Netherlands: the attitude of the Dutch Reformation to the use of violence between 1562 and 1574", in *The Church and War: Papers read at the twenty-first summer meeting and the twenty-second winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. William J. Sheils (Oxford, 1983), pp. 217-29 (pp. 221, 229).

²¹ *Ibid.*; Archivum 2 is full of reference to the tensions between Orange and the London Dutch Church, see for instance Letter 70, pp. 213-16.

²² 'Personen te Antwerpen', 9, pp. 16-17, en 8, p. 356.

²³ *Ibid.*, 9, pp. 124-28.

²⁴ à Lasco, Johannes, Gualterus Delenus, and Martin Micronius, *Een korte ondersoekinghe des geloofs, ouer de ghene die haer tot de Duytsche Ghemeynte: die te Londen was, begeuen worden. Uitgheestelt door de Dienaers der selver* ([Emden?], 1559), fol. G.

and Martin Micronius sharply condemned the behaviour of the government.²⁵ The apparent sincerity of their ministers was a selling point for the Reformed churches. Utenhove claimed that a bad government was a punishment of God for the sins of a country.²⁶ The Catechism itself states that humans should revoke revenge, pray for their enemies, and wait until God judges and punishes.²⁷ In this respect, only the government could punish injustice, even though, as the Catechism recognised, the government often killed unjustly itself.²⁸ If the churches did not directly promote active resistance, their writings went a way to create an anxious climate.

Oettinger pointed out that the singing of Lutheran psalms in Germany provoked an ‘us against them’ feeling, which is also visible in the writings of Utenhove as he juxtaposed the righteousness of the Reformed ministers against that of the government.²⁹ Utenhove accused the government, albeit elected through the will of God, of being responsible for the growth of ‘heretical sects’ in the Low Countries by prohibiting the ‘true’ religion. In doing so, he argued, they had let simple people who hated the Roman Catholic Church fall into the hands of sects. Moreover, he claimed that these people in joining sects even rejected the good things within the Roman Catholic Church.³⁰ Utenhove believed that Reformed thought was not heretical but scholarly and necessary, contrary to the beliefs of ‘sects’.³¹ Yet perhaps Utenhove also wrote this in an attempt to

²⁵ Jan Utenhove, Martin Micronius, *De Catechismus, oft kinder leere, diemen te Londen, in den Duytsche Gbemeynte was ghebruykende*. (Emden, 1558), fol. 3-12.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 4.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 33.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 33-34.

²⁹ Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation* (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 204-09

³⁰ Utenhove, Micronius, *De Catechismus, oft kinder leere*, fol. 9-10.

³¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 10.

charm and show his loyalty to Edward VI, whom he heavily praised in this text.³² Their presence in England, he pointed out, proved God's goodwill towards them.³³

The fact that the Reformed churches themselves rebelled against authorities as they secretly gathered was no indication of any wish to revolt openly against the blood edict or more specifically against Philip II. Indeed, the Reformed Christians still hoped and expected Philip II of Spain to proclaim freedom of conscience for the Netherlands. The renowned Reformer Peter Martyr Vermigli wrote in 1559 that Philip II was said to have proclaimed at Valladolid 'that nobody shall suffer death for the sake of religion' and he expected the same to be announced in Flanders shortly afterwards. Martyr noted that Philip feared an uprising in Spain. The Gospel was, according to him, making progress in the Low Countries as well as in Spain, before the Elizabethan resettlement of the stranger churches.³⁴ In the same year van Haemstede's martyrology devoted a large introductory part to the magistrates and princes in the Low Countries, as well as to Philip II in particular. He wished that they would understand the insight of 'the battle with the devil' in which they played a large part and hoped that they would pick the right side.³⁵ In a public preaching of 1563 the Reformed adherents, armed with long sticks, prayed that God would convert princes from shedding the blood of innocent Protestants.³⁶

Although the Dutch Revolt was a political operation from the moment William of Orange defied Alba's authority and the nobles and cities felt blemished by Philip's centralising and autocratic policies, the Reformed movement provoked a revolutionary

³² *Ibid.*, fol. 6.

³³ *Ibid.*, fol. 9.

³⁴ Archivum, 2, Letter 35, pp. 107-09.

³⁵ Adrianus Haemstedius, *De Gheschiedenisse ende den doot der vromer martelaren, die om het ghetuyghenisse des Evangeliums haer bloed't gestort hebben, van den tijden Christi af, totten Jar M. D. Six. toe, etc.* ([Emden?], 1559), pp. i-ix.

³⁶ *Documents inédits concernant la réforme à Ypres, Volume 2: Mémoire justificatif du magistrat d'Ypres sur les troubles religieux, arrivés en cette ville, en 1566 & 1567, avec pièces à l'appui; suivi de documents inédits concernant la réforme à Ypres*, ed. by Isidore L. A. Diegerick (Brugge, 1875), pp. 197-98. (Ypres 19 February 1562/3).

spirit playing on the sentiments and discontent of people throughout the second half of the sixteenth century, well before 1566. Even though the movement attracted people from every layer of society, it was also a way of veneration as a people's rebellion. The popular rhetoric which Reformers upheld in order to gain a large base of support is displayed several times in van Haemstede's martyrology.³⁷

Van Haemstede frequently used the words 'the people' and 'the common people' in describing the duties of Philip, magistrates, and princes in the Low Countries. He judged that Philip had forsaken and oppressed the right religion out of ignorance, like biblical kings had done before him.³⁸ Van Haemstede himself was a contested figure under the Reformed Christians as he, in 1558, preached provocatively in public in an Antwerp market square while a Catholic procession was passing by.³⁹ He would become the first Dutch preacher in London after the accession of Elizabeth. However, Grindal excommunicated him in late 1560 for alleged sympathies towards Anabaptists and causing division in the London Dutch Church.⁴⁰ There are several reasons why influential members of the London consistory could have disliked Anabaptism and did not want any association with this religious movement. Firstly, the consistory feared comparisons with the rebellious Münster community.⁴¹ Secondly, Edward VI initially based the settlements of the churches on the idea that the presence of a Presbyterian Reformed church would eliminate sects and conspiracies among immigrants and London's population.⁴² Yet van Haemstede's excommunication might have also been due to a clash of personalities

³⁷ Haemstedius, *De Gheschiedenisse*, pp. i-ix. For an account of the Protestant movement as a popular movement see Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 6, 7 among others talk about the process of identification through the formation of a religious community and through the creation of new, common enemies.

³⁸ Haemstedius, *De Gheschiedenisse*, pp. ii-iv.

³⁹ Marnef, *Antwerpen*, pp. 101-02, 122-123.

⁴⁰ Kerkerbaads-protocollen, p. 72.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴² *The Chronicle and Political Papers of King Edward VI*, ed. by Wilbur K. Jordan (New York, 1966), p. 37, referenced by Andrew Pettegree, p. 44.

between him and some influential consistory members.⁴³ Van Haemstede returned to the Low Countries, persecuted and unwanted.

The London Dutch Church's letter collection and the consistory records of the Dutch and French churches show that the consistories were well aware of news from the Low Countries. The French minister Jean Cousin read out letters publicly once a week, a summary of which scribe Anthoine Du Ponchel subsequently wrote down in the consistory records.⁴⁴ The letters included regular references to the persecution of religious dissenters, and very many identified Pieter Titelmans as the inquisitor. These letters do not reveal the viewpoint of the churches on the persecution, as only the incoming letters spoke about executions and arrests. However, from the consistory records it is clear that the churches kept well-informed on the imprisonment of Reformed members.

In the period under consideration in this chapter the dissenters were mainly persecuted from three sides, according to Aline Goosens, who specifies these levels as 'les inquisiteurs et leurs sous-delegués, les évêques et les officialités, et les officiers civils de justices'.⁴⁵ Gielis and Soen, on the other hand, believe that there were four levels of repression of religious dissent, but, in agreement with Alastair Duke, they would only use the term 'Inquisition' for the inquistors-general, and sub-inquisitors.⁴⁶ They believed that civil courts nonetheless handled the majority of cases related to heresy jurisdiction.⁴⁷ The

⁴³ The consistory acts mention an accusation against a member, Antonius Assch, for being hostile to van Haemstede. A church member described how Assch before his move to London when he lived in Emden had proclaimed that 'when he would arrive in England, van Haemstede would not preach for much longer'. This indicates the potential presence of pre-existing prejudice towards the controversial minister among some consistory members. Kerkerads-protocollen, p. 136.

⁴⁴ Actes du Consistoire I, p. xxxiv.

⁴⁵ Goosens, *Les Inquisitions Modernes. Tome 1 La Legislation*, p. 146.

⁴⁶ Alastair Duke, 'The "Inquisition" and the repression of religious dissent in the Habsburg Netherlands, 1521-156', in *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries*, ed. by A. Duke, J. Pollman & A. Spicer (Ashgate, 2009), pp. 99-118; Gielis & Soen, 'The Inquisitorial Office', pp. 47-66.

⁴⁷ Gielis & Soen, 'The Inquisitorial Office', p. 60.

inquisitors-general received their appointment from the ruler of the Low Countries, and a confirmation of their mandate from the pope, yet their authority regularly conflicted with that of the other levels.⁴⁸ One of the most prominent inquisitors was the aforementioned Pieter Titelmans. This dean chased heretics in his duty as inquisitor of Flanders, judging their dissenting religious views and behaviour. He regularly clashed with local authorities attempting to retain autonomy.⁴⁹ If found guilty of heresy, the inquisitor transferred the prisoner to civil authorities to handle the legal side of lèse-majesté or transgression of the edicts against heresy, and subsequent execution.⁵⁰ The Reformer Corneel Wouters, also called Cornelius Gualterus, recorded the instance in 1557 of a ‘pompous’ procession in Bruges in which a cleric degraded a Carmelite from Ghent, Carl de Cueninck, and handed him over to a civil magistrate.⁵¹ Five out of six persons whom civil authorities had condemned for heresy, however, had not turned up for their trial and presumably fled.⁵² In 1563 the Reformer Gerard Mortaigne, who had fled to Emden around 1557, saw his goods confiscated and his father imprisoned as he had failed to attend a summoning to defend himself against the accusation of heresy.⁵³ As a result of confiscations refugees probably often arrived in destitute condition or without their direct family, maintaining connections with their business or familial partners in the Netherlands.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 59-62; see also Johan van de Wiele, ‘De Inquisitierechtbank van Pieter Titelmans in de zestiende eeuw in Vlaanderen’, *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review*, 91:1 (1982), 19-63.

⁴⁹ Aline Goosens, *Les Inquisitions Modernes Dans Les Pays-Bas Meridionaux, 1520-1633. Tome 2 Les Victimes* (Brussels, 1998), pp. 95-99; for details about Titelmans’ persecutions and areas of activity see van de Wiele, ‘De Inquisitierechtbank’.

⁵⁰ *Les Inquisitions Modernes. Tome 1 La Legislation*, pp. 148-50; J. Desreumaux, ‘Wervikse Geuzen’, pp. 8-12.

⁵¹ *Archivum*, 2, Letter 19, pp. 56-58. Gualterius was a Bruges canon before joining the Reformed movement.

⁵² Decavele, 1; A. L. E. Verheyden. *Le Martyrologe Protestant des Pays-Bas du Sud au XVI^eme Siècle*. Collection Histoire du Protestantisme en Belgique et au Congo Belge (Bruxelles, 1960); J. Desreumaux, ‘Wervikse Geuzen’, p. 8.

⁵³ *Archivum*, 2, Letter 26, pp. 86-87.

It is remarkable that the church did not shy away from controversial politics when it suited their purpose since theoretically the churches attempted to focus on religious affairs only. Yet, the Dutch Church sustained a regular correspondence with city councils in the Low Countries. This started in the early 1560s, when it wrote to representatives of those councils who were sympathetic towards Protestants in an attempt to release prisoners.⁵⁴ Similarly, the Church regularly requested favours from the English government or the Bishop of London concerning prisoners in the Netherlands. The churches often had direct connections with English civil authorities which both reciprocated as, for instance, the Privy Council made use of the churches in directing trade missions or negotiations. The elder Jan Utenhove in particular helped negotiations for a new wool staple at Emden, the city in which another important exile community resided.⁵⁵

In July 1560 the London Dutch Church received letters from the ministers of the Reformed church in Hondschoote informing it about the imprisonment of three members of the London Dutch Church who were travelling through the Netherlands.⁵⁶ The churches urged Edmund Grindal, the Bishop of London, to write to the responsible Flemish civil magistrate in favour of the captives, hoping for a deliverance of the prisoners. Subsequently, English prominent church leaders sent a letter regarding the captives to the magistrates of Furnes. Grindal and Archbishop Parker of Canterbury, as well as civil lawyers William Meyns, Walter Haddon, and Thomas Huyke signed the letter in which they asked the magistrates to release the prisoners on the understanding that these were now subjects of the Queen and resided in the Low Countries for private

⁵⁴ Archivum, 2, Letters 170, 186, 625-28, 685-88.

⁵⁵ George D. Ramsay, *The Queen's Merchants and the Revolt of the Netherlands* (Manchester, 1986), p. 34; Ramsay, *The City of London in International Politics at the Accession of Elizabeth Tudor* (Manchester, 1975), pp. 230-236; Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt: Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism* (Oxford, 1992), p. 45; Pettegree, pp. 265-66.

⁵⁶ Kerkerads-protocollen, p. 14.

matters, planning to return to England shortly.⁵⁷ Despite this legal battle between the refugees' country of origin and their adoptive country, the three were executed.

It was not the only time the foreign churches intervened with political authorities to free religious captives; in 1562 the London Dutch Church unsuccessfully endeavoured to avert the burning of two brethren.⁵⁸ Aegidius Ente, a member of the Flemish Church in Sandwich who had been captured in Flanders, also desired the London Dutch Church to ask Grindal or the Privy Council to write to the chief Council of Flanders in his behalf.⁵⁹ In some cases the churches wrote to city councils. In 1562, for instance, the London consistory was communicating through letters with the city government of Kortrijk.⁶⁰ On other occasions they asked their superintendent, Bishop Grindal, to send such requests. The London French Church also communicated about the fate of some members via Grindal. According to the consistory records, Grindal had corresponded and perhaps negotiated with Margaret of Parma in 1564 on the case of some members whom the Brussels Court had examined and caught. She was determined not to leave the Calvinists, whom she called 'subjects', unpunished.⁶¹ Reminded of his own exile years on the Continent, under Queen Mary, Grindal attempted to help the church and their brethren

⁵⁷ This account comes from Gerard Brandt, *The history of the Reformation and other ecclesiastical transactions in and about the Low-Countries from the beginning of the eight century, down to the famous synod of Dort. Faithfully translated from the original Low Dutch* (London, 1720, first original edn. 1671), pp. 134-35. It is supported by evidence of the existence of this letter which can be found in the *Kerkeraads-protocollen*. The letters were probably brought to a magistrate responsible for civil trial in Furnes as the following reference shows, however it does not mention the case: "Quis nuncius deferet literas ad magistratum in Flandria furnensem. (Veurne) (21 Julii)" in *Kerkeraads-protocollen*, pp. 21-23. Furnes, or Veurne in Flemish, was a large town and held the authority over neighbouring villages such as Hondschoote, which is nowadays part of France.

⁵⁸ *Kerkeraads-protocollen*, pp. 179-80.

⁵⁹ *Archivum*, 2, Letter 65, pp. 195-97.

⁶⁰ *Kerkeraads-protocollen*, p. 412.

⁶¹ It is very probable that Grindal negotiated with Margaret with the idea that the said Calvinists were now English subjects, or at least denizens of London and that he could thus claim authority over the prisoners. *Actes du Consistoire I*, p. 89.

within the limits of his power.⁶² The political interference showed both the wish of the church to act in a legal way within a local vacuum of power in the Netherlands as well as the complexity of the network of Reformed Christians.

A distinctive problem arose for any Protestant church in Europe experiencing the discord between theological, ideal principles and practical circumstances. In his *Institutiones*, Calvin argued that the duty of private persons was to obey the ruler and resist rebellion, because, as he put it, ‘a good Christian answers to God rather than to man’. His earlier writings which encouraged obedience placed many Reformed Christians and Huguenots in an awkward position when they faced repression from public authorities from the mid-sixteenth century onwards.⁶³ Van Gelderen pointed out that in the final years of his life Calvin even appealed for a right of resistance in certain circumstances in 1562.⁶⁴ A large discourse surrounding authority and tyranny arose, most notably in France, around the time of the first French War of Religion (1562-1563). There it eventually culminated in the monarchomach movement which pondered the possibility of regicide or tyrannicide through legal means, especially so after the St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre in 1572.⁶⁵

⁶² Patrick Collinson, ‘Calvinism with an Anglican Face: The Stranger Churches of Early Elizabethan London and their Superintendent’, in *Godly People, Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism*, ed. by Patrick Collinson (London, 1983), pp. 213-44 (p. 222).

⁶³ Robert Fruin, ‘De Nederlandsche ballingen in Engeland betrokken in den opstand hunner landgenoten tegen Spanje, 1568-1570’, *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudbeidkunde*, 3rd ser., 6 (1892), 57-74 (p. 59). Calvin himself had adopted a more pragmatic view by 1560. See also T.H.L. Parker, *Calvin, an introduction to his thought* (London, 1995), pp. 157-61.

⁶⁴ Martin van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt* (Cambridge, rev. edn. 2002), pp. 67-68.

⁶⁵ Events such as the first French War of Religion have presumably influenced the Reformed movement in the Netherlands, especially in the areas near the border with France or in Netherlandish places in which Calvinist migrants from France settled, such as Antwerp. For more information about the Monarchomach movement see Camion Clément, ‘The Right of Resistance in Calvin and the Monarchomachs’, *Itaque - Revue de Philosophie de l’Université de Montréal*, 5, (2009), 1-25; Crouzet Denis, ‘Calvinism and the Uses of the Political and the religious’, in *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands 1555-1585*, ed. by Philip Benedict, Guido Marnef, Henk van Nierop, and Marc Venard (Amsterdam, 1999), pp. 99-114.

In the 1560s the Catholic repression of unorthodox views in the Low Countries led to similar questions about resistance. Yet the Dutch-speaking exile churches in England were not purely Calvinist communities. The London Dutch Church's religious practices reveal that it was a melting pot for religious ideas.⁶⁶ The Zwinglian influence is visible in the Strangers' Church's liturgy which John à Lasco had composed.⁶⁷ A glance through the letter collection of the Dutch Church similarly shows contacts with theologians of various Protestant streams of thought.⁶⁸ Especially so for the first generation of exiles in London, many of whom also appeared as consistory members in the first years of the settlement under Elizabeth. In the 1560s there was an influx of Calvinist migrants from West-Flanders.⁶⁹ This theological background perhaps marked a difference between the prominent figures in Sandwich, most of whom had arrived from the Westkwartier near France after 1559, and the dominant consistory members in the London Dutch Church, many of whom were previously present in the Strangers' Church under Edward VI and in the exile church of Emden.⁷⁰

As Reformed groups became more visible throughout the first years of the 1560s, persecution grew. For the communities of the foreign churches the principal way of dealing with the problem of persecution was exile. In a letter to Elizabeth in 1560 the congregations described their exile as a liberation from cruelty in the Low Countries,

⁶⁶ Jan Utenhove, one of the most influential elders of in the first and second stranger churches' settlement took rather Zwinglian viewpoints on some issues. See Johannes Lindeboom, *Austin Friars: Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Hervormde Gemeente te Londen, 1550-1950* ('s-Gravenhage, 1950), p. 6. See chapter 3.

⁶⁷ For more on John à Lasco and his contacts with Zwingli and Zurich theologians, see Andrew Pettegree, 'The strangers and their churches in London, 1550-1580' (D.Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 1983), pp. 20-22.

⁶⁸ The letter collection is printed in the Archivum.

⁶⁹ Van Gelderen, p. 66.

⁷⁰ Pettegree mentions that seven elders and four deacons left London after the death of Edward VI and settled in the exile community of Emden which was founded by these wandering refugees, in Pettegree, p. 37. Of these eleven consistory members, we can identify four of them in the Elizabethan London Dutch Church plus their Edwardian minister Wouter Deleene and his son Peter Deleene, its new minister.

thanks to God's providence, and Elizabeth's harbouring of the strangers, while likening themselves with Jesus Christ.⁷¹ If returning members got captured, the stranger churches attempted to free the prisoner in a political way, especially if the prisoners were their own members travelling back to Flanders. As previously mentioned, the consistory asked Grindal to write a letter to the city council of Furnes after the capture of three members in Hondschoote in 1560.⁷² This action was the outcome of a consistory meeting on 19 July 1560 in which it debated on how to relieve the prisoners. Undoubtedly, yet unrecorded, some consistory members must have proposed the idea of direct action in the form of prison breaking. The consistory did not follow this line of action, but one year later, in November 1561, some members of the Sandwich community, who resided in London before the community's settlement in August 1561, chose this line of action when they liberated the Reformed bookseller Jan Hacke from a prison in the Flemish town of Meesen.⁷³ The London Dutch Church's consistory recorded its disapproval of this event in 1562 in its records.⁷⁴

Several months before this prison break, the Reformer Godfried van Winghen, who resided in Antwerp in the late 1550s and was active as a minister in the area of Nieuwkercke in Flanders by 1561, sent a letter inquiring about resistance and violence against magistrates in March 1561 to the consistory of the London Dutch Church.⁷⁵ He asked the consistory to discuss three pertinent questions regarding resistance.⁷⁶ Van Winghen himself would, late 1563, become a minister of the London Dutch Church after serving as a preacher in the Sandwich community from August 1561.⁷⁷ Yet when he asked

⁷¹ Archivum, 2, pp. 40, 124-27.

⁷² See p. 134; Kerkerads-protocollen, p. 14.

⁷³ Edmond De Coussemaker, *Troubles Religieux du XVI^e Siècle dans la Flandre Maritime, 1560-1570. Documents Originaux*, 4 vols (Bruges, 1876), I, p. 347; Backhouse, p. 138; Pettegree, p. 146.

⁷⁴ Kerkerads-protocollen, pp. 320-22.

⁷⁵ Backhouse, pp. 41, 13.

⁷⁶ Kerkerads-protocollen, pp. 166-67.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 490.

the questions, he was still preaching in Flanders.⁷⁸ That he asked these questions to the London Dutch Church shows that he saw this church as an authoritative institution as well as perhaps sensing a surge of violent behaviour or the possibility of resistance among the other Reformers. Another reason was perhaps the fact that he had been a deacon in the Strangers' Church and had followed the group to its new place of exile in Emden after the death of Edward VI. He personally knew many of its consistory members and his question might have been a calculated step to condemn violence.⁷⁹

The theme of resistance focused in part on their most relentless persecutors, Catholic clergy. As these formed part of a religious institution, rather than a legal framework, Reformers deliberated resistance to the Catholic clergy's moral authority. More difficult to assess was the practice of defiance of secular authorities. The letter of March 1561 provoked the first extensive discussion that the London Dutch Church held on the topic recorded in the consistory records. The consistory examined the three questions which the letter contained. First, they discussed whether they should allow a Reformed Christian to use arms in defence against 'a papist'. Second, they argued whether or not they should recognise and obey papal representatives as legal magistrates. Finally, they debated the liberation of prisoners.⁸⁰ Did Reformed Christians have the right to resist civil authorities and legal governors who were ignorant of the true Christian doctrine or had they to suffer from the persecutions in silence like true martyrs?⁸¹

In this matter they consulted the London French Church which advised against any violent behaviour and they adopted the same position.⁸² The French Church asserted that they allowed Reformed Christians to wear weapons to defend themselves, but

⁷⁸ Backhouse, pp. 41, 135.

⁷⁹ Pettegree, *Emden*, p. 37.

⁸⁰ Kerkerdaads-protocollen, pp. 166-67.

⁸¹ Archivum, 2, Letter 100, pp. 334-37.

⁸² Kerkerdaads-protocollen, pp. 166-67.

Reformers could not use these weapons against nor to threaten a magistrate. They could wear arms to protect themselves from any attacks but not abuse them in disgrace of the Gospel. The deans or inquisitors, in their opinion, were working under the authority of the magistrates and thus should not be resisted with arms but only with patience, prayers and profession of faith. The French consistory thought it difficult to answer the last question. It proclaimed that the prisoners were good men, but it also believed that ‘God would not leave them [the prisoners] behind’.⁸³ They decided that they could not allow prison breaking as it would be too scandalous.⁸⁴ This deliberation revealed the tension between the practical hardship accompanying the imprisonment of their fellow brethren and the ideal of martyrdom and spiritual strength. The Dutch consistory of Antwerp asked London to consult Bishop Grindal about the case. The London Dutch Church’s consistory acts of the year 1563 note that van Winghen had also inquired into church breaking, or iconoclasm, in the letter on the question of resistance two years earlier.⁸⁵ The acts oddly do not show indications of any debate taking place concerning this topic.

On 6 June 1562, the consistory of the London Dutch Church deliberated with the ministers of the Antwerp Reformed Church on whether or not they should recognise the dean of Ronse, the inquisitor Titelmans, as a civic authority. Should they treat the

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ The acts say that the consistory discussed the topic of arms and prison breaking at the request of certain Flemish brethren who were still residing in Flanders. It is not clear whether this refers to the letters of van Winghen, which is very likely, or whether the French Church had received letters of inquiry from other Reformed Christians. *Actes du Consistoire I*, p. 38.

⁸⁵ The letter has no clear date. Hessels has dated it as 1570 because of the dates of the surrounding letters. van Schelven, on the other hand, argues in his ‘Het begin van het gewapend verzet’, p. 34 that van Winghen wrote the letter in 1561. He derived this conclusion from writings in the acts of the consistory which mention a letter from van Winghen discussing three points on resistance. In this letter, however, van Winghen did point out similar questions on resistance. However, he described four questions and not three. Yet, I agree with van Schelven that this letter should be dated 1561 as a mention of the letter made in 1563 and randomly inscribed in the consistory acts at the back of a page describes references in this letter to taking a stance on church breaking, something which can also be found in the letter which Hessels dated 1571. This is another indication of the faulty dating. *Kerkerads-protocollen*, pp. 427-28; *Archivum*, 2, Letter 100, pp. 334-37.

dean as a lawful representative of the king or could he legally be resisted?⁸⁶ For Reformed churches in the southern Netherlands, where persecutions were the most severe, the exile churches' more cautious views towards resistance were untenable. Despite initially opting for a policy of non-resistance, the leading Antwerp Reformed Church, located in the heart of the Low Countries, had by late 1562 consented to the forceful liberation of religious prisoners. The Antwerp Church organised a synod in that year to discuss the question, at the advice of the churches of London, Geneva, and Emden. At this synod they decided in favour of the acceptance of prison breaking.⁸⁷ In some cases the Antwerp church also allowed resistance against magistrates.⁸⁸ The London refugee churches, however, opposed this view of prison breaking and did not permit any armed resistance against legal authorities. It opposed the decision made at the Antwerp synod. A long quarrel over the problem of resistance troubled the relations between both churches for several years. Especially from May 1562 onwards, after the London Dutch Church's consistory had sent a warning and, as Antwerp interpreted it, patronising letter to the Antwerp Dutch consistory which had caused an open breach. The letter admonished Antwerp against resistance and rumours of rebellious behaviour.⁸⁹ The argument became so heated that the Antwerp minister Herman Strijckers, also called Moded, refused to write attestation letters for anyone wishing to travel to the London Church in 1562.⁹⁰

Perhaps to make their own viewpoint heard, the London Dutch Church in the final months of 1562 examined the views of some of its members on resistance against governmental authorities.⁹¹ The consistory records registered at least three such cases. The most extensive case recounts how a member of the church, Cornelis Riemslager, had

⁸⁶ Kerkerads-protocollen, p. 322.

⁸⁷ Van Schelven, 'Het begin van het gewapend verzet', pp. 136-37.

⁸⁸ Kerkerads-protocollen, p. 397.

⁸⁹ Kerkerads-protocollen, pp. 320-22.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 349, 412.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 363, 386.

publicly argued in favour of violence against civil authorities in the temple of the congregation. The consistory decided to suspend him, his wife, and another member with similar opinions, Dominicus Visvercoper, from the Lord's Supper until they changed their minds on the subject.⁹² Yet this does not mean that these three members were the only ones in favour of resistance. While it is impossible to work out who and how many members were in favour of resistance, we can assume that there were several of them for two reasons. First, new members arriving around 1562 had experienced the heightened persecution more closely than members who had resided in England since the start of Elizabeth's reign. Second, Backhouse has shown that although figures opposed to resistance dominated the London Dutch consistory, some London members, as well as consistory members, participated in prison breaking and armed public sermons in the Netherlands.⁹³ The tensions which plagued the London Dutch Church from 1563 onwards on issues of church practices such as the godparents question perhaps mirrored the divisions in the church on the topic of resistance.

II. The effect of armed resistance on the stranger churches

The French and the Dutch Church in London did not condone violence from an early stage, or at least so it seems in their official policies and correspondence. In 1563 the French Church of London, in consent with the Dutch Church, composed a letter of recommendation for its minister Nicholas des Gallars. This letter portrayed des Gallars as a quiet, peaceful, and diligent man who constantly endeavoured to 'conform the good

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 363, 386-92.

⁹³ Backhouse, pp. 135-47; Backhouse, 'The Official Start of Armed Resistance', pp. 198-226.

to the way of justice as well as to remove the rebels from their vices and sins'.⁹⁴ This emphasis on a quiet and peaceful life suggests another facet of church life which the London Church had to take into account, namely that of its own authority and unity. The London Dutch Church's consistory did not accept any dissenting opinions or behaviour that breached its authority. Internal struggles were a frequent calamity for the churches and discipline was hard to maintain.⁹⁵ People who did not agree with the consistory's decisions were swiftly labelled rebels. In this way, the consistory in 1561 declared adherents of van Haemstede to be participants in rebellion and violence against the consistory.⁹⁶ Similarly in late 1560 Peter Deleene exhorted the people to live quietly, cause 'no scandal to the people of the country [England]', and to consider the benefits 'which God had shewn them by receiving them graciously in this country'.⁹⁷ In the London French Church, the consistory was also aware of the importance of the way in which both locals and other immigrants perceived the community. In a row over beer in 1561, the church recorded that the scandal would prompt 'the others who were not from the church to say "there you have it, those Reformed people"'.⁹⁸ This emphasis on a quiet character, which even Grindal used in 1561 to describe van Winghen to the Frankfurt city council, subtly implied a stark contrast with being rebellious.⁹⁹

This is not surprising, since, as we have seen in chapter 2, the stranger churches hoped for the spread of the Reformed movement in the Low Countries but could not promote any form of violence. They tried to purge themselves from an association with rebelliousness by making a distinction between their perceived righteousness of the

⁹⁴ Kerkerads-protocollen, p. 158.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

⁹⁷ Actes du Consistoire I, p. xix.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁹⁹ Arhivum, 2, p. 178.

promotion of the faith and rebellious behaviour.¹⁰⁰ Although they did heavily criticise the government of Philip II, promoting any kind of rebellion or violence among the people, however, was a bridge too far for the churches.¹⁰¹ Whether or not they secretly hoped for it, Reformed Christians could not ideologically allow violence, as Micronius and Utenhove's little Catechism described.¹⁰² In doing so they would undermine their own ideals, faith and liturgy, and damage any image of trustworthiness towards the English government. Again, violent and rebellious behaviour could spark associations with the Anabaptists from Münster and heavy persecutions from secular and religious authorities.

Owe Boersma has described the London Dutch Church's conservative stance towards resistance as an act of self-preservation.¹⁰³ On one hand, the refugees were living in safe exile and able to somewhat distance themselves from events in the Low Countries. On the other hand, they wished to continue to live quietly in England and not antagonise the English government. Describing the community as self-interested, however, is a very simple explanation. The church carefully contemplated political and ideological reasons for acting the way it did. Ideologically, the consistory considered any form of violence to be a sin. On a political level the consistory foresaw that active resistance to the legal government would lead to rebellion in the Netherlands and it respected the tradition of the godly ruler.¹⁰⁴ Jelsma and Boersma believe that one force behind this stance was a fear of becoming associated with the Münster Anabaptists.¹⁰⁵ I believe its position as an exile

¹⁰⁰ See chapter 2. Martin Micronius, *Een Waerachtghe Historie, van Hoste (gbeseyt Jooris) vander Katelnye, te Ghendt om bet vry opentlick straffen der Afgodischer Leere, ghebrandt ten grooten nutte ende vertroostinghe aller Christenen gbescreuen.* (Emden, [1556]), fol. 56-58.

¹⁰¹ Jan Utenhove and Martin Micronius, *De Catechismus, oft kinder leere, diemen te Londen, in den Duytsche Ghemeynte was ghebruyckende.* (Emden, 1558), fol. 3-4, 6, 9-11.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, fol. 33-34.

¹⁰³ Boersma, 'Vluchtig voorbeeld', pp. 188-89. On the relations between the stranger churches and English government see also Lindeboom, p. 57, and Pettegree, pp. 269, 305.

¹⁰⁴ Kerkerads-protocollen, p. 322.

¹⁰⁵ Jelsma, 'The 'Weakness of Conscience'', p. 228. Also Boersma, pp. 188-89. An interesting element as the church refers to violent behaviour as 'Anabaptist behaviour' in its consistory records.

post for prominent Continental Reformers under Edward VI is another explanation of why the churches seem rather inward looking than focused on the Low Countries.

Haven or not, the exile churches upheld the idea of martyrdom when Reformers did not chose exile or got caught and used it at their convenience. The London Dutch Church prayed for the contemporary martyrs and praised the fortitude of those who did not change their declaration of faith under torture but defended the Reformed religion even if it led to their death.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, one of its earliest ministers, Adriaan van Haemstede, wrote one of the most renowned martyrologies of that time, convincing the reader of the normality of persecution of true Christians in a historical perspective and adding some glamour to the idea of martyrdom.¹⁰⁷ This supports the interpretation that the exile churches served mainly as a haven for religious leaders to escape to when it became too dangerous for them in the Low Countries and to go back to when convenient. In that respect it was not so much the exile churches which were important for the spread of the Reformed movement through the mobility of its preachers but the strategic and geographical convenience of the possibility to flee to England. It is useful to consider that many of the exiles practised resistance before they fled to England rather than after their arrival. The idea that it was possible to flee to a haven presumably psychologically influenced the decision-making process in favour of resistance in many cases.

We do not know whether the consistory records and letters provide a misleading image of the external policies of the church. The records, which the anti-resistance minister Peter Deleene composed, do not mention discussions in detail, and the consistory or its members may have kept an unofficial programme for the promotion of the Gospel in the Low Countries, perhaps turning a blind eye to some of its members

¹⁰⁶ Kerkerads-protocollen, pp. 179-80.

¹⁰⁷ Van Gelderen, p. 72; Haemstedius, pp. i-ix.

despite its stance towards resistance.¹⁰⁸ The stranger churches stressed the division between private and public spheres, and believed in a separation between the private initiative of its members and official consistory policies.¹⁰⁹ As such the consistory of the French Church had listened to and approved the content of a letter which its minister Jean Cousin had written in 1564. The consistory declared that anything written outside the content it had dictated was his private matter.¹¹⁰ The consistory was, however, very much occupied with the perceptions of the churches of the English people and government. Although gratitude for the hospitality undoubtedly played a role in this attitude, the church could not afford openly to defy the authority of Philip, his advisors, and civic authorities and cause any diplomatic conflict which could hazard the said hospitality.¹¹¹

III. Different perceptions on resistance

While the London stranger churches officially held policies in favour of non-resistance and opposed the use of violence towards any legal magistrate, not everyone, as we have seen held this opinion. Among others Pettegree, Backhouse, and Crew have used a dichotomy between radical and moderate Calvinists based on which ideas of resistance Reformed Christians tended towards.¹¹² It means, among others, that some of the Reformers thought it was permissible to use violence in their zealous attempts to promote

¹⁰⁸ In 1576 the Walloon church of Canterbury refused to present money for the cause of William of Orange in the Netherlands but carefully hinted that perhaps the messengers could find money among its members. CCA, U47/A1, p. 41.

¹⁰⁹ Kerkerads-protocollen, p. 10.

¹¹⁰ Actes du Consistoire I, p. 92.

¹¹¹ For instance, Kerkerads-protocollen, p. 11.

¹¹² Pettegree, 'The Exile Churches during the Wonderjaar', pp. 91-92; Crew, *Calvinist Preaching*; Backhouse, 'De Vlaamse vluchtelingen in Sandwich (1561-1603)', p. 151.

the Reformed thought in the Low Countries. I believe the word radical is useful when used in reference to the concept of the Radical Reformation which explained the dichotomy between magisterial Reformers and their public. As such there was a dichotomy between the thought on resistance of the internationally prominent Reformers Utenhove, Micronius, and à Lasco, and a major part of the Refomers in the Low Countries.

The label 'radical' could in some instance be misleading, however. The word 'radicalisation' in the context of exile can also mean a heightened and stronger identification with Reformed or Calvinist thought and community. While it also refers to the radical idea of using violence in reaction to the interpretations of sermons and ideas of magisterial Reformers, its use could give the impression that the radical Reformers would be radical in their theological ideas, yet no evidence seems to suggest this. Backhouse claimed that many of these 'radicals' did not receive any formal education, even the ones who preached.¹¹³ Their stress on resistance in the hope to force authorities to recognise the Reformed movement as a legal religion appeared out of practical circumstances rather than theological arguments. Some Reformed Christians could not live up to the ideal of martyrdom. The tensions of practical life and the influence of the French example of the first French War of Religion encouraged resistance of secular and religious authorities.¹¹⁴ Civil authorities perceived actions such as prison breaking and armed preaching as being radical. The 1562 Reformed synod in Antwerp had made prison breaking permissible, in opposition to London. After that event, it was the London stranger churches' position towards resistance that became increasingly at odds with Reformed political thought in the Low Countries. By the middle of the 1560s, approval of some forms of resistance was a common stance, which ironically nearly made the

¹¹³ Backhouse, p.143.

¹¹⁴ Even though there is little practical evidence for this, it is very likely.

stranger churches seem radical in their rejection. Besides making references to similarities within the concept of the Radical Reformation, I often prefer to use the words pro-resistance and anti-resistance, or militant and pacifist as working terms.

The differences in opinion notably divided the Reformed churches. When the London Dutch Church opposed the 1562 synod of Antwerp's decision to support prison breaking, this meant the start of a difficult relationship between the two churches.¹¹⁵ The Antwerp Dutch Reformed Church played, according to Marnef, a central role in the promotion of the Reformed movement in the Low Countries.¹¹⁶ Hoping to end this breach, a few months later two Antwerp consistory members travelled to London to discuss their disagreement. They sought after the London consistory's approval of the decision, yet were tactless towards the London Dutch Church. Gerit Martens, a member of the London Dutch Church, reported to the London consistory how Herman Moded and Petrus Hazaert, the Antwerp ministers, gossiped in Antwerp about this meeting. They recounted what the representatives of Antwerp thought was childlike behaviour from London's minister Peter Deleene in the disputation and declared that they would deride Petrus among the immigrants if he would not stop preaching against prison breaking. Moreover, they swore not to seek any more advice from the London Dutch Church in the future.¹¹⁷

Certain influential individuals within the exile communities opposed resistance. Minister Godfried van Winghen held pacifist views regarding resistance to ill-disposed magistrates. As previously mentioned, he lived in London under Edward VI, in Emden afterwards, then preached in Flanders, eventually to reside in Sandwich by November 1561, but then travelled to Frankfurt shortly after that. The precise dates of when he came

¹¹⁵ See pp. 139-47 for more information on this argument.

¹¹⁶ Marnef, *Antwerpen*, pp. 105-08.

¹¹⁷ Kerkerads-protocollen, p. 349.

back to Sandwich and when he took up the function of minister there are unknown but presumably in 1562. In 1563 he became minister of the London Dutch Church after Peter Deleene had died of plague.¹¹⁸ Deleene was an equally influential anti-resistance figure in the London Dutch Church. It was he who composed the strongly-worded letter in May 1562 reminding the Antwerp consistory of its duties towards the authorities and admonishing its members against any suspicion of rebellion or disorder.¹¹⁹ In the same year he also preached in the church of Austin Friars against the use of violence on civil magistrates. One of the members narrated this sermon in Antwerp where it enraged the Antwerp consistory.¹²⁰ This vision of non-resistance and legality ran counter to the attitude of Reformed churches in Flanders and Brabant throughout the 1560s.

I agree with Pettegree when he stated the need to make a distinction between the ministers and consistory members who had been in exile and the exile churches themselves.¹²¹ He did not enlarge on this statement, but it is useful to comment on these ministers. Godfried van Winghen and Peter Deleene were two influential figures within the London Dutch Church who were against resistance and successfully carried their conviction into the official policy of the church. Several ministers were specifically identified as preachers in favour of violent enforcement of the Reformers' freedom, namely Sebastiaan Matte, Gheleyn Damman, William Damman, Pieter Hazaert, and Jacob de Buyzere for the Westkwartier, and Joris Wybo and Herman Moded for Antwerp.¹²² All of these ministers resided in England at some point but had returned to the Continent or only fled to England later, when their situation became too dangerous.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 261-62, 286, 490.

¹¹⁹ Pettegree, 'The Exile Churches during the Wonderjaar', p. 85; Kerkerads-protocollen, p. 349.

¹²⁰ Kerkerads-protocollen, p. 390.

¹²¹ Pettegree, 'The Exile Churches during the Wonderjaar', pp. 84-85.

¹²² Van Gelderen, p. 75.

The Sandwich community provided a haven for most of them to return to and as such Backhouse has attributed a resistance movement to the Sandwich community.¹²³

Even within the Sandwich community, there was no unified view over prison breaking. In November 1561, an organised band of exiles from Sandwich liberated the book merchant Jan Hacke from the prison in Nieuwpoort and transported him to England. According to Pettegree, some members of the London Dutch Church were also implicated in the action.¹²⁴ It was in reaction to this event that the Sandwich consistory deliberated on the issue of violence and resistance, but at this point the pacifist faction took the lead.¹²⁵ Perhaps Godfried van Winghen already resided in Sandwich at that point. Yet the militants present in the community were not going to quieten down, having experienced increasing persecution. They regularly planned actions such as preaching or prison breaking in Sandwich. It is uncertain how extensively the militant ideas were spread under the Sandwich consistory by that time, but Backhouse's thesis that Sandwich minister Jacob de Buyzere had built out a large 'intelligence-office' in this community, suggests that the practice was widespread.¹²⁶ He identified at least four other Flemish Reformers before 1566 who had settled in Sandwich but were notable 'radicals' around that time.¹²⁷ Thus there can be no doubt that the Sandwich exiles played an important role in the resistance against Dutch authorities in the pre-revolt years. Yet there were differences between the London Dutch Church and the Sandwich church, as well as between their members' views. The stress must be on the agencies.

Two other strongholds of Flemish brethren were Norwich and Colchester. A Reformed Flemish community resided in Colchester from 1560, but only received formal

¹²³ Backhouse.

¹²⁴ Pettegree, *Emden*, pp. 75-76; van Schelven, 'Het begin van het gewapend verzet', p. 129.

¹²⁵ Pettegree, *Emden*, p. 76.

