

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF ARTS

HISTORY

Doctor of Philosophy

'The French-speaking Reformed community and their Church
in Southampton, 1567 - c. 1620'.

by Andrew Paul Spicer.

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ABSTRACT

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THE FRENCH-SPEAKING REFORMED COMMUNITY AND THEIR CHURCH
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The thesis examines the French-speaking Reformed community in Southampton, the antecedents of the members of the community, the establishment of the community and its impact upon the town of Southampton between 1567 and c. 1620.

In the Prologue the links between religion, migration and capitalism are discussed. There is a brief consideration of aliens in Southampton, the historiography of the French church and the sources which have been used.

The first chapter examines the membership of the French-speaking community and their antecedents. In particular their association with the Reformed cause is considered. In the next chapter, the negotiations resulting in the establishment of the community are discussed. The economic impact of the community in Southampton is considered in the following three chapters which look at the involvement of the refugees in Southampton's trade, the introduction of the 'new draperies' and other occupations pursued by the refugees. The religious life of the community is discussed in Chapter 6. The ministry and organisation of the French church are also considered. The involvement of the refugees in the Dutch Revolt and the French Wars of Religion is examined in the following chapter. In the final chapter, the aliens' links with their host community and the process of integration is explored. In the Conclusion, the position of the Southampton community is considered in relation to other exile communities.

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It seems appropriate that a thesis on Calvinist exiles from persecution should be completed in an institution originally founded to educate English Catholics forced abroad for their conscience sake. It is perhaps ironic that this community should have been founded at St. Omer, less than forty years after Saravia abandoned the monastic life there. I am grateful for the continued support and interest of my colleagues at Stonyhurst College in completing this thesis.

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Andrew Spicer
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Note on Dates, Names, *etc.*

The spelling of the names of refugees who settled in Southampton varies considerably in the archives. I have attempted to standardise the spelling of names by using the most common version of an individual's name which appears in the records, rather than attempting to Anglicise names or to standardise all the variants of a single Christian name.

The Old Style has been used throughout the thesis but dates have been standardised so that each year is assumed to commence on 1 January. It should however be noted that some of the local records and the Port Books during the sixteenth century, run from Michaelmas to Michaelmas.

The term 'French-speaking' has been used to refer to the whole exile community in Southampton and includes Walloons and Channel Islanders, as well as exiles from France.

Abbreviations

<i>Actes du Consistoire, I</i>	<i>Actes du Consistoire de l'Eglise Française de Threadneedle Street, Londres, Vol. I, 1560-1565</i> , ed. E. Johnston, (HSP, 2, 1937).
<i>Actes du Consistoire, II</i>	<i>Actes du Consistoire de l'Eglise Française de Threadneedle Street, Londres, Vol. II, 1571-1577</i> , ed. A.M. Oakley, (HSP, 48, 1969).
ADN	Archives du Nord, Lille
ADS-M	Archives Départementales de la Seine-Maritime, Rouen
AGR	Archives Générales de Royaume, Brussels
<i>Assembly Books</i>	<i>The Assembly Books of Southampton</i> , ed. J. Horrocks, 4 vols. (PSRS, 19, 21, 24, 25; 1917, 1920, 1924-25).
BL	British Library, London
<i>BSHPF</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme Français.</i>
<i>Court Leet Records</i>	<i>Southampton Court Leet Records</i> , ed. F.J.C. Hearnshaw & D.M. Hearnshaw, (PSRS, 1-3, 1905-7).
<i>Ec.H.R.</i>	Economic History Review
HCA	High Court of Admiralty
HRO	Hampshire Record Office, Winchester
<i>HS</i>	Proceedings of the Huguenot Society
<i>HSP</i>	Huguenot Society Publications
PCC	Prerogative Court of Canterbury
<i>PHFC</i>	Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club
PRO	Public Record Office
<i>PSRS</i>	Publications of the Southampton Record Society
<i>Registre</i>	<i>Registre des Baptêmes, Mariages et Jeunes de l'église wallonne et des Isles de Jersey, Guernsey, Serq, Origny &c</i> , ed. H.M. Godfray, (HSP, 4, 1890).
SRO	Southampton Record Office
SRS	Southampton Records Series
<i>The Third Book of Remembrance</i>	<i>The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602</i> , 4 vols., ed. A.L. Merson, <i>et al.</i> , (SRS, 2, 3, 8, 22; 1952, 1955, 1965, 1979).

Migration and Economic Innovation

In the opening decade of this century Max Weber initiated the still running historical debate on the relationship between capitalism and Protestantism. In *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Weber sought to identify the distinctive elements of Western capitalism in order to explain why modern industrial development had occurred in the West rather than in India, Babylon or China which had all possessed forms of capitalism.¹ Weber also sought to explain why 'business leaders and owners of capital, as well as the higher grades of skilled labour, and even more the highly technically and commercially trained personnel of modern enterprises, are overwhelmingly Protestant'.² The disproportionate dominance of Protestants over the Catholics in these areas had been revealed by a study of the Grand Duchy of Baden in the late nineteenth century, where 60% of the population were Catholics and the remainder were Protestants.³ Weber suggested that the key to this Protestant ascendancy should be sought in the Protestant Reformation. This period witnessed both the division of Western Christendom and the emergence of what Weber termed as modern capitalism. By modern capitalism Weber meant the existence of a disciplined labour force and the regularised investment of capital. He believed that this form of capitalism could be clearly distinguished from any earlier forms of capitalism that had existed.⁴

Weber also emphasised the role of national or religious minorities. He observed that such groups are 'likely, through their voluntary or involuntary exclusion from positions of political influence, to be driven with peculiar economic activity ... It has in earlier times been true of the Huguenots in France under Louis XIV, the Nonconformists and Quakers in England, and, last but not least, the Jew for two thousand years'. 'But', Weber continued 'the Catholics in Germany have shown no striking evidence of such a result of their position. In the past they unlike the Protestants, have undergone no particularly prominent economic development in the times when they were persecuted or only tolerated, either in Holland or in England'.⁵ Unlike the Catholics, Protestants appeared to be economically successful and so Weber concluded that the reasons for their economic

¹ M. Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. T. Parsons (London, 1930), pp. 13-31.

² Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, p. 35.

³ Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, pp. 35, 188-89. For a critique of Offenbacher's study of Baden, see: H. Lüthy, 'Variations on a theme by Max Weber', in M. Prestwich (ed.), *International Calvinism 1541-1715*, (Oxford, 1985), pp. 369-71.

⁴ Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, pp. 19-24.

⁵ Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, p. 39.

activity must lie within Protestant theology.

Weber discerned in Protestantism, and especially in Calvinism 'an extraordinary capitalistic business sense [which] is combined in the same persons and groups with the most intensive forms of piety which penetrates their whole lives'.⁶ In particular the doctrine of predestination was seen as being important in that God had already ordained the Elect for Salvation, and so the Protestant individual was left alone with God to fulfil his destiny without the support of any external agency or priest. Additionally the teaching that relentless toil was not only something which earned God's blessing but was also seen as 'proof of rebirth and genuine faith', also contributed to this spirit of capitalism. Work was approved of by God, but the restraints upon the conspicuous consumption of wealth meant that this capital could only be accumulated or reinvested.⁷

According to Fernand Braudel, Calvin's teachings would seem to support the Weber theory.⁸ The relationship between Calvinism and capitalism in the Dutch Republic was considered by Simon Schama. Theoretically wealth in the Dutch Republic would not be directed towards profit-making activities but should be used for taxation and philanthropy. However there seem to be few signs that the key elements of Dutch society avoided consumption in favour of saving and investment. Even a figure such as Louis de Geer, an entrepreneur and devout Calvinist, seems to have spent extensively on pious and personal projects in order to assuage his conscience rather than accumulating capital. In the Dutch Republic, Weber's assertion that Calvinism restrained consumption to the advantage of capital accumulation does not seem to hold true.⁹ But this is only one element of the Weberian thesis.