¹²⁶ Backhouse, p.140.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

privileges from the Privy Council in 1570.¹²⁸ The Norwich Flemish Church was officially founded in 1565, but negotiations for a settlement there via the London Dutch Church started as early as 1560.¹²⁹ Both communities have two things in common. First, they did not leave any significant records for the period under consideration. Second, Peter Deleene, the composer of the consistory records of the London Dutch Church, described both communities as particularly Flemish or in relation with Flemish brethren.¹³⁰ A connection between Norwich and Flanders is not surprising as its first thirty settlers came from Sandwich, a community which had grown larger than legally allowed because of a large influx of migrants.¹³¹

Backhouse calculated that at least 48 per cent of the members of the Flemish community in Sandwich between 1561 and 1566 originated from the Westkwartier, a region in the south-western area of West Flanders.¹³² A substantial part of the small group of French speaking refugees in Sandwich had also previously resided in the Westkwartier, or lived in the French-speaking part of Flanders near the Westkwartier.¹³³ The negotiations for the legal settlement of the community took place in the summer of 1561. The London Dutch Church's elder Jan Utenhove mediated between the city council and the foreigners.¹³⁴ In 1561 the community of Sandwich also organised a conference on the

¹²⁸ Kerkerads-protocollen, p. 100; *Register of baptisms in the Dutch Church at Colchester from 1645 to 1728*, ed. by W.J.C. Moens, Proceeding the Huguenot Society of London, 12 (Lymington, 1905), pp. i-ii.

¹²⁹ Kerkerads-protocollen, p. 25. Raingard Esser explains that the Norwich Flemish and Walloon churches were founded in 1565 in her *Niederländische Exulanten im England des 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1996). p. 16.

¹³⁰ One must not forget that Flanders was only a part of the Low Countries. It was a county, independent from other legal regions which made up the Netherlands, such as the Duchy of Brabant.

¹³¹ Raingard Esser, 'Strangers within the Gates: Dutch and Walloon Refugees in Norwich', *Westboek Info*, 8.1 (April 1992), 28-34 (p. 28).

¹³² Backhouse, p. 18. The Westkwartier was a region in the most western corner of the West of Flanders, near the north of France. Ypres was one of its main cities.

¹³³ Marcel Backhouse, "The Flemish refugees in Sandwich (1561-1603)", in *Revolt and Emigration, Refugees from the Westkwartier in Sandwich in the XVIth Century*, ed. by J. Decaestecker (Dikkebus, 1988), pp. 91-117 (pp. 93-95).

¹³⁴ Kent History and Library Centre Maidstone, Sa/Ac4 The Little Black Book, fol. 195.

legitimacy of violence. At that point the pacifist-minded Godfried van Winghen pleaded against resistance. The faction within the consistory supporting van Winghen formed the majority.¹³⁵ His opponents were the influential Reformers Jacob de Buzere and Pieter Hazaert, who were to play a role in the armed public preaching in Flanders around 1562. Backhouse asserted that the militants in Sandwich did not receive any academic education but were mostly textile workers and artisans.¹³⁶ 43 per cent of the inhabitants of Flanders who were condemned or suspected of heresy between 1520 and 1565 came from the Westkwartier.¹³⁷ Moreover, van Schelven asserted that a profound anger against the authorities lived among the inhabitants in this region and in French Flanders due to the persecutions.¹³⁸ Marnef has pointed out that the Antwerp community also held strong links with the Westkwartier.¹³⁹ These links become clear when looking through the Antwerp city archives' judicial records. In 1558 already several Flemish Reformed Christians were imprisoned in Antwerp because of heresy, and many Flemish were to follow this fate. All Flemish in the 1558 case came from the Westkwartier. Moreover, the document also recorded that the four Flemish broke out of this prison in 1559.¹⁴⁰

Vandamme and Backhouse asserted that Sandwich was the stronghold of a militant or radical fraction where 'a strategy was sorted out for the effective spreading of Calvinism on the home front'.¹⁴¹ Vandamme stated exiles who returned to England with the released prisoner planned and carried out prison breaking in the Low Countries.¹⁴² Similarly Backhouse believed that Sandwich was a centre for Calvinist propaganda and an

¹³⁵ Pettegree, *Emden*, p. 76.

¹³⁶ Backhouse, p. 143.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 18. Backhouse concludes this with help of the findings of Decavele, II, pp. 62-207.

¹³⁸ Van Schelven, 'Het begin van het gewapend verzet', pp.130-32.

¹³⁹ Marnef, *Antwerpen*, pp. 103-04.

¹⁴⁰ 'Personen te Antwerpen', 9, p.16.

¹⁴¹ Backhouse, pp. 135-147; Ludo Vandamme, 'Revolt in the Weskwartier', in *Revolt and Emigration, Refugees from the Westkwartier in Sandwich in the XVIth Century*, ed. by J. Decaestecker (Dikkebus, 1988), 29-78 (p. 32).

¹⁴² Vandamme, 'Revolt in the Weskwartier', p. 32.

operational base throughout the 1560s.¹⁴³ It was from Sandwich that, according to Vandamme and Backhouse, the first armed public preaching in Boeschepe on 12 July 1562 was planned. The preacher was the local refugee weaver Ghelein Damman who after the event fled back to Sandwich with some of his followers.¹⁴⁴ Vandamme and Backhouse established a connection between Sandwich, radicalism, and the Westkwartier. Ypres' archival sources did indeed mention that Damman was an evicted heretic who had come over from England. His followers brought weapons to the sermon in defence of the preacher.¹⁴⁵ These followers had also forcefully liberated Damman from prison earlier that year, in February 1562, after which Damman fled with them to Sandwich.¹⁴⁶

One of the organisers of the prison break in order to save Damman was Johannes Beaugrand, who held the function of elder in the Sandwich consistory.¹⁴⁷ Another Reformed consistory member present was an elder of the London Dutch Church, Jan Lamoot. In 1560 he served the consistory at the same time as the militant Sebastian Matte.¹⁴⁸ The London consistory discussed the prison breaking and Jan Lamoot defended the action of 'the Flemish brethren' as a private act.¹⁴⁹ The Dutch Church of London was aware of the increasing potential of resistance in the Low Countries. The description of the letter which Peter Deleene in his function of minister sent to the Antwerp consistory reveals a tendency towards resistance in the Low Countries. Deleene warned strongly against the dangers of uproar and resistance after hearing rumours among the community and from Godfried van Winghen, who shortly resided on the Continent at that time,

¹⁴³ Marcel Backhouse, 'De Vlaamse vluchtelingen in Sandwich (1561-1603)', *Westboek, Genealogisch Jaarboek*, 4 (Dikkebus, 1987), 139-56 (p. 151).

¹⁴⁴ Vandamme, p. 32; Pettegree, 'The strangers and their churches', p. 274; De Coussemaker, I, p. 348, III, p. 74-75. Pettegree mentions a reference to Backhouse, 'The official start of armed resistance', pp. 198-224, which indeed gives a more detailed account of the event.

¹⁴⁵ *Mémoire justificatif*, ed. by Isidore L. A. Diegerick, pp. 169, 171, 172, 175, 177, 235.

¹⁴⁶ Van Schelven, 'Het begin van het gewapend verzet', pp. 128-29.

¹⁴⁷ Backhouse, 'De Vlaamse vluchtelingen in Sandwich', p. 148.

¹⁴⁸ Kerkerads-protocollen, pp. 41, 42.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 307. He probably derived this opinion from the 'private law theory' which states that people could naturally defend themselves against unjustly force. See van Gelderen, pp. 63, 108.

about seditious plans. He declared that he heard members of the London and Sandwich communities speaking ‘wondrous words which’, he feared, ‘tended to motivate uproar’ that was disadvantageous to the churches.¹⁵⁰

Other sources also confirmed the existence of these rumours; Decavele mentioned two accounts. In 1562 the papal nuncio to Madrid had forwarded a report to Philip II which had been sent to Rome from England. The record described the rumour that certain provinces in the southern Netherlands would revolt if they did not receive religious freedom and that 30,000 exiles were preparing a conspiracy to enforce this freedom.¹⁵¹ This account was a clear exaggeration; the exile churches were not that numerous. The London Dutch Church counted 227 married men in 1560 and the French Church counted between 313 and 410 participants to the Lord’s Supper in 1564-1565.¹⁵² Decavele also quoted the account of the diplomat Christophe d’Assonleville who wrote to Cardinal Granvelle from England in April 1563 that he had heard rumours from the exiles there that the tide would change for the Reformed Christians in the Low Countries, religiously as well as politically.¹⁵³ This was probably referring to the rapprochement between some members of the Reformed communities and nobles in the Low Countries. The city authorities of Antwerp were also suspicious of English exiles in 1563.¹⁵⁴

The division of the Reformed Christians in militant and pacifist groups caused many of the conflicts within the church. In that respect, one needs to be careful with the assumption that refugee communities in England organised resistance. In the year 1563 even, the church charged one of its members of insulting the ministers and talking badly towards the Antwerp community about Peter Deleene’s sermon against resistance and

¹⁵⁰ Kerkerads-protocollen, pp. 320-22.

¹⁵¹ Decavele, p. 432.

¹⁵² Kerkerads-protocollen, p. 210; Actes du Consistoire I, pp. 59, 62, 82, 87, 91, 96, 99, 105, 107, 109, 112, 113, 115, 117, 121, 123.

¹⁵³ Decavele, p. 432.

¹⁵⁴ ‘Personen te Antwerpen’, 9, pp. 153-55. See also p. 95.

the use of arms.¹⁵⁵ It is more likely that a network of likeminded, militant Reformers existed which consciously used the foreign churches as havens, with the aim of forcing their way into legality. At the same time, plague badly affected the London and Sandwich communities in 1563 and formed a major concern for the foreign churches' consistories.¹⁵⁶

It was in Antwerp that public preaching first took place.¹⁵⁷ Refugees from the Westkwartier often fled to Antwerp, where the anonymity of the city provided them with some security against persecutions.¹⁵⁸ Yet, the region of the Westkwartier in Flanders remained the major hotbed with connections to the communities of Sandwich, London, and Antwerp. Before his imprisonment, Damman was a minister for the Reformed church of Hondschoote, in the Westkwartier.¹⁵⁹ Him and Pieter Hazaert, another minister from Hondschoote, had negotiated the migration of Reformed Christians to the stranger community of Sandwich.¹⁶⁰ Sandwich regularly transferred information to London via letters or people. It let the Dutch Church know that three female family members of the men executed in Hondschoote in 1560 were imprisoned themselves in 1562 but were set free, although they did not mention on which account.¹⁶¹ It is not surprising that Reformers from the Westkwartier chose Sandwich for the West-Flemish community as trade links existed, but above all the proximity to the Continent played a role. Although there is no hard evidence, it is not difficult to imagine that a group of Reformers such as

¹⁵⁵ Kerkerads-protocollen, p. 399.

¹⁵⁶ Kerkerads-protocollen, p. 490; Kent History and Library Centre, Maidstone Sa/Ac4 The Little Black Book, fol. 248 v.

¹⁵⁷ See p. 91.

¹⁵⁸ Persecuted Reformers in Antwerp often originated from the Westkwartier, as witnessed in 'Personen te Antwerpen'.

¹⁵⁹ Kerkerads-protocollen, p. 213.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

¹⁶¹ Archivum, 2, Letter 64, pp. 195-57.

Damman and Hazaert had planned the use of Sandwich as a stronghold for the more militant members, providing a safe operational basis.

Many ministers from the Low Countries held a position in one of the exile churches at some point. This seemingly strengthens the connection between English refugee communities and radicalism. Ministers travelled over from the Low Countries to address adherents in foreign churches, but this often happened at the request of provincial foreign communities in England. Willem de Schilder, for example, resided in London in 1560 and was a deacon in 1562, yet resided in Sandwich by 1563, where he worked as a bay weaver. In 1560, however, the consistory of the London Dutch Church sent him to Flanders to guide the Reformed Christians there at the request of Godfried van Winghen, who was still minister in the Low Countries at that point.¹⁶² Backhouse referred to de Schilder as a radical.¹⁶³ The Dutch Church was also in contact with the west-Flemish militants Willem Damman and Petrus Hazaert, from whom they received letters of recommendation in favour of an exile who wished to join the London Dutch Church.¹⁶⁴ Both were elders of a secret Reformed church in the village of Hondschoote.¹⁶⁵ In 1562 Hazaert was in London for church business and hoped to take some members with him to preach in Flanders. He got into an argument with the elder Johannes Camphin about this.¹⁶⁶ In 1560, one Reformer asked the London church members to pray for the Flemish people who were advancing the cause of the Gospel.¹⁶⁷

In 1560 the notorious preacher Sebastiaan Matte first appeared in the church's consistory acts as Matte had proposed to depart from England because of language problems and for educational purposes. It is not clear how long he had resided in

¹⁶² A baey is a form of new drapery. Kerkerads-protocollen, pp. 49, 214.

¹⁶³ Backhouse, p. 140.

¹⁶⁴ Kerkerads-protocollen, p. 213.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

London.¹⁶⁸ The consistory permitted his departure. In 1562, however, he seemed to be in London again, since he was one of the elders of the church in that year. Matte was a hedge preacher and was engaged in the outbreak of iconoclasm. The consistory named him and Franciscus Bolle the ‘Flemish brothers’. In these terms Peter Deleene described the Reformed churches of Flanders, and West-Flanders in particular, provoking the feeling that this was a group from which he distanced himself and the Dutch Church.¹⁶⁹ The Westkwartier churches contained a large group of militant ministers showing violent behaviour or at least the approval of resistance in defence of their religion. In particular Willian Damman, Gheleyn Damman, and Pieter Hazaert.

Its proximity to France and the French-speaking regions of Flanders probably influenced the Reformation in the Westkwartier. Ypres witnessed an influx of Calvinist immigrants from France before 1566.¹⁷⁰ Similarly, many Reformed from the Walloon areas and northern France immigrated to the Netherlands’ Dutch speaking regions, and in particular Antwerp which was an attractive city for trade.¹⁷¹ A witness of this is the presence of French or Walloon Reformed churches and communities in major cities.¹⁷² Antwerp city reports feature many descriptions of groups singing psalms in French late at night.¹⁷³ Spicer discerns Calvinist and trade networks between the Walloon towns of Valenciennes and Tournai, Antwerp, and the immigrants of the later exile settlement of Southampton (1567), many of whom had taken part in the Iconoclastic Fury and troubles

¹⁶⁸ In 1543 Matte took out a concession for the use of a mill for the period of 18 years in Ypres. The document noted that he was a bonnet maker at the point. *Inventaire analytique*, ed. by Diegerick, 5, pp. 254-55.

¹⁶⁹ Kerkerads-protocollen, p. 221.

¹⁷⁰ *Archives d'Ypres. Documents du XVI^e siècle, faisant suite à l'inventaire des chartes*, ed. by Diegerick, 3 (Bruges, 1876), pp. 22-28; *Mémoire justificatif*, ed. by Diegerick, pp. 242-44.

¹⁷¹ Spicer points at ‘a general migration from the Walloon towns after 1562’. He identifies three migration patterns; one to France, a second one to England, and a third one to Antwerp. The latter was a most convenient city as one could easily hide there, he states. Spicer, p. 7.

¹⁷² The Walloon or French-speaking community in Antwerp came into existence in the 1550s. Marnef, *Antwerpen*, pp. 97, 104.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-10, 12-13.

of 1566.¹⁷⁴ The French Church of London counted a majority of Walloon members or francophone members of the Low Countries, but its ministers were French.¹⁷⁵

The outbreak of the Religious Wars in France in the early 1560s served as an example in favour of resistance.¹⁷⁶ Yet, before that the Reformed movement became increasingly militant in France from the late 1550s.¹⁷⁷ Jelsma confirmed that the southern Netherlands were more orientated towards Geneva and France than the rest of the Netherlands. It was in the southern Netherlands that violence and resistance first came under discussion. Jelsma believed that elsewhere in the Netherlands the situation was different as Lutheran ideas affected the movement. For Lutherans persecution was more confined to radical Anabaptists and revolt against the government was unthinkable, according to Jelsma.¹⁷⁸ The London Dutch Church too, as mentioned before, was not entirely Calvinist. Its behaviour towards resistance showed a breach with the churches in the southern Netherlands. The pacifist members of the London Dutch Church, with its strict Presbyterian ideals, could not retain any control over other Reformed churches in the Low Countries in this period.

In Ypres, the city authorities registered cases in which men and women were dancing and singing Protestant songs on the street. Yet, the church authorities in the

¹⁷⁴ Spicer.

¹⁷⁵ Actes du Consistoire I, p. xv.

¹⁷⁶ Boersma, p. 190.

¹⁷⁷ Philip Benedict, 'The dynamics of Protestant Militancy: France, 1555–1563', in *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands, 1555–1585*, ed. by Philip Benedict, Guido Marnef, Henk van Nierop, Marc Venard (Amsterdam, 1999), pp. 35–50 (pp. 37–47); also mentioned by Andrew Spicer, 'Nicholas des Gallars's *Forme de police ecclésiastique de Londres* and the French Reformed Church', in *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 29: 4 (2011), 532–63 (p. 558).

¹⁷⁸ Jelsma, 'The "Weakness of Conscience"', pp. 227–28; M.E.H.N. Mout, 'Armed resistance and Calvinism during the revolt of the Netherlands', in *Church, Change and Revolution. Transactions of the fourth Anglo-Dutch church history colloquium (Exeter, 30 August–3 September, 1988)*, ed. by Johannes van den Berg & Paul G. Hoftijzer (Leiden, 1991), pp. 57–68 (p. 60). Mout mentions how van Schelven thought he could detect a sniff of Calvinist influence in the discussions on prison breaking within the Reformed churches in the early 1560s in van Schelven, 'Het begin van het gewapend verzet', pp. 126–56.

London settlement strictly forbade dancing and singing, with the exception of the recitation of psalms.¹⁷⁹ Similarly, the London stranger churches would have probably punished cases of disturbance of Catholic services and public disorder, as witnessed in Micronius's writings.¹⁸⁰ Protestant thought did not only spread through preaching but also via the chambers of rhetoric or street performers, who were not connected to any Reformed institutions. Already in 1556 an ordinance on behalf of Philip II warned the Ypres city authorities against the danger of the chambers of rhetoric's contests for the spread of Protestant ideas and the instigation of the people.¹⁸¹

IV. Conclusion

Reformers committed violence and prison breaking in the Low Countries before 1560, especially in Antwerp, but the 1560s saw an increase in violence, not only as a result of an increased popularity of Reformed ideas in the Low Countries but also because of the potential for Reformers to escape to refugee communities in England. Sandwich in particular was conveniently located for travelling from the Westkwartier. Reformers used public preaching to convert their growing public. There can be no doubt about the significance of the establishment of the Sandwich exile communities for the Reformation in the Westkwartier. Prison breaking and armed preaching followed increased repression. Reformers residing in England organised prison breaking in the Westkwartier area. The foreign churches became increasingly a part of a network of mobile Reformers travelling between the Low Countries and England in order to promote their ideas in the Low

¹⁷⁹ *Mémoire justificatif*, ed. by Diegerick, p. 90.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92, 165-66.

¹⁸¹ *Inventaire analytique*, ed. by Diegerick, 6, pp. 95-97.

Countries. Radical preachers, such as Gheleyn and William Damman, Willem de Schildere, and Jacob de Buyzere, gathered a large following.

From within the Westkwartier minister van Winghen expressed his concern about these popular Reformers and their stance towards resistance in 1561. The Reformation in the Low Countries turned radical. As incidents demonstrating resistance against persecutions spread, the Reformers in congregations in London, Emden, and Antwerp started wondering how to deal with this issue. The consistory of the London Dutch Church formally agreed with van Winghen's concerns and in accordance with the French Church agreed to oppose any form of resistance and violence in the Low Countries. So far this narrative sounds familiar as a synthesis of the historiography concerning the foreign churches and the Reformation in the Low Countries, but the consequences of resistance for the foreign churches and how they dealt with resistance are not. The stranger churches attempted to address the persecutions by undertaking legal actions to free captive co-religionists. These actions did not bring the desired results. Educated magisterial Reformers such as Peter Deleene, Jan Utenhove, and Godfried van Winghen were slowly losing popularity in favour of more militant preachers.

The issue also affected the moral authority which the writings of Utenhove, à Lasco, and Micronius had tried to claim, as well as the ecclesiastical authority of the consistories. The consistory of the London Dutch Church attempted to maintain its discipline more strictly, to the opposition of a part of its members. The consistories themselves played only a small role in the development of resistance in the Low Countries. The London churches condemned violence and by doing so went into a direct confrontation with the Antwerp Dutch-speaking Reformed Church, which condoned prison-breaking and certain forms of violence. The disagreement caused disunity between the Low Countries and London, estranging London from the Low Countries. Despite

this, the consistory of the London Dutch Church did contain militant members and consistory members. The tenor concerning resistance in other communities depended on the presence of militant individuals. Sandwich, for instance, officially revoked violence in 1561 when van Winghen was the minister of the community. After van Winghen's departure to take on the ministry in London, the militant Reformer de Buyzere took over the ministry in Canterbury.

Militants from the Westkwartier valued the presence of foreign congregations in England as occasional havens and sources of funding. Yet for many more moderate Reformers, it was valuable that there were also strong voices in English consistories warning of the dangers of resistance to authority. As shown in this chapter, there was no uniformity of support for militancy in the Netherlands. This restricted the ability of the stranger churches to offer clear and unequivocal support for the rebels, and thus means that while we can see many elements of broad sympathy for what was happening on the Continent, the stranger churches cannot be accused of inciting resistance abroad. The discussion now needs to turn to what 'authority' and 'obedience' really meant to the stranger churches and how they coped when the stakes were raised in 1566.

4. The impact of the Wonderjaar (1566) on the stranger churches

This chapter explores the link between the foreign churches and the 1566 Wonderjaar in the Low Countries, the year in which iconoclasm swept through the Netherlands. On 10 August 1566 the Iconoclastic Fury broke out in the Low Countries. It started after Reformer Sebastian Matte preached a Calvinist sermon near Steenvoorde in Flanders. The wave of iconoclasm spread within two months from the southern to the northern Netherlands. These were not the first acts of iconoclasm in the Low Countries. The judicial records of Antwerp's city archives show several cases of image breaking or desecration between 1559 and 1562, and infrequently in the preceding decade.¹ Despite years of tension, the iconoclasm of 1566 still seems to have come as a shock to the government.² The acts of iconoclasm before 1566 were often isolated cases by individuals working alone or with one or two companions. The iconoclasm of 1566, however, saw large groups of people violently cleansing the churches of images and instigating similar acts in neighbouring villages and towns. It is tempting to see all cases of iconoclasm within this Fury as interconnected and organised, as they appeared to be in some places, yet Reformers handled the iconoclasm in a variety of ways; there was no uniform organisation.³ It is equally tempting to categorize all incidents as outbursts of angry mobs,

¹ 'Personen te Antwerpen in de 16e eeuw voor het "feit van religie" gerechterlijk vervolgd (vervolg). (1559-1567). Lijst en ambachtelijke bijhorige stukken', ed. By Pieter Génard, *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, 9 (1869), 1-349, especially pp. 124-28.

² *Ibid.*

³ For a detailed overview of the iconoclasm in most of the Low Countries see Jozef Scheerder, *De Beeldenstorm* (Haarlem, 1977, 2008 edn.); Phyllis Mack Crew, *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands 1544-1569* (Cambridge, 1978, reissue edn. 2008).

but in many cases there was no plundering involved. Yet, Marcel Backhouse believed that the iconoclasm in the Westkwartier at least seemed suspiciously well organised.⁴

Backhouse has ascribed much responsibility for the events of 1566 to the foreign churches in England.⁵ Phyllis Crew confirmed the involvement of preachers and consistory members who came over from England.⁶ The Reformer Sebastian Matte, for instance, had come over from England to preach before the Fury. If the foreign churches were indeed involved, then I could potentially expect to find confirmation of their involvement or at least some indications to a silent approval of the organisation of these events in the Archivum of the Dutch Church, but I did not. The London Dutch Church had followed an anti-resistance policy preferring the use of diplomacy to reach its goals in the previous years.⁷ The stance was not a purely diplomatic one, nor one written down in the official records to purge members of any accusations. The consistory went as far as accusing their Antwerp brethren of seditious behaviour, causing a break between the two communities.⁸

While the London churches officially opposed resistance, many of its members supported it keenly, as Backhouse's Sandwich militants demonstrated. Exasperated by the London churches' ineffectual political attempts to free religious prisoners, militant members decided to free Reformed captives in the Low Countries through violence. Within the London consistory, the minister Godfried van Winghen was an outspoken opponent of violence. Yet consistory members were not free from sympathy for their

⁴ Backhouse, pp. 141, 146-47; Scheerder, pp. 21, 25.

⁵ Marcel Backhouse, 'The Flemish refugees in Sandwich (1561-1603)', in *Revolt and Emigration, Refugees from the Westkwartier in Sandwich in the XVIth century*, ed. by Jaak Decaestecker (Dikkebus, 1988), pp. 91-117; Marcel Backhouse, 'De Vlaamse vluchtelingen in Sandwich (1561-1603)', *Westboek, Genealogisch Jaarboek*, 4 (Dikkebus, 1987), 139-56.

⁶ Crew, pp. 40-44.

⁷ See chapter 3.

⁸ See chapter 3, p. 141.

militant brethren or plotting nobles.⁹ In the first half of the 1560s, van Winghen had little control over his congregation, which was in severe disarray between 1565 and 1568 because of internal conflicts. The militant members partially dispersed to provincial churches. So is it fair to say that the foreign churches were involved in the outburst of the Fury and the violence in its aftermath? How did they react to news about the Fury?

There were indeed tight links between Calvinist movements in the Westkwartier and the congregation in Sandwich, but how can we reconcile Backhouse and Crew's esteemed narratives with evidence of rejection of iconoclasm and violence in the foreign churches?¹⁰ Although Backhouse spoke about militant radicals, the moderate side featured little in his studies. Backhouse has pointed out that legal examinations of people who participated in the iconoclasm and subsequent violence mentioned the involvement of the consistories of foreign churches in England.¹¹ Yet, Backhouse left us in the dark about who exactly was involved here, and what people examined had in mind when they mentioned the word consistory. What and who exactly the word consistory entailed to contemporaries was problematic, since a consistory member did not necessarily represent the consistory in general. Moreover, and this is missing from Backhouse's account, Pettegree has pointed out that we must distinguish between the members of the church and the consistory.¹² I would go further since I believe that even within the consistory there were differences between private initiatives and official policy.¹³ These differences

⁹ See chapter 5.

¹⁰ Crew, pp. 40-44; Backhouse, pp. 143-51; Andrew Pettegree, 'The Exile Churches during the Wonderjaar', in *Church, Change and Revolution. Transactions of the fourth Anglo-Dutch church history colloquium* (Exeter, 30 August-3 September, 1988), ed. by Johannes van den Berg & Paul G. Hoftijzer (Leiden, 1991), pp. 80-99.

¹¹ Backhouse supported indications towards this from documents he published about Jan Camerlynck and the Wood Beggars. Marcel Backhouse, 'Dokumenten betreffende de godsdienstroebelen in het Westkwartier: Jan Camerlynck en tien zijner gezellen voor de Ieperse vierschaar (1568-1569)', *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis*, 138 (1972), 79-381.

¹² Pettegree, 'The Exile Churches during the Wonderjaar', pp. 84-85.

¹³ See pp. 145, 152, 163.

stemmed from varying opinions on resistance and iconoclasm. Pettegree also suggested an ambivalence regarding violent iconoclasm among Reformers but never investigated this.¹⁴ But what did this ambivalence mean? Pettegree knew that some Dutch Reformers disapproved of violence, yet believed that they indirectly laid a platform for later resistance. He described the attitude of the London Dutch Church concerning direct action as ranging between ‘troubled acquiescence and direct opposition’ and believed that refugees in Norwich and Sandwich had initiated resistance in the Westkwartier in 1567.¹⁵ While agreeing with this, I explore where this ambivalence came from, or what it meant, since Pettegree did not expand on this. I believe the ambivalent attitude points towards the divisiveness in the churches concerning resistance. This division reveals a Dutch version of the radical Reformation which opposed the stranger churches’ adherence to values of orderliness. The values shaped the struggle for ecclesiastical authority in the stranger churches. The writings of à Lasco, Utenhove, Deleene, and Micronius reflect a similarity in style and argument to other continental Reformed writings, noticeable in for instance admonitions to the government and anti-violence ambiguities which echo Calvin’s views. However, van winghen remained inflexible concerning anti-violence views for decades after Calvin’s death.

The diverging opinions towards the Iconoclastic Fury caused divisions within the stranger churches, bringing a turning point in these institutions’ rise as outposts in England of the Reformed faith. This involved their members’ increased use of the exile churches as a space of refuge to shelter from the conflict in which they were involved in the Low Countries. When repression hit the Low Countries in the years after the iconoclasm, as a result of the Fury, many Reformers and sympathisers involved fled to England or the Holy Roman Empire. Dünwald believes that repercussion of the

¹⁴ Pettegree, ‘The Exile Churches during the Wonderjaar’, p. 83.

¹⁵ Pettegree, ‘The strangers and their churches’, pp. 276-77.

iconoclasm in the Low Countries affected some Lower-Rhine cities also in a different sense, as in Xanten and Wesel in the subsequent year, locals and refugees damaged or destroyed a few statues.¹⁶

I argue three main points. First, the role of the stranger churches' ministers in directing members towards militant behaviour was ambivalent. While particular provincial members were involved in encouraging violent action in the Low Countries, prominent elders and ministers of the stranger churches prohibited violence. Second, the stranger churches played a limited role in 1566 itself and we should consider the London churches anomalous in contrast with the provincial churches. Third, the church as an institution had theological and disciplinary reasons to be opposed to the violent removal of images in the Low Countries. This was the nature of the ambivalence that Pettegree failed to explore. Understanding this ambivalence really matters because only then we can answer the question of the involvement of the foreign communities in 1566. This chapter does not significantly change existing views but provides the intricate account of the foreign churches' involvement in and views towards the Iconoclastic Fury and its aftermath which was missing from the historiography.

In the first part of the chapter, I show how the writings of their most prominent Reformers mirrored the theological values of the foreign churches. Since the 1550s, the adherence to values of obedience and orderliness shaped the political thought of the stranger churches. I demonstrate how this contrasted with the evidence that we have of the members' involvement in the Iconoclastic Fury in the second part of the chapter. While in the third section, I point out the contrast between the violence and the political attempts from Reformers to influence Philip II. The ministers and elders strongly adhered

¹⁶ Achim Dünwald, *Konfessionsstreit und Verfassungskonflikt. Die Aufnahme der niederländischen Flüchtlinge im Herzogtum Kleve 1566-1585* (Bielefeld, 1998), pp. 126-28.

to the idea of obedience throughout the conflicts within the Dutch Church, in contrast with their members. These values explain the church's views on the Dutch Revolt from a religious point of view and the escalation of conflicts within the Dutch Church. The chapter relies primarily on the Archivum and existing historiography to demonstrate the ambiguity and downright rejection of violence from the perspective of the foreign churches, which brings a balance to Backhouse's narrative. I also use the writings from the Edwardian Reformers who laid the basis for the church discipline of the foreign churches to analyse their teachings about violence. Unfortunately, no consistory acts survive for any of the churches in the period under consideration. This makes it one of the least well-documented periods in this thesis. The disappearance or lack of any formal consistorial documentation in the London Dutch Church probably stood in relation with its instability at the time. For the French or Walloon churches there is little evidence which shows their feelings towards iconoclasm.

I. Ambivalent attitudes towards violence, iconoclasm, and resistance

To understand the reactions of the churches, it is essential to dig into their theological understandings of violence and consider the connection between iconoclasm and religion. I assert that religion was at the forefront of the debate concerning the involvement of the foreign churches in the troubles in the Low Countries between 1566 to 1568. The idea that Calvinism, through its influence on evangelical movements in Scotland, France, and the Low Countries, encouraged revolutionary acts is not new and fits into the concept of the Radical Reformation.¹⁷ The Radical Reformation meant opposition between reactions

¹⁷ M.E.H.N. Mout, 'Armed resistance and Calvinism during the revolt of the Netherlands', in *Church, Change and Revolution. Transactions of the fourth Anglo-Dutch church history colloquium* (Exeter, 30

and interpretations of Protestant messages of radical Reformers and magisterial Reformers. Examples of magisterial Reformers, sometimes called devotional Reformers, were Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, and other Protestant thinkers who were moderate, although I would rather describe them as conservative, in their political thought. The concept links radicals to those Evangelicals who disregarded secular authorities in their zeal to reform.¹⁸ Luther condemned these radical reactions to his thought and accused radicals of being agitators, especially because of their link with the German Peasant's Wars. Luther supported the existing political order.¹⁹

The differences between magisterial thinkers and radicals were the most visible in their reactions to the idea of the removal of images from churches. In his book on iconoclasm, Carlos Eire has shown the tensions between Calvin's theological ideas on idolatry, the ideal realisation of the removal of images, and the practice of iconoclasm.²⁰ Calvin, whose body of theological thought inspired iconoclasm in France, opposed the use of icons since they distracted from spiritual devotion, which he believed was the only true way to worship.²¹ Just like Martin Luther, Heinrich Bullinger, Andreas Karlstadt, and Huldrych Zwingli, Calvin vehemently preached against idols. Most magisterial Reformers did not attribute any agency to the images themselves; they believed that images did not

August-3 September, 1988), ed. by Johannes van den Berg & Paul G. Hoftijzer (Leiden, 1991), pp. 57-68; Robert M. Kingdon, 'Was the Protestant Reformation a Revolution? The case of Geneva', in *Church, Society and Politics: Papers read at the Thirteenth Summer Meeting and Fourteenth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. by Derek Baker (Oxford, 1975), pp. 203-22; Carlos M. N. Eire, *War against the Idols. The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge/New York, 1986) gives a good synthesis, see pp. 270-71 in particular. Camion Clément, 'The Right of Resistance in Calvin and the Monarchomachs', *Ithaque - Revue de Philosophie de l'Université de Montréal*, 5, (2009), 1-25; James Noyes, *The Politics of Iconoclasm* (London/New York, 2013); Donald R. Kelley, *The Beginning of Ideology: Consciousness and Society in the French Reformation* (Cambridge, 1982).

¹⁸ George H. Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (Philadelphia, 1962); *The Radical Reformation*, ed. by Michael G. Baylor (Cambridge, 1991), pp. xi-xxv.

¹⁹ Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought. Vol. 2: The Age of Reformation* (Cambridge, 1978), p. 208; Peter M. R. Stirk & David Wigall, *An Introduction to Political Ideas* (London, 1995), pp. 46-49, Document 2.3 Martin Luther on Authority.

²⁰ Eire.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

contain any inherent danger but presumed that the mere presence of religious images would seduce Christians into worshipping them as idols.²²

Eire pointed out that these Reformers, with the exception of Karlstadt, had another thing in common, that was the idea that governments or Reformers with governmental support had to remove these images, 'idols', in an orderly fashion. The idea fitted in with the Pauline biblical emphasis on obedience to the secular order which they believed God had instated in the world.²³ They therefore opposed violent iconoclasm and believed that only secular magistrates could remove or approve the removal of the images from churches, because this would maintain the secular order which God had instituted.²⁴ Violent iconoclasm defied the idea of order and uniformity within their theology since it meant that people would oppose the power on earth which they believed God had given to the secular government. God had ordained kings with power. Violence would consequently have undermined the position of religious authority which they had claimed. Eire indicated that encouraging violent iconoclasm would have been a suicidal policy for the Reformers, since this would have turned the existing secular government against them and an association with mobs might have affected their credibility.²⁵

Despite the Reformers' theoretical disdain for violence, their preaching and ideology indirectly inspired iconoclasm.²⁶ Although Eire had not systematically looked into iconoclasm in the Low Countries, his study on the nature of iconoclasm in the main Evangelical Continental centres forms a basis for the study of Evangelical iconoclasm. I believe there are many similarities between his main assertions on the topic of iconoclasm within the main Protestant communities in continental Europe in the first half of the

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93, 70-71, 74, 227.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93, 265-66, 268.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 92-93, 265-66, 268, 269, 288.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 267.

sixteenth century and the experiences of the refugees and consistories of the foreign churches in 1566. The differences between the radicals and magisterial Reformers also demonstrated the origin of the revolutionary character of the Reformation which Quentin Skinner and Carlos Eire described.²⁷ While radical Reformers were happy to upset the existing social order, magisterial Reformers, often themselves of noble descent, would not. Johannes à Lasco, Jan Utenhove, Peter Deleene, Martin Micronius, and Godfried van Wingham were the stranger churches' versions of magisterial Reformers.

This fits in some ways with the old idea of a class struggle within the historiography which searched for the causes of the Dutch Revolt.²⁸ Moreover, competing views on the relation between politics and religion characterized the Reformation itself. In practice, Peter Arnade has shown a political element in the material attacked and timing of the Iconoclastic Fury and has connected the destruction of sacred objects with the blemishing of the authority and legitimacy of political officials.²⁹ The interwoven political and religious reasons for the Dutch Revolt have formed the basis of many discussions on the character and the causes of the Dutch Revolt.³⁰ I will not delve deeply into the historiography of iconoclasm as I am describing the Fury from the

²⁷ Skinner, 2, pp. 189-238; referenced and discussed aptly by Eire, pp. 284, 298-305.

²⁸ See Erich Kuttner, *Het hongerjaar 1566* (Amsterdam 1949); Herman Van der Wee, 'The Economy as a Factor in the Start of the Revolt in the Southern Netherlands', *Acta Historiae Neerlandicae*, 5 (1971) 52-67.

²⁹ Peter Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots. The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca/London, 2008), pp. 92, 120; see also Alastair Duke's 'Calvinists and 'Papist Idolatry': The Mentality of the Image-breakers in 1566', in *Dissident identities in the Early Modern Low Countries*, ed. by Alastair Duke, Judith Pollmann, Andrew Spicer (Ashgate, 2009), pp. 179-197 (p. 184), which is not entirely in agreement with Arnade.

³⁰ Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (Harmondsworth, 1977, Revised Edn 1985); Peter Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, & Civic Patriots. The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca/London, 2008); Martin van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt* (Cambridge, 1992 rev. edn. 2002); Crouzet Denis, 'Calvinism and the Uses of the Political and the religious', in *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands, 1555-1585*, ed. by Philip Benedict, Guido Marnef, Henk van Nierop, and Marc Venard (Amsterdam, 1999), pp. 99-113; Marcel Backhouse, 'Beeldenstorm en Bosgeuzen in het Westkwartier (1566-1568). Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de godsdienststroevelen der Zuidelijke Nederlanden in de XVIe eeuw', *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Kring van Kortrijk*, n.s., 38 (Middelburg, 1971), pp. 5-173 (pp. 61-62).

particular point of view of the English exiles churches, yet the interpretations of this type of violence and the Fury in particular obviously go further than Eire, Skinner, and Arnade.

Scholarly interpretations on the motives and participants of iconoclasm have ranged from emphasis on socio-economic circumstances, especially Erich Kuttner for the Low Countries, to cultural and religious imagery.³¹ While demonstrating the social diversity of iconoclasts, and so rejecting Kuttner, Phyllis Mack Crew has shown the relative lack of theological knowledge among iconoclasts.³² At the same time, scholars of the past few decades have ascribed a plethora of readings of symbolism to the acts of iconoclasm. For France, Natalie Zemon Davis has provided a more intricate understanding of the religious violence, the rites connected to this violence, and the sense of religious pollution resulting in confessional strife, while Denis Crouzet soon after emphasised the importance of eschatological motives.³³ Following studies from Rob Scribner and Lee Palmer Wandel which emphasised the highly-ritualized behaviour of rioters' violence in Swiss and German territories, Arnade has similarly pointed out the presence of rites of inversion in Flemish iconoclasm, combined with the influence of profound hatred of persecutions.³⁴

Next to political aspects, religion remained at the forefront of iconoclasm, according to Alastair Duke. He emphasised religious emotions as iconoclasts combined

³¹Kuttner, *Het hongerjaar 1566*; Van der Wee, 'The Economy'.

³² Crew, *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm*.

³³ Natalie Zemon Davis, 'The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France', *Past and Present*, 59 (1973), 51–91, see also *Ritual and Violence: Natalie Zemon Davis and early modern France*, Past and Present suppl. 7, ed. by Graeme Murdock, Penny Roberts, Andrew Spicer (Oxford, 2012); Denis Crouzet, *Les Guerriers de Dieu: La violence aux temps des troubles de religion, vers 1525–vers 1610*, 2 vols (Seysse, 1990).

³⁴ Peter Arnade, 'The Rage of the "Canaille": The Logic of Fury in the Iconoclasm Riots of 1566', in *Emotions in the Heart of the City (14th-16th century)*, Studies in Urban History 5 (1100-1800), ed. by Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin & Anne-Laure Van Bruane (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 93-111, see also Lee Palmer Wandel, *Voracious idols and violent hands. Iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Strasbourg, and Basel* (Cambridge/New York, 1995), who pointed out the problems with a two-tiered approach towards iconoclasm, that is research on elite and popular behaviours; Rob Scribner, 'Reformation, Carnival and the World Turned Upside-Down', *Social History*, 3 (1978), 303-29.

theologically inspired hostility towards icons with sentiments conveying an overthrow of the existent ‘perverted’ religious order.³⁵ According to Violet Soen, secular authorities condemned iconoclasts in terms of *lèse-majesté* and framed iconoclasm as seditious, unorderly behaviour from regular traitors and thieves, purposefully minimalizing religious motives.³⁶ Andrew Spicer’s study on iconoclasm in Le Cateau-Cambresis shows a mixture of such reasons. Iconoclasm brought purification of churches before Reformed worship could take place, a refutation of the Catholic mass, and opportunities for looting in its wake. However, Spicer points out, no evidence suggests that symbols of the archbishop’s authority, their sovereign prince, had been attacked.³⁷

Yet, in the 1980s already, David Freedberg pointed out another dimension to iconoclasm, that is the power of the attacked images, as iconoclasts described the use of images as satanic.³⁸ In line with this thinking, the most recent research has focused on the objects targeted. A recent edition of the *Low Countries Historical Journal* has focused on the dialectics between iconoclasts and their targetted material objects as well as the Catholic side of the dispute.³⁹ In the same issue, Judith Pollman has pointed out that after the Iconoclasm, Reformers struggled to place the violence, as did many in the stranger churches. She showed that both the memory policies of Catholics and Protestant sides attempted to forget who the iconoclasts were or depicted them as foreigners.⁴⁰

³⁵ Alastair Duke, ‘Calvinists and “Papist Idolatry”: The Mentality of the Image-breakers in 1566’, *Dissident identities in the Early Modern Low Countries*, ed. by Alastair Duke, Judith Pollmann, Andrew Spicer (Ashgate, 2009), pp. 179-197 (p. 189), also printed as ‘De Calvinisten en de “paapse beeldendienst”: De Denkereld van de beeldenstormers in 1566’, in *Mensen van de nieuwe tijd. Een liber amicorum voor A. Th. van Deursen*, ed. by M. Bruggeman (Amsterdam, 1996), pp. 29-45.

³⁶ Violet Soen, ‘The *Beeldenstorm* and the Spanish Habsburg Response (1566-1570)’, *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review*, 131:1 (2016), 99-120 (105-06).

³⁷ Andrew Spicer, ‘Iconoclasm on the Frontier: Le Cateau-Cambresis, 1566’, in *Iconoclasm from Antiquity to Modernity* (Farnham, 2014), pp. 119-137 (pp. 131-32).

³⁸ David Freedberg, *Iconoclasts and Their Motives* (Maarssen, 1985).

³⁹ Issue 131:1 (2016) of the *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* focused on this subject.

⁴⁰ Judith Pollmann, ‘Iconoclasts Anonymous. Why did it take Historians so long to identify the Image-Breakers of 1566?’, *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review*, 131:1 (2016), 155-176 (161).

This image of the iconoclasts being foreigners, with a potential extension towards a connection between iconoclasm and refugees, thus needs careful consideration as part of a tradition of governmental propaganda. Yet, their direct and indirect influences can be considered. The presence of the Strangers' Church in Edward VI's England and its subsequent dispersal strengthened the Reformed movement in the Low Countries in the years leading up to the Iconoclastic Fury. Martin van Gelderen, researcher of sixteenth-century Dutch political thought, believed that it was in exile in England and Germany that the formation of a 'Reformed counter-church and identity' developed.⁴¹ The Reformed movement in the Low Countries slowly started struggling with the revolutionary side effects which their zeal brought about.⁴² The writings of the main Reformers in the Strangers' Church show that they denounced idols and the abuses of the Catholic Church, while emphasising the paradoxical idea that people should obey their rulers, be patient and, like Calvin, go into exile. According to Reformer Martin Micronius, many refugees could have stayed in London under Mary but chose to leave to find a place where they had freedom of faith. They abandoned London, with its attractive job market, to protect their religious identity.⁴³

Their renewed flight brought members of the Reformed community in England who had experienced the freedom to practise their faith back to the Continent. Reformed members adhered to the idea of exile as they returned to London later or resided in Emden. Exile was important to the strangers, but the leaders promoting exile shared the beliefs of Calvin on the topic. The biblical David, among the Israelites, shaped Calvin's justifications of exile. Rather than launching a revenge attempt against unrighteous

⁴¹ Van Gelderen, p. 66.

⁴² Eire.

⁴³ Martin Micronius, *Een waerachtighe historie van Hoste (gheseyt Jooris) vander Katelyne, te Ghendt om het vry opentlick straffen der afgodische leere, ghebrandt ten grooten nutte ende vertroostinghe aller Christenen gheschreven. Waer in ghehandelt werdt vander Misse* (Emden, [1556]), fols. 14-15.

persecution from Saul, David went into exile. Calvin saw exile as a non-violent solution of patient suffering.⁴⁴ Many Reformers in the Low Countries, however, decided to live under the Cross; they kept their faith secret instead of going into exile. Although constant persecutions endangered them and their beloved, the churches under the Cross grew larger.

This counter-identity helped keeping pure evangelical principles alive when in the Holy Roman Empire, the Augsburg and Leipzig Interims had scared Lutheran movements, despite the Magdeburg Confession. Not everyone was willing to accept the Augsburg Interim's attempt at religious compromise which Charles imposed. Theologians situated in Magdeburg opposed the religious consequences of the Interim and tried to appeal to Charles V to reconsider their case. They believed that the Lutherans had not received a fair hearing. Next to explaining the theological standpoints of the Magdeburg opposition, the Confession first uttered principles of resistance on religious grounds against tyrannical secular governments. As Lutherans formed part of the good in the world, fighting the evil, Charles V, according to the Confession, forsook his God-given imperative to rule by persecuting or terrorizing the Lutherans and thus breaking Godly order. It was a cry against increasing absolutism in political and religious matters of worldly powers and resistance from lower authorities was a solution, yet no blind resistance as obedience still remained an important principle.⁴⁵ Based on Luther's doctrine of the Two Kingdoms, which consisted of his rule over a secular and a spiritual world separating Gospel and Law, the Magdeburg Confession pointed out that while pastors had the calling to admonish, lower authorities held the task to resist.⁴⁶ This Lutheran

⁴⁴ Nevada Levi DeLapp, *The Reformed David(s) and the Question of Resistance to Tyranny: Reading the Bible in the 16th and 17th centuries* (London, 2014), pp. 14, 19-54.

⁴⁵ David M. Whitford, *Tyranny and Resistance: the Magdeburg Confession and the Lutheran tradition* (St. Louis, MO, 2001), pp. 68-69, 80.

⁴⁶ Whitford, *Tyranny and Resistance*, pp. 70-71.

confession influenced the writings of the strangers, who attempted to hold a careful stance concerning obedience and resistance of lower authorities, but also used images of good versus evil and lower authorities.

Calvinism, and especially Beza, absorbed many of its ideas concerning resistance against secular authorities. Beza would recycle many of the subversive ideas in the Magdeburg Confession in his 1574 *Du Droits des Magistrats*, in which he drops the careful approach of Calvin as his theological heir and espoused more direct theories of revolt, that is of noble rather than popular revolt, against tyrants. Masses could defend themselves against a tyrant when, as DeLapp terms it, a 'Davidic' lesser magistrates called them to arms. DeLapp points out Beza's differing strand of use of the Davidic imagery.⁴⁷ This is important too for the development of Orange's revolt as both a former persecuted fugitive and a lower magistrate. The Peace of Augsburg, which allowed more local control over religion, calmed the Magdeburg demands. The Low Countries did not form part of this treaty for the Holy Roman Empire, and the tension there rose soon.

As persecutions harshened, the suppression of the Reformed faith in the Low Countries became untenable and a culmination of tensions resulted in violence, iconoclasm, and resistance to secular and religious authorities. These reactions were revolutionary since changes in religion would unsettle the traditional religious hierarchy by replacing the Catholic Church and its supporters with Protestant authorities. Nonetheless, the stranger churches' official aversion to violence was genuine since it was prepared to oppose the Reformed Church of Antwerp on the theme.⁴⁸ The theological background of resistance and iconoclasm explains the opposition of the London Dutch and French churches against the Iconoclastic Fury.

⁴⁷ DeLapp, *The Reformed David(s)*, pp. 63-64.

⁴⁸ See p. 141.

Individual consistory members have left publications concerning the discipline within the Strangers' Church. Their publications displayed a paradoxical attitude towards violence, obedience, and iconoclasm, since these writings were both contrasting and vague on the subjects. They were vague because they did not discuss the matter in a direct manner, and contrasting because they indirectly agitated the public and at the same time attempted to stop their readers from taking immediate action. Considering that iconoclasm had taken place in most Protestant countries between 1520 and 1560, the Iconoclastic Fury of the Low Countries came rather late. However, these writings and their ambivalence did fit into a larger Protestant discussion concerning violence, which especially reflected Calvin's issues with violence.

A government or a state was an important element of society for the Reformers, for they believed it had a godly function similar to a disciplinary Reformed congregation. One of the main features of Reformed and Protestant thought was the 'community'. Rather than using the term 'church', the Reformers preferred to use the words 'community' or 'congregation'. This was also a significant element in Calvin's thought, as a community of the elect, rather than a civic community, stood at its centre.⁴⁹ John à Lasco considered the Lord's Supper to be an embodiment of the community, and only members could partake in it, which sharpened confessional identity. He understood the body of Christ to be a metaphor for community.⁵⁰ Emphasising the necessity of a government for a nation, Utenhove and Micronius used the visual language of the body when describing the welfare of a state in a booklet written in the early 1550s and published in 1558:

⁴⁹ Oberman, *'Europa afflicta'*, p. 104.

⁵⁰ John à Lasco, Martin Micronius, Jan Utenhove, *Een corte ende clare bekentenisse Ioannis a Lasco, van de Ghemeenschap, die wy met Christo den Heere hebben: Ende ooc insgebycx, van de wyse, op de welke, d'Lichaem Christi, in d'Nachtmael ons aengebrought werdt* ([Emden?], [1560]), fol. 6-6 v.

The Godly welfare of a country, beloved brothers, to my understanding, is mostly dependent on three things: namely the godliness of the Government, the righteousness of the teachers or servants of Gods' word, and the upkeep of Christian schools. Without these three elements, it is not possible for the things to go well in the country to which these three elements belong. Because concerning the first of these elements, it is well known that the Government of a landscape forms the country, and that it is the stomach of the human body, by which, similarly, the entire body is being fed, and so it cannot live without it. In similar fashion, it is also impossible that any landscape can stay without Government; because extensive misery, perversion, and corruption of the human nature needs to be regulated by political and apparent government.⁵¹

It would be possible to read a vicious attack on the government of the Low Countries in this passage, and in this way an approval of resistance. Yet this did not accord with the attitudes of the Dutch Church and consistory of which Utenhove formed a part and was a driving force. Reading it in the former way would be interpreting it with hindsight of the Revolt and Fury. Utenhove and Micronius attempted to maintain a moral high ground against the Low Countries' government. There was still a conviction that Philip II would modify the placards for persecution. As their argument developed, it became apparent that they believed things were not going well in the Low Countries, using the metaphor of a sick body to describe the state of their home country:

But if it is not enough for the upkeep of the health of a body to have a stomach unless it is in good and healthy condition, it is similarly not enough to have a Government for a country unless it is godly and wise. Otherwise it is truly unbearable to be ruled by such a Government: and it is a true punishment from God for the sins of the people, when it is submitted to ungodly Governments. Like in contrast it is a large, unbelievable bliss from God to a country to have a wise Government and a strong and stable population.⁵²

⁵¹ Martin Micronius, Jan Utenhove, *De Catechismus, oft kinder leere, diemen te Londen, in den Duytsche Gbemeynte was ghebruykende*. (Emden, 1558), fol. 3.

⁵² *Ibid.*, fol. 4.

Utenhove and Micronius encouraged the distrust of the readers against the government. Yet this distrust formed part of a rhetorical strategy aimed at strengthening the sense of their own righteousness by continuing their narrative talking about the importance of trustworthy church governance. Moreover, the metaphor of the sick body was a common one among secular authorities in France and the Netherlands describing the country plagued with Protestant⁵³ Whereas this passage points out that the government's intolerance and loyalty to Catholicism was the sickness ruining the country. While we could interpret this passage as a precursor for religious violence in the 1560s, such a reading is unconvincing. In emphasising the horror of being subjects of a government that was opposed to the Reformed movement, Utenhove was not inciting revolution but promoting exile. The States General of the Low Countries themselves had given the advice to the Protestants to leave the country in 1550.⁵⁴

Later in the text, Utenhove discussed the virtues of the English king Edward VI, whose rule he interpreted as a blessing from God. As Utenhove wrote the booklet during exile in London, it is much more likely that he promoted exile, rather than violence, as the correct response to an intolerant anti-Reformist government.⁵⁵ The authors emphasised that the 'Dutch nation' had never before had a congregation in which 'the Word was preached more purely, the Sacraments carried out more sincerely, and the Christian punishment exercised more loyally than in ours'.⁵⁶ This blessing, they

⁵³ It was also common among people on all sides of the religious conflict in France, as in the rest of Europe, to see religious dissent as pollution of which they needed to be cleaned, see Natalie Zemon Davis, 'The Rites of Violence'. Similarly, Geert Janssen has shown that Catholics from the Low Countries similarly believed that Protestant dissent was 'an infection of the body social'. This was, according to Janssen, one of the reasons that Catholics in Reformation dominated areas chose for exile and thus for social isolation. Geert H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, 2016), p. 51. The Reformed strangers as well played with similar ideas, as they went into exile and the churches did not allow members to visit Catholic services, even weddings, if they did venture to travel back to the Low Countries. Exile could be a blessing from God, divine providence, or a punishment to test the faith of the elect.

⁵⁴ 'Personen te Antwerpen', 8, p. 389.

⁵⁵ à Lasco, Utenhove, *De Catechismus, oft kinder leere*, fol. 6.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 8.

proclaimed, 'came from a foreign prince' as their 'natural prince refused' such cooperation, thus 'sickening' the country as the people's hatred of the 'popish religion' and Philip's refusal to embrace the Reformed faith led 'poor uninstructed people' to embracing heretical beliefs.⁵⁷ In such an account, Philip himself had appeared to encourage 'heretical' thought in the Low Countries, with which the Reformers meant Lutheranism and especially Anabaptism, even though Philip considered the Reformers to have been heretics as well. They argued that the 'hatred against the 'papal religion' had also caused people to dismiss 'the good elements in the Church of Rome' in exchange for heretical ideas which were 'the seeds of Satan'. In this way, the writers did not only construct themselves as part of God's elect but also implied the persecution of those they believed to be 'heretics' to be essential.⁵⁸ Further in the text, they explained why religious images were problematic, after which they talked about governmental persecutions and how to react towards these persecutions:

Will that injustice never be revenged? We think the following: Yes, but you will not wish so for that matter, instead you will pray for your enemies, and let God proceed in his ordinance. It is him who is accrue to all revenge, and he will retort, and in time will not let the evil go unpunished. [...] Will the injustice on earth not be revenged by any human? Answer. God has ordained the Government for this purpose, that they will in his place, as his godly servants, keep out and punish all injustice, violence, and impropriety, as well as blasphemy, in God's honour, to maintain [...] the piety in the congregation. [...] Does the Government then not break this commandment from time to time? Answer. Yes, too liberally so, because they too are murderers, if they do not punish justly, and only in order to serve their office, but for their own vengeance or avarice, either by letting others spill the blood, or by not diligently preventing it where they are allowed to do so or can do so.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 9-10.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 33-4.

Through these writings, the Reformers demonstrated the paradox between the London stranger churches' emphasis on obedience and their members' tendency towards militancy and violent behaviour. They opposed any inclination towards violence and vengeance by saying that God would eventually take revenge and that the government was one means through which God could do so, but at the same time they accused the government of abusing its office, and thus going against the Commandments. A government might be unjust, but it was God's role to punish, rather than man's. This emphasis on Godly authority was intended to encourage obedience towards the consistory. Adriaan van Haemstede, the London Dutch Church's minister from 1559 to 1560, pointed out that Christians should obey civil government, because in that way they also complied with God's government.⁶⁰ Despite this, and similarly to Calvin, he reminded the readers that 'God should be obeyed above men'.⁶¹ We find similar opinions on violence and authority in the *Short Examination*, a piece published in Emden in 1559 as a practical text for the examination of the religious views of new members to the London Dutch Church. The *Short Examination* emphasised the right of the government to kill 'bad people' since the government was a godly institution and served God'.⁶² In the Catechism, however, Utenhove and Micronius emphasised that the government ought to kill 'bad' people, such as criminals and heretics.⁶³

Micronius made more references to the secular government in his booklet of 1556 on the execution of his friend Joris vander Katelijne, also called Hoste. It did not only contain a history of the latter's life and death but also a section entitled an 'Admonition

⁶⁰ Wilhelm G. Goeters, 'Documenten van Adriaan van Haemstede, waaronder eene gereformeerde geloofsbelijdenis van 1559', *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis*, n.s., 5:1 (1907), 1-64 (p. 59).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁶² à Lasco, Delenus, Micronius, *Een korte ondersoekinghe des gheloofs, ouer de ghene die haer tot de Duytsche Ghemeynte: die te Londen was, begeuen wouden. Uitgheestelt door de Dienaers der selver.* (Emden, 1559), fol. G.

⁶³ Micronius, Utenhove, *De Catechismus, oft kinder leere*, fols. 33-4.

to the Government'.⁶⁴ Yet it was not just the secular government that Micronius blamed for the execution of Reformers throughout his work. He started the prologue of his work discussing the 'deplorable murder of Christians, which happens nowadays daily in the Roman Church', keeping in mind that much of the persecution happened through church authorities.⁶⁵ This he repeated again two pages later where he talked about the importance of recording the death of the martyrs in the early Christian churches, 'which example we ought to follow in these end times (in which so many devout Christians in all countries die for the truth because of the tyranny of the Church of Rome)'.⁶⁶ Although Micronius blamed the Catholic Church for the evils of his day, he did not touch upon the wealth of the churches and decoration of the altars.⁶⁷ Near the end of the booklet, however, the discourse became more subversive. Micronius claimed that God would punish persecutors because the Government, by killing Christian martyrs, did not follow God's ordained laws. Micronius believed that God would punish the country and that the end times were nearing, thus creating fear.⁶⁸

At one point, Micronius directly warned the government, advising that it had better change its attitude towards the 'true Christians' if it wanted to stay in power. It needed, in his opinion, to stop killing Christians and draw on the biblical example of Nicodemus who 'honestly' honoured God above people.⁶⁹ In contrast with Nicodemus, Micronius demonstrated the influence of 'bishops, priests, and friars' on fear mongering and tyranny.⁷⁰ Micronius might have been referring to Nicodemus's plea towards other Pharisees, his colleagues, to investigate and listen to Jesus before making a judgement

⁶⁴ Micronius, *Een Waerachtghe Historie*, fol. 56-60v.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 3*.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 4*.

⁶⁷ Once at *Ibid.*, fol. 28v.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 16.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 58. Nicodemus showed respect and recognition for Jesus despite his status as Pharisee.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 55v.

concerning him, something which Micronius would advise governmental authorities to do concerning the Reformed faith. In that case, he would have been approaching a part of the biblical narrative concerning Nicodemus that fitted well in to the message he was trying to convey to the government, that it should listen to Reformers.

This is an appreciation of Nicodemus which should not be confused with the term Nicodemism in the Reformation period. Protestants faced with opposition from the government had only a few options. They could return to Catholicism, denouncing their Protestant ideas. They could also stay and risk becoming martyrs, standing firm at the ensuing punishment for not recanting their ideas, usually execution. Martyrs would become the symbol of spiritual strength among Protestant movements, but also among Catholics killed in Protestant dominated areas later into the Dutch Revolt. Most people, however, could not live up to the ideal of martyrdom and went into exile, either before or after authorities had discovered their ideas. Another option was to dissimulation or simulation. Dissimulation meant hiding one's faith, in favour of inner worship in a hostile, Catholic environment, while simulation, also involved outwardly conforming to Catholicism. This attitude was also called Nicodemism, in comparison with the biblical figure of Nicodemus who only went to Jesus to listen to his ideas and teachings by night, by cover of shade. Finally, active resistance also became an option for those not able to go into exile nor wanting to be condemned as Nicodemites.

Calvin in particular wrote various tracts against Nicodemism, and specifically against simulation as he considered dissimulation acceptable when it involved quiet retreat.⁷¹ In 1544 Valerand Poullain encouraged Calvin to write another tract against

⁷¹ Eire has postulated that Protestants initially had used this term as an honourable defense of this option for Protestants suffering from political opposition against and persecution of their beliefs. The term also existed among German Protestants suffering from the Augsburg and Leipzig Interims. While Nicodemism generally refers to simulation, a more precise and practical interpretation of the term and groups referred to can vary. See Carlos M. N. Eire, 'Calvin and Nicodemism: A Reappraisal', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 10:1 (1979), 44-69 (pp. 46-47). For more on

simulation because he had noted that Reformers in the Low Countries had found it difficult to come to terms with Calvin's hard stance against it. While Calvin did not soften concerning simulation, the 1544 tract shows that Calvin did not condemn the biblical figure of Nicodemus, as he believed Nicodemists were not worthy of the name.⁷² According to Eire, Calvin accepted the name in the aforementioned treatise only hesitantly as he believed that Nicodemus eventually did become an honourable Christian displaying his beliefs openly at Jesus's burial.⁷³

Shepardson has described simulation as the antithesis of martyrdom. She believes the communal aspect to be prevalent in the judgements against Nicodemism, as suffering, which Nicodemites escaped, was a sign of being part of the community of the elect.⁷⁴ Martyrdom was the cornerstone of Calvinism as it created a strength in the community of the elect, a community based on suffering and exile. Simulation achieved the opposite it showed a lack of commitment outwardly, or even compromise with the Catholic Church.⁷⁵ However, the condemnation of Nicodemite behaviour also left Calvinist with little other option but exile or withdrawal from Catholic society. Eire pointed out that this created an explosive situation as Calvin wanted Reformers to burn with zeal at the same time. He believes Calvin's uncompromising stance indirectly influenced resistance

Nicodemism see, among others, Carlo Ginzburg, *Il Nicodemismo. Simulazione e dissimulazione religiosa nell'Europa del '500* (Turin, 1970), who argued that Nicodemism was a unified movement across Europe, however Eire contested this; Peter Matheson, 'Martyrdom or Mission? A Protestant Debate', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 80 (1989), 158-165; Perez Zagorin, *Ways of Lying: Dissimulation, Persecution, and Conformity in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990); Nikki Shepardson, 'The Rhetoric of Martyrdom and the Anti-Nicodemite Discourses in France, 1550-1570', *Renaissance and Reformation*, n. s., 27:3 (2003), 37-61.

⁷² See the tract John Calvin, *Excuse de Jehan Calvin, a Messieurs les Nicodemites, sur la complaincte qu'ilz font de sa trop grand'rigueur* (1544), written against the reaction to his previous tract *Petit Traicté monstrant que c'est que doit faire un homme fidèle congnoissant la vérité de l'Evangile, quand il est entre les Papistes* (1543); Bruce Gordon, *Calvin* (Yale, 2009, paperback edn 2011), pp. 190-92.

⁷³ Eire, 'Calvin and Nicodemism', pp. 46-47.

⁷⁴ Shepardson, 'The Rhetoric', p. 38.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-61. See Carlos M. N. Eire, 'Prelude to Sedition? Calvin's Attack on Nicodemism and Religious Compromise', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 76 (1985), 120-45 for Calvin's theological and political reasons for opposition to Nicodemism.

leading to the first French War of Religion.⁷⁶ Martyrdom was also a prominent facet in Micronius's booklet concerning Hoste. Micronius himself does not demonstrate any reason to be suspicious of his invocation of this figure.

Micronius emphasised the stoic qualities of people instructing in the 'True Knowledge', invoking the example of his aforementioned, executed friend Joris vander Katelijne, or Hoste. The latter had been a member of the Strangers' Church in London, a craftsman, and left for the Continent with other Reformers on the accession of Mary. For unknown reasons he travelled to his native city Ghent in 1555, where a Catholic preacher drew his attention and he ended up attending the latter's church service. Hoste publicly rebuked the preacher of the Augustinian order at the end of the service and invited him for a discussion. Soon after this event the city authorities imprisoned and executed Hoste.⁷⁷ Micronius depicted Hoste as part of an elite circle who understood the Reformed faith and practised and explained it in a patient way. This, he believed, stood in stark contrast to those who, even when part of a Reformed community and while hearing the Reformed faith preached, did not value or even abused the revelation of the Reformed Evangelical thought.⁷⁸ Micronius praised Hoste's good understanding of Reformed theology, which he would discuss and instruct in a friendly, modest, and patient manner, sometimes in writing. Micronius provided a contrast between Hoste's manners of teaching and the way 'many nowadays do so with envy, shouting, screaming, shouting abuse, damning and judging'.⁷⁹ Hoste, he pointed out, was a very peaceful man and not a 'seditious agitator'.⁸⁰ The importance of defence against accusations of agitation fits into a Calvinistic textual tradition. Calvin composed his *Institutes* partly in defence of the nature

⁷⁶ Eire, 'Prelude to Sedition?'

⁷⁷ Micronius, *Een Waerachteghe Historie*, fols. *3-*4, 1-5.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 2.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 3.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, fols. 13v, 22.

of Reformed thought against accusations of Reformers being agitators.⁸¹ Not only would it have been difficult for Micronius to promote disorder directly for political and strategical reasons, violence also did not fit in with the discipline emphasised in Reformed theology. Although he defended Hoste's public dispute in this polemic, Micronius also warned his readers against verbal and physical attacks:

With this, however, we do not want to teach that it is permissible to challenge any preacher openly, thoughtlessly and disorderly in the meeting. Because from this large agitation, tumult and destruction would certainly arise, and God, who is a God of orderliness and not of quarrel, wants all things to take place adequately and orderly for the advance of his church.⁸²

Furthermore, he pointed out that 'the Holy Spirit teaches us through the Apostle Paul that all things in the Congregations should happen orderly and edifyingly'.⁸³

In relation to this attitude of spiritual discipline, the works of the Reformers emphasised total obedience to God, and as a result also to religious and secular authorities.⁸⁴ Punishment, such as public confessions of guilt, formed an important means to make sure people observed this obedience to God, as Utenhove and Micronius confirmed.⁸⁵ The Reformer Adriaan van Haemstede asserted that consistorial punishment through confession could facilitate obedience to God. As such, believers could form closer ties with God than when under Roman Catholic government. He called the close relationship with God resulting from the practise of Reformed principles a 'renewed obedience' to God.⁸⁶ Van Haemstede also wrote that the Reformers' suffering and martyrdom, through punishment and persecution, formed part of a tradition of a

⁸¹ Gordon, *Calvin*, p. 57.

⁸² Micronius, *Een Waerachtghe Historie*, fol. 54 v.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, fol. 55.

⁸⁴ In a short description of the Reformed ecclesiastical doctrine van Haemstede in his 1559 confession of faith emphasised this in his use of the phrase '*poenitentiam agite, et: appropinquat regnum coelorum*' ('Do penance, and: the kingdom of heaven is near') in Goeters, p. 50.

⁸⁵ Micronius, Utenhove, *De Catechismus, oft kinder leere.*, fol. 16.

⁸⁶ Goeters, pp. 50-51.

struggle between good and evil in the world. Reformers were on the side of the good in the world, and should not fight their destiny, even if this meant execution. Van Haemstede explained this position in his book of martyrs.⁸⁷ Micronius spoke critically concerning the government of the Low Countries, whom he saw as misguided by evil, perhaps pointing to Roman Catholicism. He claimed that ‘lower authorities’, that is lower magistrates or for instance executioners, should not obey the demand for persecution of ‘true Christians’ out of fear of higher authorities by saying that this would harm their consciences. He compared the executioners and lower authorities to Pontius Pilate, who reluctantly crucified Jesus.⁸⁸

Conceptually, this theological framework underpinned Reformed thought. The stress on obedience and tranquillity in the Presbyterian-style consistories of the stranger churches did not translate very well into practice. While preaching obedience, the consistories struggled to keep their members under control, and some members of the Dutch Church believed that they had moved from one tyranny, the Catholic and secular government in the Low Countries, into another, the consistory.⁸⁹ Utenhove, Micronius, à Lasco, and van Winghen voiced the grievances of the refugees against the persecutions in the Low Countries, while at the same time condemning any violent action against the government by pointing out political and spiritual means of combatting the perceived ignorance of Philip II and his advisors.

That is not to say that politics did not play a role. The churches under the Cross in the Low Countries could not afford to oppose secular and religious authorities violently

⁸⁷ Adrianum Corn. Haemstedius, *De Gheschiedenisse ende den doot der vromer martelaren, die om bete ghetuyghenisse des Euangeliums haer bloedt ghestort hebben, van den tijden Christi af, totten Jare M.D. lir toe, bij een vergadert op het fortste* (Antwerp, 1559), pp. iii v., 3.

⁸⁸ Micronius, *Een Waerachteghe Historie*, fol. 57-58. The theory of the ‘lower magistrates’ was not new, see van Gelderen, pp. 63-68, but he was one of the earliest Dutch Reformers to distinctively adopt the view.

⁸⁹ See pp. 43, 296.

because of their illegal position. Had they behaved violently, they would have become troublemakers and secular authorities would more harshly have suppressed the Reformers, especially in places where there were no Reformers among the elite. Yet, the theological background, in which biblical examples guided decision-making, was just as meaningful for the Reformers. The Bible formed a ubiquitous guide for reflection concerning violence to these Reformers. Perhaps an element in their thought concerning order and obedience also sprung from their social background; the prominent Reformers were university educated, and à Lasco and Utenhove were noblemen. The interpretation of their religious ideas with the greater public assumed a more subversive character.

II. Division and conflict among Reformers concerning iconoclasm in 1566

This emphasis on orderliness and non-violent behaviour was clearly present among the main figures in the Strangers' Church in Edward VI's London. While Utenhove, as an elder, and van Winghen, as a prominent minister of the Dutch Church, continued this thinking, the view was controversial to elements of the congregation. The church grew anxious about the views of incoming members. In this section I want to demonstrate the contrast between the Dutch Church's official stance towards iconoclasm and the actions of some of its members as well as the consequences for the functioning of the foreign churches, and the Dutch Church in particular.

As seen in the previous chapter, Backhouse, in his studies on the relationship between Sandwich and the Westkwartier, emphasised the refugee connection between these two places. He asserted that Sandwich was the main Reformed operational basis for the Westkwartier and pointed out close migratory connections throughout the 1560s. He

explained how fugitive Reformers travelled to and from the Westkwartier from France or England with the aim of converting the population to Calvinism.⁹⁰ From Sandwich exiled Reformers organised secret conventicles and public preaching in the region of the Westkwartier, and groups of refugees liberated fellow Reformers from prisons between 1560 and 1566.⁹¹

Next to his analysis for the years 1560 to 1565, Backhouse also pointed out the importance of returning exiles in the year 1566 for the Reformed movement in the Low Countries. Asserting that the Reformers raised their expectations for religious toleration because of the Compromise of the Nobility, he found that hundreds of exiles travelled back to the Low Countries in 1566, helping to spread the Reformed movement.⁹² While agreeing with this, Phyllis Crew believed that the hedgepreaching in the year 1566 started spontaneously, outside the control of the consistories, describing the events as popular demonstrations.⁹³ The armed hedgepreaching, she asserted, took place peacefully as people walked to and from in orderly fashion. However, some of the ministers behaved provocatively. Anthonius Algoet and Jacob de Buyzere both entered the city of Ypres from opposite sides with respectively fifty and two thousand people and marched through the streets peacefully singing psalms.⁹⁴

Moreover, the Iconoclastic Fury started after Sebastiaan Matte's sermon when Jacob de Buyzere agitated the public near Steenvoorde on 10 August 1566. Matte and de Buyzere, as Backhouse rightly pointed out, had travelled over from Sandwich.⁹⁵ de Buyzere originated from the Westkwartier and fled to London in 1560. By 1561 he took on the role of minister for the newly founded Flemish Reformed congregation in

⁹⁰ Backhouse, p. 135.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 135, 144.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁹³ Crew, p. 7.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁹⁵ Backhouse, p. 136.

Sandwich.⁹⁶ Algoet and his sermons also played a role in the iconoclasm of 1566. The local Calvinists and some of the refugees gathered with some of the nobility to commence violent resistance from December 1566 onwards. A part of the nobility was fearful of the coming of the Spanish Inquisition and had political reasons to ally with the Reformers.⁹⁷ Backhouse and De Meij further showed the use of England in a militant Reformers' guerrilla war between 1566 and 1568 in which local nobility was involved.⁹⁸ Yet the involvement of members from refugee churches in the Iconoclastic Fury was not limited to Dutch and Flemish exiles. Less studied, but ubiquitously present in the Low Countries, were the Walloon Reformers. Southampton, for instance, became the residence of Walloon militants in the wake of 1566, especially those from the region of French Flanders.⁹⁹ Walerand Thevelin, the community of Southampton's first minister, was involved in iconoclasm and negotiations for the Three Million Guilders Request in 1566.¹⁰⁰

Secular authorities pointed out heightened Reformed activity in 1566. The city authorities of Ypres listed the Reformed meetings in the area that took place over the summer. By June 1566 the Reformed movement had become so popular in the Low Countries and especially in the area of Ypres that Reformers held sermons and meetings in several places in the countryside as well as in the cities and villages on a daily basis. These attracted very large crowds who often carried sticks and weapons.¹⁰¹ Although many local governors turned a blind eye on these events, others thought them to be a

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

⁹⁷ As Beemon explained, the Low Countries were expecting the Spanish Inquisition. This led to mistrust between the nobility and Philip's councillors. F. E. Beemon, 'The Myth of the Spanish Inquisition and the Preconditions for the Dutch Revolt', *Archiv für Reformationgeschichte* 85 (1994), pp. 246-64.

⁹⁸ Backhouse, 'Beeldenstorm en bosgeuzen'; J.A.C. De Meij, *De Watergeuzen en de Nederlanden, 1568-1572* (Amsterdam/Londen, 1972).

⁹⁹ Spicer, pp. 12-13.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

¹⁰¹ Stadsarchief Ieper, Kasselrij Ieper, Godsdiensttroebelen KAS 18 (Stadsarchief oude toegangen, 24), Troubles Religieux. 1.

conspiracy against the welfare and tranquillity of the country.¹⁰² By September 1566, the castellany of Ypres had drafted regulations for the Calvinist sermons to take place alongside Catholic ones. The emphasis was not on religion but on order. It wanted members from both the 'old religion' and the 'new religion' to respect each other and not to engage in fights. It was also important to the council of the castellany that Reformers respected trade regulations by only preaching on Sundays.¹⁰³

According to Crew, the largest part of the prominent ministers preaching in 1566 received training in either England or Geneva.¹⁰⁴ One of the first ministers of the Dutch Reformed tradition who had written about the potential right of resistance in 1559, Petrus Dathenus, had been a member of the Edwardian Strangers' Church and had ministered other exile centres, namely Frankfurt and Frankenthal, until 1566. Although his impact was large in the Low Countries, especially through the popularity of his psalms in contrast to those of Utenhove, his association with the London churches was limited to the Edwardian period.¹⁰⁵ Hundreds of Reformers associated with the London and Sandwich churches grew militant in the 1560s. In London the pacifist side dominated, and in 1567 the pacifist consistory party was still larger than the opposition. Along with Jacob de Buyzere and Sebastiaan Matte, Gillis de Queeckere and Pieter Hazaert played very prominent roles in the violence and iconoclasm in the Westkwartier in 1566. As mentioned previously, they were preachers travelling between Sandwich and the Continent in 1562, when they were involved in prison-breaking and in favour of violent action. Hazaert's protégé, Jan Hendricx, who died in 1564, favoured iconoclasm and

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Stadsarchief Ieper, Kasselrij Ieper, Godsdiensttroebelen KAS 18 (Stadsarchief oude toegangen, 24), Troubles Religieux 5.

¹⁰⁴ Crew, 47-9.

¹⁰⁵ Mout, 'Armed resistance', p. 60.

contemporaries described him as a violent and shameless man.¹⁰⁶ This stood in stark contrast with London's emphasis on tranquillity, and also with Pieter Carpentier's disapproval of the violent iconoclasm in 1566. He was a minister in the areas of Ghent and Tiel but had resided in London between 1560 and 1563.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, the Reformer Jan Lamoot, who became deacon (1560) and then elder (1562) of the Dutch Church in London, returned to Flanders to preach in 1566. He disapproved of violent iconoclasm and resistance, and still defended his views on these issues in 1571, yet had approved of prison breaking in 1562.¹⁰⁸

Backhouse asserted that Jacob de Buyzere and Sebastiaan Matte did not only initiate the Iconoclastic Fury near Steenvoorde on 10 August 1566 but also played a prominent role in subsequent resistance in the area. Backhouse also stated that three hundred and fifty-three members of the Flemish congregation at Sandwich had been in some way involved in the troubles in the Westkwartier between May 1566 and April 1567.¹⁰⁹ The majority of them had moved to Sandwich after the Fury, but ninety-seven had moved from Sandwich back to Flanders after 5 April 1566 and returned to England by 1567.

Sebastiaan Matte preached near Steenvoorde after which de Buyzere embittered the public about the use of images.¹¹⁰ Matte had lived in both London and Sandwich. He helped to spread the iconoclasm throughout the Westkwartier.¹¹¹ On 14 August Matte also evoked the public in favour of iconoclasm after a sermon in Poperinge where he

¹⁰⁶ Johan Decavele, *De Dageraad van de Reformatie in Vlaanderen (1520-1565)*, 2 vols, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België Jaargang 37, 76 (Brussels, 1975), p. 399.

¹⁰⁷ Decavele, p. 408; Kerkerads-protocollen, p. 247.

¹⁰⁸ Decavele, pp. 409-10; see pp. 152, 225.

¹⁰⁹ Backhouse, p. 149.

¹¹⁰ Solange Deyon & Alain Lottin, *Les Casseurs de l'été 1566. L'Iconoclasm dans le Nord* (Paris, 1981) p. 25.

¹¹¹ Backhouse, 'Beeldenstorm en Bosgeuzen', pp. 55-58.

claimed to be in possession of a, albeit false, royal letter permitting the cleansing of the churches.¹¹² Under his charge a group of Reformers set up an expedition, or hiking tour as Backhouse called it, going from town to town to initiate the iconoclasm in the Westkwartier and French Flanders.¹¹³ However, Backhouse mentioned that it seemed as if opinions on these actions differed widely among the foreign churches in England.¹¹⁴ We know that this was the case for the London churches, which disapproved of violence. Backhouse also showed a similar division of opinions on iconoclasm within the consistory in Sandwich.¹¹⁵ The Iconoclastic Fury was the work of a minority of radically militant members. The figures had gained popular support and had nothing to lose from turning their sermons more subversive, a tone which the Reformed community of Antwerp also appreciated, to the horror of the London stranger churches. Backhouse also cautiously linked the iconoclasm to a potential class struggle in Ghent, Antwerp, and the Westkwartier, which could go some way in explaining the diversity in opinions within the foreign churches concerning iconoclasm.¹¹⁶

By December 1566 Philip responded more repressively. Local authorities had to restrict the liberties the Reformers had gained over the previous few months, for instance the possibility to hold services. In the Ypres area, these restrictions gained opposition. The bailiff of Ypres addressing Margaret of Parma spoke of a true ‘rebellion’ and the obstinacy of the people of Ypres.¹¹⁷ In co-operation with local nobles Reformers gathered troops, but Margaret sent armed forces to defeat the Calvinist uprising at the start of

¹¹² Ludo Vandamme, ‘Revolt in the Westkwartier’, in *Revolt and Emigration. Refugees from the Westkwartier in Sandwich in the XVIth Century*, ed. by J. Decaestecker (Dikkebus, 1988), pp. 29-78 (p. 58).

¹¹³ Backhouse, ‘Dokumenten’, p. 100.

¹¹⁴ Backhouse, pp. 150-51.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

¹¹⁶ Backhouse, *Beeldenstorm en Bosgezeten*, pp. 61-62.

¹¹⁷ Stadsarchief Ieper, TR. REL. 13., fol. 1 v.

January 1567.¹¹⁸ Backhouse demonstrated that most of the Calvinist leaders left the Westkwartier for Antwerp, the northern Netherlands, France, Germany, or England after this.¹¹⁹

The involvement of the consistories in the Iconoclastic Fury in other places in the Low Countries varied. In Antwerp the Dutch minister Moded was not opposed to resistance and although he did not lead the iconoclasm there, he did encourage it.¹²⁰ In Ghent a group of people had travelled down from the Westkwartier to take part in iconoclasm.¹²¹ There the Walloon minister Franciscus Junius attempted to avoid iconoclasm, since he believed only the secular government held the godly authority to remove the images.¹²² In Middelburg the consistory had guided the iconoclasm on 22 August. They had hired people to carry out the iconoclasm and the consistory's scribe read out regulations for the iconoclasts which stipulated that they should not steal but rather hand over valuable pieces to the bailiff.¹²³ In the northern parts of the Low Countries the nobility usually stimulated the iconoclasm and especially the violence in the subsequent years.¹²⁴ The role of the Low Countries' nobility in resistance and iconoclasm that year was also visible in the criminal examinations of some prominent Wood Beggars in 1568 in the Westkwartier.¹²⁵ During 1567 and 1568 nobles in exile near Cologne also planned violent actions, among others in support of Louis of Nassau.¹²⁶ Nobles in the German exile settlements played a significant role in Orange and Nassau's attacks those

¹¹⁸ Backhouse, *Beeldenstorm en Geuzen*, pp. 80-81.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 66-7.

¹²² Junius, or du Jon, had studied theology in Geneva. Scheerder, p. 21.

¹²³ Paul Brusse, Wijnand Mijnhardt, Katie Heyning, eds., *Geschiedenis van Zeeland. Dl. II: 1550-1700* (Zwolle, 2012) p. 221.

¹²⁴ Backhouse, 'Beeldenstorm en Geuzen', p. 54.

¹²⁵ Backhouse, 'Dokumenten'.

¹²⁶ Robert van Roosbroeck, *Emigranten, Nederlandse Vluchtelingen in Duitsland (1550-1600)* (Keulen, 1968), pp. 49-51.

years, although, van Roosbroeck argued, the support of exiles in general was low as they had to maintain themselves and the poor.¹²⁷

Opinions concerning the Iconoclastic Fury also influenced the functioning of the foreign churches in England for several years thereafter. Subversiveness not only showed itself in refugees travelling back to the Low Countries, but it was also visible within the London Dutch Church in the 1560s, in contrast to the French Church. Since the discussions over violence in 1562, arguments on varying topics had disturbed the Dutch community to such an extent that it prevented the functioning of the church and the moral authority of the consistory. The question of godparents, for instance, proved so divisive within the community that representatives of the Sandwich community and Grindal had to attempt to gather the community anew since a part of the community had forsaken the consistory.¹²⁸ Grindal's endeavour failed because

many think that those who now serve, or preside over, the Netherlandish community, do everything to advance their own interest and power, and that they have influenced the bishop to such an extent that he has done everything at their persuasion and not according to his own judgment or knowledge.¹²⁹

In 1564 Grindal, Cousin, John Fox, Jacob Calphill, John Philpot and Christoph Koolman were mediators.¹³⁰ By September 1565 Francis Russell, the second Earl of Bedford, tried to solve the quarrel, technically being an objective outsider. The Dutch consistory, in communication with Bedford, wrote that

obedience and silence about the previous quarrels, as well from the pulpit as among the members should be imposed. And if anyone should cause new difficulties and persevere in them he shall, after having been warned once or twice by the brethren

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-54.

¹²⁸ Backhouse, 'Dokumenten', pp. 35-36, 55.

¹²⁹ Archivum, 2, Letter 80, p. 247.

¹³⁰ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 92, pp. 36-40.

and at last the congregations, be cut off from the community and punished by the magistracy as a rebel.¹³¹

This quotation again demonstrates the Presbyterian-style importance of obedience and tranquillity but also forms an example of the struggles the consistory of the Dutch Church went through to maintain the discipline in the congregation.

The deacons formed the largest group of opposition against the elders and minister during the quarrels in the Dutch Church between 1565 and 1568. The consistory wanted this opposition to recognize its faults and subversive behaviour but as a result prolonged the conflict. Pettegree believed that a growing feeling of discontent within the congregation had partially provoked the strong opposition against official consistorial policies concerning godparents. The increasingly stricter rules that the consistory applied in its investigation and approval of new members and handling of conflicts within the community shaped this feeling of discontent.¹³² The consistory had previously proved itself rigorous and intolerant towards van Haemstede and had not changed its strict enforcement of consistorial authority. Van Haemstede had been too liberal in the ways he networked and preached. The minister was a divisive figure. In Antwerp, for instance, he had preached publicly and incautiously, and a part of his congregation had disliked him for this.¹³³ In London the official complaint against him was of a theological nature. The consistory of the London Dutch Church considered van Haemstede too friendly towards the Anabaptists and some of their doctrines. The consistory demanded van Haemstede to confess guilt and to change his views. The consistory behaved

¹³¹ Archivum, 2, Letter 80, p. 247.