The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism was an expression of the general belief in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century that Protestantism was essential for industrialisation, and has been strongly criticised.¹⁰ Yet the relationship between Protestants and capitalist enterprise raised by Weber still excites historical debate. As Hugh Trevor-Roper pointed out, between 1520 and 1700 Europe's 'dynamic centre has moved from Catholic Spain, Italy, Flanders and south Germany to Protestant England, Holland, Switzerland and the cities of the Baltic'.¹¹ He goes on:

⁶ Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, p. 43.

⁷ Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, p. 172.

⁸ F. Braudel, *Civilisation and Capitalism 15th-18th Century. Volume II: The Wheels of Commerce*, (London, 1985), p. 568.

⁹ S. Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches. An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*, (London, 1987), pp. 124, 297-98, 322-23, 334-35.

¹⁰ K. Samuelson, *Religion and Economic Action*, trans. E.G. French, (London, 1961); H. Luethy, 'Once Again: Calvinism and Capitalism', *Encounter*, 22 (1964), pp. 26-38.

¹¹ H.R. Trevor-Roper, 'Religion, the Reformation and Social Change' in H.R. Trevor-Roper, *Religion, the Reformation and Social Change and other Essays*, (London, 1967), pp. 2-3.

'Surely we must conclude that, in some way, Protestant societies were or had become more forward-looking than Catholic societies, both economically and intellectually'.¹² However even this assertion is disputed by some historians.¹³ Weber was a sociologist not a historian. Trevor-Roper has therefore attempted to analyse the Weber theory in connection with the historical facts. His examination of the leading Protestant but non-Calvinist states of Denmark and Sweden with their Lutheran monarchs, revealed the important role of apparently Calvinist financiers and entrepreneurs. In Catholic France, Richelieu used Huguenot expertise and in 1639 'discovered' Barthélemy d'Herwarth, the future financier of Louis XIV. The Emperor Rudolf II similarly relied upon a Calvinist financier. In Spain, Philip IV used the commercial expertise of the Baltic cities to exploit the wealth of the New World, but in reality these merchants and their fleets were predominantly Dutch.¹⁴ Weber's theory appeared to be triumphantly confirmed!

On closer examination Trevor-Roper discovered that in reality these financiers and entrepreneurs were not united by their Calvinism and were, in fact, often far from being examples of orthodox Calvinism.¹⁵ Trevor-Roper asserted that the leading Calvinist societies of the United Provinces, Scotland, the Palatinate and Geneva had notably failed to produce native entrepreneurs and financiers, despite the compulsory Calvinist teaching which should have inculcated the Protestant asceticism which was seen as being essential by Weber.¹⁶

The leading financiers and entrepreneurs identified by Trevor-Roper were united by their shared experience of immigration.¹⁷ This shared experience of exile and the links that existed between refugee communities and churches is sometimes known as the Calvinist International.¹⁸ In fact, Calvinism itself has been seen to be more a religion which applied to the select few, a gathered church of true Christians, who were exiles from the lands where the Gospel was not embraced; Calvin was, after all, a refugee himself.¹⁹ Many, though by no means all, of these

¹² Trevor-Roper, 'Religion, the Reformation and Social Change', p. 3.

¹³ Braudel, *Civilisation and Capitalism 15th-18th Century*, pp. 569-72.

¹⁴ Trevor-Roper, 'Religion, the Reformation and Social Change', pp. 7-13.

¹⁵ Trevor-Roper, 'Religion, the Reformation and Social Change', pp. 14-15.

¹⁶ Trevor-Roper, 'Religion, the Reformation and Social Change', p. 15.

¹⁷ Trevor-Roper, 'Religion, the Reformation and Social Change', pp. 15-16.

¹⁸ See O.P. Grell, 'Merchants and Ministers: the Foundations of International Calvinism' in A. Pettegree, A. Duke & G. Lewis (ed.), *Calvinism in Europe, 1540-1620*, (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 254-73. Dr. Grell considers that these exiles were more confessionally Calvinist than Trevor-Roper supposed.

¹⁹ H.A. Oberman, 'Europa afflicta: The Reformation of the Refugees', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 83 (1992), pp. 102-5.

prominent immigrant capitalists of the seventeenth century appear to have come from the United Provinces but often they in turn were the first or second generations of families which had earlier migrated from the Southern Netherlands.²⁰

According to Trevor-Roper, these sixteenth century migrants left absolutist states as well as areas where the Tridentine decrees were enforced and hence, economic freedom was stifled.²¹ The contribution of these earlier refugees to the rise of Amsterdam and the 'miracle' of the Dutch Republic is well known but Trevor-Roper drew particular attention to the dynamic role of the diaspora from the Southern Netherlands. Even Weber had been sufficiently aware of the importance of this, noting that the cultural historian Gothein, 'rightly calls the Calvinist diaspora the seed-bed of the capitalist economy'.²²

Trevor-Roper's linkage of migration and Calvinism in the examination of the origins of modern capitalism was not entirely new. Earlier F.A. Norwood had made a general survey of the diaspora from the Southern Netherlands and the stranger communities that were established. He too considered the relevance of the Weber theory and concluded that the refugees made their greatest economic impact where they constituted a minority and were at their most revolutionary. In these circumstances they were responsible for overthrowing the guild system, a necessary precursor for the advent of modern capitalism. Where however the refugees were locally in a majority, they retained a diluted form of guild structure. Norwood also drew attention to the refugees' Calvinistic zeal and suggested that this may have been responsible for providing them with an additional motivation for work, although he also considered their position as exiles to be significant.²³

The migration from the Southern Netherlands and its impact has attracted the attention of a number of historians. Heinz Schilling argued that the diaspora from the Southern Netherlands in the sixteenth century was historically the most important migration because 'the transitional nature of sixteenth-century Europe offered real chances to introduce innovation without state controls'.²⁴ For this reason he argued that these sixteenth century migrants were more important than the seventeenth century Huguenot exodus which occurred in a more bureaucratic age. While Hugh Trevor-Roper talked in general terms about the leading Calvinist entrepreneurs, Schilling has examined the economic contribution that was made by whole communities of refugees, including

²⁰ Trevor-Roper, 'Religion, the Reformation and Social Change', pp. 15-19.

²¹ Trevor-Roper, 'Religion, the Reformation and Social Change', pp. 29-40.

²² Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, p. 43.

²³ F.A. Norwood, *The Reformation Refugees as an Economic Force*, (Chicago, 1942), pp. 145-77, (especially, pp. 171-72).

²⁴ H. Schilling, 'Innovation through Migration. The Settlements of Calvinistic Netherlanders in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth- Century Central and western Europe', *Social History*, 16 (1983), pp. 7-33.

the numerous skilled artisans. Innovation, he argued, came through the migration of entrepreneurs and skilled craftsmen rather than through books. Schilling concentrated on the contribution made by the refugee settlements within the Holy Roman Empire and concluded that there were four factors which determined the type of refugee community and the impact that the refugees had upon their host society. The first of these was the ratio between the immigrants and the natives; secondly, the economic, political and social structure of the host community; the confessional position of the town and finally, the socio-economic organisation and composition of the refugee colony.²⁵ The success of the refugee settlements differed according to the interplay of these factors. Whereas the settlements in towns such as Frankfurt-am-Main and Wesel prospered sporadically, to which Hugh Trevor-Roper had also drawn attention, the communities at Cologne and Aachen failed.²⁶ In considering whether the Weber thesis can explain the impact of these aliens on their host communities, Schilling suggested that the immigrants had brought about changes to economic structures which eased the way for modern industrialisation. In some cases the descendants of the aliens actually took a leading role in the Industrial Revolution.²⁷ He insisted that the economic innovation and expertise of the refugees owed more to their having come from the economically most developed area of Europe than to their Calvinist doctrine or to the concept of a Protestant 'work ethic'. However he concluded that their exclusion from the urban political élites was a result of their minority status within the towns and was responsible for them developing an 'early modern business bourgeoisie', which was also mostly Calvinist in its religious beliefs.²⁸ (Is this so very far from Weber's comments if not his actual conclusions, concerning the economic success of the politically excluded?)

The dramatic increase in the population of the United Provinces in the early seventeenth century was largely due to large scale immigration. The most important element of this immigration was the well-known exodus of refugees from the Southern Netherlands. Refugees from Liège sustained the cloth industries of Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Alkmaar; other refugees from the south contributed to the textile industries of Haarlem, Gouda and Leiden. The fall of Antwerp to Parma's forces in 1585 resulted in the migration of merchants from the Southern Netherlands to Amsterdam.²⁹ Dr. J. Briels re-opened the discussion on this migration and attempted systematically to quantify the scale of this migration and to analyse the contribution made by the refugees to the

²⁵ Schilling, 'Innovation through Migration', pp. 15-16.

²⁶ Schilling, 'Innovation through Migration', pp. 19-24, 26-27; Trevor-Roper, 'Religion, the Reformation and Social Change', p. 19.

²⁷ Schilling, 'Innovation through Migration', pp. 27-30.

²⁸ Schilling, 'Innovation through Migration', pp. 30-31.

²⁹ A.Th. van Deursen, *Plain Lives in a Golden Age. Popular culture, religion and society in seventeenth-century Holland*, (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 32-43.

Golden Age of the Dutch Republic. According to Briels, as many as 175,000 people left the Southern Netherlands between 1540 and 1621/30, of whom 150,000 migrated to the North (this figure includes 35,000 people who came via Germany and England).³⁰ Briels' research has emphasised not merely the economic contribution made by the refugees to the North. The refugees also exerted a distinctive religious and cultural influence: the influx of ministers and prominent lay Calvinists from the South came to dominate the Reformed church in Holland, at the same time Southern printers, schoolmasters, rhetoricians, goldsmiths and painters came to hold leading positions in the Dutch Republic. Briels' arguments are controversial because he straddles two distinctive historiographic traditions. On the one hand he stresses the distinctively Erasmian character of the northern Dutch Reformation and regards Calvinism as an alien faith imposed by immigrants. On the other hand he attributes the efflorescence of Dutch culture and economy in the seventeenth century to these same immigrants. He has however succeeded in broadening the debate concerning the refugee experience beyond a mere discussion of the economic contribution made by the refugees.³¹

Compared with the research and debate in the Netherlands and Germany, the impact of the Calvinist diaspora in Tudor England has been relatively neglected. The recent commemoration of the tercentenary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, with the Quiet Conquest Exhibition celebrated the contribution made by the late seventeenth century diaspora to English life.³² However according to Schilling this migration was not as important as the sixteenth century diaspora. While the English immigration of Calvinistic Netherlands was on a much smaller scale than that to the Northern Netherlands, according to Briels' figures it was comparable with the migration to Germany. As many as 30,000 Netherlands may have settled in England between 1540 and 1621/30.³³ Given the scale of the influx, it would be appropriate to consider whether or not the

³⁰ J. Briels, 'De Emigratie uit de Zuidelijke Nederlanden Omstreeks 1540-1621/30' in *Opstand en Pacificatie in de Lage Landen. Bijdrage tot de studie van Pacificatie van Gent*, (Ghent, 1976), p. 188. The figures given by Briels are debateable because he fails to take account of the same refugees being counted more than once. His definition of a stranger is also imprecise. Perforce he relies on hearsay evidence and sweeping generalisations rather than precise quantitative data.

It is however difficult to produce accurate statistics for the emigration from the Southern Netherlands and a range of figures have been produced by historians. Schilling estimated that 'just under one hundred thousand people ... left their homes, temporarily or forever'. For a brief discussion of these figures, see Schilling, 'Innovation through Migration', pp. 9-10.

³¹ J. Briels, *Zuid-Nederlanders in de Republiek 1572-1630. Een demografische en cultuurhistorische studie*, (St. Niklaas, n.d.).

³² *The Quiet Conquest. The Huguenots 1685 to 1985*. A Museum of London exhibition in association with the Huguenot Society, 15 May to 31 October, 1985.

³³ Briels, 'De emigratie uit de Zuidelijke Nederlanden omstreeks 1540-1621/30', p. 188.

refugees made an innovative contribution to their host communities. It is therefore important to place any study of a stranger community in England within this wider historical debate about the 'refugee experience'. One such community in England where the contribution of the refugees from the Southern Netherlands has been conspicuously ignored is the port of Southampton.

Alien Communities

Large alien communities established within towns can be seen to have certain distinctive characteristics. These communities tend to show evidence of residential segregation and a degree of informal self-help which is perhaps typical of expatriate communities.³⁴ The emergence of such alien communities could be the result of 'the policies and fiscal requirements of governments in the host societies; and in the diplomatic convenience and jealous attentions of the states from which the merchants hailed'.³⁵ This is certainly true of the Jewish communities which in the wake of the massacre at York in 1190 were restricted to six or seven business centres and were required to register their credits and assets, which formed the basis of the later taxation of the communities.³⁶ During the course of the Middle Ages the important alien communities of the Hanse and the Italian cities developed their own formal organisations. These were responsible for representing members of their communities in disputes with the host authorities, as well as having religious and social responsibilities. These organisations were also concerned with the internal discipline, sometimes possessing privileges which exempted them from the jurisdiction of the local courts, resort to which was discouraged by the Italians in particular.³⁷ The Italian community and Hanse represent the most sophisticated forms of alien community; aliens from the France and the Low Countries were not so highly organised but also revealed the tendency to informal self-help and residential segregation.³⁸

In Southampton, a number of alien communities had been established before 1567. In the wake of the Norman Conquest, small communities of French merchants were recorded by the Domesday Book in towns such as Dunwich, London, Norwich, Shrewsbury, Wallingford and

³⁴ M.E. Bratchel, 'Alien Merchant colonies in sixteenth-century England: community organisation and social mores', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 14 (1984), p. 5.

³⁵ Bratchel, 'Alien Merchant colonies', p. 40.

³⁶ C. Roth, *A History of the Jews in England*, (Oxford, 1964), p. 28.

³⁷ Bratchel, 'Alien merchant colonies', *passim*.

³⁸ Bratchel, 'Alien merchant colonies', p. 55.

York.³⁹ They often settled close to the Norman castle for protection as was the case in Nottingham and Northampton. In Southampton sixty-five Frenchmen were recorded in the Domesday Book as paying rent to the King. It is not clear if these men were merchants themselves but a community of Norman merchants soon developed along what became French Street. This seems to have been the part of the town with conveniently vacant sites for settlement, but it was also close to the Castle and the series of private quays running south from the Castle. The Normans were responsible for constructing the Church of St. Michael, dedicated to the patron saint of Normandy.⁴⁰

A second wave of French merchants came to Southampton during the thirteenth century with the emergence of the Gascon wine trade. They came under the protection of the Crown in 1264 and seem to have settled in the area around Rochelle Lane, off French Street.⁴¹ Other alien communities had settled in Southampton by this date. A small Jewish community may have been established in the town during the twelfth century.⁴² By the early thirteenth century communities of Flemish merchants, who dominated the export of English wool, and Spaniards had settled in Southampton. In 1263 special hostelries were set up for Spanish merchants in the town and special concessions were granted to them.⁴³

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Southampton became the English entrepôt for the Italian merchants who imported mainly dyestuffs for the cloth industry as well as spices and luxury goods. The Italian colony in Southampton was dominated until the second half of the fifteenth century by the Genoese although there were also groups from Venice, Florence and Lucca.⁴⁴ While some of the Italians were transient visitors, such as the Slavonian rowers of the Venetian galleys,⁴⁵ others settled in the town. They lived mainly in the wards of St. Michael and St. John, along Bugle Street and West Street in particular, and attended the local churches in 'nation' groups; the Florentines were associated with St. John's, the Genoese with the Franciscan

³⁹ H.C. Darby, *Domesday England*, (Cambridge, 1977), p. 299.