¹³² Andrew Pettegree, 'The strangers and their churches in London, 1550-1580' (D.Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 1983), p. 287.

¹³³ Guido Marnef, *Antwerpen in de tijd van de Reformatie. Ondergronds protestantisme in een handelsmetropool 1550-1577* (Amsterdam/Antwerpen, 1996), p. 123.

uncompromisingly in their judgements of van Haemstede, prolonging the conflict until his eventual excommunication.

Pettegree believed that, in contrast with the consistory, there was sympathy within the congregation for adherents of other religious movements whom Dutch authorities tried as heretics alongside the Reformers.¹³⁴ This lack of leniency and strict adherence to obedience and quietness stood in the way of the functioning of the Dutch Church. Moreover, it seems van Winghen lacked the moral authority, prominence, and reputation of Nicholas des Gallars, minister of the French Church between 1560 and 1563. The search for order, obedience, and authority also shaped the Dutch Church's attempts at influencing the situation in the Low Countries in political ways with the aim of freeing prisoners. Obedience would not compromise their claim for ecclesiastical authority as much as violence would. We can similarly see this strife for legality and authority in the support for the Compromise of Nobles among many Reformers in the Low Countries.

By the end of 1565 a number of members, in particular the deacons, had left the Dutch congregation and started meeting separately while others joined English churches.¹³⁵ Precisely how many people left, however, is not clear. It is likely that a number of members left the London congregation especially by the end of the year 1566 because van Winghen denounced the Iconoclastic Fury and subsequent violence. In 1567 Grindal condemned the members who had left the church as 'restless and contumacious persons'.¹³⁶ Pettegree pointed out that one of the consistory's elders, Jan Enghelram, also called Inghelram, had published a tract denouncing the Fury and castigating the former opposition party of the deacons.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ Pettegree, 'The strangers and their churches', pp. 288-91.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 112, pp. 55-56.

¹³⁷ Pettegree, 'The strangers and their churches', p. 291, refers to Aart A. van Schelven, 'Johannes Engelram', *Stemmen des Tijds*, 5 (1916), 172-305 (pp. 179-86).

The churches of Sandwich and Norwich were more open to the idea of iconoclasm. The consistory of the Flemish Church in Sandwich discussed the idea of using violence and the defence of its use as being a private matter, but there is no evidence they condemned violence. Some of the main figures occurring in the troubles of 1566 in the Low Countries became consistory members in Norwich. Whereas Sandwich shaped the Reformed movement in the Westkwartier before and during 1566, Norwich became a major centre for the intake of new refugees. Raingard Esser has pointed out that the condemnation of violence was the reason members migrated from Sandwich to Norwich, where militants from the Low Countries came to reside after 1566.¹³⁸ Although many of the militant Reformers resided and planned violence from Sandwich, the congregation was not entirely militant. In Norwich in 1571 two militant ministers and their supporters rebuked another minister for disapproving of violent iconoclasm. When the case came before Norwich's mayor, the latter asked the militant members to leave Norwich.¹³⁹

These internal issues meant that the stranger churches could not give a clear lead to the churches in the Low Countries or the provincial churches in England in matters of discipline or resistance. Around the time of the iconoclasm in the Low Countries, the Dutch Church still lay in conflict. The conflict had assumed an international character. In 1565 members of the Dutch Church had asked the support and judgment from Emden on the case of the godparents. Elder Jan Lamoot from London wrote a letter to the Emden consistory concerning the quarrels. Emden rebuked both parties for quarrelling obstinately but did not take a side.¹⁴⁰ Yet in January 1566 Emden was still negotiating for peace within the London Dutch Church. Although it took no side officially, the

¹³⁸ Raingard Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten im England des 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1996), pp. 45-47, refers to Maidstone, Kent Archives, Sa/Ac5 The New Red Book, fol. 69.

¹³⁹ Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten*, pp. 66-67.

¹⁴⁰ *Die Kirchenratsprotokolle der Reformierten Gemeinde Emden 1557-1620. Teil I: 1557-1574*, ed. by Heinz Schilling & Klaus-Dieter Schreiber (Köln, 1989), pp. 212-13.

consistory members did agree on several points with the opposition. They had written in their consistorial records that some members of London's consistory party behaved unreasonably for wanting public apologies from the opposition.¹⁴¹ Later in 1566 the question of armed resistance only strengthened the dispute. A few years later, in 1568, the Dutch Church drew up twenty-seven articles which it wanted the opposition to sign.¹⁴² Pettegree interpreted these articles as autocratic and an attempt to establish some authority over the members who left the congregation by condemning those who opposed the consistory. In that way they could also reproach the provincial churches that took in former members from London.¹⁴³ The differences between the opposition in the provincial settlements and the consistory of the Dutch Church reached a peak. Interestingly, the last section of these articles contained an outright rejection of 'any right of resistance to the authorities'.¹⁴⁴ Even lower magistrates would better not disobey the godly ruler, and thus God.¹⁴⁵ While relating to authorities in the Low Countries, we can also extend the implication of this statement to mean a sharp condemnation of any resistance to religious authority, in the form of the consistory.

In an attempt to strengthen its authority, the London Dutch Church addressed Reformed and Calvinist strongholds outside of England. They had sent the articles to Emden, Berne, Zurich, and Geneva. London had sent two deputies to Geneva to discuss the articles, while Norwich dispatched Herman Moded, the former minister of Antwerp, to speak against the articles. Emden and Geneva reacted mostly favourably towards London and the articles but not so much to the tone of the articles. Pettegree pointed out the differing reactions from Zurich and Berne. Those churches rebuked London and

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 229-30.

¹⁴² Pettegree, 'The strangers and their churches', p. 293, referring to *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, I: 1558-1567*, ed. by Martin A. S. Hume (London, 1892), p. 690.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ Van Gelderen, pp. 100-01.

pushed towards reconciliation. Probably because of the latter, the exile churches in England met later in 1568 and reached an agreement on the articles under the arbitration of the French Church of London. This reunited the London Dutch Church with its opposition and enhanced the relationship between Norwich and London. As part of the agreement, the long awaited new elections for the London Dutch Church, which the opposition had urged for, took place. By the end of the year, the Dutch Church also decided to take a second minister to assist van Winghen. After Johannes Helmichius, who resided in Norwich, had turned down their call for assistance as a minister in London, they sent the same request to George, also called Joris, Wybo, or Sylvanus. He initially refused, but a little later he did take up the ministry of the Dutch Church alongside van Winghen. Wybo had fled from the Westkwartier to Antwerp in 1559, and been a minister in Antwerp around 1562 until 1567. He was in favour of resistance.¹⁴⁶ Although this did cause some further tensions with van Winghen, it also meant a large change within the Dutch Church. It signified the first incursion into the authority of van Winghen and slowly brought the Dutch Church closer in line with the provincial churches. In 1569 the Emden consistory resolved to send a letter to the Dutch Church to congratulate them with the stable situation and peace that the church and other churches in England had reached. It exhorted them to consolidate the harmony and solidarity that they had, according to Emden, finally reached between the churches.¹⁴⁷

The motives of the strong condemnation of the opposition and the Fury can relate to personal feuds and struggles for authority, but I believe it also lay in the Presbyterian nature of the church. The idea of a Calvinist being subversive and violent came true. The Fury established an association between Reformers and violence. In

¹⁴⁶ Archivum, 2, Letters 84 and 86, pp. 276-79, 291-2; Pettegree, 'The strangers and their churches', pp. 293-94.

¹⁴⁷ *Die Kirchenratsprotokollen*, p. 365.

Antwerp the Lutherans present in the city declined the request from the Reformers to seize control of the town hall. Marnef saw a difference between the Lutherans and the Calvinists in Antwerp on the topic of governmental authority as the former wrote about the latter: ‘vous, Calvinistes, vous auctorises icy par force et violence, et nous y sommes avec le consentement du magistrat.’¹⁴⁸ So what caused this change in behaviour among the Dutch Reformers going from loyalty to the authorities and quiet, secret gatherings, to openly violent behaviour? Was it the power vacuum within the Low Countries that emboldened the Reformers? Was it the presence of geographically convenient foreign churches in England, the increased influence of Calvinism on a larger amount of the population and influential figures, local economic drawbacks, or perhaps the influence of events in Calvinist France?

During the 1560s, the Low Countries experienced large Calvinist influences, especially in the south, as for instance Guy De Brès, who wrote the Belgic Confession, was a student of Calvin. There is little trace of an involvement of the London French Church in the Iconoclastic Fury, however, even though there were Walloon and French congregations in nearly all cities in the Low Countries. No consistory acts survive for the year 1566 for the French Church, nor for the Dutch Church, which could have given us an insight into the French-speaking churches in the Low Countries, but a few letters do show their large presence throughout the Low Countries. For the year 1566 most letters relate to Antonio del Corro, also called Monsieur De Bellerive. The French Church of Antwerp wrote the first letter on 13 August 1566 to Antoine Corran, or Antonio del Corro, when he still lived in France, asking him to serve as its minister since the

¹⁴⁸ Quoted in Marnef, *Antwerpen*, p. 143, who refers to Aart A. Van Schelven, ‘Verklikkersrapporten over Antwerpen in het laatste kwartaal van 1566’, *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap (gevestigd te Utrecht)*, 50 (1929), 238-320 (p. 242): ‘Notice of the Lutherans G. van der Baenderyen and H. van den Broecke, cited in the letter of Philip Dauxy, 18 November 1566’.

congregations had increased in size all over the Low Countries at that point.¹⁴⁹ By 18 September 1566 the French-speaking Church in Antwerp again begged del Corro to serve them since they were looking for an adequate minister speaking the French language. Next to that, they argued, there were also many Italian- and Spanish-speaking believers in Antwerp, Brussels, and Bruges, wanting to hear someone preach in their language.¹⁵⁰ Antwerp had witnessed iconoclasm on 20 August 1566. Del Corro did go to Antwerp around 1567 for the ministry in the French-speaking congregation but soon fled to London where he served as the minister of the Spanish community. Little evidence for involvement does not mean that there was none. Spicer's study on the Southampton community shows that where the sources are available, intricate connections between the Southampton community and resistance existed.¹⁵¹ Yet Margaret of Parma had been able to suppress resistance in parts of French Flanders before the Fury.¹⁵²

Returning to the question of what went wrong, the answer presumably rests in a combination of all these factors in which the survival and subsequent success of the Reformation in the Low Countries was partly due to the existence of the potential of England as a refugee centre and the fear of the situation in France which emboldened the Reformers. Whatever the reason, the London stranger churches stood in line with other Reformation centres, many of its members condemning the Fury. Yet the power vacuum in the London Dutch Church and the limited influence the London churches had on the provincial settlements gave militants along with anti-clerical criminals, such as Camerlinck and his group, the opportunity to launch attacks from England. The latter, who were active in the Iconoclastic Fury, allied with noblemen such as the Prince of Orange in the

¹⁴⁹ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 100, p. 44.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Letter 101, p. 65.

¹⁵¹ Spicer, especially pp. 127-40.

¹⁵² See among others Charles Paillard, *Histoire des troubles religieux de Valenciennes, 1560-1567*, 4 vols. (Brussel, 1874-1876).

subsequent years and became known as the Wood Beggars. Disguising themselves as militant Protestants breaking prisons to save Reformers, they plundered Catholic places of worship as well as the houses of priests, killing them in its wake, in order to appease both the noblemen and their refugee communities. A study on the networks of local nobility, nobility in exile, and their relationship with the exile congregations might further reveal more intricate connections concerning the exile congregations' involvement in the Fury, rather than concentrating on the consistories only as I do here.¹⁵³ The contacts between nobility and Reformers within the Low Countries formed an important element in the build-up towards the Dutch Revolt. According to Nauta, some local consistories deliberated resisting the government in agreement with influential members of the nobility following the example of France and raised funds towards this.¹⁵⁴ Yet, as Verheyden asserted, we cannot simply use Calvinist and Iconoclast as synonyms.¹⁵⁵ In a 1567 pamphlet Philips of Marnix, Lord of Saint-Aldegonde, a nobleman, well-known defender of the Reformation who studied under Calvin and Beza, and later protagonist of Orange, wrote apologetically about the Iconoclastic Fury. He asserted that it was uncertain who was involved in the Fury, and who the advisors of the iconoclasts were, but that one should not be too quick to blame the consistories. Although his pamphlet had propagandistic aims, the following quotation is relevant here:

On the contrary, one knows that the adherents of that religion have always been of the opinion that private persons must not cut down images erected by the public authorities. This they declared several times in public exhortations as well as in private

¹⁵³ De Meij, *De Watergeuzen*, shows these connections in detail.

¹⁵⁴ Doede Nauta, *Aard van de opstand in de Nederlanden der zestiende eeuw* ('s-Gravenhage, 1976), see in particular pp. 40, 41, as quoted in Auke Jelsma, 'The "Weakness of Conscience" in the Reformed movement in the Netherlands: the attitude of the Dutch Reformation to the use of violence between 1562 and 1574', in *The Church and War, Papers read at the twenty-first summer meeting and the twenty-second winter meeting of the ecclesiastical history society*, ed. W.J. Sheils. (Oxford, 1983), pp. 217-29 (pp. 219-20).

¹⁵⁵ Alphonse L. E. Verheyden, *Le Martyrologe Protestant des Pays-Bas du Sud au XVI^eme Siècle*. Collection Histoire du Protestantisme en Belgique et au Congo Belge (Bruxelles, 1960), p. 49.

remonstrances, always so that no one should be given offence. And no one who ever took the trouble to study their doctrine can be ignorant of this. But even if they had thought the action justifiable (which is not true at all), it is at all events certain that they never wanted to do it. Moreover, at the time it was done it was useless to them. They had unanimously decided to send deputies to Brussels to beg Her Highness provisionally to grant them some churches or other places in which to practise their religion, in order to avoid disturbances and riots. [...] I concede that among the image breakers there were people who professed to be of the religion, but I also say that there were as many others who did not make and never made profession.¹⁵⁶

III. The involvement of the foreign churches in resistance in the aftermath of the Fury

This section will engage with the involvement of the foreign churches in resistance between 1566 and 1568 through two cases studies, that of their connections to Jan Camerlinck and his band, and the response to requests from William of Orange for support for his military offensive. Before the Fury, Reformers in the Low Countries were trying to establish religious freedom through political ways with the help of sympathetic nobility. The Compromise of Nobles in April 1566 aimed at moderating the placards against heresy. They sent a petition from the nobility to Margaret of Parma. The petition gained more than three hundred signatures, many from the lower nobility. Louis of Brederode, Louis of Nassau, and Philips of Marnix were among its main protagonists. The foreign churches were aware of the petition. As early as 1563, the Spanish ambassador in London was convinced that the stranger churches were in contact with leading noblemen in the Low Countries who opposed Cardinal Granvelle and his policies,

¹⁵⁶ *Texts concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, ed. and intro by E. H. Kossman & A. F. Mellink (Cambridge, 1974), p 79.

among them William of Orange. The ambassador reported that the ministers of the London Dutch Church preached that the problems in the Low Countries would soon be over.¹⁵⁷ The belief in a political alteration to the religious situation in the Low Countries sparked hopes in the Dutch Church. These networks between Reformers and noblemen constituted the only direct involvement between the consistories of the stranger churches and the Dutch Revolt. It is also to this co-operation that Philips of Marnix referred, as cited above. The petition fitted into a larger movement of opposition to Philip II's policies and persecutions, independent of religious allegiance, which culminated in sworn leagues, propagandistic pamphlets, and wearing Beggars insignia.¹⁵⁸

Frustrated by the ambiguous and strict responses from Philip, the nobility in opposition did not give up the struggle. The iconoclasm in 1566 makes this year a symbolic date to signify the start of the Dutch Revolt. Margaret conceded a moderation of the placards and on 25 August even allowed the Reformers to celebrate sermons in designated spaces, while Philip withdrew this a few months later. In the correspondence of a number of consistories in the Low Countries, which was added to a petition from the remaining nobles of the Compromise, addressed to Margaret of Parma in February 1567, we find the following:

And though it is true that some professing the religion may have gone too far after your promises had been made, this was before there were any negotiations with them, and it ought not to be an excuse for punishing the other who very much regret to excesses. [...] It has always been our ardent desire and our intention to behave unpretentiously and unobtrusively, to practise all due obedience, and to perform all other normal duties because this is the way a just

¹⁵⁷ Pettegree, 'The Strangers and their Churches', pp. 275-76, referring to Joseph Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Les relations des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre sous le règne de Philippe II* (Brussels, 1882), vol. 3, pp. 272-23, 307.

¹⁵⁸ Alastair Duke, 'Dissident Propaganda and Political Organisation at the Outbreak of the Revolt of the Netherlands', in *Dissident identities in the Early Modern Low Countries*, ed. by Alastair Duke, Judith Pollmann, Andrew Spicer (Ashgate, 2009), pp. 137-56.

citizen must act and also because we hope that leave to practise our religion freely will be continued.¹⁵⁹

What the consistories meant with the excesses is not clear. It can either point to the iconoclasm, yet in some places consistory members took part in it, or the excessive violence in the wake of the Fury. By December 1566 it became clear that Margaret wanted to retract the relative freedom of religion. The Reformed Synod in Antwerp that month decided in favour of armed resistance and consistories all over the country started raising money towards this.¹⁶⁰ Scheerder believed the earlier action of October 1566 in which a Synod in Ghent decided to offer Philip three million guilders in return for religious freedom, the so-called Three Million Guilders Request, had the intention to raise money to be used for resistance.¹⁶¹ This resistance came in the form of the violent actions that the 'gueux' or Beggars undertook. In the Westkwartier we find the Wood Beggars, or guerrilla-style banditry, while Middelburg and Walcheren experienced a first attack of Sea Beggars in order to capture the isle of Walcheren in co-operation with Orange.¹⁶²

Only two months after the Fury, armed bands plundered the Westkwartier and tormented priests. Backhouse asserted that about one hundred persons had committed to some kind of guerrilla-style anticlerical warfare, hence their nickname the Woodbeggars. Most of them either were locals or had come over from England. Local nobility had concocted the plan with the support of the consistories in the Westkwartier.¹⁶³ The name of Brederode features ubiquitously. One such case was the band of Jan Camerlynck. He had planned his venture into guerrilla warfare in England, in an inn just outside Sandwich. The group worked mainly around Hondschoote and plundered and

¹⁵⁹ Kossman & Mellink, p. 83.

¹⁶⁰ Guido Marnef, 'The Dynamics of Reformed Religious Militancy: The Netherlands, 1566-1585', in *Reformation, revolt and civil war in France and the Netherlands, 1555-1585*, ed. by Ph. Benedict (Amsterdam, 1999), pp. 51-68 (pp. 56-57).

¹⁶¹ Scheerder, p. 59.

¹⁶² See De Meij, *De Watergeuzen*.

¹⁶³ Backhouse, 'Dokumenten', p. 87.

destroyed churches for months from November 1566 onwards.¹⁶⁴ The Bruges nobleman Jacob van Huele had instructed the group to attack priests and cut their ears off.¹⁶⁵ Although he had commanded them solely to cut off the priests' ears, they ended up killing at least one priest. There were also plans to capture the town of Poperinghe, but this plan failed.¹⁶⁶ Four months later they returned to England.¹⁶⁷

By the summer of 1567 the Duke of Alba arrived in the Low Countries with an army and plans to erect the Council of Troubles. Repression hit hard. Still, in September 1568 Camerlynck and his band decided to travel from England to the Low Countries to attempt another guerrilla-style invasion. This time, however, the authorities soon caught, examined, and executed them.¹⁶⁸ Backhouse published the documents relating to these examinations and concluded that the consistories of the exile churches were involved in the organisation of the banditry and especially in its financial support. He asserted that it had become clear that the consistories of both local congregations and the refugee communities were aware of what was happening and endorsed the plan in co-operation with the nobility. Backhouse believed that the nobility was actually financially dependent on the support of the consistory to aid the Woodbeggars. Some of the Beggars, he pointed out, admitted that they received maintenance grants from English or Dutch merchants. Backhouse saw confirmation of his statements in the roles which the consistory members of the Flemish Church in Norwich, Jan Michiels and Pieter Waels, had played.¹⁶⁹ Moreover, some captives admitted that they had heard rumours about a pact between some people in England and nobles in Flanders, which signified the intention to bring an

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

army of two thousand men from England into Flanders.¹⁷⁰ The names of the noblemen most often referred to were Jacques van Huele, Brederode, and Anthonis, brother of the Lord of Longastre. In the examinations, the captives made many references to Walloons too, but often their names are lacking and thus we cannot make a connection to any French-speaking congregation. One of the captives insisted that they had only come over to free prisoners, rather than pillage churches or to kill priests, while another one declared that Camerlynck told him that he knew places in Flanders where a robbery would bring in good money. They would also free some imprisoned Reformers to keep the refugee congregations happy.¹⁷¹

Having read the documents that Backhouse published concerning the examinations, I want to make some clarifying and critical comments. There are little direct citations in the documents confirming London's involvement, nor is there any confirmation or proof of the truthfulness of the statements of the prisoners. Much of the information the captives provided was completely reliant on rumour. Backhouse asked no questions about the meaning and reach of the term consistory. It is clear that there was a broad base of refugees who were in favour of armed resistance. There was an important involvement of refugees in two ways; first, as hired bandits, and, second, as planners of the warfare in the Westkwartier. However, we should consider generalisations about the involvement of the stranger churches as institutions more closely. There is no hard proof for London foreign churches supporting Camerlynck, only for the large and notorious involvement of a certain number of individuals residing in England and a seemingly large supportive group among the refugees. The idea of violence did not

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 207, 241.

conform to the views of the London consistories, or at least not with the official ones since parts of the Dutch Church met separately.

Again, there was more than meets the eye to events in 1567 and 1568. Two documents in the Archivum provide some clue towards a limited involvement of the London stranger churches. Although there is some confusion about the dates as one letter says 1568 and the other 1570, Hessels believed that both letters belonged to the year 1568.¹⁷² In April that year the ambassador to William of Orange had indeed negotiated financial support from the strangers and their churches to raise an army, at least according to these documents. The Dutch Church decided to discuss the matter with the French Church first. Both churches sent a representative to talk about the affair with the Earl of Bedford, who in turn took up the issue with William Cecil. They reported to the consistories that the request ‘was reasonable’, and that the strangers were ‘bound to give effect to it prudently and secretly’, giving the people to understand that it was for the relief of the afflicted.¹⁷³ They decided to choose eight members of the consistory to carry this out. On 2 May, however, the Prince of Orange directed a similar commission to the minister of the French Church, thus confusing the Dutch Church. When on 3 July Hembiese, a nobleman from Ghent, asked to transfer a certain amount of money to him as soon as possible, the Dutch Church answered that they would obey willingly to the request, but that they would first converse about it with the French Church and await a reply from the Prince of Orange. On 13 July two messengers from Orange arrived. They appointed eight commissioners themselves to collect the said money within the congregations.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² Archivum, 2, Letter 87, pp. 293-97.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

The churches were not at ease with the whole matter. The commissioners wanted to record the names of all the contributors. The commissions came through letters, which the representatives claimed to have come from Orange, and one of these letters cancelled the first commission, while another one in August again repeated the appeal for assistance.¹⁷⁵ While the Dutch consistory replied that they would do their duty and find the money, there was uproar within the congregation about the list of names that the commissioners wanted to compile. According to the second document, many people feared that it could have terrible consequences for those still travelling abroad who were not exiles, and for their families and wives still living in the Low Countries. However, the document spoke about a loan, rather than a money collection. Many members, it seemed, refused to contribute, or did so only out of shame.¹⁷⁶ Because of these considerations, the consistory decided to advice the commissioners to collect money from individual members without the involvement of the consistory and urged them to desist from using any means of extortion to get members to agree to give financial support. Seemingly frustrated with this practice the church gave a few examples of the abuse: ‘declaring them [who decline to lend], in the name of the prince, rebels, deserters of the common cause, enemies of the fatherland, forbidding all traffic on water and land, and confiscating all their property.’¹⁷⁷ To the consistory the aim of Orange’s resistance appears to have been action against the Duke of Alba, the Council of Troubles, and in favour of religious freedom. Despite this, they added that Orange’s actions were ‘measures the king [of Spain] alone is competent to take, and it is incredible that the prince should intend to expel the king from his country’.¹⁷⁸ Through these measures, the document argued, Orange would usurp the authority and prerogative of Philip. This would defame Orange

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 293-94.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Letter 90, pp. 302-05.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 303.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

since it would ‘justify the charge of the Duke of Alba that he aspired to the position of governor-general of the Netherlands’.¹⁷⁹ The actions of the consistory were again in line with its stance in the previous years, namely that resistance should happen legally and via political ways. They found it agreeable for the nobility to stand up against Alba and the Council of Troubles but not against Philip.

In Backhouse, De Coussemaeker, and slightly in Decavele as well, the role assigned to the refugees received too large an emphasis. We should not draw quick conclusions from the involvement of Sandwich and Norwich refugees in the aftermath of the Fury, but interpret the sources documenting a potential involvement of these refugee congregations with more care. Even when the source mentions the consistories, it is not clear whether we can take these statements at face value. Although they indeed organised many of the troubles in the Westkwartier after the Fury, the Wood Beggars were essentially criminals, and not wholly representative of the population of refugees. De Coussemaeker’s analysis implied, albeit not very implicitly, that the refugee churches made large-scale arrangements for a coup in the Low Countries and organised all of the troubles from Sandwich and Norwich. This group was more likely to be dealing largely on their own initiative and that of the nobles who supported them. Although militant refugees, some of whom were probably members of the consistories, would have consented with their actions, they were unrepresentative of the consistories as a whole. In that way, we can speak of a prominent presence of militant Reformers operating from England in and after the Fury but less so of an organised attack planned within the Reformed institution in exile.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

IV. Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the divisions within the foreign churches on the topic of the Iconoclastic Fury and has shown the theological background to these disputes. The importance of the refugee churches for the Iconoclastic Fury is clear. As Pettegree said, we cannot underestimate the influence of England in creating an anti-Catholic atmosphere, even if the direct involvement was limited.¹⁸⁰ Yet, as I have pointed out, we should not be too quick to describe too much conscious responsibility for the events in the Low Countries to the foreign churches. Different to other narratives of the foreign churches and the *Wonderjaar*, I have shown the dynamics of the Iconoclastic Fury within the churches and the influence of theology and church discipline on the political thought of within stranger churches.

By doing so, this chapter finally offers an intricate and balanced account of both the militant and the pacifist sections. The ambivalent nature of violence troubled the exile congregations. The violent iconoclasm clashed with Reformed values of obedience and quietness. The Reformers who helped laying the foundations of the Edwardian Strangers' Church held those values of obedience and disciplined behaviour. Yet, they could not, paradoxically, preach against icons without indirectly invoking anger against these images among the public, thus compromising their values. Their writings seemed to contain dubious information on the topic of icons and the government. It told the readers that the government was destroying the country but at the same time emphasised that the Reformers should undergo all struggles patiently. These paradoxical ideas lived on the ecclesiastical discipline and policies of the foreign churches and explain the difficulties to

¹⁸⁰ Pettegree, 'The Exile Churches during the *Wonderjaar*', p. 94.

reach a conclusion on the involvement of the foreign churches in the troubles in the Low Countries in the 1560s witnessed in the historiography.

Their limited empathy towards the Low Countries also demonstrates that the stranger churches were more than mere refugee churches and can be valued as proper Continental outposts in London for Reformed thought. It transformed them from international outposts of the Reformation in England to subversive refugee centres, a transition especially abrupt in the London churches with the arrival of Wybo. While van Gelderen stated that ‘Dutch Reformed Protestantism was to an important extent the result of the activities of the various refugee churches, those of London and Emden in particular’, the Iconoclastic Fury was not.¹⁸¹ Refugees incorporated themselves in the existing foreign churches and within these congregations an increasing number grew militant. They found a common ground with a growing public in the most nearby area of the Low Countries, the Westkwartier, and then started using the refugee settlements as a basis from which they wanted to conquer the Westkwartier. The growing subversive tendencies among the Reformers in the Low Countries dissatisfied many figures in London, where the refugees were heavily divided in their opinions on iconoclasm. At the same time the Dutch Church experienced severe problems as a part of the congregation left the church out of protest. The clash between ideals and reality meant varying reactions towards violence within the congregations. As a result, the London churches’ opinions on iconoclasm differed from those newly emerging as Reformed leaders, ministers, elders, members, or simply adherents in the 1560s who had converted after listening to the sermons of early Reformers and interpreted their writings in subversive ways.

¹⁸¹ Van Gelderen, p. 66.

5. The foreign churches and the Dutch Revolt, 1568-1585

This chapter examines the contributions of the foreign churches in England to the revolt in the Low Countries between 1568 and 1585. Lindeboom, the well-known historian of the stranger churches, asserted fifty years ago that the Dutch Church's behaviour towards the Low Countries changed in the 1570s.¹ Lindeboom meant that the start of co-operation between the foreign churches and William of Orange on the military front, as well as the help sent to congregations in the Low Countries, was significant. This view has been generally accepted and reiterated in historiography, but can we take this assertion at face value? The churches' regular unwillingness to provide Orange with the necessary funds suggests that this view might be flawed. Were the war efforts as large as expected? What were the contributions?

Auke Jelsma has shown that there was a lack of support for Orange among the Reformed churches in the Low Countries. Does this view also hold for the foreign communities in England? If so, what held the communities back? This period, and the change which Lindeboom asserted, was also significant for theological understandings of violence. These understandings lay at the basis of a significant modification I propose to make to Lindeboom's assertion common in the historiography of the churches: that the foreign churches did not straightforwardly support the Dutch Revolt and their contributions were not as significant as asserted. Their attitudes differed between churches and in time, and their contributions were generally linked to a variety of stumbling blocks, such as economic circumstances, with a primary concern for the

¹ J. Lindeboom, *Austin Friars, Geschiedenis van de Nederlanse Hervormde Gemeente te Londen, 1550-1950* ('s-Gravenhage, 1950), p. 33.

survival of the Dutch Reformed movement. In this chapter, I intend to demonstrate the complexity of the churches' support.

While the foreign churches started to contribute to the war effort of Orange, I believe that they did not do so wholeheartedly and did so mostly between 1570 and 1576, and again from 1584 through the English intervention. The Reformed churches in the Low Countries stood as a third column between Spanish interests and those of Orange in many places. They helped Orange, but only to pursue their own religious interests. The London Dutch Church firmly disagreed with the war cruelties and tactics of Orange and his soldiers. On many occasions the stranger churches financially disappointed Orange, while the Reformed churches in the Low Countries hindered Orange's attempts at diplomatic reconciliation with his adversaries. The largest contributions of the foreign churches to the Dutch Revolt was the simple presence of their congregation in England which allowed Orange to build out mercenary networks through mercantile and militant Protestants.

To investigate the questions under consideration in this chapter, I start off looking at the historiography and justification of war in the larger context of the Dutch Reformed churches. I go on to analyse the war contributions the foreign churches made, as well as their relations with William I, Prince of Orange. Finally, I relate the presence and activities of the stranger churches to Elizabethan diplomacy. The story of Elizabeth's intervention and secret support of Orange in the Low Countries is quite well-known, so I focus on her interaction with the foreign churches. This chapter heavily draws on well-trodden letters from the *Archivum* and consistory acts from these churches. When analysing these sources in a systematic way to test the current grand-narrative, I found myself drawing different conclusions to Lindeboom. Based on the same sources, some historians, as we will see in the following section, have usually accepted Lindeboom's narrative, albeit with

a few alterations. I incorporate these views with my own findings and draw out a more complete narrative.

I. Classic accounts of how religion shaped the Dutch Revolt

The subject matter of this chapter is not new. Most recently, David Trim has considered the stranger churches' involvement in the Low Countries in the period under consideration as part of a thesis concerning English and Welsh mercenaries in European wars of religion.² Trim argued that the stranger churches played an active military role in the 'wars of religion', as he called the Dutch Revolt, in the Low Countries. He mentioned that the support which the stranger churches gave to their fatherland is 'well known'.³ While this refers to the prominent accounts of Pettegree, Boersma, van Schelven, Littleton, and the quintessential work of de Schickler, it does not necessarily mean that this support is well-understood.⁴ Trim did not qualify the churches and exactly who and what he meant with them. While his work is excellent from a military history angle, its understanding of the stranger churches remains shallow and it demonstrates a need for a compelling comparative study of the institutions involved which Trim terms the stranger churches. Only a few general accounts, Boersma and de Schickler's research in particular, have explored the internal working of the churches and how their support came about,

² David J. B. Trim, 'Fighting "Jacob's Wars": The Employment of English and Welsh Mercenaries in the European Wars of Religion: France and the Netherlands, 1562-1610' (Ph.D. diss., King's College, University of London, 2002).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

⁴ Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt: Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 147-87; Owe Boersma, 'Vluchtig voorbeeld: De Nederlandse, Franse en Italiaanse vluchtelingenkerken in Londen, 1568-1585' (PhD thesis, Theologische Academie Kampen, 1994), pp. 188-96; van Schelven; Charles Galton Littleton, 'Geneva on Threadneedle Street: The French Church of London and its Congregation, 1560-1625' (Ph.D. diss., The University of Michigan, 1996); Baron Ferdinand de Schickler, *Les Églises du Refuge en Angleterre*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1892).

and not in detail or with an eye on the churches' general attitudes towards violence and revolt.

Trim nonetheless gave a good summary when he said that 'the evidence reveals that in 1572, Dutch nobles and notables and leading members of their exile communities, particularly that in London, together with godly merchants of that City and royal councillors, cooperated to dispatch English and Welsh troops to the Netherlands.'⁵ His thesis saw the aid of the foreign churches in the light of the general military forces from English secular authorities. However, Trim's thesis only discussed the war contributions, and gave little numerical clarity. Trim emphasised that the actions in the Low Countries comprised of joint effort between the stranger churches and the Englishmen; I would go further and suggest that the effort of the English served as a stimulator to the stranger churches, who were not so much constrained in this matter by their presence in an English environment, as by the fact that they were a church and not a military institution.

Trim's thesis followed nearly two decades after Pettegree's, who believed that the 'exiles were quick to recognise an obligation to the whole Netherlands'.⁶ Pettegree pointed out that the stranger churches received many requests from Orange for financial support and did indeed send equipped soldiers and money to the Low Countries. By 1576, according to Pettegree, the churches' support became less financial and rather centred on the missions of ministers.⁷ I agree with this, hence also the division in my analysis about this time period in two chapters; chapter 5 focusing on the military side and 6 on their support for the Reformation. Our understanding of the foreign churches' support for the revolt would also benefit, however, from a few further considerations concerning the

⁵ Trim, p. 118.

⁶ Andrew Pettegree, 'The strangers and their churches in London, 1550-1580' (D.Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 1983), p. 273.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

influence of migratory movements, and political and financial restraints on the actual potential of the churches to contribute.

While Pettegree maintained a larger focus on both the French and Dutch communities in London, Littleton specialised in the history of the French Church. He believed that the strangers provided links between the Protestant Reformation on the Continent and the Reformers in England. Littleton asserted that ‘The aliens and their churches could easily be used by many religiously zealous members of the government to push both English ecclesiastical and foreign policy in a more militantly Protestant direction’.⁸ In contrast to the Dutch Church, the French Church seems to have had little problem with the war efforts of Orange and with violence. It contributed largely in diplomatic ways, while it also kept an eye on the wars of religion in France. The French Church held French ministers who had less problems with a justification of war. Calvin and the churches of France had provided some theological justifications.⁹

The Italian Church consisted of popular militant Reformers, while the Dutch Church in particular contained members and ministers who held conservative, theological views towards violence. Since these views matter because they shaped the attitudes of the

⁸ Littleton, ‘Geneva on Threadneedle’, p. 213.

⁹ Calvin remained strongly convinced of the doctrine of obedience throughout his life. Yet, as Protestants set up assemblies and defended themselves this became difficult to adhere to, and Protestants in France became more militant by 1560, even ministers. Calvin himself stood slightly more favourable towards resistance from 1560 onwards, that is in certain cases such as through lower magistrates. He considered obedience to God most important. Increasingly Calvinist ministers supported the call to arms to defend themselves against persecutions. French Calvinists found some room for a constitutional theory of resistance. See among others Quentin Skinner, *The foundations of modern political thought. Volume Two: The Age of Reformation* (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 193-94, 213-20; Philip Benedict, ‘The dynamics of Protestant Militancy: France, 1555–1563’, in *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands, 1555–1585*, ed. by Philip Benedict, Guido Marnef, Henk van Nierop, Marc Venard (Amsterdam, 1999), pp. 35-50; Philip Benedict, ‘Prophets in Arms? Ministers in War, Ministers on War: France 1562-74’, in *Ritual and Violence: Natalie Zemon Davis and early modern France*, Past and Present suppl. 7, ed. by Graeme Murdock, Penny Roberts, Andrew Spicer (Oxford, 2012), pp. 163-196; Bruce Gordon, *Calvin* (New Haven/London, 2009); Nevada Levi DeLapp, *The Reformed David(s) and the Question of Resistance to Tyranny: Reading the Bible in the 16th and 17th centuries* (London, 2014), pp. 19-54; Andrew Spicer, ‘Iconoclasm on the Frontier: Le Cateau-Cambrésis, 1566’, in *Iconoclasm from Antiquity to Modernity* (Farnham, 2014), pp. 119-137.

foreign churches towards the Dutch Revolt, an overview of the views and appropriate parts of the historiography of the Dutch Reformation fits here. In respect of the London Dutch Church's stance, we find an interesting theory in Auke Jelsma's ideas on revolt and the Reformed churches in the Low Countries in order to attempt to understand the reactions of the foreign churches. Auke Jelsma asserted that the Reformed movement in the Low Countries hesitated to justify the right of revolt and that Reformers in the Low Countries did not support 'warriors' with the same vigour as the churches did in France or Scotland.¹⁰

In the first synod in Bedburg in 1571, from which the English foreign churches absented themselves, the Dutch Reformed churches declared their support for Orange, justified the war as godly, and allowed violence. These statements were not confirmed in the following synod at Emden, however, demonstrating the Dutch Reformed churches' hesitation.¹¹ In practical terms we see a similar reaction in London as Jelsma witnessed in the Low Countries, but I believe it is related to Calvinist theology as well: 'The result was accepted, not the violence.'¹² An example of this was the decision of the Dutch Reformed churches in the Low Countries in 1574 not to get involved in worldly matters and keep themselves to ecclesiastical problems. It is very probable that the Reformed churches, like Jelsma explained, wanted to separate themselves from the Revolt, and from violence related to it, as well as from the rebellion against the king.¹³ The London Dutch Church's lack of vigour went even deeper, among large divisions on the topic between the ministers in the foreign churches and also among the lines of intellectual and popular Reformers.

¹⁰ Auke Jelsma, 'The "Weakness of Conscience" in the Reformed movement in the Netherlands: the attitude of the Dutch Reformation to the use of violence between 1562 and 1574', in *The Church and War. Papers read at the twenty-first summer meeting and the twenty-second winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. W. J. Sheils. (Oxford, 1983), pp. 217-29 (220).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 223-24.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 221.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 221-24.

One thing Jelsma forgot to acknowledge is that there were indeed theological justifications for the revolt, for instance the responsibility of the lower authorities to defend Christians against a tyrant.¹⁴ The violence and robbing for which the foreign churches repudiated the troops of Orange was what they could not justify. While militant members concentrated on the justifications for revolt, the churches could not entirely agree with Orange's war tactics and diplomatic mingling with potential Catholic allies. Jelsma ascribed the lack of fervour among the Reformed churches in the Low Countries to a 'weakness of conscience' or 'a reluctance to accept the use of violence against the government', but how does one explain the Calvinist revolutions in cities in Flanders in 1576 then?¹⁵ It more easily translates, I believe, into fear of sin through the ungodly war tactics Orange used in a disorderly fashion, and let order be one of the main characteristics guiding Reformed discipline. Jelsma asserted that many of the Dutch fugitives in London and elsewhere, as well as the churches under the cross, still believed that 'violence against the magistrates was a sin'.¹⁶ As seen in chapters 3 and 4, however, the opposite was true as well: some of the churches and Reformers under the cross proved to be very militant and not opposed to violence in the 1560s. Dutch churches did not so much have a problem with military violence but with war crimes such as robberies often committed through Sea Beggars and gueux. With this came distrust of Orange's ungodly war tactics.

Jelsma considered the background of this 'weakness of conscience', or 'fear of sin', to be threefold. First, he argued, Lutheran thought had shaped the Reformed Church in the Low Countries, while a limited Calvinist influence befell the southern parts of the Low Countries.¹⁷ Yet the London Dutch Church considered the Lutherans to be their

¹⁴ See chapter 4, pp. 173, 185.

¹⁵ Jelsma, 'The "Weakness of Conscience"'.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

¹⁷ Jelsma, 'The "Weakness of Conscience"', p. 227.

enemies.¹⁸ This influence might rather have been intellectual or cultural. Indeed, Jelsma saw the Southern Low Countries as an exception. The Calvinist influence there proved itself in the start of the Iconoclast Fury in the Westkwartier. Lutherans would have considered disobedience or revolt unthinkable, according to Jelsma.¹⁹ Second, Reformers associated disobedience with Anabaptism and the Münster catastrophe. This is something Owe Boersma asserted as well.²⁰ Lastly, Jelsma saw the strict division between worldly and ecclesiastical matters as a remnant of an earlier strong Anabaptist movement in the Low Countries.²¹ He pointed to Wouter Deleene and his son Peter Deleene as examples of this.²² Both had Anabaptist roots and staunchly opposed violence. Wouter Deleene was an elder of the Strangers' Church in Edwardian England, while Peter Deleene was an elder of the Elizabethan Dutch Church.

There was an inherent fear of any association with Anabaptism present in the stranger churches until the 1570s. This repugnance towards Anabaptism turned from outright condemnation of Anabaptism to a more moderate stance which, if not accepting, was also not severely condemning of the idea that Anabaptists might have been 'weak members of Christ' who needed to be converted.²³ While there is certainly something to be said for the Lutheran influence, most of the members of the stranger churches came from the southern Low Countries, especially Antwerp and Flanders, two areas which underwent a Calvinist influence and contained several French or Walloon churches because of trade and geographical convenience. The members of the Reformed churches

¹⁸ Archivum, 3.1, letter 712, pp. 624-25.

¹⁹ Jelsma, 'The "Weakness of Conscience"', p. 227.

²⁰ Boersma, p. 188.

²¹ Jelsma, 'The 'Weakness of Conscience', pp. 227-29.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 228.