⁴⁰ *A God's House Miscellany*, ed. J.M. Kaye, (SRS, 27, 1984), pp. xvii-xxiii; *The Southampton Terrier of 1454*, ed. L.A. Burgess, (SRS, 15, 1976), p. 14; C.P.S. Platt, *Medieval Southampton. The port and trading community, A.D. 1000-1600*, (London, 1973), pp. 6-7.

⁴¹ A.A. Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton 1270-1600*, (SRS, 1, 1951), pp. 11-12.

⁴² P.F.D. Allin, 'Medieval Southampton and its Jews', *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, 23 (1970-71), pp. 87-95.

⁴³ Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping*, p. 12.

⁴⁴ Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping*, pp. 117-38.

⁴⁵ G. Minns, 'The Slavonian Tombstone at North Stoneham. A Chapter in the History of the ancient Commerce of Southampton', *PHFC*, 2 (1890-93), pp. 356-64.

Friary while the Venetians attended the chapel of St. Nicholas.⁴⁶ The descendants of some of these families, such as the Marini family, were still resident in Southampton in the late sixteenth century long after the commerce that they had brought to the town had gone.⁴⁷ The prosperity brought by the Italian ships remained an important part of the town's folklore and even as late as 1552 the fee farm was reduced only until such time as the Italian galleys returned.⁴⁸

Although the Italians were undoubtedly the most important alien merchants in Southampton during the fifteenth century, merchants from the Low Countries also settled in Southampton. The outbreak of war in 1435 with Philip, Duke of Burgundy resulted in widespread anti-alien feeling. Subjects from Burgundy, Nevers, Picardy, Artois, Flanders, Brabant, Zeeland, Holland and Limburg were therefore obliged to swear an oath of fealty to the King as evidence of their loyalty. In total 1,259 subjects of Philip le Bon were recorded as living in 382 localities in England. There was a small colony of sixteen from Holland and Zeeland recorded as living in Southampton with a further fifteen at Winchester.⁴⁹ At Michaelmas 1449 there were forty-one aliens in Southampton from Flanders, Holland, Zeeland and Picardy.⁵⁰ There were therefore long-standing commercial links between Southampton and the Low Countries which had led some aliens from this area to settle in the town. There were still aliens from the Low Countries living in Southampton in the early sixteenth century such as Adrian Johnson from Dordrecht. These settlers were not wealthy and were more likely to be skilled artisans rather than merchants.⁵¹

Southampton had therefore already accommodated several immigrant communities before the settlement of the French-speaking refugees in 1567. Nevertheless a clear contrast should be made between this refugee community and the earlier colonies. These earlier aliens had settled in Southampton for commercial reasons, even the 'Burgundians' of 1436 were already established in the town before the outbreak of war prolonged their stay. The refugee community did not emerge in the same way, as will be seen below; it was a 'planted' settlement and constituted with certain

⁴⁶ Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping*, pp. 131-32.

⁴⁷ Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping*, pp. 233-54.

⁴⁸ J.S. Davies, *A History of Southampton*, (Southampton, 1883), p. 157.

⁴⁹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1429-1436*, pp. 537, 539, 541-588; M.-R. Thielemans, *Bourgogne et Angleterre. Relations politiques et économiques entre les Pays-Bas Bourguignons et l'Angleterre 1435-1467*, (Brussels, 1966), pp. 283-306; N.J.M. Kerling, 'Aliens in the County of Norfolk, 1436-1485', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 33 (1962-65), p. 200.

⁵⁰ Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, p. 153.

⁵¹ T.B. James, 'The Geographical Origins & Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton 1400-1600', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of St. Andrews, 1977, pp. 337-39. For a detailed account of pre-1567 aliens from Northern Europe in Southampton, see pp. 328-44.

terms and conditions. The refugees were not at the outset regarded as a mercantile colony like their predecessors; they were called upon to introduce specific artisan techniques and in this way to revive the local economy. Furthermore one other very important distinction needs to be made between the refugee community and earlier alien settlements. Religion which in the case of the Italians had served to unite them with the host community, set the French-speaking refugees apart from the townspeople.⁵² These distinctive differences from earlier alien communities in Southampton need to be borne in mind when considering the refugee community established in 1567.

Historiography

The French-speaking Reformed community in Southampton has been relatively neglected by historians of the sixteenth century Calvinist diaspora and the few accounts that have appeared, are limited to a brief description of the community. Dr. John Speed V (1703-81) first referred to the establishment and the history of the church when he wrote in 1770. He wrongly attributed the development of the community to a scheme in 1668 which encouraged French Protestants to settle in Southampton in order to establish silk-weaving. Although that scheme had failed, the size of the community was such that they were given the use of God's House Chapel, which became known as the French Church.⁵³

During the nineteenth century several accounts about the refugee communities and the Calvinist diaspora were written. In 1846 J.S. Burn produced a history of all of the refugee churches in England and drew upon the *Registre* for his description of the Southampton community. This disclosed the sixteenth century origins of the church which had been entirely overlooked by Speed, though Burn largely confined himself to lengthy quotations from the *Registre*.⁵⁴ He did however draw attention to the petition sent by the refugees to the Southampton corporation in 1567. Later works by Samuel Smiles, Dr. C.A. Agnew and Reginald Lane Poole all covered roughly the same ground in their accounts of the Southampton congregation.⁵⁵

⁵² See below pp. 258-59, 260-61, 267.

⁵³ J. Speed, *The History & Antiquity of Southampton*, ed. E.R. Aubrey, *PSRS* 8, (Southampton, 1909), pp. 110-12.

⁵⁴ J.S. Burn, *The History of the French, Walloon, Dutch & other Protestant refugees settled in England*, (London, 1846), pp. 80-89.

⁵⁵ S. Smiles, *The Huguenots, Their Settlements, Churches and Industries in England and Ireland*, (London, 1867); C.A. Agnew, *Protestant Exiles from France*, 3 vols. (London, 1866); R.L. Poole, *History of the Huguenots of the Dispersion at the recall of the Edict of Nantes*, (London, 1880).

These early accounts perpetuated some of the myths that had arisen concerning the Southampton church. The most enduring myth was that the Southampton community was founded in the reign of Edward VI. This was repeated by J.S. Burn who stated that 'by the title of their register it seems that their first settlement here, was in the reign of Edward VI by virtue of his letters patent'.⁵⁶ According to Smiles, this Edwardian church was 'largely fed by arrivals from the Channel Islands'.⁵⁷ These claims have little or no foundation and have served only to throw dust in the eyes of later researchers.⁵⁸

A more thorough and complete account of the community was written by a local historian, the Rev. J. Silvester Davies. Speed's *The History and Antiquity of Southampton*, with its erroneous description of the foundation of the French Church, was not initially published but had passed into the possession of the Southampton Corporation. In 1877, about a hundred years after its completion, J.S. Davies was asked to prepare the manuscript for publication and to update the text. Davies however went beyond this and in 1883 published *A History of Southampton*, which was partly based upon Speed's work.⁵⁹ In his account of the French church Davies relied not only upon the *Registre* but also drew upon the State Papers and the manuscripts in the British Museum for important documents concerning the foundation of the community. Davies used the church's consistory records as well as documents from the town archives when writing the history of the French church.⁶⁰

The account provided by Davies may be supplemented by the paper delivered to the Huguenot Society's Summer Conference in Southampton in 1889 by W.J.C. Moens.⁶¹ Moens seems to have considered his paper to be an interim report pending the results of research undertaken by H.M. Godfray, but as a result of Godfray's untimely death it has remained, together with Davies, one of the main histories for the community.⁶² Moens drew upon the work of Davies and also on the *Registre* but he also seems to have sought to place the Southampton congregation in its historical context, particularly that of other strangers in Southampton. He discussed the negotiations concerning the establishment of the community. Like Davies, Moens also used the consistory's

⁵⁶ Burn, *The History of the French, Walloon, Dutch & other Protestant refugees*, p. 80.

⁵⁷ Smiles, *The Huguenots*, p. 120.

⁵⁸ See below p. 63.

⁵⁹ J.S. Davies, *A History of Southampton*, (Southampton, 1883), pp. vii, xi-xiii.

⁶⁰ Davies, *A History of Southampton*, pp. 403-22.

⁶¹ W.J.C. Moens, 'The Walloon Settlement and French Church at Southampton', *HS*, 3 (1888-91), pp. 53-76.

⁶² Moens, 'The Walloon Settlement', p. 53; G.R. Balleine, *A Biographical Dictionary of Jersey*, (London, n.d.), pp. 294-96, Humphrey Marrett Godfray.

minute book for his account of the church in the early eighteenth century and the church's dispute with its minister M. de St. Denis.⁶³ This account also drew upon other sources such as the *actes* of the colloquies of the French churches and the 1596 Lay Subsidy return for Southampton which included a number of alien names.

Baron Ferdinand de Schickler drew upon Moens in his *Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre* which appeared in 1892. This account did not however add significantly to the earlier histories of the French churches. The studies of Moens and Davies have largely formed the basis for the later studies of or references to the Southampton community.

The French church's principal records have also been published. The *Registre* was edited by H.M. Godfray and published shortly before his death by the Huguenot Society in 1890. It was one of the earliest volumes published by the Society.⁶⁴ In 1980, *The Minute Book of the French Church at Southampton, 1702-1939*, was published in the Southampton Record Series.⁶⁵

Since the publication of Moens' paper in 1889, a small number of studies have contributed to our knowledge of certain aspects of the history of the community. A rather superficial article based on the *Registre* by J.W. de Grave drew attention to the relationship between the French church and the Channel Islands.⁶⁶ William Portal, a descendant of the post-Revocation community, published in 1902 another history of the church. He translated sections of the *Registre* as well as writing about the chapel of St. Julian and the papermaking industry undertaken by the Southampton refugees.⁶⁷ More significantly in 1977, T.B. James' doctoral thesis discussed the French-speaking community within the wider context of migration to and from Southampton in the period 1400-1600.⁶⁸ A recent diploma completed at Portsmouth Polytechnic examined the French community between 1567 and 1712. This account drew upon the Davies' and Moens' accounts but was innovative in using testamentary material, principally from the seventeenth century, as well as

⁶³ On the dispute concerning M. de St. Denis, see *The Minute Book of the French Church at Southampton 1702-1939*, ed. E. Welch, (SRS, 23, 1979), p. 8.

⁶⁴ *Registre des Baptesmes, Mariages & Morts et Jeunes de leglise wallonne et des Isles de Jersey, Guernsey, Serq, Origny &c etablie a Southampton*, ed. H.M. Godfray, (HSP, 4, 1890).

⁶⁵ *The Minute Book of the French Church at Southampton 1702-1939*, ed. E. Welch, (SRS, 22, 1980).

⁶⁶ J.W. de Grave, 'Notes on the Register of the Walloon Church of Southampton and on the Churches of the Channel Islands', *HS*, 5 (1894-96), pp. 125-78.

⁶⁷ W.W. Portal, *Some account of the Settlement of refugees [L'Eglise Wallonne] at Southampton, and of the Chapel of St. Julian, attached to the Hospital of God's House [Maison Dieu] in which they worshipped. Also notes on the Papermaking Industry as practised by the Southampton refugees*, (n.p., 1902).

⁶⁸ T.B. James, 'The Geographical Origins and Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton, 1400-1600', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of St. Andrews, 1977.

producing genealogical studies of three families which had settled in Southampton.⁶⁹

Despite these most recent contributions there has not been any thorough-going attempt to re-evaluate the work of J.S. Davies and W.J.C. Moens and to produce a comprehensive account of the foundation, establishment and development of this community. Moens, after all, only considered his paper to be the precursor to the work of H.M. Godfray. The studies of the French community have been largely confined to the English side of the Channel, there has not been any attempt to examine the founder members of the community and to explore the reasons which led to their exodus from the Netherlands. The Southampton community needs to be placed in context; it should be seen more clearly as a part of the Calvinist diaspora from the Southern Netherlands.

Sources

It is perhaps not surprising that few studies of the French-speaking Reformed community and their church have been produced. The church's archives are limited and, with one exception, all date from the eighteenth century. The consistory's minute book begins in 1702 and some correspondence has also survived from this period. The latter material is centred upon the church's dispute with M. de St. Denis in 1723-26 and the dispute with Queens College over the use of God's House Chapel. A selection of this correspondence was published with the consistory's minute book in 1979. The church's financial records date from 1743.⁷⁰

The church's original consistory book was lost during the eighteenth century and the only surviving sixteenth century source, the *Registre*, almost disappeared at the same time. At this time, the French church was divided amongst itself, with three churches in Southampton with their own ministers. In the wake of the Occasional Conformity Act of 1711, the majority of the congregation accepted a French translation of the Anglican liturgy but continued to elect elders instead of churchwardens. The minority formed a breakaway church. In 1723 the new conformist minister, M. de St. Denis attempted to extend conformity further by replacing the elders with churchwardens. However the majority of the congregation protested to the Bishop of Winchester who deposed de St. Denis, who in turn set up another church with his supporters.⁷¹ De St. Denis retained the church's register and the conforming church found it difficult to recover this book.⁷² The last reference to the original consistory book was in 1720 when it was returned to the

⁶⁹ J. le Cluse, 'The Stranger Community & their Church in Southampton 1567-1712', unpublished dissertation, Portsmouth Polytechnic, 1988.

⁷⁰ SRO D/FC French Church Archives; *The Minute Book of the French Church at Southampton 1702-1939*, ed. E. Welch, (SRS, 22, 1980).

⁷¹ *The Minute Book of the French Church*, pp. 7-8.

⁷² *The Minute Book of the French Church*, pp. 8, 173, 175; *Registre*, pp. 78, 98, 133-34.

consistory by the ailing minister, Anthony Cougot.⁷³

There are periodic references in the *Registre* to decisions made by the consistory; for example people barred from attending the Lord's Supper.⁷⁴ The *Registre* was generally kept by the ministers, although occasionally there are entries in other hands, for example in the period after the death of Walerand Thevelin and before the arrival of Philippe de la Motte.⁷⁵ The *Registre* is one of the earliest surviving records from the exile communities and is unusual because it dates from the very establishment of the church. The earliest entry is dated the 21 September, 1567 and thus predates the first sermon preached to the church and the first celebration of the Lord's Supper in Southampton.⁷⁶

The *Registre* is divided into five main sections. The first records the names of those who were admitted to the Lord's Supper for the first time; the children of refugees were distinguished from newcomers by the abbreviation *J.f.*, meaning '*Jeune fille*' or '*Jeune fils*'. The second section records the names of the children baptised, together with the names of their fathers and their '*parains*' or sponsors. This is followed by the register of marriages and, in some cases betrothals, which gives the names of both parties, their place of origin and states whether there was parental consent for the marriage. The fourth section details the deaths of members of the community, with occasional references to the parents or the spouses of the deceased. The *Registre* concludes with a record of the fasts observed by the community. While the *Registre* remains a valuable source, a wide range of other material has been used to develop a more complete picture of the community during the sixteenth century.

The antecedents of the refugees who fled from the Netherlands to Southampton can be traced through the records of the *Conseil des Troubles*. A.L.E. Verheyden published a list of those condemned by the *Conseil* for their involvement in the Troubles of 1566-67.⁷⁷ Although this list is imperfect because of omissions and double entries, it does provide a guide to those who were persecuted or fled from the Netherlands. The records of the *Conseil des Troubles* are not the sole source of information concerning those who were persecuted or fled in the wake of the Troubles. These records may only refer to the banishment of an individual but in other cases detailed depositions and examinations of prisoners have survived. These archives can be supplemented by the records of the *Chambre des Comptes* at Lille and Brussels which include detailed records of the

⁷³ *The Minute Book of the French Church*, p. 58.