²³ This was visible most notably in the 1575 case of the executed Dutch Anabaptists in London. The Dutch Church attempted to convert the said Anabaptists to no avail. Archivum, 2, letter 191, pp. 700-10.

in these areas did not shy back from violence.²⁴ The leadership, in contrast to the members of the Dutch Church, condemned any form of rebellion or violence. Yet should we not consider a rather Erasmian influence in this? The stranger churches' main architect, à Lasco, was a close friend of Erasmus and bought his library before travelling to England.²⁵

Also, if there was a true Lutheran justification for this separation of worldly and ecclesiastical matters, as Jelsma suggested, then how should we interpret the decision of the Walloon Church of Canterbury not to intermingle with politics and only to focus on ecclesiastical matters if the Walloon provinces were most likely to undergo Calvinist influence?²⁶ Elsewhere Jelsma proposed a motive which seems to me to be more relevant and prevailing than the Lutheran influence. This was the simple fact, for which he quoted Duke, that the churches had other priorities, functions, and more than enough work in ecclesiastical matters rather than having time to preoccupy themselves with intermingling in state affairs.²⁷ While I agree with Jelsma's first thesis on 'the weakness of conscience', I do believe that it does not constitute the entire picture, especially when applied to the stranger churches. In this case, not just a fear of sin, but also a search for order, a difficult financial situation, organisational burdens, and dependence on their host country weighed at least as much on their abilities, or failure, to contribute to the warfare on Orange's side, as well as a distrust of Orange.

²⁴ See chapters 3 and 4.

²⁵ *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterdami*, ed. Percy S. Allen et al. (Oxford, 1926) vol. 11, pp. 503-06, as quoted in Michael S. Springer, *Restoring Christ's Church. John a Lasco and the Forma ac ratio* (Aldershot, 2007), p. 2.

²⁶ CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1577*, p. 6; CCA – U47/A1, *Actes du Consistoire*, fol. 7.

²⁷ Alastair Duke, 'The Ambivalent Face of Calvinism in the Netherlands 1561-1618', in *International Calvinism*, ed. Menna Prestwich (Oxford, 1985, 2nd edn 1986), pp. 109-34, referenced by Auke Jelsma, *Frontiers of the Reformation. Dissidence and Orthodoxy in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 112-14.

II. The complex relationship between the Reformed churches and William of Orange

Religion itself could never be a ground for armed resistance, as Mout asserted, because resistance was a sin.²⁸ The reasons for grievances leading to resistance and the Low Countries as well as the Dutch Revolt were partially political. Secular authorities located in Spain commanded a severe persecution of Protestants and trod on the privileges of traditionally independent-minded cities in the Low Countries while the nobles in the Low Countries complained about Spain's efforts to implement centralisation. Orange's cause was that of politics, above Catholicism and Protestantism. Protestants were suspicious of this lack of exclusive treatment of Protestant concerns.

Orange did attempt to appeal to exiles in particular in a religious way. Orange was a figure which the *Wilhelmus*, a popular folklore song written in 1572 which became the Netherlands' national anthem, compared to the biblical figure of David, who defeated Goliath, or the Spanish rule. Just like Orange, David was an exile, and the biblical justification for exile Calvin commonly used was David's story. According to Nevada DeLapp, Beza promoted a second interpretation of this story which the *Wilhelmus* followed, that is a righteous lesser magistrate rebelling against king Saul. Orange himself also used the story of David in a few letters to the foreign churches in order to convince them of the theological justifications and importance of aiding him.²⁹ The link between

²⁸M.E.H.N. Mout, 'Armed resistance and Calvinism during the revolt of the Netherlands', in *Church, Change and Revolution. Transactions of the fourth Anglo-Dutch church history colloquium (Exeter, 30 August-3 September, 1988)*, ed. by Johannes van den Berg & Paul G. Hoftijzer (Leiden, 1991), pp. 57-68 (p. 63).

²⁹ DeLapp, *The Reformed David(s)*, pp. 73-96.

the exile churches and support for rebellion certainly seemed theologically significant, but the churches did not seem convinced.

Orange first launched invasions in the Low Countries against the Duke of Alba in 1568. Up until 1580, Orange maintained that he was acting against Philip's 'evil councillors', or so he leads us to believe.³⁰ In June 1572 Orange wrote that his mission had the objective 'to put an end to the atrocious and impious tyranny and insolence of the Duke of Alva and his gang'.³¹ It is unclear whether or not the anger was directed at Alba and his successors in the Low Countries alone, rather than against the authority of Philip himself, but other invasions followed and led to a continuous revolt. In their surge against Philip's representatives in the Low Countries, noblemen used several tactics, among them the *gueux*. Help in this form came from England from where privateers operated under the pretext of service for William of Orange as pirating guerrilla forces. The Sea Beggars were born in 1568 when Orange's brother, Louis of Nassau, first commissioned captains to attack from the sea.³² A second wave of Beggars played a vital role in the 1572 invasion plans of Orange. Their attack on the Low Countries from the sea formed part of Orange's large military initiative, the second revolt.³³ Yet it is unclear how much control Orange had over these troops, especially after Elizabeth prematurely expelled them from the southern English coast. They attacked Holland and Zeeland and brought the coastal towns under their command.³⁴

³⁰ J.K. Oudendijk, "Den Coninck van Hispaengien heb ick altijd gheert", in *Dancwerck. Opstellen aangeboden aan Prof. dr. D. Th. Enklaar* (Groningen, 1959), pp. 264-78, as referred to in Alastair Duke, 'From King and Country to King or Country? Loyalty and Treason in the Revolt of the Netherlands', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 32 (1982), 113-35 (p. 124).

³¹ Archivum, 2, Letter 118, pp. 412-19.

³² Backhouse, p. 155.

³³ Trim, pp. 109-10.

³⁴ See J. A. C. De Meij, *De Watergeuzen en de Nederlanden, 1568-1572* (Amsterdam, 1972).

Herbert Rowen called the Sea Beggars ‘maritime predators’, a description that seems rather apt, although De Meij disagreed with this judgment.³⁵ The mayor and council members of the town of Oostburg near Sluis and Flushing, on the coast of the Low Countries, called the gueux ‘rebels’ in 1574, but a later, unknown, hand corrected the word writing ‘revolters’ in its stead.³⁶ In 1573, according to Duke, Orange recognised the grievances of the coastal towns against the ‘unruly Sea Beggars’ and dismissed William II de La Marck, Lord of Lumey, his hated lieutenant who was the supreme commander of the Sea Beggars and regularly committed pillaging.³⁷ Trim, considering the English involvement, viewed these Beggars as being mostly made up of refugees from the foreign churches and Englishmen who acted on their own initiative.³⁸ Rowen, Trim, Backhouse, and even Pettegree were often keen on mentioning the refugee communities in connection with the Sea Beggars, but their use of these general terms can give a distorted image of the foreign churches being strongholds of resistance. The foreign churches held an ambivalent connection with the Beggars. De Meij rather portrayed them as exiles but did not show any significant connection with the foreign churches, although he did remark the presence of the Norwich preacher Jan Michiels on board of one of the Sea Beggar’s vessels.³⁹

Some members of the congregations supported the Beggars. The church leadership of most congregations vehemently disapproved the Beggars or slowly turned a blind eye in order to support their cause in the Low Countries. They still, however, condemned robbery. A pivotal moment was a controversy in the Flemish Church of

³⁵ Herbert H. Rowen, ‘The Dutch Revolt: What kind of Revolution?’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 43:3 (1990), 570-590 (p. 576); De Meij, p. 179.

³⁶ Archief van de gemeente Sluis, nr. 1128 Oostburg.

³⁷ Duke, ‘From King and Country’, pp. 126-27.

³⁸ Trim, p. 99.

³⁹ De Meij, pp. 44, 167-169.

Norwich in 1571 concerning church hierarchy and disputes on the question of armed resistance. Some members of the Dutch Church of Norwich maintained

dyverse irreligious persons, which under pretence of sauffe conduycte of the Prince of Orange to take his enemies by sea, dyd come on lande, and became robbers and spylers of the comon wealthe: and in this place wher the Ghospelle is protested the same people to be forstered, is directlye against the Ghospelle of God, and therefor all such supporters to be culpable of their robberies.⁴⁰

The city council reproached two ministers, Theophilus Rickaert and Anthonius Algoet, as troublemakers. They had actively participated in the 1566 iconoclasm in the Low Countries and had provided for several Sea Beggars. They also expelled member Johannes Paulus from the city and threatened those who supported him, Rickaert, or Algoet with a fine of £20.⁴¹ According to Esser, the party of the ‘troublemakers’ held more support in the Norwich community than those opposing them. The minister Isibrandus Balkius formed part of the opposition. The problems concerning hierarchy came into existence when minister Rickaert and Algoet turned against Balkius and forbade him to preach and administer the sacraments.⁴² The controversy over violence fits in with the conflict surrounding Jan Enghelram, also called Engelram or Inghelram, in the London Dutch Church.

A former elder, Jan Enghelram, wrote a booklet in 1568 at the height of the controversy in London concerning iconoclasm.⁴³ In this booklet Engleram accused the 1566 iconoclasts in the Low Countries of having sinned and wrote about the importance

⁴⁰ Norwich Record Office, NCR 17d/9, 17D, *The Dutch and Walloon Strangers’ Book of Orders*, fol. 42, as quoted in Raingard Esser, ‘The Norwich Strangers and the Sandwich Connection’, *Westboek Info*, 10:2, (July 1994), 66-81 (p. 76).

⁴¹ Raingard Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten im England des 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1996), pp. 66-67; ‘The Norwich Strangers’, p. 77.

⁴² Norwich Record Office, NCR, 17d/9, *The Dutch and Walloon Strangers’ Book of Orders*, fol. 42, 42 v. as quoted in Esser, ‘The Norwich Strangers’, p. 77.

⁴³ Johannes Engelram, *Utsprake van der kercken of ghemeynte Godes: welke, wat ende hoedanich sy sy* ([?], 1567).

of obedience to secular governmental authorities.⁴⁴ In 1570 several members complained to the consistory of the Dutch Church about the ongoing sale of the booklet. The controversy rekindled when the minister of the Dutch Church, Godfried van Wingham, publicly supported Enghelram in his views on the Iconoclastic Fury.⁴⁵ Van Wingham preached in May 1570 about the sins of those who had encouraged iconoclasm.⁴⁶ The consistory investigated the matter and decided that it would be better for Enghelram to stop the sales of his booklet as it gave so much offence to the community.⁴⁷ They also wanted him to give a public confession of guilt for his offensive behaviour and disobedience towards the consistory. The consistory, according to their own narrative of the events, turned mainly against him on account of his behaviour, not of his religious beliefs. Enghelram, in contrast, believed that a part of the consistory had judged to his disadvantage because they did not approve of the booklet's content.⁴⁸

Enghelram felt that a confession of guilt from his side would show that the consistory publicly condemned the teachings in his book. He feared that it would also seem as if the consistory disagreed on his doctrine concerning the government, that is obedience to secular authorities, and that they usurped power from secular governmental authorities.⁴⁹ He considered it his duty to fight for his teachings, not as a private person but in function of his former duty as an elder in order for the congregation to know the 'true teachings' on the government.⁵⁰ Jan Lamoot, Jacob Saals, Jan Clercx, and Claude Dotignies had intervened in the consistory to lament the prohibition of the booklet and Franchois Clercx, Jan Davelu, Gheeraert Artys, Guillaume Cocq, Jacob van Aeken, Pieter

⁴⁴ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 431, p. 410.

⁴⁵ Acta, pp. 80, 173-74.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 84.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 134-35, 165.

⁴⁹ He probably meant that they would usurp this power by allowing disorderly Reformers to commit iconoclasm, something that only secular authorities could do. *Ibid.*, pp. 132-33.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

de But, Willem Fogghe, and a few other brethren also supported Enghelram in front of the consistory.⁵¹ This party distrusted the consistory.⁵² Eventually the Bishop of London, Edwin Sandys, became involved in the investigation. He rebuked Enghelram for disputing the authority of the consistory and the Coetus who had ruled against the booklet. Although there was nothing theologically wrong with the booklet, the Bishop ruled that it was provocative because of the examples it used of the Low Countries to prove its teachings.⁵³ Enghelram was not satisfied with the middle ground which the church wanted to take on iconoclasm and violence after the upheaval within the church between 1565 and 1568.

The 'bad behaviour' which Enghelram had displayed towards the consistory existed of his obstinate refusal to drop allegations against it. He accused the church of opening its doors to the 'gueux' for not straightforwardly condemning the 1566 iconoclasm and subsequent violence. Enghelram feared that the people would consider the church to be a 'gueux' church, or in other words one that hosted violent robbers. He admitted that the Dutch Church used to be hated for its strict anti-violence views but also asserted that it would open its doors to people associated with the 'gueux' identity if it prohibited the sale of his booklet in 1570.⁵⁴ This would not be the last time that his booklet brought Enghelram into difficulties. Enghelram asked the Dutch Church for a testimony as he wanted to move to Canterbury in 1571. When he decided to join the Walloon church there in 1576, Gherard Goossens, a member of this church, complained to the consistory about the reception of Enghelram into the community on account of

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90, 170-71, 172.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 146-47.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 186-87.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.

the booklet.⁵⁵ The consistory had to make an investigation into the matter and only Goossens's move to Antwerp in 1584 resolved the quarrel.⁵⁶

The Enghelram case demonstrated a continuation of the struggle between popular and devotional thought in the communication of the ecclesiastical discipline from the minister to his public. In 1570 it had become clear that the earlier controversy about iconoclasm was still alive. Van Winghen had preached that the troubles in the Low Countries had arisen because of the public preaching and iconoclasm and that those had done this sinned against the government. 14 brethren of the community argued that this was in direct contrast with the Bible and with van Winghen's previous teachings. They believed that the government was responsible for the erection of the idols based on faulty beliefs, and that the iconoclasts had rightfully destroyed them thanks to the realisation of the correct evangelical thought and that they had thus not sinned. Moreover, the brethren declared that nobles such as William of Orange and Hendrik van Brederode had approved the iconoclasm, and that they ought to discern between devout and godless governments.⁵⁷

Van Winghen must have realised the apparent contrast there had been between his preaching against the idols, and the sudden violent removal which he condemned. He abhorred the conclusions which the people had drawn from his preaching against the idols. If thinking along those lines, he reasoned, then the iconoclasts could justify having the private authority to kill adulterers and those who visit prostitutes.⁵⁸ Some members played with the idea of a right of private authority which was based on the biblical story in which Jesus chased the merchants out of the temple, as Jesus had no governmental

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 190-91.

⁵⁶ *Archivum*, 3.1, Letter 431, p. 410.

⁵⁷ *Acta*, p. 97.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

authority to do so.⁵⁹ Jan Enghelram accused the consistory of the Dutch Church of going against governmental authority and obedience, especially that of the Spanish, by not choosing the side of van Winghen.⁶⁰ Jan Davelu, a member of the Dutch Church, gossiped that Joris Wybo, one of the other ministers, believed that van Winghen was wrong, and that at least one hundred members took that stance.⁶¹ Wybo had formed part of the 1562 synod at Antwerp which had decided to allow the illegal, forced, release of Reformed prisoners.

In common with congregations across Europe, the easiest thing for Reformed leaders was first to condemn, and then slowly turn a blind eye to what happened in order not to disturb the community. As some Calvinist leaders such as Theodore Beza partially embraced the idea of resistance by the 1560s, the stranger churches needed a Reformed government more responsive to the views of its membership. The memory of iconoclasm was a sore one in the Dutch community which was hard to put to rest. While some members condemned the events, others wanted recognition of the actions, and still others were searching for closure. The events also caused spiritual concerns for some of the members. One of them, Philippus Hendricx, was worried that van Winghen did not differentiate between sincere iconoclasts and robbers, and wondered what spiritual judgement those who had died without being able to repent their iconoclastic actions could expect. Should the congregation, he asked, take measures against those who had been iconoclasts and were accepted among the congregation without doing repentance? If they were to believe van Winghen, iconoclasts had sinned and had to fear for their soul.⁶²

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 132-33.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

The consistory tried to find middle ground by urging van Wingham to accept the notion that each case of iconoclasm should be judged separately and according to circumstances.⁶³ He did not accept this and appealed to Edwin Sandys, the Bishop of London, for judgement. Sandys took a middle ground in which he condemned going against the secular magistrates while showing some sympathy for the religiously-inspired zeal of the iconoclasts.⁶⁴ The consistory tried to prohibit further discussion and move on.⁶⁵ I believe this was a turning point for the Dutch Church. Slowly the memory of the Iconoclastic Fury became built into a story of religious and national identity which the *Archivum* witnesses through a change in discourse throughout the period under consideration. The 1570s was a period of transition in that sense. Many of the members were willing to take part in that narrative, while the churches navigated between a discourse based on the spread of the Reformed movement only, and one it shared with the political liberation of the Low Countries for which Orange strived.

Why did the attitude of the stranger churches change? These anti-violence Reformers were not so much opposed to military intervention by a lower secular, governmental authority, such as Orange, but, as we will see, to his tactics. If anything, the writings originating from the brethren of the Edwardian Strangers' Church had already justified such an intervention.⁶⁶ We find another hint towards the answer in Littleton's words:

By the end of the 1560s, under the watch of Jean Cousin, that small pre-Elizabethan remnant was effectively swamped by the large-scale immigration of self-proclaimed religious refugees, who came from highly Calvinist areas of France and the Netherlands. [...] many immigrants who joined the stranger churches in this period were highly committed leaders of the Calvinist revolts in

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 105-07.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 156-57.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁶⁶ On the possibility of lower authorities to intervene see chapter 4, pp. 173, 185.

Flanders and Hainault in 1566-7 or targets of the extreme anti-Huguenot backlash in France in 1572.⁶⁷

This is also shown in the increasing demands of the members to use the psalms of Dathenus in the London Dutch Church. These psalms were commonly used in the Low Countries instead of the psalms of Utenhove in 1569 and 1570. John Day published Utenhove's largest psalm book in 1566.⁶⁸ London and Sandwich still used the Utenhove psalms, while all other Dutch congregations in England used the Dathenus psalms.⁶⁹ New pro-resistance members overruled van Winghen in London, and Sandwich minister Jacob Bucer advised van Winghen to harmonize with the rest of the consistory to avoid quarrels in the church.⁷⁰ Similarly, the decision of the consistory in 1574 to replace Micronius' Catechism with the catechism of Heidelberg showed a willingness of the consistory to conform with the customs on the Continent rather than those of the first generation of Reformed refugees.⁷¹

In the Dutch Church, views on Orange and the revolt also changed in the 1570s, yet the distrust only went away slowly. The stranger churches quarrelled mostly about the gueux. There was one case in which a consistory member from the congregation of Oudenaarde, Clement van Driessche, had indulged in gueux activities and fled to England around the year 1567. He considered these gueux activities to have been an offence against the government and decided to ask Margaret of Parma for a pardon so he could return to the Low Countries, but he never sent the letter off. He only joined the London Dutch Church a year and a half after his arrival. By 1571 he was elected as an elder of the London Dutch Church, even though some members had complained about his election

⁶⁷ Littleton, 'Geneva on Threadneedle', p. 95.

⁶⁸ Robin A. Leaver, 'Goostly Psalms and Spiritual Songes' *English and Dutch Metrical Psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove 1535-1566* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 275-80.

⁶⁹ *Archivum*, 2, Letter 99, pp. 332-34.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Acta*, p. 452.

knowing his past.⁷² The realisation that van Driessche offended the secular government in the Low Countries, thus going against the godly order, was important here as it reflected Reformed values. Van Wingham believed that Philip sent over Alba because of the way the iconoclasm took place, disorderly and offensively. The violent iconoclasm, which should have taken place through legal authorities, was, according to him, the cause of all the difficulties which had affected the Low Countries by 1570, that is politically, economically, militarily, persecutions, and plague. He said that the plundering and iconoclasm had gravely offended Philip as it affected his Catholic beliefs.⁷³

The consistories of the foreign churches could accept soldiers who were members of their church serving in an army, but this again should happen orderly and with discipline. One of the members serving in Orange's forces, Hendric Cnoop, had committed some crime while at war, and the consistory of the London Dutch Church reprehended him for that.⁷⁴ When Heindrick Tesschemakere, a soldier coming from the Continent, wanted to join the Dutch Church in 1574, the consistory decided it would first observe his behaviour for a while.⁷⁵ At the same time there were also members who neglected to frequent the church but were involved in the war in the Low Countries. In 1575 the Dutch consistory rebuked Hans van Courte and Lubbert Janssen for neglecting church attendance for a long time. They apologised and admitted having followed the course of the war and seem to have conducted themselves badly on the Continent, which might point to robbery and piracy.⁷⁶

Since the Beggars mostly launched attacks from the English coast, it seems likely that many of them were refugees belonging to a foreign church. Van Schelven asserted

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 196-97.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 334.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 426.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 465.

the idea that a large proportion of the adult refugees residing in Dover, about 300 persons in 1571, were involved in gueux activities. Yet he produced little evidence supporting his assertion.⁷⁷ The Wood Beggars who operated in the area of West-Flanders were members of the Flemish Church of Sandwich, as seen in chapter 4, but the churches themselves did not approve of 'gueux'. Backhouse pointed out that there is surprisingly little evidence of the Sea Beggars among the members of the Sandwich church. He could only trace six members of the Flemish congregation who served the Sea Beggars, and none for the Walloon community. Pieter Bolle and Daniel Godtschalk served under captain Jacob Baert, all of whom came from Sandwich, in 1573 in order to attack Nieuwpoort, which was a strategic stronghold for Spanish supplies, but the plan failed.⁷⁸ There are indications that captains regularly attempted to recruit people in England in the name of Orange.⁷⁹ Backhouse saw two reasons why none of the source material threw any light on the case. The operations of the privateers held a 'clandestine character', but it is also possible, as he pointed out, that many refugees simply did not originate from coastal areas and would feel little inclination for privateering.⁸⁰

What the strangers in Sandwich did have in 1568 was weapons. The city council did not appreciate the strangers walking about the countryside with weapons and decided to warn them against it.⁸¹ In October 1571 the Privy Council investigated the nature of the strangers in England and pointed out that there were good and bad strangers. It judged that the 'evil disposed people' resided there under the guise of religion and piety. The investigation was, according to Moens, probably the result of complaints about the refugees from Philip II. One of the queries from the Privy Council was an examination

⁷⁷ Van Schelven, pp. 203-04.

⁷⁸ Backhouse, pp. 158-59.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

⁸¹ Kent Archives Maidstone, Sa/AC5 The New Red Book, fol. 20.

of the presence of arms in the strangers' houses.⁸² At this request in 1571, the city council of Rye wrote to the Privy Council about the strangers in this city, and in particular about what weapons these foreigners possessed.⁸³ In Norwich the strangers owned two 'aclyvers, dags and pistols xlv, halberds and bylls, fower, tow, bore spears two, swords and rapers cclxx' that year, not a great quantity according to the city council.⁸⁴

Some members of the Southampton congregation supported Sea Beggar captains. Jean de Beaulieu provided victuals for captain Lumbres.⁸⁵ He negotiated between the privateers and the owners of seized goods. Furthermore, he granted a significant loan of £100 to Lumey van der Marck when the latter prepared to capture Den Briel.⁸⁶ Perhaps the churches turned a blind eye on Beaulieu because of his diplomatic negotiations and wealth. However, the foreign churches regularly communicated about whether to accept people who they identified as gueux into the communities and how to treat persons they suspected of having committed gueux activities; one enquiry came specifically from Sandwich.⁸⁷ The colloquium of the Dutch churches decided in 1577 not to allow members who they suspected of having committed robberies under the pretext of Orange's cause to participate in the Lord's Supper unless they could show a commission from the Prince. Van Toorenenbergen believed that the colloquium was pointing to the Sea Beggars.⁸⁸ A similar opinion existed among some Reformers in the Low Countries. The consistory of the Reformed Church in Nieuwerkerke, in the Westkwartier, an area otherwise known for its militant Protestants, considered the matter of a member

⁸² W.J.C. Moens, *The Walloons and their Church at Norwich. 1565-1832*. Publications of the Huguenot Society of London (Lymington, 1888), pp. 33-34.

⁸³ East Sussex Record Office, Rye/47/2/12, 1571, November 13.

⁸⁴ Moens, *The Walloons*, p. 35.

⁸⁵ Public Record Office (now in The National Archives at Kew), HCA 13/18, ff. 265-266, 68-68v, 73, as quoted in Spicer, p. 135.

⁸⁶ Spicer, p. 136.

⁸⁷ Archivum, 2, Letter 155, pp. 573-76.

⁸⁸ Acten van de Colloquia, pp. 29-30.

suspected of having kept company with ‘wild gueux’ in 1577 and wished the advice of the London Dutch Church on how to proceed with the case.⁸⁹

The Reformed churches, and the foreign churches in particular, were not entirely drawn to Orange’s military cause. One of the reasons for this was the complex political and military situation in the Low Countries. Orange was not the only party in revolt, and the States General still recognized him in 1572 as ‘the governor general and lieutenant of the King’.⁹⁰ Catholic noblemen also revolted against Alba’s attempts at centralisation. From 1573 onwards, Alba’s replacement in the Low Countries, Don Requenses, adopted the aim of working towards peace treaties involving all parties instead of militarily reconquering the Low Countries. Orange’s discourse concerning ‘the common cause’, which the Reformed churches slowly took over and incorporated in the Protestant message in the second half of 1570s, had not only effected a hatred of Alba and his successors but also estranged its public from Philip.

Rowen identified two simultaneous rebellions in the Low Countries, especially from 1576 onwards; first, the general revolt, which Orange led, and second, several, often Calvinistic, city revolutions taking place in Flanders and Brabant, the best known of which was the revolt of Ghent, the so-called ‘Calvinist Republic of Ghent’. Rowen believed Orange also guided the latter, but sometimes the movements clashed, while at other times they collaborated.⁹¹ What could the contribution of the stranger churches to a multi-layered number of events which constituted what historians call the Dutch Revolt be? The stranger churches were not opposed to Philip but saw Alba and Requenses as enemies trying to restore Catholicism while persecuting Calvinists. On one hand they could not agree with Orange’s disloyalty to the king unless they considered Alba to be the

⁸⁹ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 435, pp. 412-13.

⁹⁰ Duke, ‘From King and Country’, pp. 126-27.

⁹¹ Rowen, pp. 578-79.

enemy and Orange to be the loyal defender of the king. The provincial foreign churches, on the other hand, contained more popular Reformers and held an element of revolutionary spirit, much more than the central Reformed stranger churches in London, where the devotional and elite element was more present. While Orange attempted to establish freedom of religion, the Reformers zealously disturbed the religious balance he aimed for on some occasions in the second half of the 1570s. From 1576 onwards the local Calvinist rebellions in Flanders and Brabant hindered the effective Pacification of Ghent. As Rowen put it, the towns were disobedient to both Orange and the States General.⁹²

The churches in the Low Countries were more interested in their own religious zeal than in Orange's military cause. They started a missionary offensive to popularise the Reformed churches in Flanders and Brabant again after the Pacification of Ghent, much to the offence of Catholic parties, the States General, and even William of Orange.⁹³ As Koenigsberger argued, the leaders of revolutionary movements on a state level, such as Orange, were not revolutionary, they had no intention to root up the social order.⁹⁴ In Ghent, Oudenaarde, Bruges, and Ypres, alternative Calvinist governments advanced the Reformed cause. Petrus Dathenus led the organisation of the congregation at Ghent with the support of Jan van Hembyze, who was involved in the 1567-1568 troubles in the Westkwartier. Koenigsberger did call this installation of a Reformed-minded secular government 'revolutionary', in contrast to Orange's actions.⁹⁵ He connected the Reformed movement with a heightened revolutionary sentiment among the artisans as the city's trade had been in decline for decades.⁹⁶ In 1578 the magistrate of Ypres allowed

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 580.

⁹³ Duke, 'From King and Country', pp. 131-32.

⁹⁴ Rowen, p. 580.

⁹⁵ H. G. Koenigsberger, 'The Organization of Revolutionary Parties in France and the Netherlands during the Sixteenth Century', *The Journal of Modern History*, 27:4 (1955), 335-51.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 344-45.

the Reformed religion at the request of two commissioners from the city of Ghent.⁹⁷ This provocative spirit offended the wealthy Catholics, especially the Walloon nobility, in the city, who complained to Orange about it. Moderate Catholics who had supported the rebellion for political reasons, became increasingly concerned over Calvinist obtrusiveness. Catholics in exile, as Janssens has shown, at the same time attempted to influence a Counter-Reformation movement in the Low Countries which did not compromise on Calvinism.⁹⁸

Spain also played on these sentiments and drew some of the Walloon nobility to its side, in this way effectively forming a basis for military operations in the southern Netherlands.⁹⁹ The Reformed movements hindered the peace Orange attempted to keep. In their zeal, the Reformers in Ghent wanted to set up public preaching. Orange opposed this plan as it would be provocative. Jacques Taffin, army preacher under Orange and in regular correspondence with the French Church of London, warned Jacob Regius, minister at Ghent who had come from London, against the execution of the scheme. The latter talked to the consistory of Ghent about this, but they all agreed to continue the project out of zeal for the Protestant cause. Regius preached publicly in the church of the Jacobines in Ghent, but not without anxiety.¹⁰⁰ Orange effectively proceeded to overrule the new governments in these cities and replaced them with more moderate ones in 1579.¹⁰¹ By 1583 Dathenus and Hambyze again attempted to establish a Calvinist

⁹⁷ *Inventaire analytique et chronologique des chartres et documents appartenant aux archives de la ville d'Ypres*, ed. by Isidore L. A. Diegerick, 7 vols (Bruges, 1853-1868), vol. 6 (1864), p. 248.

⁹⁸ Geert H. Janssen, 'The Counter-Reformation of the Refugee: Exile and the Shaping of Catholic Militancy in the Dutch Revolt', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 63:4 (2012), 671-92 (pp. 656-87).

⁹⁹ P. Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed. A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven/London, 2002), p. 197.

¹⁰⁰ *Archivum*, 2, Letter 169, pp. 621-25.

¹⁰¹ Koenigsberger, 'The Organization', pp. 344-45.

government in Ghent, but in 1584 the city fell in Spanish hands.¹⁰² Orange lost the favour of the Walloon nobility.

In this respect the Reformed churches formed a third column between Philip and Orange. The Reformers would have probably been happy to obey to a weakened programme of centralisation under Philip, if he granted freedom of conscience, and to forsake Orange's cause. As Duke pointed out, several Reformers were still hoping to seek a peaceful resolution with Philip even after 1578, with the sole concession to them being religious freedom. Duke showed that this was the opinion which Petrus Dathenus propagated in 1584 and Phillips of Marnix, a staunch supporter of Orange nonetheless, in 1585. In the latter's views, the war served one goal only, that was to achieve religious domination.¹⁰³ It is, however, on this point that they struggled; it was precisely that which Philip did not want to grant.

Orange cared more about the defence of political privileges and pleaded religious toleration. Reformers in the Low Countries saw a potential ally in him, but the churches in exile remained careful about the ambiguous Orange until he converted to Calvinism in 1573. Bartholdus Willemzn, who had gone to Dordrecht for the ministry from London, reported his doubts about Orange's regime in a letter to the Dutch Church in January 1573. He believed that the victories and progress that Orange had booked were due to God, rather than military and strategic adeptness and that the Prince collaborated with Catholics. He was afraid that the future of Holland would be bleak as he believed that people might turn against Orange. What if, he wondered, the Spanish would capture Haarlem and point out Orange's tyranny to the citizens? Would the other cities start questioning Orange's, rather tyrannical, government?¹⁰⁴ The Dutch Reformed churches

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Duke, 'From King and Country', p. 133.

¹⁰⁴ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 222, pp. 195-96.

in Holland supported Orange, yet with a suspicion which hindered effective co-operation.¹⁰⁵ It is not surprising then that the foreign churches did not wholeheartedly trust Orange. The foreign churches found distrust of Orange in both the older generation of refugees, as well as in the generation which had flocked in since 1566 and among which many had supported Orange.

III. Men and money: the contribution of of the foreign churches to the Revolt

The relationship between Orange and the Reformed churches in the Low Countries was not one of straightforward cooperation, but how did the foreign churches contribute to Orange's war efforts and what do we know about the involvement of their members? David Trim emphasised the importance of English and Welsh donors and their use of mercenaries through Protestant networks for Orange's cause in the Low Countries.¹⁰⁶ He believed that foreign Protestants procured the service of English captains via various intermediating agencies such as the stranger churches, nobles, merchants, and privy councillors.¹⁰⁷ I believe this co-operation often resulted from direct pressure from Orange, their members, or the English secular government.¹⁰⁸ Orange troubled the stranger churches for help with the recruitment of soldiers.¹⁰⁹ The stranger churches' help often turned out to be disappointing, bearing smaller contributions than Orange had wished for. In 1573, Orange described his frustration with the ingratitude and lack of affection of the foreign churches in England towards his cause and the 'deliverance of

¹⁰⁵ See Jelsma, "The "Weakness of Conscience".

¹⁰⁶ Trim, "Fighting "Jacob's Wars".

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

¹⁰⁸ For evidence on Norwich refugees, through the churches, paying for a group of members leaving for the Low Countries in 1572, presumably to fight for Orange, see p. 248.

¹⁰⁹ Trim, p. 109.

their poor brethren'.¹¹⁰ The reason for his disappointment probably lay in the combination of Orange's constant search for funds and his confusion of the churches as institutions with their wealthy members. The churches could not force the wealthy members, who also shared the burdens of the maintenance of the church, to donate money for Orange. Many Dutch merchants living in London also did not join the congregation and perhaps Orange believed the overlap between the foreigners in London and the congregation was larger than it was in reality.¹¹¹ However, according to van Roosbroeck, collections in German exile centres also proved disappointing, at least in 1570.¹¹²

Trim believed that the foreign churches of London, Norwich, Sandwich, Colchester, Ipswich, and Yarmouth financed and sent 450 men to Den Briel and Flushing between April and June 1572, the majority of whom were presumably Englishmen.¹¹³ This claim needs some qualification. The church institutions could not afford to recruit this number of soldiers. They were constantly in arrears and complaining about a lack of money, especially with the increase of refugees after 1566 and 1572. In December 1571 the London French Church's poor fund was £60 in arrears.¹¹⁴ The French Church's only surviving deacons' account of 1572 to 1573 shows the financial pressure of feeding the refugees from the massacre and the help received from private Englishmen.¹¹⁵ The more prosperous church members, on the other hand, could afford to help out. Two elders of the French Church, Nicholas Fontaine and Pierre du Bosquiel, lent about £10,000 to

¹¹⁰ Koninklijk Huisarchief Den Haag, A 11/XIV I/12, f. 343 r-v nr. 113 kopie secretaire, accessed via <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/wvo/app/brief?nr=3017> [last accessed 10/08/2016].

¹¹¹ For numbers see Introduction, pp. 19-20 where I show that many foreigners did not join the churches.

¹¹² Robert van Roosbroeck, *Emigranten, Nederlandse Vluchtelingen in Duitsland (1550-1600)* (Keulen, 1968), p. 68.

¹¹³ Trim, pp. 110-11.

¹¹⁴ Actes du Consistoire II, pp. ix, 28, 40.

¹¹⁵ Littleton, 'Geneva on Threadneedle', pp. 204-05, 280; Soho Square, French Protestant Church of London, Ms. 194 *Deacons' Accounts*, 1572-1573.

Elizabeth between 1569 and 1571, so they were wealthy and had means to support warfare in France or the Low Countries.¹¹⁶ The constant pressure for support, however, drove many of the wealthier members away from the foreign churches.¹¹⁷

Although the churches probably delegated the collections, or let a messenger from Orange collect among its community, the recruitment of paid soldiers depended on the generosity of the community, rather than the church institution. The patrons of these soldiers could be Huguenot or Dutch émigrés, or influential Englishmen connected to the churches. John Bodley, for instance, was an elder of the French Church, while Sir Henry Killigrew assisted the French Church on occasions.¹¹⁸ There is no evidence of these figures being patrons of soldiers or donating large sums of money. Yet these examples demonstrate, as Patrick Collinson has pointed out, that the churches were well-connected to English Protestants, especially English Protestants with a puritan zeal wishing to support their Continental brethren against Catholic persecution.¹¹⁹

There was a difference in stance towards violence between the French and the Dutch Church. In the French Church war contributions were presumably more acceptable since the ministers of the French Church originated from France and Calvinist theories became more lenient towards justification of military violence throughout the wars of religion there. We do, however, find less information about contributions towards military and ecclesiastical efforts in the Low Countries in its documents. We do know the story of the involvement of a few members of the French Church in the revolt in the Low Countries.

¹¹⁶ Littleton, 'Geneva on Threadneedle', p. 227.

¹¹⁷ Actes du Consistoire II, pp. 44, 135, 136.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

¹¹⁹ Patrick Collinson, 'The Elizabethan Puritans and the Foreign Reformed Churches in London', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 20:5, (1964, for 1963), pp. 528-55.

Littleton described the story of two brothers, Nicolas and Jacques Taffin, who came from an influential family in Tournai. They were banished from Tournai after the city fell prey to the Spanish in 1566. Nicolas was a member of the London French Church in 1569 and negotiated with Orange concerning its contributions. Nicolas was clearly in favour of resistance of Alba, as, according to Littleton, he died in 1571 fighting under Louis of Nassau in the siege of Mons.¹²⁰ Jacques was an elder of the French Church, but he briefly resided in France in 1571. By 1572 he was in Flushing, where he stayed ‘for state affairs’, while in 1573 he served Orange in Delft until 1583.¹²¹ Littleton asserted that the French congregation in the period under consideration ‘engaged in theological disputes which had an international audience, and acted as diplomats at the English Court for the Protestant forces in France and the Netherlands’.¹²² While there is no systematic evidence of the contacts, it is telling that French ambassador La Mothe Fenelon corresponded about the close contacts between leading Protestants of the English Court and the ministers of the stranger churches, and French minister l’Oiseleur in particular.¹²³ Moreover, Littleton emphasised that the latter was the Prince de Condé’s, the Huguenot leader in the first war of religion in France, political agent in England.¹²⁴

The French Church also counted other members who were fighting in the Low Countries. A soldier, unnamed, returned from Flushing in 1572 without a passport and the consistory questioned him for that reason. This account also shows that the consistory of the French Church was in contact with Jacques Taffin.¹²⁵ This is also clear from Taffin’s report towards minister Jean Cousin of the lack of ministers in Holland and Zeeland, especially among the Dutch churches. The French Church passed on the

¹²⁰ Littleton, ‘Geneva on Threadneedle’, pp. 39-40.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40; Actes du consistoire II, p. 94.

¹²² Littleton, ‘Geneva on Threadneedle’, p. 70.

¹²³ *Ibid.* p. 122

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ Actes du Consistoire II, pp. 89-90.

concern to the Dutch Church.¹²⁶ More evidence that the congregation of the French Church counted some staunch supporters of Orange is visible in its consistory acts, where in August 1572 Herman Potay, a member, brought a folder with certain propositions about Orange's warfare before the consistory. The consistory answered that nothing more should be done or discussed as the church and congregation showed their opinion in these affairs clearly enough in their actions and prayers.¹²⁷

The Canterbury Walloon Church contained another member who was engaged in the Low Countries with Orange. Pierre Du Brusle, a member of the community, got into trouble on suspicion of brigandage, road plundering, in the Low Countries. The Walloon church banned him from communion as long as Du Brusle was dishonest about 'his commission'. Du Brusle decided to return to the Low Countries to obtain a justification of his actions from Orange.¹²⁸ Jacques Cornills received the same charge in 1581. He actually fought on the side of the 'enemies'. Who the enemy was, whether this was in the Low Countries or France, is not clear, but it shows the potential financial motivations of soldiers and the ignorance concerning Reformed doctrines of the members.¹²⁹ Another member of this church, Lambert Copin, had returned from 'the war' in 1577 after departing suddenly and leaving his family 'altogether destitute'. The consistory was interested in inquiring how he had behaved 'beyond the sea'.¹³⁰ Going beyond the sea was not uncommon, as is witnessed by the Walloon Church, but even on the Continent, the church wanted to measure the behaviour of their members. It reported that a certain member called Gabry had behaved badly in the Low Countries, while Jan

¹²⁶ Acta, p. 411.

¹²⁷ Actes du Consistoire II, p. 88.

¹²⁸ CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1577*, pp. 14, 24, 29, 129; CCA, U47/A/1, *Actes du Consistoire*, fols. 14, 20, 24, 29, 119.

¹²⁹ CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1581-1584*, p. 20; CCA, U47/A/2, *Actes du Consistoire*, fol. 11.

¹³⁰ CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1577*, p. 66; CCA, U47/A/1, *Actes du Consistoire*, fol. 61.

Binet had acted abominably on a voyage to the Low Countries.¹³¹ Moreover, the colloquium of the French churches in England added an article to their Discipline in 1583 which stipulated that they could not allow members returning from the Continent who had partaken in Catholic rites or in crimes or scandalous behaviour to the Lord's Supper without public repentance.¹³²

The Walloon/French Church of Southampton supported Orange openly as early as 1568. On this date, they registered a fast for the occasion that 'the Prince of Orange had descended from Germany into the Low Countries to try with God's help to deliver the poor churches there from affliction; and now to beseech the Lord most fervently for the deliverance of His people'.¹³³ In 1570 they held another fast, this time to commemorate the battle of Jarnac of March 1569 in which the Prince of Condé, the French Huguenot leader, died. While in 1572 the congregation of Southampton attempted to gather help for Orange, they called Alba:

that cruel tyrant; and also, principally, for that the churches of France have suffered a marvellous and extremely horrible calamity – a horrible massacre having been perpetrated at Paris on the 24th day of August last, in which a great number of nobles and of the faithful were killed in one night, about twelve or thirteen thousand; preaching forbidden throughout the kingdom, and all the property of the faithful given up to pillage throughout the kingdom. Now for the consolation of them and of the Low Countries, and to pray the Lord for their deliverance, was celebrated this solemn fast.¹³⁴

¹³¹ CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1577*, p. 83; CCA, U47/A/1, *Actes du Consistoire*, fol. 77.

¹³² Colloques et Synodes, p. 7.

¹³³ Archives of Registrar General at Somerset House, Register of the Church of St. Julian, or God's House, of Southampton, now in the National Archives at Kew, RG4/4600 Foreign churches: 1567 -1779 Walloon Church of St. Julian or God's House of Southampton (Walloon and French Protestant), fol. 103, as quoted in Samuel Smiles, *The Huguenots: their settlements, churches, and industries in England and Ireland* (New York, 1868), pp. 116-18.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

They held further fasts, according to Smiles, ‘to maintain her majesty the Queen in good friendship and accord with the Prince of Orange’, in favour of the poor, for the people of Antwerp after the sack of that city in 1585, against the infliction of the plague, and on the occasion of the observation of a comet.¹³⁵ On 28 April 1580 there was a fast because of an earthquake which was felt in England, Picardy and the Low Countries, and to ‘protect the poor churches of Flanders and France against the assaults of their enemies, who have joined their forces to the great army of Spain for the purpose of working their destruction.’¹³⁶ The congregation also celebrated a ‘public thanksgiving’ for the defeat of the Spanish Armada.¹³⁷

One church we do not know much about, next to the smaller, provincial churches, is the Italian Church. This church could have been very interesting for the question of the revolt as its members were largely Dutch merchants despite the church being Italian.¹³⁸ Boersma and Jelsma showed that some of its members had been active participants in iconoclasm and resistance from 1566 onwards. Two members out of about fifty Dutch members of that church at that time had been involved in gueux activities.¹³⁹ Boersma and Jelsma indicated that Anthonius van den Rijne and Jacques Cabillau were members of the Sea Beggars in 1569. Orange, they explained, commissioned van den Rijne to buy warships in 1571. Member Leonard de Casembroot ‘undertook embassies’ for Orange, and for Salvador and Marcus de le Palma, merchants from Middelburg. He had also collected money and troops for Orange in 1572. The Italian Church, as Boersma and Jelsma have shown, attracted Dutchmen who disagreed with the policies in the Dutch

¹³⁵ Smiles, p. 118.