⁷⁴ See below pp. 210-11.

⁷⁵ PRO RG4/4600, f. 16, 34v, 77v, 89v, 105.

⁷⁶ *Registre*, p. 100; see below p. 78.

⁷⁷ A.L.E. Verheyden, *Le Conseil des Troubles. Liste des condamnés (1567-1573)*, (Bruseels, 1961).

confiscation of property. As we shall see the Calvinist community at Valenciennes loomed large in the early history of the Southampton church: most of the records concerning the rebellion of Valenciennes were published by Charles Paillard during the nineteenth century.⁷⁸

Besides the records of the *Conseil des Troubles*, local archives have been searched in particular those of Antwerp, Armentières and Valenciennes. These furnish information on the Troubles and also on the activities of the later migrants before 1566-67. The notarial archives of Antwerp, the *Certificatieboeken*, have been valuable in providing evidence concerning their familial, commercial and business interests. At Valenciennes few records have survived from before 1567 but the municipal archives of Armentières have fared much better. The *Registre criminel de la ville d'Armentières (1561-1567)* is an important source.⁷⁹

Municipal archives are particularly important in establishing the antecedents of French migrants owing to the lack of a centralised institution to repress heresy.⁸⁰ A wealth of material has survived from the city of Rouen for this period, such as the *Journaux des Echevins*.⁸¹ Important archive material has survived from the *Parlement de Normandie* which was based in the city, such as the records concerning the deprivation of Huguenots from office.⁸² A baptismal register has also survived from the Reformed church in Rouen for the years 1564-66, 1576-85, 1595-1604, 1609-24.⁸³ Unfortunately little material from this period seems to have survived from Rouen's rural hinterland, the Pays de Caux, from which refugees were also drawn to Southampton.

Besides these continental archives, material concerning the French-speaking Reformed community in Southampton can be found in this country, in the archives of central government as well as in the local records. The negotiations about the establishment of the community can be

⁷⁸ C. Paillard, *Histoire des Troubles religieux de Valenciennes 1560-1567*, 4 vols. (Brussels, 1874-76); C. Paillard, 'Les Grands Prêches Calvinistes de Valenciennes', *BSHPF*, 26 (1877), pp. 33-43, 73-90; C. Paillard (ed.), 'Papiers d'état & documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire pendant les années 1566 et 1567', *Mémoires Historiques sur l'arrondissement de Valenciennes*, 5 & 6 (1878-79); C. Paillard, 'Interrogatoires Politiques de Guy de Bray', *BSHPF*, 28 (1879), pp. 59-67; C. Paillard, 'Interrogatoires Politiques de Pérégrin de la Grange', *BSHPF*, 28 (1879), pp. 224-33.

⁷⁹ Archives Communales d'Armentières, FF40.

⁸⁰ On the surviving records of Protestantism in France, see [Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français], *Les Réformés à la fin du XVI^e siècle. Relevés de documents dans les fonds d'archives*, (Paris, s.d.); G. Bernard et al., *Les Familles Protestantes en France XVI^e siècle - 1792. Guide des recherches biographiques et généalogiques*, (Paris, 1987); M. Nortier, 'Les sources de l'histoire du protestantisme en Normandie à la Bibliothèque nationale', in *Protestants et Minorités religieuses en Normandie. Actes du 20^e congrès des Sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Normandie*, (Rouen, 1987), pp. 31-48.

⁸¹ Archives Communales de Rouen, B2-B4 *Journaux des Echevins*.

⁸² ADS-M, ANC/1B0615 Arrêts de Parlement, Decembre 1568-Juin 1569.

⁸³ ADS-M, 4/E/3394. Eglise de Quevilly ou de Rouen recueille à Quevilly.

traced through the State Papers.⁸⁴ Fleeting glimpses of the later development of the community can be found in these records as well as the British Library archives and the Salisbury MSS. Figures such as Jean de Beaulieu have also left their mark in the records of the High Court of Admiralty, the Court of Star Chamber as well as in the State Papers Foreign.⁸⁵ The port books have been particularly valuable in examining the refugees' involvement in Southampton's overseas trade.⁸⁶ The surviving Lay Subsidy returns have provided a more complete record of the Southampton community as well as some indications as to its wealth and size.⁸⁷

The local archives have naturally proved to be the richest source for studying the Southampton community.⁸⁸ Some indication of the membership of the community at any one time can be gleaned from the records of local taxes. All non-burgesses were obliged to pay 'stall & art' dues for permission to work in the town and scavage payments were made for the removal of refuse. Few refugees appear amongst those who contributed to the town's poor relief or in the muster lists.⁸⁹ Besides these lists, evidence of the activities of the refugees can be gleaned from the town's administrative records. The Books of Remembrance, Assembly Books, books of examinations and depositions, and Court Leet records have been published by the Southampton Record Society and then the Southampton Records Series.⁹⁰ One important source, the Book of Instruments has not been published. It is a particularly valuable source in which formal agreements were recorded such as mercantile contracts and apprenticeship agreements.⁹¹ These archives can be supplemented by the records of the diocese of Winchester where the wills of members of the refugee community were proved (the more valuable estates were dealt with by the Prerogative

⁸⁴ See below pp. 70-78.

⁸⁵ See below pp. 244-48.

⁸⁶ PRO E190/814/9-10; E190/815/5-7, 9, 11; E190/816/1-2, 4, 6, 8-11; E190/817/1-7, 9-10; E190/818/1-2, 6-7, 9-13.

⁸⁷ PRO E179/174/387, E179/174/415, E179/174/432, E179/174/446, E179/174/444.

⁸⁸ On these local records, see T.B. James, *Southampton Sources 1086-1900*, (SRS, 26, 1983), pp. 18-35.

⁸⁹ See below pp. 224, 253.

⁹⁰ *The Assembly Books of Southampton*, ed. J. Horrocks, 4 vols. (PSRS, 19, 21, 24, 25; 1917, 1920, 1924-25); *Book of Examinations and Depositions, 1570-1594*, ed. G.H. Hamilton, (PSRS, 16, 1914); *The Book of Examinations, 1601-2*, ed. R.C. Anderson, (PSRS, 26, 1926); *The Book of Examinations and Depositions*, ed. R.C. Anderson, 4 vols. (PSRS, 29, 31, 34, 36; 1929, 1931, 1934, 1936); *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols., ed. A.L. Merson *et al.*, (SRS, 2, 3, 8, 22; 1952, 1955, 1965, 1979); *Court Leet Records*, ed. F.J.C. Hearnshaw & D.M. Hearnshaw, (PSRS, 1, 2, 4; 1905-6, 1906-7).

⁹¹ SRO SC2/6/5.

Court of Canterbury in London).

Generally the sources tend to focus on individuals rather than upon the French church and community as a whole. As a result the history of the French-speaking community and their church has been examined through the individuals who composed it. However no attempt has been made to produce a complete genealogical study of all the members of the community. In some areas, such as those relating to the organisation and functioning of church government or the development of the 'new draperies', only fragmentary sources exist which inevitably means that analysis is more difficult. In spite of these shortcomings, it is possible to draw a reasonably complete picture of the French-speaking Reformed community in Southampton between 1567 and c. 1620.

The Exiles and their Antecedents

Introduction

The French-speaking community in Southampton was composed of several distinct groups: refugees from the Southern Netherlands, exiles from Northern France, Channel Islanders as well as some Englishmen. The survival of the community's register, with a record of those who became members of the community during the first twelve months of the establishment, makes it possible to analyse the initial composition of the church. During the first year, 159 people were admitted to the Lord's Supper and a further five names appear elsewhere in the *Registre* for that year, either as the parents of the thirteen children who were baptised in the church or those whose deaths were recorded in the *Registre*, although they do not themselves seem to have been admitted to membership.¹

In tracing the origins of the refugees I have relied mainly upon the *Registre* for information on the provenance of the refugees. Since this information was not systematically recorded, the place of origin of only a proportion of the refugees can be established. Other documents, particularly wills, can sometimes supplement this source. For the purposes of our analysis, wives are presumed to have originated from the same place as their husbands unless there is evidence to the contrary.²

According to these criteria, the origins of 109 (66 %) of the 166 people who appear in the *Registre* between 21 December 1567 and 2 January, 1569, can be clearly identified.³ The origins of a further 17 (10 %) can also be tentatively suggested.⁴ Sixteen (15 %) of the 109 people whose antecedents can be traced were either English or Channel Islanders,⁵ who preferred to worship

¹ They were Jeanne Bourgaïse, (wife of Jacques Vignon); Germain & Phelippotte Hanon; Marie Hodsun; Jacques de Leau; Jeanne Raparieller; Jeude Raparieller; Roland & Marguerite van Santuoort; Jacques Vignon, *Registre* pp. 39, 100. I have not added to this list or the figures the names of the thirteen children that were baptised.

² For example, Jean de Beaulieu's wife Sara van Houen, in spite of her Dutch name, was described as coming from London. *Registre*, p. 39.

³ The refugees, recorded in this period, whose origins cannot be established are as follows: Gillame Berthelot; Pierre Broquet; Jehan Castelain; Pierre val Caubourt; Phelippe Chastel; Nicolas du Chemin; Tiery de Cocquel; Marguerite Compton; Marion de la Croix; Francois Cruel & wife & son; Pasque Gosseau & wife; Germain Hanon & Phelipotte; Jehan de Haut Pa; Josse de Lebernerie; Thomasse Lenffant; Elisabeth du Maret, (wife of Mahieu de le Pierre); the wife of Jehan le Mere; Mahieu de le Pierre; la fame Pol; Jan Pora; Jehan de Preux; Jean Quinteray; Jean Rolland; George Rousseau & wife; Melchior Sale; Pierre Sauuaige; Guillaume de la Vallee & wife; Saincte de Vauegy; Adrian Vaut Pous; Jehan Vaut Pous, (son of Adrian); Jacques Vingnon.

⁴ These calculations are based on material from the *Registre*, pp. 3-4, 39, 83, 100.

⁵ Those described as *Anglois* were: Jehan Valet; Richart Etuer; Nicolas Guille; Pierre Janverain; Richart Steuard; wife of Jean Dismes; Cornelis Poingtdeux; Hugu Deruau and Nicolas Poiteuin. Those who originated from the Channel Islands: Pierre d Beauuois;

according to the Reformed manner and in the case of the Channel Islanders in a familiar language. Ten people came from France⁶ seven were natives of Antwerp,⁷ thirteen from Tournai⁸ and another thirteen from places elsewhere in the Southern Netherlands.⁹ The largest group by far, some fifty-one people, came from Valenciennes¹⁰ and of the seventeen whose origins cannot be certainly be determined, seven probably came from Valenciennes and ten from Tournai.¹¹ In the ensuing years

Jacques Guille; Nicolas de Lisle; Thomas du Marecs; Jean Mesnier and Nicolas Samarais. Sarra van Houen, the wife of Jean de Beaulieu was described as from London and Marie Hodsun, the wife of Jehan Valet as from the Isle of Wight.

- ⁶ They were: Barbe de Beaulieu, (wife of Roland Raignon); Janne Coppeau, (wife of Hanry le Sueur); Peronne Hardanuille, (wife of Jan le Mierre); Jan le Mierre; Robert Quesne; Rolant Rignon & servant Michelle Malart; Hanry le Sueur; Jeanne Vignon; Jeanne Bourgaise, (wife of Jacques Vignon); Jehanne le Vignon, (wife of Augustin de Beaulieu).
- ⁷ They were: Maire et Pierre Barbet, (servants of Anthoine Jurion); Anthoine Jurion; Clemence le Febure, (wife of Anthoine Jurion); Guillaume Moulin; Marguerite & Roeland van Santuoort.
- ⁸ They were: Charles de Callonne; Louis de Callonne; Jacquemine Camelin, (wife of Louis de Callonne); Robert Cousin; Marguerite le Febure, (wife of Roland Petit); Marie Gonbaut, (wife of Robert Cousin); Bastien & Martine Lamoureux; Martin Lietart & wife; Gillette Michel, (daughter of Marie Gonbaut); Marie Michel, (daughter of Marie Gonbaut); Gabriel Petit; Nicas Petit; Roland Petit.
- ⁹ They were from -
Armentières: Marie du Beffroy, Tiebault du Beffroy & wife, Pasque Bridou and Michiel du Jardin.
Bruges: Henricus Lems.
Frelinghien: Elisabeth le Mahieu, (wife of Walerand Thevelin).
Illie: Anthoine Haneron.
Liège: Ponthelet de Tro.
Sailly sur le Lys: Jacquemine Haucquart, Marie Haucquart, Margerite Haucquart.
- ¹⁰ They were: Barbe, servant of Mathieu Sohier; Jehan de Bau; Augustin de Beaulieu & his servant, Josine; Cornille de Beaulieu; Jean de Beaulieu & servant Nicole; Madalaine de Beaulieu; Pierre de Beaulieu; Francois de le Beq; Anne le Blanc; Marc le Blanc & wife; Gillame le Blong; Jehanne Bus; Matuette Bus; Jehanne de Caignoncle; Arnoul le Clercq; Jaques le Clercq & wife; Guillaume Coppin; Jehan Coppin; Andrue Dargouille, servant of Jehan le Mesureur; Nicolas Doruille; Aymeri Durant; Marie le Febure; Jacques de Leau; Jane Lippesen, (wife of Arnoul le Clercq); Wauldrue Malapert, (widow of Vincent de Beaulieu); Anne le Mesureur, (widow of Phelippe Dorville); Jehan le Mesureur & wife, Katherine le Mesureur, Marie le Mesureur; Jeanne Moreau, (neice of Jan de Bavais); Catherine des Plus, (daughter of Georges des Plus); Chrestienne de Preseau; Bon Rapareille & wife; Jeanne Rapareiller; Jeude Rapareiller; Catherine Resteau, (wife of Mathieu Sohier); Cicile Sariette, (wife of Gilles Seullin); Gille Seullin; Jehan Sohier; Mathieu Sohier & servant Katherine Michelle; Wauldrue Sohier, (wife of Guillaume Coppin); Jeanne Turot, (wife of Aymeri Durant); Achilles le Vasseur & wife.
- ¹¹ In these cases there is a reference in the Southern Netherlands to someone of that name persecuted by the Council of Troubles, but there is no record in the *Registre* or other English sources to the refugee's place of origin. The refugees who may have come from Tournai were: Jean Allart & wife; Francois Boucherie; Jacques de la Cour & wife; Paul

a further fifteen people were recorded in the *Registre* as being from these towns.¹²

These figures probably slightly underestimate the size of the community that was established in Southampton during 1567-68. It is only possible to analyse the places of origin for the people whose names were recorded in the *Registre*. There is no way of knowing how many adults belonged to the Southampton community but were not admitted to the Lord's Supper. There are unlikely to be many such people but the confused spelling and the presence of Channel Islanders who had settled in the town before 1567, makes it difficult to identify possible refugees in the Southampton archives, unless they were admitted to the Lord's Supper. On one occasion, in April 1577 a widow Elizabeth Ober was admitted to receive the Lord's Supper with the comment '*aiant Communique lon temps avec les Anglois*' but there is no other reference to her or her late husband in the *Registre* so it is unclear whether she was a refugee who had remained initially outside the French congregation.¹³ Furthermore it is not possible to calculate how many children accompanied the original settlers. When children came of age and were admitted to Communion they were described as '*Jeune fils*' or '*Jeune fille*', presumably to distinguish them from adult newcomers to the community. The final problem is that the *Registre* records the names of those who received the Lord's Supper for the first time in Southampton; it does not name the communicants who attended each service. In August 1584 five people were admitted for the first time but on this occasion exceptionally a note stated that there were 186 people who participated in the Lord's Supper.¹⁴ It is therefore impossible to establish for how long a person attended the French church and when they left the community. Yet despite the imperfections and shortcomings of the sources, we can establish the origins of the initial settlers in Southampton.