¹³⁶ TNA, RG4/4600 Foreign churches: 1567 -1779 Walloon Church of St. Julian or God's House of Southampton (Walloon and French Protestant), as quoted in Smiles, pp. 118-19.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ Unity in Multiforimity, pp. 25-26. See chapter 1, p. 42 for an explanation for the large number of Dutchmen among the members of the Italian Church.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

Church, for instance about the use of violence and right of resistance.¹⁴⁰ Boersma and Jelsma saw a change in the composition in the Italian Church from 1569 onwards since many returned to the Dutch Church, probably because of a change of policy concerning resistance after the struggles between 1565 and 1568.¹⁴¹

Many refugees were optimistic about Orange's second launch of attacks in 1572. The congregation of Yarmouth, which the secular government had officially recognized in 1570 but had existed since 1568, seemed happy to return to the Low Countries in 1572. The congregation asked for financial aid from the Dutch Church in London in 1572 and stated how the community had started to break up and began to return to the Low Countries in support of the Reformation since they felt a victory for the Reformers was near. The consistory begged the London Dutch Church to let go of anyone who wanted to go to Zeeland. They mentioned that they had connections with a certain captain Zwiger at Flushing and that harquebusiers were much wanted there.¹⁴²

Reformed churches in the Low Countries also mediated help for Orange when their town was under siege. In May 1572 Antwerp asked Orange for assistance against Alba, but the former only wanted to aid them if the churches assisted him with money. Not having the necessary funds, the Antwerp church decided to write to the London Dutch Church for support, describing the cruelties which Alba's troops inflicted upon the population in order to solicit aid.¹⁴³ Similarly, the help the Dutch churches sent to Flushing in 1572 came at the request of the community of Flushing in April that year. Flushing sent a desperate letter to the Dutch churches in England begging for some soldiers and financial support. They promised to repay the loan. Their motivation seems

¹⁴⁰ Unity in Multiforimity, pp. 25-26.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 33; see also chapter 1, p. 42.

¹⁴² Archivum, 3.1, Letter 187, pp. 163-64.

¹⁴³ Archivum, 2, Letter 113, pp. 400-02.

to have been religious freedom, since they declared that ‘the affair is bound up with the glory of God, the honour of the king (of Spain) and the common welfare of the Netherlands’. The Sea Beggars had overtaken the town. The letter also shows that they had ‘received the troops of Orange within our walls, partly in order to feel more secure, partly to avoid the suspicion of contriving anything against the king’.¹⁴⁴

Requests for financial support either went directly to the exile communities or first to London whence the Dutch Church spread the message making sure the other churches had received the request. In May 1572 Ipswich collected £15 ‘towards the assistance of our country’ after London had sent a messenger to them, but it is not clear where the money went. Ipswich reported that five or six men had departed for Den Briel, probably to defend the city, three of which they had fitted out themselves before the letter of the Dutch Church together with a commissioner for the purpose arrived.¹⁴⁵ Colchester replied by sending twenty-two harquebuses to Flushing, promising also seven or eight men to deploy them. Six to eight people had already left their community for Flushing a fortnight earlier, some of whom hired a ship with provisions.¹⁴⁶ By June 1572, letters from Orange to the foreign churches in England followed in which he exhorted them to support him generously.¹⁴⁷ The London Dutch Church collected money for Orange in the summer of 1572 and one of the deacons went to Sandwich for the collection.¹⁴⁸ The next letter which the Dutch Church received was a call for help from Enkhuizen in July 1572. The Reformed Church there asked for munition, artillery, and other provisions.¹⁴⁹

A lack of trust hindered cooperation between Orange and Reformed churches in the Low Countries and in England. In October 1572, the Dutch Church’s deputy in

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Letter 112, pp. 397-99.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Letters 114, 116, pp. 403-04, 408-09.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Letter 115, pp. 405-07.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Letter 118, pp. 412-19.

¹⁴⁸ *Acta*, p. 287.

¹⁴⁹ *Archivum*, 2, Letters 119, 120, pp. 420-22, 423-25.

Flushing, Lieven de Herde, reported that the Prince of Orange demanded 25,000 guilders of the town of Malines. The inhabitants suggested that he should sell or melt St Rombout's shrine, but instead he placed guards by it 'to preserve the idols'. This served much to the distrust of Orange. The Spanish, however, seized it in a counterattack and did not disregard any ecclesiastical property when robbing clergy and citizens.¹⁵⁰ Another example of this distrust is the case of Captain Middeler, who made use of the stranger churches for hospitality. He had gathered 125 soldiers in England at the commission of Orange, or at least so he said. The company passed through Norwich and Yarmouth, but the Dutch consistory of Norwich was suspicious of him as he could not show his letter of commission of Orange as his servant and 'his trunk' with the documents had not arrived yet. The Norwich consistory hoped that the London churches, in which city the captain previously dwelled, might have seen the letters. Perhaps they presumed that Middeler might be a pirating Beggar hoping to gather money through raids in the Low Countries.¹⁵¹ A difference in esteem existed between respected captains in the service of Orange and anyone in any way suspected of robbery. In 1577 the Norwich Dutch Church asked the London Dutch Church for some recommendations concerning an Englishman who had assisted several captains of Orange by lodging them but now felt molested on that account, 'as if he had harboured robbers and thieves'. The churches did differentiate between captains with a good reputation and reputed captains.¹⁵²

The communication between the stranger churches and the Prince of Orange was often problematic. This is clear from a letter from December 1572. The correspondent Jan Vander Beke recounted that Orange seemed under the impression that the stranger churches were agreeing on what he called 'a double mortgage'. It turned out that the

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Letter 122, pp. 430-36.

¹⁵¹ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 195, pp. 166-67.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, Letter 437, p. 416.

French minister Jacques Taffin, who resided in Flushing at that point, had discussed the possibility with Orange, but there were no concrete plans.¹⁵³ Usually the Dutch Church rather held aloof in supporting Orange as they constantly complained the demands were too high. For instance, van Winghen was happy to send a few soldiers every month but not two thousand soldiers, which he believed to be Orange's request, and was at the same time complaining that so little of what they sent seemed to reach Orange.¹⁵⁴ Orange on the other hand constantly complained about the avarice of the Netherlanders and the stranger churches in particular.¹⁵⁵ He considered the poor more generous than the rich.¹⁵⁶

Members of the congregations, in contrast with the church institution in London, were indeed quick to join forces in the Low Countries. In 1572 ninety Walloons and fifteen or sixteen Flemish members of the foreign churches of Norwich had departed for the Low Countries. Where they went and for what reason is not clear. They might have simply resettled into a town in the northern Netherlands favourable to the Reformed religion, or they might have joined the Sea Beggars or Orange's landtroops. The latter seems more likely since Norwich claimed to have 'fitted out' the party for £160.¹⁵⁷ This points to military outfits. An additional reason as to why so many people departed might have been the poverty. The Norwich consistory complained that they hardly found the money to pay for the outfits as many of its members were very poor. They also had to sustain the widows and orphans of 25 to 30 dead men who they had previously sent to the Low Countries as soldiers.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, Letter 215, pp. 186-88. The meaning of the double mortgage is not clear to me.

¹⁵⁴ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 215, p. 187. He probably meant that much of the money got stuck with middling persons and mercenaries.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Letter 215, p. 187.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Letter 226, p. 201.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Letter 197, pp. 168-69.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

The enthusiasm from the Norwich consistory came from their belief that they would soon be able to return to the Low Countries, for which they started preparing through new elections.¹⁵⁹ By June 1573 Norwich collected £95 pounds ‘in support of the fatherland’ and prepared to send over more soldiers for Orange. The congregation showed some of the reasons behind their decision to send out the soldiers. They stated that many members wanted to partake because of poverty as trade had been in decline. The soldiers’ families would be maintained on half of their pay. The church wanted more control over their members and finances. They wanted to make sure that plundering would cease, and that their money would not be spent on Frenchmen ‘and other strangers’.¹⁶⁰ The Synod of Dordrecht in August 1574 had treated about the large number of poor coming over to the Low Countries from England, and how to deal with them.¹⁶¹ One can wonder how economically beneficial the strangers thus were on a local basis in England. In 1574 English secular authorities sent orders to stop receiving refugees to London and Norwich.¹⁶²

In January 1573 the London Dutch Church compiled a summary of contributions which they had made ‘in order of the progress of the common cause of our fatherland towards the revolt of Flushing’. It started off stating that the church only contained four hundred and fifty to five hundred men, the majority of which were poor handicraftsmen, and only forty or so ‘of moderate qualification or condition, being engaged in commerce’.¹⁶³ The community had in the first instance gathered £1400 for Flushing and, with some extra aid collected ‘by benevolent Englishmen and merchants of our nation’, they spent this money on engaging two hundred soldiers which they sent to Flushing

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Letter 257, pp. 232-33.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Letter 300, pp. 265-66.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, Letters 293, 304, pp. 259-60, 268-69.

¹⁶³ Archivum, 2, Letter 123, pp. 437-42.

provided with ammunition. It is unclear where the £1400 came from, perhaps some members collected it through wealthy contacts, but the church itself only provided £181 only.¹⁶⁴ Some other members fitted out up to fifty more men on their own expenses and sent them to Flushing or Den Briel. On top of that the Dutch Church had also made a collection at the commission of Louis of Nassau, brother of Orange, and then collected some more money at the request of the 1572 letter of Orange. They also paid for the expenses of a correspondent from the church to Flushing, Jan vander Beke, presumably to keep them informed about the Low Countries.¹⁶⁵

By February 1573, however, the Dutch Church received another letter from Orange complaining that he wanted more financial support and arguing that the war had turned into a war against international Protestantism. 'I do not doubt', wrote Orange, 'that you will feel ashamed of seeing the Hollanders more inclined to this cause than yourselves'.¹⁶⁶ A commissioner and the consistory worked together to make another collection for Orange.¹⁶⁷ In a letter of 31 October 1573 Orange declared that the three London churches could easily furnish large sums and he demanded 1000 crowns a month to be delivered to him without the trouble it had cost in the past to get money from the churches.¹⁶⁸ As Orange had not received anything by December 1573, he sent a deputy to England to demand 2000 Carolus guilders from the refugee churches in recompense of the same amount which he granted to the town of Veere.¹⁶⁹ The stranger churches did not comply with the request. Moreover, not all the Reformed foreigners were happy with the intervention of Orange in the Low Countries, as was witnessed in a 1573 case in which

¹⁶⁴ Boersma, p. 190; Archivum, 2, Letter 123, pp. 437-42.

¹⁶⁵ Archivum, 2, Letter 123, pp. 439-44.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Letter 125, pp. 445-53.

¹⁶⁷ Acta, p. 319.

¹⁶⁸ Archivum, 2, Letter 129, pp. 471-76.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Letter 132, pp. 490-92.

a member of the Dutch Church had publicly declared at the Royal Exchange that if he were a Hollander, he would kick Orange out.¹⁷⁰

Their distrust of Orange was not entirely unfounded. In June 1574 several noblemen who had served Orange but had not received their payment had come forward and tried to claim their expenses in the Dutch Church. The consistory replied that it had authority in church matters and discipline only, and since they had no power over their members, they could not comply with the request. They pointed out that they had not been able to assist Orange in any other way than by asking some of their contacts to be generous towards him. Moreover, they claimed, the poverty of the congregations was such a burden that the church was already in arrears and could not contribute. Lastly, they stated that even if they were able to demand contributions from their members, ‘they would not think it advisable to do so on this occasion, for fear of prejudicing the Prince, as he would seem to have permitted these Noblemen to depart, without paying them’.¹⁷¹

In 1575 the Classis of Walcheren exhorted the Dutch and French refugee churches in England to be more generous as it had heard complaints from Orange.¹⁷² In September 1575 Orange wrote again, this time to request them to send one hundred iron cannons to Holland.¹⁷³ Two months later, in November 1575, Maidstone told the London Dutch Church that it had received letters from a certain Lieven de Herde, who commissioned soldiers in the name of Orange. Three members had volunteered and the congregation was willing to equip them but started doubting the sincerity of Lieven as they did not receive a copy of his commission.¹⁷⁴ Several months later, in January 1576, Philips of Marnix asked the Dutch Church for support for Orange.¹⁷⁵ In 1577 it replied

¹⁷⁰ Acta, p. 354.

¹⁷¹ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 292, pp. 258-59.

¹⁷² Archivum, 2, Letter 138, pp. 513-16.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, Letter 140, pp. 520-21.

¹⁷⁴ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 365, pp. 352-53.

¹⁷⁵ Archivum, 2, Letter 154, p. 572.

to the classis of the isle of Walcheren in communication with Marnix that it would furnish one hundred pounds, but that it could do no more as it had already supported churches in the Low Countries and England which gravely burdened it. The consistory stated that it regretted not being able to satisfy the high expectations many people had of the congregation.¹⁷⁶

The Queen's prohibition of any dealings with Orange in 1576 prompted suspicions about the Prince of Orange in Norwich.¹⁷⁷ Jan Lamoot, who formed a member of the anti-resistance party in London in 1571 but seemed to be in Norwich in 1576, wrote to the Dutch Church in London that year that 'the head of the Prince carried two faces'. He referred to the doubt in Reformers' minds, not about the aim of the Prince but the means through which he was conducting the war.¹⁷⁸ The consistory of Sandwich held similar views and hoped that the behaviour of the Prince of Orange would not in any way prejudice its community.¹⁷⁹ The Walloon Church in Canterbury hoped for a reconciliation but stood at Elizabeth's side. It argued that if the Prince had unjust quarrel with Alba, they would not support him, and even less if he had done injustice to Elizabeth.¹⁸⁰ The stranger churches did endorse missions to reconcile Elizabeth with Orange. The foreign churches shared the expenses, although there were disputes over what share each congregation should pay.¹⁸¹ The Dutch Church of Norwich thought the whole matter wholly unnecessary and protested against the payment of their share in the costs of negotiations on the grounds that Elizabeth had confirmed by letter that the case would not affect the merchants of the town.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Letter 156, pp. 577-80.

¹⁷⁷ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 401, pp. 380-81.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, Letter 402, pp. 381-82.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, Letter 405, pp. 384-85.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, Letters 443, 444, pp. 421-22.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, Letter 459, pp. 434-35.

The acts or letters of the churches show fewer, barely any, requests from Orange in the second half of the 1570s. The foreign churches would not have been in a good position to contribute in the second half of the 1570s as many of the refugees had left their congregations after the Pacification of Ghent in 1576 and the Edict of Poitiers in 1577.¹⁸³ From the middle of the 1580s we again see requests for war contributions for the Low Countries. In January 1584 an English colonel, named ‘Cruwell’, was recruiting 600 soldiers at the charge of the Prince of Orange but had a shortage in the budget and wished the stranger churches to offer financial support. The Dutch Church simply answered that they would not do anything because they did not have the money.¹⁸⁴

In meanwhile Jan vander Beke kept the Dutch Church up to date about events in the Low Countries. He reported the murder of Orange on 10 July 1584 in a letter dated 13 July 1584. He also advised the churches to collect one hundred thousand guilders for the poor in the Low Countries.¹⁸⁵ Requests for support came from the Low Countries and the English Court, which stepped into the war nearly a year after Orange’s death.

IV. Queen Elizabeth’s attitude towards intervention in the Low Countries

Elizabeth attempted to balance concealed help towards Orange and the Reformers in the Low Countries with diplomacy with the Spanish and with English trade interests. She wished to have trade negotiations to her advantage, and knew that Orange could play a pivotal role in the opening of trade with Antwerp, but did not want to interfere directly in the Low Countries. In 1571 Francis Walsingham had promoted a French invasion of

¹⁸³ De Schickler, 1, p. 227.

¹⁸⁴ Acta, p. 700.

¹⁸⁵ Archivum, 2, Letter 212, pp. 774-78.

Flanders.¹⁸⁶ English support was already regularly present in Flanders as many Englishmen served as mercenaries, but this again was depending on diplomatic strategies. Elizabeth regularly diplomatically withheld her help and changed her attitude towards Orange. In 1572 Elizabeth recalled Sir Humphrey Gilbert from Flanders, who had been aiding Orange there with 800 Englishmen. According to Hume, Elizabeth publicly pretended that Gilbert had gone to the Low Countries against her wishes in order to stay on good terms with Spain.¹⁸⁷ At the same time Elizabeth prohibited trade with the Low Countries on several occasions. The Sandwich city council complained vehemently about the strangers regularly disrespecting Elizabeth's 1568 command that no one could trade with the Low Countries.¹⁸⁸ In November 1571 the Privy Council again forbade the foreigners in England to trade with the Low Countries and told the stranger churches to trade with Emden and Hamburg instead.¹⁸⁹

The Reformed Protestants and Orange had prominent supporters in England. Evangelicals in England were indirectly under threat since the wars of religion in France and the heavy persecutions in the Netherlands signified a war against Reformed or Calvinist beliefs in some of the countries nearest to England. According to Spicer, Robert Horne, the Bishop of Winchester, and Bishop Edwin Sandys of London petitioned the Queen for aid for Orange and Montgomery in 1573 as well as raising money for the revolt. The Queen had 'sent Horne's nephew on a secret mission in November 1572 with letters to the Duke of Saxony, the Elector Palatine and the Marquis of Brandenburg'.¹⁹⁰ In 1572 a Dutch Church, presumably that of London, also entreated between Flushing

¹⁸⁶ Martin A. S. Hume, *Lord Burghley, a study in Elizabethan statecraft* (London, 1898), p. 265.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 283-84.

¹⁸⁸ Kent Archives, Maidstone, Sa/AC5 The New Red Book, fol. 41v.-42.

¹⁸⁹ Actes du Consistoire II, p. 34.

¹⁹⁰ Calendar of State Papers, Spain, II: 1568-79, ed. by Martin A. S. Hume (London, 1892), pp. 446, 468, as quoted in Spicer, p. 132.

and the Queen in the hope that Elizabeth would take over the town.¹⁹¹ It seems very likely that the stranger churches sent further deputies to the Queen to entreat for intervention in the war in the Low Countries, or that is at least to what some of the letters of the *archivum* allude.¹⁹² Orange also had some prominent supporters among English councillors and nobility, such as Francis Walsingham, Pembroke and Burghley.¹⁹³ Next to that, as Trim pointed out, London merchants had commercial interests in keeping Antwerp in friendly hands.¹⁹⁴ Many of the captains serving in the Low Countries under Orange's charge throughout the 1570s were actually English. In that respect, I agree with Trim when he considered the stranger churches' assistance to have been part of the English military efforts.¹⁹⁵

The English secular government partially influenced the foreign churches' behaviour towards Orange. When trade negotiations with Spain reopened in 1573, the English decided not to support Orange so openly.¹⁹⁶ The churches also had to comply with the orders of the Privy Council in 1576 not to help Orange any longer since they had received numerous complaints about the *gueux* entering English ships.¹⁹⁷ As Trim pointed out, the *gueux* now disturbed the precious renewed trade with Antwerp.¹⁹⁸ From 1578 onwards, the English government again played a larger role in the revolt and the English patrons had more freedom to send help at their own initiative.¹⁹⁹

Obedience to the English law was important for the foreign churches, at least in theory. The churches considered what to do with members who traded with 'the enemy

¹⁹¹ *Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth, vol. 10: 1572-1574*, ed. by Allan James Crosby (London, 1876), Letter 558, p. 176.

¹⁹² *Archivum*, 3.1, Letter 410, p. 392.

¹⁹³ Trim, pp. 112, 119.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, general thesis.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 123-24.

¹⁹⁷ *Archivum*, 3.1, Letter 401, pp. 380-81.

¹⁹⁸ Trim, p. 124.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

of our religion' and provided them with victuals, a question which arose first in Sandwich in 1573.²⁰⁰ The Sandwich consistory requested advice on how to handle members who had provided the Duke of Alba with provisions. They wanted to know whether to exclude them from the Lord's Supper, whether to warn them, or to connive in it.²⁰¹ This was a tricky question in London as well, since the members suspected some of the elders and deacons of the London Dutch Church of providing Alba with victuals. Although the Dutch Church did not want any of its members dealing in victuals, the consistory decided to just clear the names of the suspects by reading off a document concerning the issue before the community.²⁰² They dealt with other suspects differently. The consistory had persisted in charging another member and merchant, Lieven van de Vive, for delivering victuals and fighting over three years from 1571 onwards, the latter denied the accusation.²⁰³ The French Church decided in April 1573 that especially those who bring or sell weapons to 'the enemies of Christianity' should receive the capital punishment according to the English law.²⁰⁴ Members doing so, decided the French Church in April 1573, could no longer consider themselves brethren.²⁰⁵ The question of trading with the Catholics came up in the Dutch Church's consistory records in March 1584 as well, and the question came from Sandwich again. The answer was strictly that this was bad conduct and that such people should be reprehended.²⁰⁶ We do not have earlier references to this, perhaps because of a lack of sources. In 1569 already the Privy Council had sent a letter to the stranger churches prohibiting trade with areas under Spanish rule.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁰ Actes du Consistoire II, p. 109.

²⁰¹ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 232, pp. 207-08.

²⁰² Acta, p. 328.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 234, 335.

²⁰⁴ Actes du Consistoire II, p. 109.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

²⁰⁶ Acta, p. 710.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

Elizabeth initially allowed the Sea Beggars access to English ports. She pressured them to leave in 1572, after which they attacked Flushing and Den Briel.²⁰⁸ The ships formed an integral part of Orange's warfare tactics and soon his ships, under the warrant of his seal, again boarded the coasts of England. Desperate for money, Orange turned to practices such as extortion and piracy. Beggars sailing under the commission of Orange increasingly engaged in piracy, against any ship they wished to enter, rather than just enemy ships, to the growing disdain of English merchants and the English Court. English merchants regularly saw their ships and cargo seized. In 1576 the situation came to a breaking point. Queen Elizabeth ordered the capture of Dutch ships, while the Dutch then took ships from the Merchant Adventurers in Flushing and demanded a large sum of money in return for the ships.²⁰⁹ Elizabeth decided to break ties with Orange and expelled all captains under Orange's commission from the English coast. In August 1576 she prohibited the foreign churches any further dealings with Orange.²¹⁰ The stranger communities had to support the maintenance of the Dutch prisoners.²¹¹

The Sandwich strangers refused to hire a ship to bring the prisoners back to Flushing in 1576 since they feared that the ship would be lost to the Dutch.²¹² Burghley and Walter Mildmay warned the foreign churches of the procedures against piracy or anyone indirectly involved in such activities.²¹³ Yet piracy was a widespread problem which the churches could not but condemn. The minister Johannes Cubus was fearful when his wife was crossing over from England to Antwerp, where he had taken up the ministry in 1577, lest pirates would endanger her journey.²¹⁴ The English Court wanted

²⁰⁸ De Meij, pp. 90-92.

²⁰⁹ Backhouse, p. 160.

²¹⁰ Archivum, 2, Letter 151, pp. 561-64.

²¹¹ Backhouse, p. 161.

²¹² *Ibid.*, p. 162.

²¹³ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 474, pp. 452-53.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Letter 508, pp. 477-78.

backing from the stranger churches in its judgement not to help Orange and accused the foreign churches of being on Orange's side and having asked him to ill-treat the English. The Walloon Church of Canterbury reacted by saying it was grieved by the differences between the two and that they would not render any assistance to Orange in his war and especially not if it harmed Elizabeth or England. They acknowledged Elizabeth as 'our foster-mother'.²¹⁵ The foreign churches did proclaim obedience, but sometimes they closed an eye for certain members trading with the Low Countries. The churches turned more boldly against the secular government when any kind of payment was required, as with the maintenance of war prisoners and later the English intervention in the 1580s.

In 1584 an envoy from Walsingham visited the Dutch consistory to demand the money towards £1000 which, according to Walsingham, the stranger churches had promised to give towards the liberation of the Low Countries. The Dutch Church replied that it had not formally made such a promise and that the church had already given what it could. The French Church proposed to pay £400 pounds and wanted the Dutch to pay £600 towards the entire sum. The Dutch did not agree, saying that the French Church was richer.²¹⁶

The English secular authorities did not give up. Representatives of the consistory had to go and see Henry Killigrew twice to explain why they had not paid.²¹⁷ In the end they seem to have made a collection of £520 towards the promised money.²¹⁸ Only a few months later the consistory pondered whether to ask the French Church for money towards the poor of Ghent, but soon the attention of the churches was fixed upon Antwerp. The city was under siege and the Dutch Reformed Church there had sent direct

²¹⁵ CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1577*, p. 12; CCA, U47/A/1, *Actes du Consistoire*, fol. 13.

²¹⁶ Acta, p. 733.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 734.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 736.

letters to the foreign churches for money for the poor, since, they said, the rich had all fled the city.²¹⁹ The Dutch foreign churches nonetheless also collected £60 7s. for Ghent and £150 for Antwerp.²²⁰ Around the same time another English envoy, Richard Parrot, appeared to exhort the congregation for more charity and generosity.²²¹ In 1585 the churches contributed again, they equipped another thirty-four soldiers at Colchester and eighty-eight in Norwich.²²² In March 1585 a member of the London Dutch Church complained that she had not seen her husband in two years since he had joined the war in the Low Countries and took other women.²²³

In July 1586 Francis Walsingham complained again to the London Dutch Church that they had not offered any financial support towards the war in the Low Countries since the start of official English involvement. He demanded the Dutch Church to furnish £800 to pay Captain Alexander Dyar who he had contracted for another regiment.²²⁴ The Dutch Church refused to pay this as they excused themselves for not having the means. They claimed that the Earl of Leicester had also approached them to furnish another captain, James Hennebert, with money for the equipment of Dutch soldiers. They were planning to collect money towards his cause, believing that enough fulfilment of their duty.²²⁵ Walsingham considered this answer rather cold and heartless.²²⁶ Some half-hearted letters passed between both, but the Dutch Church did not give in as it believed they were already collecting more than they could financially cope with.²²⁷ In October 1586 things turned sour again when Walsingham wrote to the Walloon and Dutch

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 758.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 759, 766.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 755.

²²² *Register of baptisms in the Dutch Church at Colchester from 1645 to 1728*, ed. by W.J.C. Moens, Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, 12 (Lymington, 1905), p. vii.

²²³ *Acta*, p. 755.

²²⁴ *Archivum*, 2, letter 225, pp. 803-05.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, Letter 226, pp. 806-07.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, Letter 227, pp. 808-09.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, Letters 228, 229, pp. 808-13.

churches in England with the request to provide a number of footmen for a certain captain Ramsy, to whom he had promised the churches' payment. He advised the churches 'to make no difficulty'.²²⁸

The Dutch Church had, however, made several contributions. Next to their usual expenses such as the maintenance of its ministers, the poor, the students, and ministers of other congregations, an expenses account of 1586 mentions the extraordinary charges of £520 towards the regiment of Captain Morgan, £200 pounds in two collections for the poor of Antwerp, £60 for captain Zuderman of Ostend, £92 for Captain Vander Cruce, and £200 for the said Captain Hennebert. They proclaimed that a large part of the Dutch foreigners in the city did not belong to the church, especially the rich ones. The church largely attracted poor members and craftsmen.²²⁹

The English secular authorities wanted the foreign churches to contribute towards the defence of England, but the churches usually had to excuse themselves on account of poverty. The wealthier Dutchmen living in England were often not members of the foreign churches, but their presence helped in creating the belief among the secular English government that the stranger churches were wealthy and had connections to these merchants.²³⁰ When England prepared for the arrival of the Spanish Armada, the government demanded that the stranger churches negotiated with the mayor of London to approach the rich Dutch and French merchants in the city in order to contribute to the defence of England.²³¹

V. Conclusion

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, Letter 231, p. 816.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, Letter 233, pp. 818-19.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, Letter 239, pp. 832-33.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, Letter 236, pp. 826-27.

The foreign churches made contributions to the Dutch Revolt through financial support for Orange and diplomatic networking at the English Court. They made regular donations to Orange between 1570 and 1576, especially for the relief of Flushing, and then later for Elizabeth's intervention after 1584. We do not know the exact contributions of the French Church, but I believe their largest input might have been their extensive mercantile networks and knack for diplomacy. The French Church also had strong connections to France and held an interest in the wars of religion there. They did collect at least £400 at the request of Walsingham around 1585. The Dutch Church contributed £872 to military efforts in the Low Countries between 1584 and 1586. In the first period, it collected a few thousand pounds, including the fitting out of soldiers, towards Orange's military purposes and the relief of Flushing.

This seems like a good contribution to the war efforts in the Low Countries, but might we expect to see larger contributions since the congregations contained wealthy members? Orange and Walsingham persistently urged the churches for more money and were blatantly disappointed with the foreign churches for not contributing as much as they would have liked. The churches themselves probably could not contribute more, since the majority of their members were poor. Perhaps the wealthy members within the churches could have contribute more, if they did not already donate privately, but these started to shy away from the churches because of increasing financial demands from them.

There were other circumstances which held the foreign churches back from contributing towards the war efforts in the Low Countries. First, the churches had to take the decisions of the English secular authorities into account. These regularly withdrew their support for Orange, especially around 1576, and forbade the churches to help him.

Secondly, although some members of the foreign churches were militant Protestants who vehemently supported Orange, many of its leaders proved suspicious of Orange. I see two reasons for this. Orange's cause was never oriented solely towards religion. He mixed political considerations with his aim for religious freedom. The Reformed churches in the Low Countries, and the foreign churches in England, distrusted that lack of exclusive commitment to the Reformed faith, even after he had converted. We do notice a change in the attitude of the church from a plain rejection of violence and rebellion for the Reformed cause to a piecemeal acceptance of the need for military violence in order to help the spread of the Reformed churches. The Reformed churches in the Low Countries still found it hard to be zealous supporters of Orange, as Jelsma indicated. Yet this had more to do with a rejection of his 'ungodly' war tactics of robbery and extortion than a rejection of war. There had been a brief period around 1571 of outright support for Orange and his war, but by 1572 the Sea Beggars had made a bad name for Orange. The foreign churches wanted soldiers to behave in orderly fashion, while they examined captains searching for money for a respectable commission letter from Orange.

In this chapter I have rejected the common view that the foreign churches generally supported Orange and his cause. I have modified this view by showing the complexity involved in the churches' behaviour towards the Dutch Revolt and notions of war and violence in the period under consideration. The Dutch and Walloon Reformed churches in England as well as in the Low Countries even became a nuisance to Orange because of their zeal for the Protestant cause above that of his own. They made large contributions with the Reformed cause in mind, rather than the revolt against Philip. A mutual distrust existed. The increasing rebuilding of the Reformed churches in the Low Countries in the 1570s formed a hindrance, especially in Ghent, to which, as we will see in chapter 6, the foreign churches contributed. The presence of the foreign churches did, however, mean access to a network of merchants and militant Protestants in England,

from local, Low Countries, and French origin. The presence of the foreign churches reminded Protestant Englishmen of their own exile under Mary and of the international Protestant cause.

6. The foreign churches and the Reformation, 1568-1585

While William of Orange battled the Duke of Alba and his successors, the Reformed churches in the Low Countries attempted to sustain their grip on religious life. In the 1570s the foreign churches in England increasingly received requests for help towards the maintenance of Reformed churches in the Low Countries. Analysing how the churches dealt with these appeals to sustain the Reformation in the Low Countries is vital in understanding their role in the Dutch Revolt between 1568 and 1585. This chapter will look at the mutual support mechanisms among foreign churches in England and to assess how many of the churches were in a position to do more than maintain themselves. How many churches could offer funds for other congregations? To what extent could they offer support through manpower as well as finance and material resources? What constraints limited the degree of support which these churches and congregations were really able to offer the rebels?

It is my contention that these practical questions have not been sufficiently addressed hitherto, although answers have been hinted at by writers like van Schelven and Pettegree.¹ This chapter probes further and asks how the provincial churches responded as well as the more usual and wealthier London congregations. How did this correlate to the churches' self-proclaimed poverty? What shaped the churches' eventual decisions? I demonstrate that the sources show how the foreign churches preoccupied themselves with the survival of Dutch Reformed thought, rather than Orange's political revolt. The churches entertained two plans for this during the time period under consideration and attempted to keep a balance between both. First, the foreign churches

¹ Van Schelven, pp. 131-208; Andrew Pettegree, 'The strangers and their churches in London, 1550-1580' (D.Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 1983), p. 273.

worked to keep the provincial congregations in England alive in order to provide a place of refuge in case no religious freedom could be obtained in the Low Countries. I develop this view in the following section of this chapter. A second line of action was their support of Reformed churches in the Low Countries, which they believed they should help to maintain and build up in case Reformers did receive the freedom to celebrate their religion in the Low Countries. At the same time the foreign churches became slightly estranged from the Reformed churches in the Low Countries as the latter became stronger and built out their own networks and rites. Some congregations in England wished to adopt new practices for church discipline and rituals from the Reformed churches in the Low Countries to stay in the loop in case they were again needed as refugee centres, while others disagreed with this.

This chapter will also show the significance of the financial limitations of the foreign churches. Had the foreign churches been able to satisfy all the demands for financial support, especially those of towns in difficulties because of the war, this would have been a means of propaganda since established Reformed churches offered poor relief. The Reformed churches' systems of poor relief formed an attraction to impoverished people with vague Reformed sympathies, as Andrew Spicer, Ole Grell, and Andrew Cunningham have shown in their studies on poor relief in Reformation Europe.² From this it follows that adequate means of poor relief could have gained the churches

² Ole Peter Grell & Andrew Cunningham, 'The Reformation and Changes in Welfare Provision in Early Modern Northern Europe', in *Health Care and Poor Relief in Reformation Europe*, ed. by Ole Peter Grell & Andrew Cunningham (London/New York, 1997), pp. 1-42 (pp. 7-10); Andrew Spicer, 'Poor relief and the exile communities', in *Reformations Old and New. Essays on the Socio-Economic Impact of Religious Change c. 1470-1630*, ed. by Beat A. Kümin (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 237-55 (p. 240). Spicer also pointed out on p. 240 that the Reformed in the Low Countries received the criticisms that they seduced people to join the churches by providing poor relief, thus effectively buying their popularity. For this comment he referred to Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt: Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 133-4, 232; G. Moreau, *Histoire du Protestantisme à Tournai jusqu'à la veille de la Révolution des Pays-Bas* (Paris, 1962), p. 138.

more members as well as moral sympathy for their helpful attitude towards the deserving poor.

This chapter is largely based on the consistory acts and letters of the foreign churches. These sources are well-trod since they are the main sources for any study on the foreign churches. The letters of the Archivum in particular display the networks of the Reformed churches. They compensate for the lack of local, informative documents for the provincial churches for which no extensive documents, excluding Norwich and Canterbury, remain. With the exception of Dover, other local documents as well as detailed studies of local archives exist to adjust or contribute to the picture which the letters of the Archivum paint.

I. Mutual support among foreign Reformed churches in England

While there was a short period in the 1570s in which the foreign churches assisted in the war efforts of Orange, they soon started concentrating on the advancement of the Reformation in the Low Countries. Johannes Cubus, a Reformed minister in exile in England, wrote in February 1578 about the Low Countries: ‘while the rulers of this country occupy themselves with the war, the Community might be built up, if there were an adequate number of ministers’.³ Several refugee churches started considering the need for ministers in the Low Countries and how to fulfil this need more deeply from 1570 onwards. The exile churches in Frankenthal and Heidelberg proposed a meeting in Frankfurt with all the dispersed Netherlandish communities, but whether or not this happened is not clear. Optimistic about a potential return, the former exile churches

³ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 531, pp. 497-98.

believed that the churches should not provide ministers but should wait and prepare for their own congregations to return to the Low Countries at the reception of religious toleration. The consistory of Maidstone, in contrast, instigated these churches to prepare ministers for the Low Countries immediately. Rather than supporting students, they wanted to persuade unemployed ministers in the Low Countries to take up a traineeship in an exile church to improve their skills and knowledge, and then send them to communities in need of a minister in the Netherlands.⁴

Philips of Marnix, Lord of Saint-Aldegonde and advisor of William of Orange, picked up on this idea of a general Reformed meeting which circulated between a few brethren in Maidstone, Frankenthal, and Heidelberg. He developed it through consultation with Wesel and Emden.⁵ It would have been beneficial for Orange to build out a strong network of Reformed churches and to bring together the exile churches in order to gain their support. He eventually wrote to the London Dutch Church for the endorsement of the idea in July 1571.⁶ The first time the Dutch consistory mentioned rumours about this idea in the consistory acts was in November 1571, in which they mention the Prince of Orange and Frederick III of Simmern, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, stimulating and authorising the idea. The dispersed communities as well as the congregations in the Low Countries started discussing the potential of annual meetings which eventually turned into regular synods and classes.⁷ The refugee churches in England decided to consult their superintendents about the propriety of attending synods in the Low Countries and forming classes, but their superintendents eventually prohibited both.⁸ The foreign churches did not meet as classes and only formed colloquia by the

⁴ Archivum, 2, Letter 103, pp. 348-52.

⁵ Auke Jelsma, *Frontiers of the Reformation. Dissidence and Orthodoxy in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Aldershot, 1998), p. 113.

⁶ Archivum, 2, Letter 108, pp. 378-87.

⁷ See chapter 1, pp. 51-65; and also Archivum, 2, Letter 105, pp. 365-69.

⁸ Archivum, 2, Letters 110, 117, pp. 391-93, 410-11.

second half of the 1570s, when they became concerned about the upkeep of their own churches in England.

Until the establishment of the colloquia, letters were the foreign churches' most common form of communication with each other. Through these letters, the churches increasingly received requests for help from other congregations. The London Dutch Church summarised its expenses in 1577 as follows: they had to assist in the maintenance of other foreign churches in England, next to that they had civil burdens to carry such as taxes and poor relief, all that while trade and commerce in England were slacking and the congregation suffered from the prohibition the secular authorities had laid upon them in practising certain handicrafts. On top of that, the community had decreased in numbers since many had left for the Low Countries because there was a limited freedom of religion again there. They also still maintained a fund for students in Geneva and regularly sent money across the Channel for other congregations. When the Reformed communities of West-Flanders applied for money to them in 1577, the London Dutch Church replied with indignation, displaying all their other costs, but did eventually supply the churches with £25.⁹

The foreign churches contemplated all their burdens and came to the view that, even though they wished to help communities in the Low Countries, their main duty was to preserve their own Reformed congregations in England. One of the reasons for the maintenance of the foreign churches was not to lose the privileges in certain places, especially the smaller provincial congregations in England, because these could be useful in case 'Holland and Zeeland were overpowered by the tyrants.'¹⁰ Places such as Dover, Maidstone, and Yarmouth were relatively poor and their Reformed congregations small.

⁹ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 521, pp. 486-88.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Letter 214, pp. 184-85; Acten van de Colloquia, p. 15.

They formed geographically convenient places where travellers in need stopped and enjoyed the hospitality of the local congregations and through which many immigrants passed on their way to different communities. From 1576 onwards the colloquia of the Dutch churches showed growing complaints about poverty and an increasing need for support for provincial churches. While receiving fewer requests for military support, the foreign churches concentrated on their own maintenance rather than collections for the war in the Low Countries. The congregations from Dover, Maidstone, and Yarmouth were particularly in need of aid, especially in the second half of the 1570s.¹¹ The representatives of the churches at the Dutch colloquium in 1576 decided that the churches of London, Sandwich, Norwich, and Colchester should attempt to collect £36 among their members and acquaintances in order to save the other churches.¹² The foreign churches considered the maintenance of these communities and their economic and religious privileges to be an integral part of investment for the survival of Dutch, Walloon, and French Reformed or Calvinist beliefs.

The presence of a minister was one of the main requirements for the existence of a Reformed church. The churches regularly experienced problems finding an appropriate minister for their congregations and struggled financially to maintain him. The Dutch and French colloquia of the foreign churches in England set in motion during the period under consideration deliberated about the necessary support for smaller communities.¹³ Yet, the colloquia partially failed to function properly because some congregations did not attend the meetings, especially the Dutch ones. The Norwich Flemish Church regularly uninterestedly declined to be present at the Dutch Colloquia in England, while communities such as Dover and Thetford were simply too poor to appear.¹⁴ The Dutch

¹¹ Acten van de Colloquia, pp. 14-15.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹³ See chapter 1, pp. 51-65.

¹⁴ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 468, pp. 444-45.

Church rebuked the Flemish Church of Norwich for showing no interest in the colloquia and refusing to attend them in 1577. They presumed that the Norwich brethren seemed to distrust the churches oversea, perhaps because of the development of their own rites.¹⁵ The Flemish Church of Norwich maintained that ‘the trade’ was bad at Norwich at that time, and that they also needed to make a collection for Orange.¹⁶ Moreover, by August 1576 they had received an application for assistance from the Reformed community at Brussels.¹⁷ Norwich thus excluded itself from the foreign churches in England and perhaps from the Continental ones as well, for according to the Sandwich congregation there were cases in which members disagreeing with their consistory threatened to leave for Norwich instead of confessing their guilt.¹⁸ By 1581 the Flemish Church in Norwich still had not changed course and declined an invitation for the colloquium. They refused to make any amendments to their church discipline as long as they resided in England and believed there was no cause to bother them.¹⁹ In 1584 the London Dutch Church declared in a reply to an invitation for the general Synod in Antwerp that Norwich had withdrawn itself from the colloquia of the Dutch foreign churches in England several years before.²⁰ The Dutch churches nonetheless decided sternly to maintain the colloquia, while the French churches kept theirs going, albeit less regularly by the end of the 1580s.²¹

Needless to say, the London stranger churches were the pivotal institutions for the organisation and dispatch of ministers and financial relief. They left ample primary sources, formed some of the biggest stranger communities, and were geographically centrally located. Perhaps we underestimate the role of communities such as Norwich,

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Letter 553, pp. 519-20.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Letter 398, pp. 378-79.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Letter 400, pp. 379-80.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Letter 597, p. 546.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Letter 731, pp. 636-37.

²⁰ *Archivum*, 2, Letter 210, pp. 769-71.

²¹ *Archivum*, 3.1, Letters 537,538, pp. 505-07.

Sandwich, Colchester, and Southampton as a result of a lack of rich source materials. There is evidence of potential mutual support among these and the smaller congregations, yet that evidence comes from London. In 1575, the Dutch community of Yarmouth had appealed to the Dutch Church in London for support to maintain a minister. Yarmouth's minister Jan vanden Spieghel had left for a ministry in the Low Countries in 1575 and the congregation asked the Dutch Church for a new minister and financial support to sustain him. London promised £4.²² The London Dutch Church had told Yarmouth to consider the nearby churches for further assistance. Such a church would have been Norwich. The Dutch Church had maintained that the neighbouring churches were better able to support Yarmouth as they were 'better in numbers and power', something which Yarmouth doubted.²³ In May 1576 Yarmouth made further requests for assistance. Despite being the largest exile community outside London, they pleaded that because of the religious toleration in the Low Countries, all the rich members of the community had departed. They had also written to churches in Holland for help, which shows the importance they attached to maintaining their existence.²⁴

Just like Yarmouth, the Sandwich congregation complained in 1578 about their poverty as a result of the wealthiest members leaving the town. When the London Dutch Church received £200 through the will of Jacob Beck, a deacon of the London Dutch Church, that year, Sandwich argued that it deserved one fourth of that sum to relieve its poor since the said Beck spent much time in Sandwich practising the wool trade.²⁵ Poverty was so extensive within the foreign churches that Jelsma and Boersma estimated that only twenty per cent of the congregation of the Dutch Church in the 1570s could have

²² *Ibid.*, Letters 343, 353, pp. 314-15, 324-25.

²³ *Ibid.*, Letter 363, pp. 350-52.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Letter 388, pp. 369-70.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Letter 588, p. 541; *Acta*, p. 484.

financially contributed to the poor relief.²⁶ On top of that, the foreign churches saw their churches reduced in members after the Pacification of Ghent in 1576. Walloons could also go back to the Low Countries, while the French could return because of the Edict of Poitiers.²⁷ Many of the members who had flocked in from the Low Countries from 1567 onwards and from France after 1572 might have become more financially established but probably were still struggling by 1576 and left to seek a better future in the northern Netherlands. With the fall of the Calvinist Republic of Ghent in 1584, a new migration stream from Flanders arrived in England for which Sandwich wished financial support from London.²⁸

As common as requests for financial support was the appeal for ministers and advice. Maidstone constantly appealed for ministers. In March 1572 Bartholdus Willemzn, whom the Dutch Church had sent to Maidstone that month, asked for advice on how to intervene in the heterodox views of the minister of the Maidstone congregation, Nicasius Vander Schuere also called Nicasius ab Horreo. The Archbishop of Canterbury, who was the superintendent of the Maidstone congregation, suspended Nicasius. Willemzn was there to reform the church and found many of its members sharing in what he considered faulty views.²⁹ The maintenance of churches thus included clearing them from unorthodox beliefs. In 1575 the Sandwich congregation similarly had to deal with unorthodox views among a seemingly large percentage of its congregation which caused severe disputes.³⁰ Yet Sandwich could manage without any help, while Maidstone frequently had to solicit other churches for support.³¹ Just like Yarmouth and

²⁶ Acta, p. xxiv.

²⁷ Ferdinand de Schickler, *Les Églises du Refuge en Angleterre*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1892), p. 227.

²⁸ Acta, p. 696.

²⁹ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 182, pp. 156-58.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Letter 358, pp. 328-30.

³¹ Soon after Bartholdus Willemzn's arrival at Maidstone in March 1572, the London Dutch Church provisionally sent their minister Godfried van Winghen to Maidstone. After van Winghen served temporarily, the London Dutch Church sent Joris Wybo for the ministry at Maidstone,

Sandwich, Maidstone complained that many members of the congregation had left in 1574. The congregation of Maidstone could not maintain a minister after Joris Wybo's departure in 1574; they could only find £2. They still wanted to maintain a minister, however, as they expected that new members might arrive.³² Here as well, the Dutch Church declared that they could no longer solely provide for the maintenance of a minister at Maidstone. The reason London gave was also the decrease of its own congregation.³³ Maidstone subsequently looked to Sandwich for help, but the result of this appeal is unknown.³⁴ In 1585 the Dutch Church furthermore received requests for help from Dover and Halstead. They furnished the maintenance of the Dover minister with £5, while searching for a minister for Halstead.³⁵ The Dutch foreign churches fully supported each other when convenient, yet this did not mean that they formed a close-knit network, as we have seen in chapter 1.³⁶ This aid did, however, form a significant burden on the communities.

Less well documented, the French Church in London seemed to receive fewer requests. France itself had enough ministers and could count on Geneva and Paris as bastions for the education and provision of ministers, while the French Church received

but the latter left in March 1574. Norwich had appealed earlier for Joris Wybo from London in July 1571, but at that point London refused to let him go. In June 1574, the Dutch Church decided to send Joannes Woudanus for the ministry at Maidstone. He did not stay too long either, as van Winghen served temporarily again at Maidstone in 1576. Later that year the congregation was able to obtain a new minister, Adrianus Obrius from Sandwich, whom some communities in Flanders attempted to engage for their own ministry in 1577. In 1578 van Winghen temporarily served there again. In 1580 and 1581 Maidstone borrowed the minister Johannes Solliot from the London Dutch Church. The town of Bassevelde asked for his ministry in September 1581 and London urged him to go. Maidstone was again in despair with the prospect of losing its minister and once more applied to London for another minister. The London Dutch Church promised them £6 to help with the maintenance of a minister if they could find one and maintained this for several years. *Archivum*, 3.1, letters 204, 408, 411, 453, 492, 695, 742, 743, 777, 778, 791, pp. 173-73, 390-91, 393, 427-28, 463-64, 610, 643-44, 662-63, 670-71; *Acta*, pp. 219-20, 418, 506.

³² *Archivum*, 3.1, Letter 284, pp. 252-53.

³³ *Ibid.*, Letter 290, pp. 256-57.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Letter 295, pp. 261-62.

³⁵ *Acta*, p. 761.

³⁶ See chapter 1.

plenty of refugee ministers. The London French Church did receive some requests for help and ministers. The French Church in Norwich asked the London French Church to send Mr. Maupain for its ministry in 1571, but Maupain did not go.³⁷ A year later, the London French Church assisted the Church of Rye when a part of its community resettled in Winchelsea.³⁸ The colloquium of the French churches in 1583 again discussed the financial aid Rye should receive.³⁹ The French-speaking church in Southampton also supported other foreign churches. In 1568 the church sent £2 to the Walloon congregation in Sandwich, and £1 10s in 1569. According to Andrew Spicer, they also considered sending money for the poor to the Canterbury congregation in 1577.⁴⁰

Apart from the ministers they had to send out to other congregations, the French Church had to maintain the ministers among the poor refugees who arrived in England after St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre and who demanded special treatment. In December 1572 the Bishop of London sent £320 to the French Church for them to distribute it among the foreign churches in this country 'for the poor ministers and other French refugees in this country since the previous troubles and massacres in France'.⁴¹ Despite instance of help among the French churches, they could not help the foreign church at Bristol which its members had largely neglected in 1575 on account of poverty and the plague. The French Church had helped Bristol out in the past. Their minister returned to London at the closure of the church but promised to go back if there would be any means to re-establish a church there.⁴²

³⁷ Actes du Consistoire II, p. 36.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

³⁹ Colloques et Synodes, p. 6.

⁴⁰ Huguenot Library London (Now part of UCL Special Collections at Kew) MS/J 27, pp. 8, 49 and City and Diocesan Record Office, Canterbury (now Canterbury Cathedral Archives), U47/A1, p. 81, as quoted in Spicer, p. 113.

⁴¹ Actes du Consistoire II, p. 100.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 169.

Furthermore, the Dutch Church constantly complained about being in arrears itself. In 1570 they were in need of £6 for the repair of the church, while on 14 February 1574 the church was £60 in arrears for the poor and the deacons urged for an extraordinary collection.⁴³ On top of that, they regularly rejected the requests for repayment from former consistory members or deacons who had advanced some payments for the church. Although churches naturally claimed poverty in their accounts, there is no reason to assume they were wealthy as they did have many financial burdens and were just church institutions whose income existed mainly of gifts and collections.⁴⁴ Other financial burdens were the sick-calls and extra care for the poor and orphans in times of plague which struck England several times in the 1570s. Norwich and Yarmouth suffered especially heavily in 1579. In Rye 714 members of the French congregation died in 1583 and 1584, when the plague once more affected England.⁴⁵

Lastly, the churches sponsored students with an eye on their promotion to the ministry. It is not clear how many precisely, but the foreign churches supported a few students each year. This was also a practice adopted in the German exile centres like Wesel.⁴⁶ The Norwich churches and the London Dutch Church sent their students to Leiden, Geneva, or Cambridge.⁴⁷ The French Church sent their students to Geneva.⁴⁸ The French colloquia were often concerned with this topic, for instance in 1582, when

⁴³ Acta, pp. 37, 399.

⁴⁴ The churches supported themselves through gifts, wills, and collections. The deacons usually made collections after church services or went to their members' houses for extraordinary collections. Spicer pointed out that this was probably the case for most churches, but for some congregations there is simply not enough surviving evidence. He asserted that these collections after church services yielded about £25 per month in the London French Church in the 1570s but that in smaller congregations the contributions were very low. Spicer, 'Poor relief and the exile communities', pp. 241-46.

⁴⁵ De Schickler, 1, p. 330; Acta, pp. 69-71, 524, 605.

⁴⁶ Jesse Spohnholz, *The Tactics of Toleration: A Refugee Community in the Age of Religious Wars* (Newark/Plymouth, 2011), pp. 95-96.

⁴⁷ Raingard Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten im England des 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1996), p. 125.

⁴⁸ Charles Galton Littleton, 'Geneva on Threadneedle Street: The French Church of London and its Congregation, 1560-1625' (Ph.D. diss., The University of Michigan, 1996), pp. 69-70.

they asked for collections for the maintenance of overseas students.⁴⁹ For a little while, the Dutch Church also had students in Ghent, in 1583, but tried to persuade them to continue their studies in Leiden, which they considered to be a safer place.⁵⁰ These students were important for the survival of the foreign churches in England, especially for the Dutch churches, but also for the Reformed churches in the Low Countries. The care for other foreign Reformed churches in England placed pressure on the congregations. Nonetheless they kept all the foreign churches in England going, with the exception of the community of Bristol. This analysis adds to our knowledge by demonstrating the churches' emphasis on the maintenance of foreign churches in England as a strategy of survival for the Dutch Reformation independent from the Low Countries.

II. Support for the Reformed churches in the Low Countries

The foreign churches in England responded to appeals for help from churches in the Low Countries in an attempt to sustain the churches in case of a return from England. In March 1574 the London Dutch Church's consistory complained that many members had left or were getting ready to leave.⁵¹ Especially from 1575 onwards refugees started to move back to the Low Countries, and in particular to Holland and Zeeland, or began considering their return. Many provincial churches were convinced that the troubles in the Low Countries would soon be over, and that a general freedom of conscience would be announced, especially after the Pacification of Ghent. This was also the cases for the

⁴⁹ Colloques et Synodes, pp. 3, 5, 7.

⁵⁰ Acta, p. 693.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 405.

exile churches in the Holy Roman Empire, which also witnessed a return of refugees to the Low Countries over several years.⁵² Religious freedom was present to some degree in Flanders and Brabant; in Antwerp five churches became available for Calvinist use for instance.⁵³ Their hopes were soon shattered as the war continued. The foreign churches increasingly held fasts and prayers in aid of the war in the Low Countries and France. Despite this, an unknown but seemingly large number of immigrants migrated to the northern Netherlands. Leiden in particular attracted many weavers who originated from the Westkwartier before their move to England. Orange wished refugees from England, especially drapers, to settle in Leiden and Haarlem in 1577 and mechanics in 1578.⁵⁴ Leiden received 108 migrants from England in that year.⁵⁵

The London Dutch Church still expected to return and considered it important to maintain a convenient number of ministers for their congregation in the meanwhile.⁵⁶ We find similar opinions in the Norwich Flemish Church, which deliberated its potential return to the Low Countries in 1581 and whether to accept the new rites in the Dutch Reformed churches in the Low Countries at their arrival.⁵⁷ The idea of a near return was not just a phenomenon visible in the foreign churches in England, there was a general optimism about the future of the Reformed movement in the exile communities in Wesel and Emden around 1578.⁵⁸ During the 1570s, many refugees had already returned in aid

⁵² Robert van Roosbroeck, *Emigranten, Nederlandse Vluchtelingen in Duitsland (1550-1600)* (Keulen, 1968), pp. 130, 208.

⁵³ Guido Marnef, "The changing face of Calvinism in Antwerp, 1550-1585", in *Calvinism in Europe, 1540-1620*, ed. by A. Pettegree, A. Duke, & G. Lewis (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 143-59 (p. 156).

⁵⁴ Archivum, 2, letter 157, 555, pp. 583-85, 521-522.

⁵⁵ John Desreumaux, 'Vlaamse migranten uit Engeland naar Leiden uitgeweken in de tweede helft vna de zestiende eeuw (1577-1579)', in *Het Beloofde Land. Acht Opstellen over Werken, Geloven en Vluchten tijdens de XVIe en XVIIe Eeuw*, ed. by Jaak Decaestecker, Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Westhoek, 1 (Dikkebus, 1992), pp. 93-116 (p. 94).

⁵⁶ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 500, pp. 470-71.

⁵⁷ Esser, p. 105.

⁵⁸ Jesse Spohnholz, 'Calvinism and Religious Exile during the Revolt of the Netherlands (1568-1609)', *Immigrants and Minorities: Historical Studies in Ethnicity, Migration and Diaspora*, 32:3 (2014), 235-61 (pp. 251-52).

of Orange. It is likely that the return of Reformed exiles or move to the northern Netherlands, brought an inverse exodus of Catholic refugees about, who among others fled to other parts of the Low Countries, Saint-Omer in particular, and Cologne.⁵⁹ Returning exiles supportive of Orange could take up houses, and potentially governmental functions of Catholics who had fled, or received compensation in other ways.⁶⁰ A return to the Low Countries was not, however, attractive to everyone, especially when from 1580 it became clear that the south was lost. A majority of the refugees in England from the Low Countries originated from the southern Low Countries, not the liberated north, and thus a move to the Northern Netherlands meant that they would have to settle anew and would still be strangers. This was also something Jesse Spohnholz demonstrated for Wesel. Members from Wesel came mostly from the southern Netherlands and were not actually able to return. Instead, the community grew in numbers.⁶¹ However, members did not only decide to go back to their countries of origin to fight or because they were overly optimistic, some just simply returned to Roman Catholicism.⁶²

The foreign churches focused on helping to rebuild the Reformed churches in the Low Countries, rather than war support, as a means of gaining popularity there. In the 1570s the churches regularly join synods in the Netherlands.⁶³ The colloquium of the Dutch churches in 1577 decided that it would advise all churches to send as many ministers as they could spare to serve in the Low Countries.⁶⁴ The Dutch colloquium in England of 1578 concluded that the churches should train their ablest member for the

⁵⁹ Geert H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, 2016), p. 34.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 44, 79.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 251-52.

⁶² *Colloques et Synodes*, pp. 9-10.

⁶³ *Acten van de Colloquia*, pp. 6, 40, 66, 77, 79.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

ministry.⁶⁵ While the foreign churches were struggling for their own survival, they received many requests for ministers from the Low Countries. They depleted their own stock of ministers, sometimes to the disadvantage of smaller congregations in England, in favour of the Low Countries. Over time they yielded less and refused to support appeals. They were downright concerned about receiving appeals from congregations demanding the arrival of students before these had even finished their studies or training. Above all, they felt that they were already raising much help through financial contributions.

Again the smaller congregations arguably suffered most from the appeals for money and ministers since they struggled maintaining their ministers and keeping their congregations together in the first place. As mentioned, Maidstone in particular had its minister called away constantly during the period under consideration.⁶⁶ The Flemish Church at Maidstone also presumably regularly held collections for churches in the Low Countries, but we have little information about these collections. We do know that Maidstone sent £2 6s to the Reformed Church of Zierikzee in 1577.⁶⁷ The Reformed Church of Zierikzee also received £12 6 s. from the Dutch churches of London and Maidstone in March 1578.⁶⁸

Another Flemish Church which received appeals from the Low Countries was that of Norwich. Apart from London, Sandwich and Norwich were the largest congregations. Norwich received calls for help from Antwerp in 1573 and 1575, which claimed that they could not afford to keep their poor funds going through the winter and that they were in need.⁶⁹ Norwich sponsored Antwerp and 's Hertogenbosch in 1575

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁶⁶ See pp. 279, 282.

⁶⁷ *Archivum*, 2, Letter 167, pp. 615-17.

⁶⁸ *Archivum*, 3.1, Letter 533, pp. 499-500.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Letters 216 and 332, pp. 188-89, 302.

through the donation of £21 14 s. to be shared by both.⁷⁰ The Reformed Church of Brussels requested financial assistance in 1576, but it is not clear whether Norwich responded.⁷¹ A year later the communities of West-Flanders applied for money to London, Norwich, and Colchester, and presumably also to other congregations in England. Norwich, like London, replied with indignation but did send a small, unknown gift.⁷² Norwich urged the foreign churches to observe a fast-day in 1576 because of the capture of Maastricht and Antwerp by the Spanish.⁷³ They refused to make any amendments to their church discipline as long as they resided in England and believed there was no reason to participate in colloquia.⁷⁴

The Flemish Church in Sandwich was another institution well-known among Reformers in the Low Countries. The Sandwich Church was one of the first ones to show an awareness of a cross-border identity of Reformed refugees from the Low Countries in exile in its letters. Their letter exchange with Dutch exile communities in other places, such as Frankenthal, Heidelberg, and Wesel, made them talk about the 'Nation' as an international religious community with the Low Countries as its origin.⁷⁵ Sandwich held close contacts with the Low Countries, partially owing to its geographically convenient location on the Kentish coast but also because of its militant stance towards the Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries. An incident in 1572 showed the strategic importance of the maintenance and presence of this congregation. In that year the Dutch Church had paid to send over a direct messenger to Sandwich in order for them to diligently alert the congregation of Flushing to the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre.⁷⁶ As

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, Letter 332, p. 302.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, Letter 400, pp. 379-80.

⁷² Archivum, 3.1, Letter 522, p. 488.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, Letter 422, pp. 403-04.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Letter 731, pp. 636-37.

⁷⁵ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 148, pp. 105-06.

⁷⁶ Archivum, 2, Letter 123, pp. 440-44.

a result of the massacre, Orange could deploy fewer troops than expected and lost terrain.⁷⁷

The Flemish Church of Sandwich furthermore felt concerned about the maintenance of contacts with networks of the Dutch Reformed churches in the Low Countries. In 1581, they had put the question forward of whether to adopt the same rite concerning the censure as the Dutch churches in the Low Countries had adopted. The Dutch Reformed churches in the Low Countries had decided to observe a censure of the ministers before the Lord's Supper at the 1581 Synod of Middelburg.⁷⁸ The consistory of the London Dutch Church had discussed the question in 1569 already since many congregations in the Low Countries practised the censure, but the consistory did not think it a good idea to do so while there were quarrels in the church between the ministers and the elders.⁷⁹ The foreign churches found themselves seemingly caught up between loyalty to England and to the Reformed churches in the Low Countries. Norwich resolutely declined to put into practice any new regulation. The question also had an ecclesiastical background. Johannes à Lasco had instituted the censure during his superintendence, but the churches had stopped using it. Lastly, Sandwich had to deal with an appeal for financial help in November 1575 from the churches under the Cross of Nieuwkercke, Comen, and Wervik in the Westkwartier. Sandwich was their first port of call, after which Sandwich sent the request on to London.⁸⁰ This should not surprise us considering the strong connection between Sandwich and the Westkwartier area. The churches received financial support, although it is not clear how much.⁸¹ Antwerp also

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Letter 125, pp. 445-53.

⁷⁸ *Archivum*, 3.1, Letter 738, pp. 639-40.

⁷⁹ *Acta*, p. 20.

⁸⁰ *Archivum*, 3.1, Letter 367, pp. 355-56.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, Letter 380, pp. 364-65.

begged this church for support in 1573; Sandwich collected £12 and made another collection of the same value in 1575.⁸²

There are barely any documents left from the Dutch Church in Colchester. What we do know is that when the communities of West-Flanders applied for money to the foreign churches, the appeal was also addressed to Colchester.⁸³ The minister of Colchester, Theodorus van den Berghe, had left for Flanders, and the church looked around for a new minister in 1578. Theodorus van den Berghe served as a minister in Ghent until 1579.⁸⁴ He then proceeded to serve in Bruges at the request of the London Dutch Church.⁸⁵ Another minister of Colchester, Jan Migrode, went to Veere for the ministry in 1572 and asked Joris Wybo to do the same.⁸⁶ The information about Colchester is limited, but it is clear that they did send ministers to the Low Countries.

There is little information about the smaller Flemish/Dutch congregations such as Dover, Coventry, and Yarmouth. The foreign churches did need to provide ministers for these places, yet could often only find temporary ministers, as was the case constantly in Maidstone. By March 1573 so many ministers of the London Dutch Church had taken up ministries in other churches, especially in the Low Countries, that the Dutch Church had to recall Jacob Regius, Dutch name De Coninck, from Coventry to take up the ministry in London, leaving his congregation in Coventry which was under his care since 1570.⁸⁷

We have little more information about the provincial French and the Walloon churches. The only provincial congregation which left ample sources is Canterbury. Their

⁸² *Ibid.*, Letters 224, 331, pp. 197-98, 301.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, Letter 521, pp. 486-88.

⁸⁴ H. Q. Janssen, *Bescheiden aangaande de kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*. Werken der Marnix-Vereeniging, 3rd ser., 3 (Utrecht, 1877), p. 18.

⁸⁵ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 649, pp. 583-84; Acta, p. 509.

⁸⁶ Acta, p. 278.

⁸⁷ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 230, pp. 205-06.

surviving consistory acts for the period under consideration run from 1576 to 1577 and then from 1581 to 1584. The Walloon Church in Canterbury collected £5 for Wesel on account of that congregation's great poverty in 1577.⁸⁸ A little later that year, however, the Walloon Church had to make an extra-ordinary collection for the poor of their own community, as their own church fund was in arrears.⁸⁹ By 1581 the consistory was considering how to proceed with the members who did not want to help their own poor.⁹⁰ This demonstrated a heavy reliance for poor relief on a relatively small number of people. In May 1582 they received a request for financial aid for the students from the Low Countries from Antwerp. They decided to ask London whether they would be collecting, but London advised rather to assist their own students from the English foreign churches.⁹¹ The consistory collected money in support of the students every three months from 1583 onwards.⁹² They also financially supported the minister of Rye that year.⁹³ The Walloon Church of Canterbury recorded that in 1577 a minister had come to England from Zeeland to express the need of the churches in the Low Countries for ministers and financial aid. The Walloon Church sympathised with the cause but could not commit for financial reasons.⁹⁴ In the same year churches in the Low Countries asked the Walloon Church at Canterbury on several occasions to send their ministers over.⁹⁵

⁸⁸ CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1577*, pp. 18-19; CCA, U47/A1, *Actes du Consistoire*, fols. 18-19.

⁸⁹ CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1577*, p. 44; CCA, U47/A1, *Actes du Consistoire*, fol. 40v.

⁹⁰ CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1581-1584*, p. 2; CCA, U47/A2, *Actes du Consistoire*, fol. 2.

⁹¹ CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1581-1584*, pp. 42, 45, 51; CCA, U47/A2, *Actes du Consistoire*, fol. 20, 21, 23.

⁹² CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1581-1584*, p. 112; CCA, U47/A2, *Actes du Consistoire*, fol. 53.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1577*, p. 66; CCA, U47/A1, *Actes du Consistoire*, fol. 61.

⁹⁵ Anthoine L'Escaillet and Jacob Tardiff received letters to serve in the Low Countries. The church did not want to part with these ministers. In the end L'Escaillet seems to have gone to serve somewhere in the Low Countries. From Canterbury several members went to serve as a minister in the Low Countries; the elder Jan de Buyre went to the Low Countries in 1576 and in

The archival sources of the French Church in London, similarly, do not contain many traces of help for the French-speaking Reformed churches in the Low Countries. Their documents of course are not as rich as those of the Dutch churches. The London French Church received letters from the Low Countries asking for a minister in September 1573.⁹⁶ They also, like Canterbury, decided to collect money to support the poor in Wesel in November 1571, while its poor fund was in arrears. They sent out the request to other congregations and eventually sent 7 livres, while the Walloon Church of Norwich donated another 7, and Southampton 3.⁹⁷

Requests also came from France. In 1583 a church in France asked for Mr. Morel, the minister of Rye. The colloquium of the French churches that year did not comply with the appeal and instead discussed the financial aid Rye should receive.⁹⁸ The French Church had enough ministers from France which congregations called away independently as the French Church had to support refugees from the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, and their ministers. This put pressure on the deacons and finances of the French Church. A few decades after the massacre, Simeon Ruytinck wrote the first history of the Dutch churches in England while he was a minister in the Dutch Church of London. He asserted that the stranger churches saved fifty-seven ministers in the early 1570s by receiving and supporting them as refugees.⁹⁹ The French Church suffered from

1578 and minister Anthoine Lescaillet went to Middelburg in 1581 to attend the Walloon synod there as the deputy of the French churches in England. CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1577*, pp. 85-87; CCA, U47/A1, *Actes du Consistoire*, fols., 128, 81-83, 118; CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1581-1584*, pp. 1-2; CCA, U47/A2, *Actes du Consistoire*, fol. 1v.; F. W. Cross, *The Walloon and Huguenot Church at Canterbury*, Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, 15 (Lymington, 1898; reprint 1969), p. 77.

⁹⁶ *Actes du Consistoire II*, p. 124.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 36, 57.

⁹⁸ *Colloques et Synodes*, p. 6.

⁹⁹ *Gheschiedenissen ende Handelingen die voornemelick aengaen de Nederduytsche Natie ende Gemeynten wonende in Engeland ende in bysonder tot London, vergadert door Symeon Ruytinck, Caesar Calendrinus ende Aemilius van Culenborgh*, ed. by J. J. van Toorenbergen, *Werken der Marnix-Vereeniging*, 3rd ser., 1 (Utrecht, 1873), pp. 89-91, as quoted in Littleton, 'Geneva on Threadneedle', p. 96.

them as the refugee ministers urged preferential treatment. These ministers demanded financial support but did not want to be associated with the poor relief and proposed a separate deacon's account. The French Church did not make itself very popular among them as it stood its ground and did not allow belittling and rude behaviour from the refugee ministers.¹⁰⁰ This was nonetheless the start of the 'Frenchification' of the French Church of London, before often called the Walloon Church. Littleton saw 'a transformation in the character of the French Church'.¹⁰¹ By 1578 even des Gallars' Discipline, the *Forme*, came under scrutiny.¹⁰²

This 'Frenchifications' is visible through the appointment of two new ministers in the London French Church after Cousin's death in 1574. One was Pierre l'Oiseleur, seigneur de Villiers, a Frenchman who had close connections to Beza's Geneva and had held several ministries in France, among which in Rouen. The other one was the Frenchman Robert le Maçon, sieur de la Fontaine. He was one of the founding members of the Calvinist Church of Orléans. Littleton pointed out that Orléans served as the Calvinist capital during the First War of Religion in France and that de la Fontaine, as we will call him, enjoyed contacts with 'Huguenot leaders such as the Prince of Condé, Gaspard de Coligny, and Theodore Beza'.¹⁰³ Both of these ministers were of noble descent, which again points out the importance of the nobility and their connections in Calvinist networks. These ministers did not have a problem with violence for religious reasons. The wars of religion in France, and the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre in particular, had normalised the use of violence in France. More important in the context of this chapter is the condition they attached to their election, which was that one of them

¹⁰⁰ Actes du Consistoire II, pp. 110-13.

¹⁰¹ Littleton, 'Geneva on Threadneedle', p. 97.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

would be free to return to France if freedom of conscience were granted and they were needed.¹⁰⁴ The ministers would be free to take up the ministry elsewhere.

The Dutch Church of London in contrast gives us an abundance of information. It passed on their own ministers to congregations in the Low Countries and encouraged their most suitable members to train for the ministry. In June 1572 the consistory of the Dutch Church gathered a few members to talk about the needs of the Netherlands. The acts do not mention what they required, but it might have been a potential training and move to a congregation in the Low Countries to assist there as minister or elder.¹⁰⁵ A month later the consistory approached Pieter de Bart and Pieter Carpentier to serve the ministry in Holland. The Dutch Church was training these members, who were apprehensive of leaving immediately. The consistory also decided to ask the consent of their superintendent and the financial support of the notable members of the congregation.¹⁰⁶

In 1572 the London Dutch Church received two requests, from Delft and Schiedam, for the ministry of Pieter Carpentier and complied with the application from Schiedam.¹⁰⁷ The churches were kept well-informed about the situation in the Low Countries through the ministers and deputies they sent out, and Carpentier in particular. Pieter Carpentier hoped that London would not forget their brethren in the Low Countries, as well as the Prince of Orange, implying that they should send more financial and spiritual support.¹⁰⁸ Carpentier also reported about the fast-day that was kept all over the country at the demand of Orange, as there had been several plots which the Spanish had attempted against him.¹⁰⁹ He kept the consistory up to date about his own safety and

¹⁰⁴ Actes du Consistoire II, p. 146.

¹⁰⁵ Acta, pp. 273-74.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 294-95.

¹⁰⁷ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 207, 210, 213, pp. 176-77, 178-79, 183-84.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, Letter 213, pp. 183-84.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, Letter 225, pp. 198-99.

that of the city of Schiedam. In 1573 Schiedam prepared against a Spanish siege, and the anxious Carpentier begged the Dutch Church to take care of his wife and children in London, probably in the event of his death.¹¹⁰ The deputy to Flushing, Lieven de Herde, had already reported in October 1572 of the slaughter taking place in Flanders, Brabant, Holland, and Zeeland.¹¹¹

London's main Flemish minister, Godfried van Winghen, took it upon him to spend time abroad for the ministry.¹¹² Van Winghen went to Dordrecht with minister Bartholdus Willemzn in late 1572 as he was happy to serve as a minister in Holland because 'the enemy' was 'growing' every day. After a few months in Dordrecht, however, the Reformed Church claimed they could not find him a ministry and believed he came over because of miscommunication.¹¹³ Van Winghen returned dissatisfied to his ministry in London by the end of 1573. Despite this, Dordrecht continued to ask for ministers.¹¹⁴ The Dutch Reformed church in Ysselmonde asked the Dutch Church in London in 1574 to send Jan Lamoot, another member of the community and a friend of van Winghen, to become their minister.¹¹⁵ In the same year the Reformed Church of Rotterdam requested the member Carolus Rijckewaert.¹¹⁶ Whether or not he went is not clear, but in 1576 Rijckewaert was minister of the Dutch community at Thetford.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Letter 269, pp. 241-42.

¹¹¹ Archivum, 2, Letter 122, pp. 430-36.

¹¹² As we have seen, he went to Maidstone in 1572 and 1576. He also spent time in Dordrecht. A request in October and November 1578 to the London Dutch Church from the congregation and city council of Cassel for van Winghen's ministry in their town proved unsuccessful. The stranger churches considered it in deliberation with the Bishop of London, and could not find anyone else willing to take up the ministry there. Archivum, 3.1, Letter 579, 580, pp. 536-37; Acta, pp. 490-91.

¹¹³ Archivum, 3.1, Letters 221, 233, 240, pp. 192-95, 209-10, 217-18.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Letters 205, 206, 220, pp. 173, 174-76, 191-92; Acta, p. 284.

¹¹⁵ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 310, pp. 276-77.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Letter 312, pp. 278-79.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Letter 391, p. 371.

Requests flooded the churches. The minister Jacob Regius, having taken up the ministry of Ghent in 1578, told the London Dutch Church about the need for ministers in Oudenaarde, while the Reformed consistory at Ghent complained that they wanted ministers for Bruges, Eeklo, Hulst, Dendermonde, and Aalst.¹¹⁸ Ghent also tried to acquire a minister for Axel from London in November 1578.¹¹⁹ In 1578 the mayor of Ghent even considered demanding the return of entire Reformed congregations in England to the Low Countries to help stabilize the Reformed communities.¹²⁰ Another appeal from the southern Netherlands came from Poperinge, which church requested Jan Davelu in August 1578.¹²¹ After the Classis of Walcheren had desired ministers for the growing communities of Ghent and Antwerp and suggested Adrian Saravia, the latter took up the ministry in Ghent in 1578 and in Leiden in 1582.¹²² He also seems to have served as a minister in Flushing at some point between 1570 and November 1572.¹²³ Before that, he had served as an army chaplain with Orange in 1568.¹²⁴ Yet most appeals remained unfulfilled.

To accommodate these growing appeals for ministers, the Dutch Church decided in September 1578 to bring its members Jan Davelu, Geraert Platteel, Jan Selsosse, Johannes van Roo, and Jan van der Beke into the ministry with an eye on training them

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Letter 543, pp. 512-13.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Letter 586, p. 540.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, Letter 534, pp. 500-04.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, letter 571, pp. 532-533.

¹²² Regius suggested sending Adrian Saravia to Flanders, while Dathenus wished to see Saravia in the Westkwartier in 1578. Archivum, 3.1, Letters 543, 544, 568, pp. 512-13, 529-30; Archivum, 2, Letter 160, pp. 590-92; C.S.L. Davies, 'International Politics and the Establishment of Presbyterianism in the Channel Islands: The Coutances Connection', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 50:3 (1999), 498-522 (p. 512); Willem Nijenhuis, *Adrianus Saravia (c. 1532-1613): Dutch Calvinist, first Reformed defender of the English episcopal Church order on the basis of the ius divinum* (Leiden, 1980), pp. 43-44, 48-49.

¹²³ Actes du Consistoire II, p. 96, as Saravia requested assistance of the London French Church in November 1572 to receive payment from Flushing for his previous services there; Nijenhuis, *Adrianus Saravia*, p. 32-34.

¹²⁴ Spicer, pp. 118, 131; Nijenhuis, *Adrianus Saravia*, pp. 26-32.

to send them to the Low Countries in the future.¹²⁵ The need for ministers had augmented and the church could not respond to all the appeals. Dutch churches in the Low Countries were quick in trying to claim these members. Both the Dutch Reformed Church of Bruges and its city council wrote to London to request the ministry of Jan van der Beke in 1579.¹²⁶ By 1580, however, the Dutch Church itself only had one remaining minister in charge, that was van Winghen, and decided to appoint Jan Solliot, sometimes spelled Selot, and Johannes de Roo to their ministry.¹²⁷

At the same time, the churches regularly sent some financial support to the Low Countries.¹²⁸ The foreign churches promised to send £100 to the Classis of Walcheren in May 1577.¹²⁹ The Classis also wished to receive minister Johannes Cubus since they had noticed a great want of ministers among the churches under the Cross after they had sent two brethren for a visit among these communities.¹³⁰ At their instigation, the Dutch Reformed Church of Antwerp sent a letter to request Cubus.¹³¹ The latter left for Walcheren with some money from the foreign churches. By July, Cubus served at Antwerp.¹³² A list of collections in 1577 for Antwerp from Southwark shows that the gifts

¹²⁵ Acta, p. 486.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 535.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 555. Maidstone borrowed Solliot in 1580 and 1581, after which he was urged to go to Bassevelde, as mentioned, leaving the Dutch Church another request for a minister for Maidstone. Archivum, 3.1, Letter 695, p. 610.

¹²⁸ The church further received a few financial requests from the northern Netherlands. In 1575 the Reformed church of 's Hertogenbosch asked the Dutch Church in London for financial support claiming that they had been visited by plague, that trade was weak, and that the rich were turning away from the church and thus abandoning the congregation. Archivum, 3.1, Letter 315, pp. 284-85. The churches under the Cross of Nieuwkercke, Comen, and Wervik in the Westkwartier via Sandwich also asked London for financial help in November 1575, which they received. *Ibid.*, Letter 380, pp. 364-65. The Church of Zierikzee and the town were so destitute because of the war that they begged for support from the London Dutch Church in 1576, while in 1577 they considered writing to John Aylmer, the Bishop of London, for help. The London Dutch Church sent them £10. Archivum, 2, Letters 152, 163, pp. 567-69, 599-602.

¹²⁹ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 462, pp. 436-37.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, Letter 465, p. 441. The Classis also promised the community of Ghent a minister from London, *Ibid.*, Letter 478, pp. 454-55.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, Letter 466, pp. 441-42.

¹³² *Ibid.*, Letter 482, pp. 457-58.

were small.¹³³ Two years later the Dutch Church again made a special collection. This time the Church of Ronse had written to London for financial help after the pillages in the town in 1579 and 1580.¹³⁴ They received £38 15s.¹³⁵

The Dutch Church received an increasing number of requests from the southern Netherlands.¹³⁶ The church sent over considerable sums. In 1573, the Dutch Reformed Church of Antwerp begged the foreign churches for financial support. They desperately tried to survive the winter feeding their poor.¹³⁷ Sandwich sent Antwerp their collection of £12 and another collection of the same value in 1575.¹³⁸ Norwich collected £21 for Antwerp and 's Hertogenbosch in 1575 and the Dutch Church sent £63 to be divided among both churches, although it is probable that the collection of Norwich is among this sum.¹³⁹ The maintenance was another common reason for financial requests.¹⁴⁰ In November 1577 the London Dutch Church sent £25 to the churches of West-Flanders for that purpose.¹⁴¹

In April 1579, the Dutch Reformed Church at Antwerp asked the Dutch Church in London for another minister, this time Assuerus Reghenmortel.¹⁴² He was one of the students the London Dutch Church supported in order to provide a pool of ministers. The Flemish congregation of Bruges had also inquired about the ministry of this student.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, Letter 469, pp. 445-46.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, Letter 647, pp. 580-81.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, Letter 656, pp. 587-88.

¹³⁶ The London Dutch Church received a letter from Ghent in June 1573 inquiring for a minister and financial support for the poor, *Acta*, p. 332. The churches under the Cross of Nieuwkercke, Comen, and Wervik in the Westkwartier via Sandwich also asked London for financial help in November 1575, which they received. *Archivum*, 3.1, Letter 380, pp. 364-65.

¹³⁷ *Archivum*, 3.1, Letter 216, pp. 188-89.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, Letters 224, 331, pp. 197-98, 301.

¹³⁹ Antwerp further petitioned the Dutch Church for a minister once more in May 1573 and in 1575. Johannes Cubus left Maidstone for Antwerp. *Archivum*, 3.1, Letters 245, 336, 338, pp. 222-23, 305-08; *Acta*, p. 462.

¹⁴⁰ In 1576, for instance, Brussels had no means to maintain its minister and searched help from London *Archivum*, 2, Letter 145, pp. 542-43.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Letter 164, pp. 603-08; *Archivum*, 3.1, Letter 521, pp. 486-88

¹⁴² *Archivum*, 3.1, Letter 604, pp. 550-51.

When Brussels attempted to obtain the student, Antwerp claimed that they had the greater claim on him since he originated from Antwerp.¹⁴³ The London Dutch Church wanted him to finish his studies first.¹⁴⁴ In 1581 Antwerp offered to repay his studies in exchange for his ministry.¹⁴⁵ By February 1582 London promised Assuerus to Antwerp by Easter.¹⁴⁶ This did not please Antwerp since Assuerus' coming would not have been soon enough. Antwerp replied that most people who contributed to Reghenmortel's education resided in the Low Countries again anyway so the London congregation would have no reasons to complain.¹⁴⁷ Reghenmortel eventually arrived at Antwerp to take up the ministry in June 1582, but the Dutch Church had demanded the payment of £80 spent on his studies.¹⁴⁸ He resolved in 1585 to return to the ministry in London.¹⁴⁹

Another much-wanted student which the Dutch Church sponsored was Daniel de Dieu who studied at Neustadt. Brussels sent for his ministry in April 1580.¹⁵⁰ The consistory awaited his return from his studies.¹⁵¹ Shortly afterwards Bruges as well as Ypres applied for his ministry.¹⁵² By May 1581 the London Dutch Church had sent him over to Brussels, but only in return for a payment equalling the money they had invested in his studies as he had left them prematurely in order to serve as a minister.¹⁵³ This was done much to the dissatisfaction of the London congregation, some of whom thought the financial burden for the education of students too high and considered complaining to the Bishop of London about the consistory's decision.¹⁵⁴ By 1583, however, the Dutch

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, Letter 656, p. 591.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Letter 611, pp. 555-56.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Letter 755, p. 651.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Letter 769, p. 658.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Letter 782, p. 665.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Letter 788, pp. 669-70, Acta, p. 624.

¹⁴⁹ Acta, pp. 772-73.

¹⁵⁰ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 638, pp. 570-71.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Letter 652, pp. 584-85.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, Letters 666, 670, pp. 593-95.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, Letters 712, pp. 624-25.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Letters 726, pp. 634-35.

Church desired to have Daniel de Dieu back in its own service.¹⁵⁵ They left him alone considering the need of Brussels but tried to call on him again in March 1584.¹⁵⁶ By that point Brussels still did not want to release him, and the Dutch Church considered asking Jacob Regius to their ministry instead, but the latter refused as well.¹⁵⁷ By October, however, Regius had fled back to England and taken up the ministry again, since Ghent had fallen into the hands of the Spanish.¹⁵⁸ Regius still tried to send someone to Ghent for the ministry, but the Dutch Church answered that no one would be found since the ministers in England were all rather well-known. This, the consistory argued, would do more damage to the Ghent congregation than good as the ministers in England would easily get recognised and persecuted in the Netherlands. Only the minister of Dover formed an exception, but his congregation refused.¹⁵⁹

Congregations frequently asked for students in the 1580s, but the London Dutch Church required the students to complete their studies first and do an internship within their own church to see whether the student was suited for the ministry.¹⁶⁰ Ypres requested Livinus, or Lieven, Cabiliau, who studied in Leiden, in November 1581 and March 1582, but London did not agree.¹⁶¹ The Dutch Church had predicted the shortage of ministers and tried to resolve the problem by training some of the members to the ministry, as mentioned previously. As with the students, these members first had to finish their traineeship. The elder Claude Dotigny had received an appeal for the ministry from Bruges to serve in Westkapelle in October 1581, but the Dutch Church advised against any acceptance of the call.¹⁶² Bruges had asked Abraham Bauters, member of the London

¹⁵⁵ Acta, pp. 657, 664, 667.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 707-08.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 718, 730.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 736.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 743, 745.

¹⁶⁰ Acta, p. 617.

¹⁶¹ Archivum, 3.1, Letters 661, 760, 462, 773, pp. 653-55, 660-61, 589-90.

¹⁶² Acta, p. 607.

Dutch Church, to the ministry, but London's consistory advised against it.¹⁶³ The same Bauters illegally preached in his own house in Woolwich in July 1573 for a gathering of Dutch people inhabiting the area, much to the dislike of the Dutch Church.¹⁶⁴ Bruges requested another member, Johannes van Roo, for the ministry in November 1581.¹⁶⁵ He died in 1582.¹⁶⁶ The member of the London Dutch Church Willem Artsen accepted a call for the ministry at Hannekenswerve, near Bruges, in July 1581.¹⁶⁷ In one case there was an ambitious member, Arnoldus de Stuer, who aimed at becoming a minister, and eventually left for the ministry of Den Briel. The consistory did not think him suitable enough for the ministry in London and sent a letter to Den Briel warning them for Arnoldus.¹⁶⁸

Further requests in the first half of the 1580s mainly focused on financial support and the contributions were relatively high in this period. In September 1582, the London Dutch Church received an urgent call for financial support for Antwerp as the city had to take in refugees from the captured city of Lier. They consented to organise a collection among the congregation and donated £118 to Antwerp in October 1582.¹⁶⁹ By December 1582 the congregation of Brussels could no longer afford the ministry and asked the London Dutch Church for assistance. London decided to spare the 'common man' and consulted the wealthier members of the community for financial aid.¹⁷⁰ They collected £100.¹⁷¹ In February 1584 both Ghent and Ostend begged the London Dutch Church

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 637.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 668.

¹⁶⁵ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 575, p. 652. London refused to let van Roo go to Bruges in December 1581. None of the congregations would have enjoyed his service long, however, since he died in 1582. It is unclear where he died, but Antwerp, Brussels, and London exchanged letters about his death. Archivum, 2, Letters 197, 199, pp. 727-28, 734.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ Acta, p. 596.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 331.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 632, 634; Archivum, 2, Letter 199, pp. 734-36.

¹⁷⁰ Acta, p. 641.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 791.

for financial support.¹⁷² The Dutch Church collected money but decided not to send it to Ghent considering the bad news coming from the city.¹⁷³ By June they promised to send the money only if the Reformed promised not to come to an agreement with ‘the enemy’ there.¹⁷⁴ They collected at least £144 for Ostend and Ghent.¹⁷⁵ By June 1585 things were not looking well for Ostend which was under siege. The London Dutch Church received another message for help, but this time its purpose was more explicit: they wanted soldiers to help defend the city. This was a problematic request for the consistory. They did not want anyone serving the church to undertake collections since these were not for the purpose of the poor nor the ministry. The aim of the request had nothing to do with the charity of the church. They thought it better to charge the common brethren to collect money for the relief of the town and to ask the French Church for advice.¹⁷⁶ At this point Walsingham requested the stranger churches to help Ostend either with ‘men, money or ammunition’ since the coastal town was strategically important. The Privy Council kept regularly pressing for money.¹⁷⁷

Lastly the foreign churches also supported the Low Countries in a ‘spiritual’ way. All the churches regularly celebrated a fast and prayers which they usually dedicated to the troubles of the churches in France and the Low Countries.¹⁷⁸ In 1570 the consistory of Maidstone intended to observe a general fast-day because they believed that persecutions

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 706; Archivum, 3.1, Letter 879, pp. 730-32.

¹⁷³ Acta p. 710.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 722.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 726, 798.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 763.

¹⁷⁷ Archivum, 2, Letter 216, pp. 785-86. Hessels pointed out on p. 786 that Symeon Rutyinck, who, while being minister of the London Dutch Church between 1601 and 1621, wrote a history of the Dutch Church up to 1620, mentioned that the Dutch congregation was ‘much burdened by order of Her Majesty’s Council, by contributions towards the payment of captains and the levying of soldiers, and although the community excused itself on account of the great burdens it bore already, it was to no avail, the Council arguing that it was for the good of their fatherland.’ Hessels referred to *Gheschiedenissen*, ed. by van Toorenenbergen, pp. 143-44. Archivum, 2, Letter 233, pp. 818-19 shows that the church eventually made the contribution requested.

¹⁷⁸ Actes du Consistoire II, pp. 169, 184, 187, 189; Unity in Multiformity, pp. 58, 60, 62, 64, 65, 66, 68, 78, 79, 80, 81.

on the Continent were increasing and they prayed for the deliverance of imprisoned and maltreated members of the consistory of Antwerp. They exhorted the London Dutch Church to do the same.¹⁷⁹ Slowly the emphasis changed from prayers for the brethren and churches overseas to the cause against the enemy.¹⁸⁰ As mentioned in chapter 5, the Southampton congregation devoted considerable effort to the celebration of fasts.¹⁸¹ In the coetus meeting of 8 March 1575, the stranger churches decided to hold a fast at the end of the month in remembrance of ‘general affairs of the churches in France and the Low Countries’.¹⁸² Another fast was held in September of that year, this time in remembrance of ‘the great troubles in the churches of France and the Low Countries, as well by the wars in those places as because of the pest’.¹⁸³ A fast was also held in February 1577 because of the ‘danger’ in which the churches in France were, while several other fasts took place for similar reasons in 1577 and 1578.¹⁸⁴ These fast took place twice a year and were held in remembrance of the Low Countries and France for years to come. This showed their willingness to support the Reformation in the Low Countries in an orderly way, through praying and fasting.

III. The foreign churches in the context of the English Church

As we have seen so far, the foreign churches were important for the survival of the Reformed churches in the Low Countries, but they did not shape them in any doctrinal way or have any influence on their discipline and form of service in the 1570s. Quite the

¹⁷⁹ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 147, p. 105.

¹⁸⁰ Unity in Multiforimity, pp. 58, 60, 62, 64, 65, 66, 68, 78, 79, 80, 81.

¹⁸¹ See chapter 5, pp. 243-44.

¹⁸² Unity in Multiforimity, p. 59.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 64; Archivum, 3.1, Letters 473, 528, pp. 451-52, 495.

contrary; the French and Walloon churches in England turned more towards the Calvinist doctrine, while the Dutch and Flemish churches slowly took on customs from the Low Countries although there was still opposition to this, especially in Norwich. These changes, together with the shifting mind-set towards war, violence, and revolt sustained factions within the churches. Around 1569 to 1571 the members of the Dutch Church greatly disliked van Winghen and Willemszn. A few told the consistory that they would rather go back to the Catholic Church, that these preachers were tyrants, and that they would betray the ministers to the secular government had they been in the Low Countries.¹⁸⁵ In 1573, when van Winghen had returned from Dordrecht, some members protested against reinstating him as a minister in London.¹⁸⁶ Some members on the other hand were concerned that the churches were not strict enough. In February 1570 already, Johannes de Grave, a rather conservative member of the Dutch Church, complained to the consistory that they had weakened the discipline and had allowed people to return to the church without making a public confession.¹⁸⁷ The stranger churches recognised the potential gaps in the theological knowledge of popular Reformers who were refugee ministers in England in 1572. They decided to set up theology lessons in Latin ‘for the exercise and profit of ministers in refuge here’.¹⁸⁸ The Coetus decided to seek the approval of the Bishop of London.¹⁸⁹ They attempted to balance their relations with the churches in their fatherland and those with the English Church, but they did not entirely feel at home in either.

On the international scale the foreign churches had little to contribute in the period under consideration in this chapter. They made collections for Geneva in the

¹⁸⁵ Acta, pp. 132, 240, 246, 249, 370-71.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 377-78, 380-81.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹⁸⁸ Actes du Consistoire II, pp. 96, 99.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

1580s, when England showed itself an ally when the Protestants in that place were in need.¹⁹⁰ The Dean and Archbishop of Canterbury actually exhorted the Walloon Church to send financial aid to Geneva in 1583.¹⁹¹ They collected £9. 6s.¹⁹² The Privy Council urged the stranger churches to collect as well, and the Dutch Church handed over £92 1s. 2d. to John Bodley, elder of the French Church, of which £4 15s. 6d. came from Sandwich and £14 10s. from Norwich, to be sent to Geneva.¹⁹³

The foreign churches were still part of the English Church, and English benefactors supported it with advice and money. This made the costs of sending aid to other congregations while maintaining their own poor and ministers more bearable at certain times. Alexander Nowell, the dean of St Paul's was such an Englishman linked to the stranger churches. They asked him for advice in 1580, and, according to Jelsma, he was a frequent contributor to the stranger churches.¹⁹⁴ A decade before, he had granted £40 to the poor of the Dutch Church.¹⁹⁵ In July 1571 Sir Henry Knollys, Sir Henry Killigrew, and Edward Grimmerston visited the Dutch Church and presented £10 in the name of the House of Commons.¹⁹⁶ After the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre the French Church received hundreds of pounds in financial support as the cruelty shocked English Protestants and brought refugees to England. The only surviving account book of the French Church was that of 1572-1573 and shows that persons and institutions throughout the country collected money for the French refugees. The aldermen and mayor of Leicester, for instance, sent £13 6s 8d, while by far the largest sum came from

¹⁹⁰ Acta, p. 650.

¹⁹¹ CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1581-1584*, pp. 108-09, 111; CCA, U47/A2, *Actes du Consistoire*, fol. 51, 53.

¹⁹² CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1581-1584*, p. 112; CCA, U47/A2, *Actes du Consistoire*, fol. 53.

¹⁹³ Acta, p. 668.

¹⁹⁴ Unity in Multiforimity, p. 73.

¹⁹⁵ Acta, p. 332.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

a collection which their superintendent Edwin Sandys, bishop of London, had made in his diocese of £320 5s. 4 1/2d.¹⁹⁷

Patrick Collinson believed that the foreign churches were attractive to English Protestants. This is revealed in a petition of 1581 in which London clergy complained that many citizens had deserted their parishes to join the stranger churches.¹⁹⁸ In June 1572 a minister from a local church asked the Dutch Consistory in London for an attestation to preach in Flushing among the English soldiers. The consistory listened to his case and examined his religious views and life but did not dare to give him an attestation, unless he had a recommendation from the Bishop.¹⁹⁹ Collinson recounted that the clergy blamed English preachers in the Low Countries and Germany for radicalising English merchants who would come back feeling dissatisfied with the English Church. He showed the influence of the stranger churches in matters of church polity and worship. The stranger churches received money from puritans. Collinson recounts several instances in which the stranger received puritan financial aid. Some puritans had direct links with the strangers as they became acquainted with each other during their exile on the Continent. Collinson states that in the 1580s French communities in several counties had solicited local puritans for financial support.²⁰⁰

In reference to the previously mentioned 1581 petition, Collinson believed that the clergy probably referred to Thomas Cartwright and Walter Travers when accusing English preachers of radicalisation, as they had been ministers in the Netherlands to

¹⁹⁷ Littleton, 'Geneva on Threadneedle', pp. 204-05, 280; Soho Square, French Protestant Church of London, Ms. 194 *Deacons' Accounts*, 1572-3, fols. 17, 30v, 120; Actes du Consistoire II. p. 100.

¹⁹⁸ Petition to be found in the Bodleian Library, MS. Wood F. 30-32, as quoted in Patrick Collinson, 'The Elizabethan Puritans and the Foreign Reformed Churches in London', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 20:5 (1964), pp. 528-55 (547-48), who refers to H.G Owen, 'The London Parish clergy in the reign of Elizabeth I' (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1957), p. 551.

¹⁹⁹ Acta, p. 275.

²⁰⁰ Collinson, 'The Elizabethan Puritans', p. 554.

English merchants.²⁰¹ De Schickler emphasised that the mutual interest ran particularly between the puritans and the French Church, rather than the Dutch. Jean Cousin, the minister of the French Church between 1563 and 1574, was in contact with Beza, who was a friend of Cartwright.²⁰² Based on this correspondence, de Schickler believed that the London Dutch Church, or at least its minister, was interested in the puritan movement.²⁰³ The French Church warned some of the English adherents to stay away from the Lord's Supper in 1573.²⁰⁴

The English authorities, both secular and religious, were scared that the stranger churches would have a radicalising impact on more radical, dissenting, evangelical denominations in England such as the puritans, a potentially destabilizing element in English society. The English secular government forbade the stranger churches to accept radicalised Englishmen among their congregations. The Privy Council issued warnings on several occasions. In 1573 and at various other times the English government wanted to know which Englishmen attended the stranger churches rather than the English Church and prohibited the churches to receive curious Englishmen during their services.²⁰⁵ The churches denied entertaining rebellious Englishmen among its members.²⁰⁶ Ironically, however, Matthew Parker, the Archbishop of Canterbury, expressed disappointment with the 'Anglo-Dutch Church' of London for precluding a Dutch woman from the church for marrying an Englishmen, 'as if she had done something atrocious' in 1574. He proclaimed to be surprised of such harsh treatment and that the churches wished to keep 'yourselves apart from us', even though they had

²⁰¹ Bodleian Library, MS. Wood F. 30-32, as quoted in Collinson, 'The Elizabethan Puritans', 528-55 (pp. 547-48), who refers to H.G Owen, 'The London Parish clergy in the reign of Elizabeth I' (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1957), p. 551.

²⁰² The Archivum holds several letters between Cousin and Beza.

²⁰³ De Schickler, 1, pp. 207-09.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

²⁰⁵ Actes du Consistoire II, pp. 127, 195, 202; Archivum, 3.1, Letter 264, p. 239.

²⁰⁶ Archivum, 2, Letter 130, pp. 482-85.

received so many privileges 'on condition that these should not interfere with the laws of our Country and our Religion.'²⁰⁷

The early 1570s was a period of religious tension in the English Church. In 1573 the Privy Council warned the London Dutch Church against some 'rebellious people' who had lately arisen and who they suspected of abusing the authority of the stranger churches by saying that the stranger churches despised the rites of the English Church.²⁰⁸ In 1572 the Puritans asked for reforms in the English Church through the *Admonition to Parliament*, and a year earlier they had attempted to pass a bill 'concerning rites and ceremonies'. This bill demanded the freedom for priests to omit parts of the prayer book with permission of their bishop and to use forms of service of the Dutch and French churches.²⁰⁹ Edwin Sandys, Bishop of London, summarized the demands of the *Admonition* as follows in a letter to the Zurich Reformer Henry Bullinger in 1573: '1. The civil magistrate has no authority in ecclesiastical matters. He is only a member of the church, the government of which ought to be committed to the clergy. 2. The church of Christ admits of no other government than that by presbyteries; viz, by ministers, elders and deacons.'²¹⁰ Sandys described the writers of the *Admonition* as seeking 'a complete overthrow and rooting up of our whole ecclesiastical polity'.²¹¹ This could have had farther-reaching consequences as the English church was closely intertwined with Elizabethan politics, not in the least because Elizabeth was both head of the government and head of the English church.

²⁰⁷ Archivum, 3.1, Letter 301, pp. 266-67.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, Letter 127, pp. 456-59.

²⁰⁹ Claire Cross, *The Royal Supremacy in the Elizabethan Church* (London/New York, 1969), p. 88.

²¹⁰ *The Zurich letters, comprising the correspondence of several English bishops and others, with some of the Helvetian reformers, during the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. by Hastings Robinson, The Parker Society (Cambridge, 1842), vol. 1, letter 94, as copied by Cross, *The Royal Supremacy*, pp. 159-61.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*

The influence of the stranger churches is visible in the second point of Sandys' summary, since this was the system of church government which the foreign churches used. Moreover, wrote Sandys, 'These good men are crying out that they have all the Reformed churches on their side', and the most nearby Reformed churches would have been the stranger churches.²¹² However, the stranger churches did accept the demands to keep Englishmen out and pronounced loyalty to the authority of Elizabeth and their superintendent, who at that point was Sandys. This is the reason they did not want to comply with the wishes of the Dutch Reformed churches to form a classis or to attend the synods in the Low Countries, as they may introduce 'novelties', with 'great danger to the whole church'.²¹³ Moreover, the puritan theologian Thomas Cartwright, who sympathised with the *Admonition*, wrote a reply to a comment John Whitgift, theologian and later Archbishop of Canterbury, made against it. Cartwright had emphasised that 'we ought to be obedient unto the civil magistrate which governeth the church of God in that office', but at the same time, he asserted, the civil magistrates had to govern in accordance with 'the rules of God prescribed in his word'.²¹⁴ With these words he entered dangerous terrain concerning the authority of the church over the ruler, a question the stranger churches faced as well concerning the Low Countries, especially in connection of whether or not civil magistrates, and increasingly Philip II, could be deposed for not governing according to the word. John Whitgift himself wrote that 'These words would be well considered, for they contain the overthrow of the prince's authority both in ecclesiastical and civil matters'.²¹⁵ A little while later Cartwright visited Beza in Geneva and was in contact with the Calvinist churches on the Channel Islands. The question was also one which concerned Beza, as his *De Jure Magistratum* in 1574 had offered a controversial

²¹² *Ibid.*

²¹³ Archivum, 2, Letter 135, pp. 504-07.

²¹⁴ *Works of John Whitgift*, ed. by J. Ayre, The Parker Society (Cambridge, 1853), vol. 3, pp. 189-94, as copied by Cross, *The Royal Supremacy*, pp. 159-61, 163-64.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

justification for revolt against the sovereign.²¹⁶ A connection existed between Cartwright, Beza, and the French minister Jean Cousin, as Beza asked the latter to greet the former.²¹⁷ Sandys, on the other hand, had resided in Strasbourg when in exile.

This is interesting, not in the least because the controversy concerning obedience to magistrates again flared up in the London Dutch Church in 1570. The main proponents were van Winghen and Jan Enghelram, who, as we have seen in chapter 5, had defended complete obedience and positioned themselves against any form of violence.²¹⁸ In 1570 the consistory reprehended van Winghen for publicly declaring his views once more. The consistory obliged him to sign certain articles which declared that the magistracy was a divine office, but if

anyone constitutes himself a lord or magistrate, against the laws and privileges of his country, or, being a magistrate, robs his subjects of their privileges and liberty or oppresses them, the ordinary magistracy should resist him, but in a legitimate way that there may be no occasion for sedition or rebellion.²¹⁹

Through these views the Dutch Church effectively held a middle way between outright revolt and legitimized resistance without any form of extortion. These views, also, however, supported Orange's resistance of the Duke of Alba, who was exactly the magistrate that the last passage was describing. The churches did not always agree with the ways and means of Orange's revolt, which they would have rather wanted to consider resistance, but through these articles they effectively supported the revolt of the Low Countries and rebellion against a ruler.

²¹⁶ Theodore Beza, *Concerning the rights of rulers over their subjects and the duty of subjects towards their rulers*, transl. into English by Henry-Louis Gonin, intro by Aart A. van Schelven, ed. by A. H. Murray (Cape Town, 1956), pp. V, VI, 1, 5.

²¹⁷ Archivum, 2, Letter 121, pp. 426-29.

²¹⁸ See pp. 224-28.

²¹⁹ Archivum, 2, Letter 102, pp. 341-47.

Greaves acknowledged that Elizabethan conformists and puritans believed in political obedience, and that under no condition they could be disobedient towards their ruler, with the exception of a few thinkers such as Knox.²²⁰ Yet, the stranger churches could form a dangerous precedent in England considering the instability of Elizabeth's reign as she was constantly aware of potential plots. Similar arguments about political obedience from van Winghen and Jan Enghelram evoked controversy in the Dutch Church. Although they left some space for resistance, and legal actions through magistrates lay in line with the thought of the church in the 1560s which supported political actions, they completely condemned the right of resistance of private persons and the smashing of images. There was a large backlash of members against van Winghen and his supporters. The consistory did not chose the side of van Winghen but even suspended him. Moreover, Bartholdus Wilhelmus complained in 1573 that two brethren who had slandered van Winghen in the controversy were admitted to the Lord's Supper in the London Dutch Church without public confession.²²¹ In that way, the Dutch Church silently justified rebellious behaviour according to the circumstances. This could have been a dangerous example for English dissenters.²²²

Yet the position of the foreign churches as part of the English Church also had an influence on the churches' own behaviour in terms of their position in the international Reformation. They tried to keep their churches out of the spotlight and to lead a quiet existence. In a colloquium in 1576 they wrote in the acts 'without doing any prejudice to the freedom which our churches in this kingdom have used this far and are still using'.²²³ When in 1577 a member of the Walloon Church of Canterbury, Anthoine Scrive, did not

²²⁰ Richard L. Greaves, 'Concepts of Political Obedience in Late Tudor England: Conflicting Perspectives', *Journal of British Studies*, 22:1 (1982), 23-34 (pp. 31-34).

²²¹ Archivum, 2, Letter 128, pp. 464-70.

²²² *Ibid.*, Letter 104, pp. 352-64.

²²³ Acten van de Colloquia, p. 13.

want to subject himself to an ordinance concerning market regulations, the church accused his action of tending ‘to the contempt of all authority, and also the confusion and ruin of the church, and to the detriment of the poor, he was desired to consider thereof earnestly in order to submit thereto; otherwise we should be compelled (unless he produced other reasons) to impose silence on him’.²²⁴ The churches were very concerned about their reputation and recounted many instances in which they had heard rumours describing their members as ‘Drunk Flemings’, a popular nickname for the strangers. There was also one instance in which a foreigner who was not of the congregation declared that outside the community many people laughed at those of the Dutch Church saying that just a day or two after the Lord’s Supper they all go to the pub.²²⁵ This concern with their image and reputation lay in line with their discipline which emphasised quiet and peaceful behaviour. German exile communities, and Wesel in particular, similarly reprimanded their members in order not to limit any social disruptions.²²⁶ Yet, when the Queen asked something out of line with this behaviour, such as large financial contributions for the war cause, the churches were not shy to respond negatively.²²⁷

Lastly, Adrian Saravia formed an interesting case showing the intricate connections between the strangers and the English Church coming from a different view on the events in the Low Countries. This minister originated from Hesdin, in the province of Artois, in the Low Countries and had been a Franciscan friar before he converted in 1557. In June 1561, he became a member of the Dutch Church in London. He also stood in contact with the French Church, and Nicholas des Gallars considered him as his

²²⁴ CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1577*, pp. 81-82; CCA, U47/A1, *Actes du Consistoire*, fol. 75.

²²⁵ Acta, p. 263.

²²⁶ Spohnholz, *The Tactics of Toleration*, pp. 88-89.

²²⁷ Acta, p. 242.

successor. In 1562, however, he served as a minister of the Walloon Church under the Cross in Antwerp and helped establish a Walloon church in Brussels. He had been a headmaster at Elizabeth College in Guernsey from 1563 onwards. He attended a synod in Antwerp in May 1566 and the assembly of the League of Nobles as a representative of the Reformed churches in Antwerp in July.

Throughout his career, Saravia had been staunchly attempted to involve the Dutch and English nobility in the problem of the Reformation and persecution in the Low Countries.²²⁸ The Iconoclastic Fury, however, seems to have disappointed his hopes for the establishment of the Reformed movement in the Low Countries. Nijenhuis pointed out that he refused to return to the Low Countries later that year since the iconoclasm had disillusioned him.²²⁹ Perhaps it was this disillusion and the hope of a more orderly solution which moved him to serve as an army chaplain for Orange in 1568. In other words, Saravia hoped that Orange, as a nobleman, would restore peace in the Low Countries. While he condemned common people rebelling against their sovereign as being disorderly mobs, he clearly supported Orange's resistance, whom he had served as an army chaplain in 1568.²³⁰ By 1572 he had left this position at Guernsey and settled in Southampton. During his time there, he served as a point of contact between the foreign churches and Orange, who pleaded him to collect money for his military ventures.²³¹ Saravia returned to the Low Countries at least twice to serve as a minister throughout the 1570s.²³² Important here is that he had stayed in contact with English secular and ecclesiastical authorities during his time in the Netherlands and with Orange during his time in Southampton. When he served in Ghent between 1578 and 1582, he agreed with

²²⁸ Davies, 'International Politics'; Nijenhuis, *Adrianus Saravia*, pp. 3-20.

²²⁹ Nijenhuis, *Adrianus Saravia*, pp. 20, 25-31.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-31.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

²³² See *ibid.*, pp. 32-34, 41-45 for more information about Saravia's ministry in the Low Countries in the years under consideration.

Orange against the radical course of the Calvinists in the city and later blamed the loss of the Southern Netherlands on the behaviour of the Calvinists in Ghent during this period.²³³ Saravia was also an anglophile and a staunch advocate of Elizabeth entering the Low Countries, about which he wrote detailed letters to the English Secretary of State, Francis Walsingham, in the 1580s. Through his extensive English contacts, he often served as a spokesman between Orange and Elizabeth's advisers.²³⁴ Throughout his life, Saravia had been much concerned with obedience to royal authority and cosmic order, thus being opposed to the Monarchomach ideas considering them disorderly, despite his support for Orange.²³⁵ These ideas and his residence in England had also made him a defender of the English Church and the episcopal system against Roman ecclesiastical authorities, continental Calvinists, and Puritans.²³⁶ He published *De diversis gradibus ministrorum Evangelii* (1590) which defended episcopacy and led him into arguments with Beza.

In several other cases the stranger churches showed their dependency on the Elizabethan court and their loyalty infuriated Reformers in the Low Countries. In 1575, English secular authorities executed several Dutch Anabaptists in London. The stranger churches had tried to convert them without any result. Especially from Antwerp the church received complaints about the consistory not trying hard enough to prevent the death of these Anabaptists.²³⁷ In the early 1570s there were several reports from brethren to the consistory about Anabaptists among the members. A growing number of Dutch

²³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 44, 79.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 92-95.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 244-54.

²³⁶ Nijenhuis, *Adrianus Saravia*, pp. 141-145; Davies, 'International Politics', pp. 512-13. Davies refers to *Texts concerning the revolt of the Netherlands*, ed. by E. H. Kossmann and A. F. Mellink (Cambridge, 1974), pp. 282-85; Patrick Carter, 'Clerical polemic in defence of ministers' stipends during the English Reformation', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 49:2 (1998), 236-56 (pp. 252-54).

²³⁷ Archivum, 2, Letter 148, pp. 552-53.

foreigners turned to Anabaptism. In 1572 one member even wanted to approach the Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury to complain about this and ask for help.²³⁸ Many Reformers in the Low Countries, and increasingly the consistory of the Dutch Church, treated Anabaptists as weak Christians.²³⁹ This formed a significant difference with the early Reformers of the stranger churches who excommunicated van Haemstede for similar opinions.

IV. Conclusion

The foreign churches decided to concentrate on the development and support for the Reformed churches in the Low Countries and the sustenance of their own churches in England, as their way to keep the Reformed movement going in the Low Countries. They focused on the institutions, not on the war. They had high burdens maintaining the other congregations in England, which needed financial support for the poor, ministers, and students, as well as the presence of a minister. The foreign churches believed that helping these congregations was their priority. The maintenance of the churches was necessary for them since they believed that they would once more be flooded with refugees if obtaining freedom of religion for the Reformers failed in the Low Countries.

They tried to accommodate the appeals for support and for ministers from the Low Countries as much as they could. Although the help they sent to these communities served for the maintenance of the Reformed churches in the Low Countries to which many optimistic strangers believed and longed to return soon, their support arguably also

²³⁸ Acta, pp. 298, 313, 333, 435, 437, 438.

²³⁹ Alastair Duke, 'Martyrs with a difference: Dutch Anabaptist victims of Elizabethan persecution', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 80: 3 (2000), 263-281.

formed part of the war effort. Some of the support served for poor relief in areas afflicted by war, for instance when the Reformed churches in Antwerp took care of the refugees from the ransacked town of Lier.

The churches also had other burdens, which were the support of plague victims, repairs to their church buildings, their own poor, and their students. There was a constant need for clergy. They were unable to collect huge sums of money, especially compared to some of the collections made for the war in the Low Countries mentioned in the previous chapter. This again shows the financial restraints which limited the foreign churches. With the exception of its individual members who could potentially contribute large sums of money but did not do so, the church could not afford to support the Low Countries heavily. They received too many appeals and many of the foreign churches were too small to offer effective support to both the military cause and the Reformation in the Low Countries. However, in the second half of the 1570s the foreign churches did form an important source for ministers for resurging Reformed churches in the southern Netherlands. The London churches played a pivotal role in the provision of these ministers. Despite Norwich being the largest provincial congregation, the Dutch Church there turned away from the Low Countries and the network of Reformed refugee churches in England.

The strengthening of the Reformed churches throughout the Low Countries, and especially in the northern Netherlands inspired the formation of networks and general meetings or synods. This did not hinder the foreign churches partially estranging from the Low Countries' Reformed churches. The superintendents of the foreign churches did not allow them to take on innovations such as the formation of Classes, nor to attend these synods. The foreign churches functioned with difficulty in the English Church since they had the right to be purely Reformed, yet they were also estranged from the Low

Countries partially because of this sense of belonging under English authority and wanting to maintain this privilege. The churches needed to be careful in their dealings with English sympathisers who occasionally donated money to them.

Chronologically, there was a difference between the periods 1568 to 1575 and 1576 to 1585. Where in the first period, financial and war contributions dominated, as noted by Pettegree, later on the foreign churches concentrated more clearly on the maintenance of churches and the provision of ministers. Although the foreign churches provided the ministers and contributions for the Low Countries, their other burdens prevented them from giving adequate support. Whilst I agree with Pettegree that their contributions cannot be overlooked, it is necessary to point out that many requests went unfulfilled. More research is needed before we can answer more satisfactorily the big question of the real extent of the contribution of the stranger churches to the Dutch Revolt. What is also apparent is that while the stranger churches were fully prepared to support the Dutch Reformation as much as they were able, this support did not translate automatically into support for William of Orange.

Conclusion

This thesis has provided a discussion of relations between the foreign churches in England and their Protestant compatriots on the Continent with specific reference to resistance and reformation in the Netherlands. It has exposed the complex situation in which the foreign churches found themselves as émigrés in England, first under Edward VI and, after a period of further exile, under Elizabeth I. While the congregations of London were initially most prominent, this diaspora eventually came to spread to parts of Sussex, Kent, and East Anglia, not to mention outposts in the north and the west. In chapter 1, I have demonstrated the nature of the relations between these congregations and their lack of uniformity.

In the subsequent chapters, I have approached the foreign churches' history of involvement in resistance in the Low Countries by juxtaposing politics, religious ideas on violence, and ecclesiastical discipline. In order to emphasise the unique positions and turning points throughout the period under consideration, the thesis uses a chronological approach with thematic accents. This enabled me to reveal important changes over time in the situation of the foreign churches and their ability to respond to growing appeals for help from abroad. Some of the turning points were obvious, for instance the foundation of the Strangers' Church in 1550 and the resettlement of the strangers in England in 1559, but my research has also shown the significance of 1568 for the foreign churches because of the repercussions of events in the Low Countries and the Dutch Church's changing approach to resistance. One important feature of my thesis is the attempt to pay close regard to establishing a chronology of events that relates firmly to the relationship between the stranger churches and the Netherlands, rather than favouring a chronology based either on events in the host country or on significant dates

in the Netherlands. 1566 still emerges as a critical year for all concerned, hence the discussion in chapter 4, but earlier dates, such as 1564, and later dates, such as 1575, mark critical turning points for the stranger churches. Throughout the thesis, however, I have been keen to show how earlier writings contain essential ingredients that govern the political and ecclesiastical thinking of the foreign consistories in England over the whole period.

I have adopted a combination of a comparative and relational approach coupled with an attempt to cover the foreign churches as a group in order to emphasise relations within these congregations in England and between them all with the Low Countries. This approach provided fresh insights that previous studies, concentrating on individual communities in England and particular towns, may have overlooked since previous work has usually highlighted London or another significant congregation such as those found at Southampton, Norwich, and Sandwich.¹ I have little to add to the essential story of the foreign churches and the revolt, except to point to greater complexity of viewpoints and more change over time than has previously been assumed. The thesis has also demonstrated the significance of religious values in the churches' attitudes towards the development of the Reformation in the Low Countries. In assembling my story, I have been able to use material relating to provincial foreign churches. I have also sought to highlight the writings of important ministers such as Wouter Deleene and Martin Micronius, and elders such as John Utenhove.

Their writings form one of the main sources for this thesis. They shaped ecclesiastical policy and practice. One of the new things in this thesis is a focus on these sources. While other sources such as the Archivum and the consistory acts are well-

¹ See for example the broad frameworks established by Andrew Pettegree, Ferdinand de Schickler, and Marcel Backhouse sketched in the Introduction, pp. 2-5; for individual studies of significance, among others Andrew Spicer and Raingard Esser, see Introduction pp. 5-6.

trodden paths, these writings remain understudied. The writings of Utenhove and Micronius emphasised the importance of the conversion of the people and the secular government of the Low Countries, but recognised the significance of obedience to the secular government. The Reformers lay the foundations for resistance in the Low Countries through their condemnation of the support for the secular authorities' persecution of Reformed Christians. Yet this is only one side of the coin. The Reformers emphasised the importance of obedience to secular authorities, and even preferred the 'good parts' of the Catholic faith above disorder. They believed that order was godly and preferred patience and exile as the ways for Reformed Christians to deal with persecutions. This orderly behaviour did not only originate from biblical passages, especially the Pauline doctrine of obedience, but also from Reformers' wish for legal recognition of the Reformed faith, as well as their own status as part of an intellectual elite. The Reformers did leave open one potential way to circumvent the authority of a tyrannical monarch, that is through the legal intervention of a member of the lower authorities, thus again staying within the practice of godly governmental order. Despite their depiction of the secular government in the Low Countries as a necessary evil only to be combatted through prayers, they would theoretically not approve of unorderly resistance from the people. This thesis has demonstrated that these ideas shaped the behaviour of the foreign churches towards the resistance and revolt in the Low Countries.

It is common in the historiography of this topic to feel that there was an inevitable willingness on the part of the foreign churches to come to the aid of the Dutch Revolt. Whilst this is clearly broadly correct, what has perhaps been underestimated is, first, the constraints under which the stranger churches operated in England; secondly, the degree to which theological thinking on the nature of authority and obedience led to quarrels between moderates and radicals on how best to offer aid, if at all; and thirdly, the extent to which the support that eventually came was for the Dutch Reformation, rather than

for William of Orange. In other words, the common thread of this thesis relates to the support of the stranger churches for the wider Dutch Reformation rather than the political ambitions of the rebels. This is not to neglect the fact that in 1566 the nature of the revolt entailed iconoclasm which divided all Protestants.

The strongest conclusion of my thesis is the development of a fuller understanding of the complexity of the situation in which the stranger churches found themselves. Refugees in a foreign land were permitted limited rights of worship in the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth I and must always have been aware of the need to demonstrate obedience to authority. This was something deeply engrained in their theological thinking and something placed under severe test when violence erupted in the Netherlands. Just as Queen Elizabeth wrestled with the problem of aiding rebels in a foreign land, so too did the stranger churches have the same dilemma regarding how best to deal with the situation. The thesis exposes many conflicting viewpoints within the stranger congregations, between London and the provinces, and between various ministers and elders at different times.

Whilst this thesis points to quite a high number of links between the foreign churches and the Continent being maintained throughout the period, it also suggests that the churches held back from full involvement with the Low Countries at several junctures. The engagement that we have seen through frequent exchanges of ministers, regular provision of ministers, attendance of synods, and correspondence about important matters of theology knew limitations. We detect weariness of getting involved as congregations faltered in supplying men, weapons, and money, as so often requested after 1566. The reasons for this were both practical, namely their limited means, and theological, namely their concerns over authority. Attitudes towards violence became

critical in the debates amongst the stranger congregations. And finally, they also did not entirely trust William of Orange.

In a thesis of this kind, it was perhaps inevitable that much of the debate would be about how contemporaries viewed important concepts such as the nature of ‘authority’, ‘obedience’, and ‘just rebellion’. This leads in turn to a discussion of where the militants were positioned within the Dutch Reformation and the use of the concept of a ‘Radical Reformation’. I do not wish, however, to be drawn into older debates concerning the latter issue that emphasise social, economic, and political considerations as reasons for resistance and revolt.² What comes out of this discussion of authority and obedience is that these concepts were highly significant for contemporaries and continue to exercise people’s minds throughout the period. Throughout the analysis the thesis has also demonstrated that the foreign churches struggled with their identity and belonging. They were dependent on the English church and at the same time slowly estranging from the Reformed churches in their native country. Another common thread in the debates within the foreign churches concerned the nature and organisation of their churches. While the Dutch Reformers developed their discipline and organisation through classes and synods, the foreign churches were constrained within the host country by the requirements of the English episcopal authorities. At the same time, discussions of obedience linked to events in the Low Countries jeopardised the foreign churches’ own ecclesiastical authority. However, as Patrick Collinson has astutely shown, the stranger churches had a firm ally in Bishop Grindal while he was at London.³

² Economic and social historians have blamed economic malaise as an important instigator of resistance and sympathy for the Reformation in the Low Countries. For instance, Henri Pirenne and Herman van der Wee. Other historians, such as Johan Decavele and Jozef Scheerder, have emphasised the influence of Calvinist thought.

³ Patrick Collinson, ‘Calvinism with an Anglican Face: The Stranger churches of Early Elizabethan London and their Superintendent’, in his *Godly People, Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London, 1983), 213-44.

Throughout this thesis I have attempted to keep many places in balance with each other, trying to reveal significance and interrelationships, hence the study tries to counterbalance the material from London, the southeast, and East Anglia, together with material coming from among others Antwerp and the Westkwartier. Although I hope this has added a certain richness of detail to the story, I am well aware that more can be done on the continental side of this correspondence. I appreciate that this is an ideal which has been very difficult to achieve because of the nature of the sources and a tight timetable for the completion of this thesis.

Any historical study is naturally constrained by the nature of the surviving sources. New questions may help in stirring debate about old narratives, but there is no escaping the fact that we have limited sources for communities that existed in a 'bubble' in a host country. Nor is it easy to find documents on the thinking and actions of people who necessarily felt constrained to obey authority of several kinds. We are also looking at the writings of the elites within these congregations, and rarely getting the views of more members.

I have targeted elements of disapproval of resistance because the historiography concentrated on the other side of the history of the foreign churches, that is the militancy of their members. I have therefore mentioned but not focused on groups of militant refugees but on the views of the actual churches. One of the problems I have encountered within this research is the relative lack of information about the radicals and their relations with the consistories. I therefore do not wish to downplay the militant members' influence on the Low Countries, but only to show the forgotten Pauline concerns of the foreign churches and how these affected the church government. Another difficulty is that despite this sense of ambiguity within the foreign churches and despite the Pauline doctrine, the churches might in practice still have put their ideals aside privately or

secretly, where we have no documented evidence. At the same time, many of the well-trodden sources used in this study are open to interpretation. We will perhaps never find out just how the consistories managed events in the Low Countries and England behind the scenes, yet we now have at least two sides of the story.

It might be valuable to pursue more research in Belgian archives concerning the question, since I have mainly studied it from an English perspective. As mentioned, the research would also benefit from a more detailed analysis of evidence concerning Reformed Walloon churches in the Low Countries. There is little conclusive evidence for the London French Church's attitudes towards the Dutch Revolt. Better results could be found in the future through the study of a broader range of sources such as the archives of Reformed Walloon Churches in the Low Countries, or a closer study of diplomatic sources. The story of the French churches' views on the Low Countries remains understudied, partially because of a lack of sources for the French churches in England, and because of their shared interest in France.

Belgian, Dutch, and French sources might further hold references to the foreign churches and reveal the views of secular and religious authorities towards the foreign churches and refugees. These archives could also be fruitful to determine the movement and migration patterns of members of the foreign churches and Protestant refugees, perhaps with the aid of a database which also allows genealogists to trace their heritage. Similarly, the connections between the Reformation in the Low Countries and Scotland, with the foreign churches as one gateway, could prove a fruitful field of study.⁴

⁴ See Silke Muylaert, 'The Stranger Churches and their link with Scotland', *Scotland and the Flemish People* <http://flemish.wp.st-andrews.ac.uk/2015/04/10/the-stranger-churches-and-their-link-with-scotland/> [created April 2015, last accessed July 2016].

A route which I regret not having been able to go down on in this work is that of gender studies since it bore no direct relation to the research questions.⁵ This is a topic which deserves wider attention. I have noticed two gender aspects in particular when studying the foreign churches. First, the regular references to the wives of correspondents in the letters of the stranger churches. It seems likely that these women held a separate correspondence which does not survive. Secondly, the records of the foreign churches reveal attitudes towards women and sexuality. The consistory of the Walloon Church at Canterbury, for instance, dealt with rumours that a certain female member knew how to make a love potion.⁶

A different, important path which could follow this study and deepen our views on the foreign churches' connections to the Low Countries would be the study of the relations between the stranger churches, merchants, and Calvinism. This is a topic which Ole Grell has started to explore. His article hints towards the links between the merchant community and the stranger churches.⁷ English merchants were also regularly present in the churches and supported the Revolt in various ways. G. D. Ramsay has demonstrated the influence of English merchants in the Dutch Revolt.⁸ Most remarkable is the mention in a letter in 1573 which states that benevolent Englishmen and merchants had collected most of the contributions from the Dutch community in London for the Revolt, in that year at least.⁹ The State Papers form an interesting collection of potentially rich sources

⁵ Noteworthy in this respect is Raingard Esser's 'Out of Sight and on the Margins? Migrating Women in Early Modern Europe', in *Women on the Move. Refugees, Migration and Exile*, ed. by Fiona Reid and Katherine Holden (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 9-24.

⁶ CCA – U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., Acts of the consistory of the year 1577, p. 101; CCA – U47/A/1, Actes du Consistoire, fol. 96.

⁷ Ole P. Grell, 'Merchants and ministers: the foundations of international Calvinism', in *Calvinism in Europe, 1540-1620*, ed. by A. Pettegree, A. Duke, & G. Lewis, (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 254-273.

⁸ G. D. Ramsay, *The Queen's Merchants and the Revolt of the Netherlands* (Manchester, 1986).

⁹ Archivum, 2, Letter 123, pp. 437-42.

concerning that topic.¹⁰ Yet these sources are well-trod, and the largest challenge would be to find enough source material in an innovative way.¹¹

Although some questions concerning the foreign churches and resistance necessarily remain unanswered or open for future research, this thesis has offered a detailed picture significantly adding to common interpretations of the foreign churches' involvement in reformation, resistance, and revolt in the Low Countries. Previous studies have emphasised the significance of the foreign churches for the Reformation and the Revolt in the Low Countries. Pettegree continued this line of thought but started making some critical remarks concerning their involvement.¹² Jelsma had already pointed out that the Reformed churches in the Low Countries did not uniformly support Orange, and had briefly noted that this remark was also true for the foreign churches in England.¹³ This study therefore finally brings a synthesis and a more balanced view to the connections between the foreign churches and the Low Countries. Through the study of the foreign churches, I have demonstrated the complexity of relations between violence and religion and how these affected ecclesiastical authority during the Reformation. This thesis has uncovered the profound dilemmas which the foreign churches faced concerning resistance and revolt in the Low Countries and therefore significantly adds to our limited knowledge concerning conservative Calvinism in the Dutch Revolt and ecclesiastical practice.

¹⁰ SP 9/244A/1 consists of documents related to Flanders dated from 1554 to 1616. News from and about English Catholic refugees or representatives in the Low Countries can also be found in SP 94/4 News of Flanders, under SP 94 Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Spain.

¹¹ TNA, PRO, SP 94/4.

¹² Andrew Pettegree, 'The Exile Churches during the Wonderjaar', in *Church, Change and Revolution. Transactions of the fourth Anglo-Dutch church history colloquium (Exeter, 30 August-3 September, 1988)*, ed. by J. van den Berg and P. G. Hoftijzer (Leiden, 1991), pp. 80-99.

¹³ Auke Jelsma, 'The 'Weakness of Conscience' in the Reformed Movement in the Netherlands: The Attitude of the Dutch Reformation to the Use of Violence between 1562 and 1574', in *The Church and War. Papers read at the twenty-first summer meeting and the twenty-second winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. by W.J. Sheils (Oxford, 1983), pp. 217-29.

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London Metropolitan Archives

CLC/180/MS07400 Deacons memoranda and petty imbursement books

CLC/180/MS07397 Acta books of the Consistory

CLC/180/MS07414 Summary of the dispute in the London Dutch Church concerning the safeguarding of doctrine and ministry

CLC/180/MS35158 Charter of Edward VI

CLC/180/MS07407 Register of contributors to students' fund

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Sa/Ac4 The Little Black Book

Sa/Ac5 The New Red Book

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TR. REL. 1-35

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