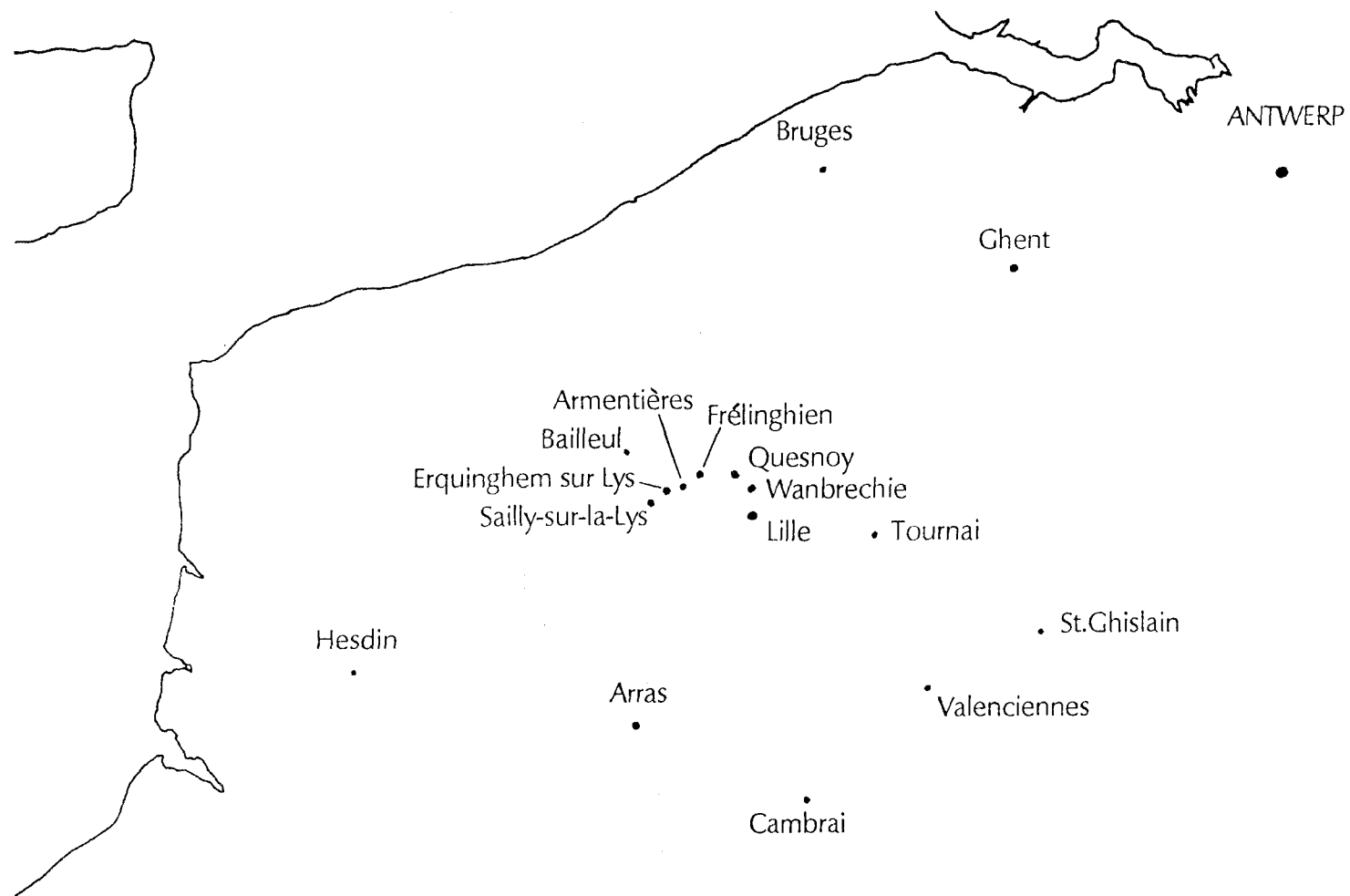
In the following subsections, the religious antecedents of the exiles who settled in Southampton as well as their familial and business ties are explored. A generally familial and chronological approach is taken in each section, to elucidate these links.

le Febure & wife (possibly related to the Paul le Febvre executed in Tournai); Jan de Launoy; Gille du Mortier (possibly related to the Gilles du Mortier executed in Tournai). The refugees possibly from Valenciennes were: Jean de Baillon; Paul Bauche; Jehan Coureur; Jehan de Flesquiere & wife; Jehan de Fresne; Jacqueline Gruel, (possibly the sister of the banished Bertrand Gruel).

¹² The refugees who came from Tournai after 2 January, 1569 were: M. la Bice; Jan Mercier; Philippe de la Motte. Those from Valenciennes were: Katherine Balle; Jacques Bride; Marie de la Croix; Perronne Doige; Janne de le Forterie; Jan de la Haye; Anthoinette Jehan (servant of Arnoul le Clercq); Vincent Nerrin; Gille de Roy; Jacques & Michiel Stequelin, and Jan le Vasseur.

¹³ On '*liefhebbers*', see below p. 206.

¹⁴ *Registre*, p. 19.



Map I - Place of Origin of Refugees from the Southern Netherlands

(i) Valenciennes

Almost one third of the total number of people who were part of the community that was established during 1567-68 came from Valenciennes. Moreover, they included the most prominent members of the community during the first twenty years of its history: Mathieu Sohier, Arnoul le Clercq and Jean de Beaulieu. While close family relationships and business connections might be expected to develop within a refugee community, in the case of the Southampton community those links had already been forged before the strangers had been forced to leave the Southern Netherlands. At least twenty-six of the fifty-one people who originated from Valenciennes came from two families, the Sohiers and their distant relatives the de Beaulieus. A further six people were attached in the sense that they were servants; presumably they had fled with their masters.

Mathieu Sohier and his brother Jehan were among those present at the first celebration of the Lord's Supper held in the Southampton church, as were Jehan le Mesureur and his family, Wauldrue Sohier with her husband (Guillaume Coppin) and family, and also Arnoul le Clercq (the nephew of Jehanne de Caignoncle) with his family. Catherine des Plus, the daughter of Clare Sohier and her widowed grandmother Jehanne de Caignoncle, also joined the Church within the first twelve months of its establishment.¹⁵ Pierre and Claude Sohier both became members of the French church in London¹⁶ while Cornille Sohier and Marie Sohier with her husband, Christopher de Faloise, settled in Rye.¹⁷ These family links are illustrated in [Figure I](#).

The Sohiers were a prosperous Valenciennes family headed by Mathieu Sohier *père* and his wife Jehanne de Caignoncle. In 1557 Mathieu Sohier drew up his will, which in over twenty eight pages outlined his wealth and set out how it should be dispersed amongst his nine children.¹⁸

¹⁵ *Registre*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁶ *Returns of Aliens dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London*, ed. R.E.G. Kirk & E.F. Kirk, (HSP, 10, 1900) I p. 397.

¹⁷ Christopher de Faloise and Cornille Sohier were recorded at Rye in 1569. In November 1571 de Faloise was living with his wife [Marie Sohier], servant and two or three children; Cornille Sohier lived with his wife and servant. Sohier was actively involved in Rye's commercial life, trading with La Rochelle and acted as a factor for the Dieppe merchants. In 1573, he provoked the wrath of the corporation by attempting to buy up all the candles in the town and so create a monopoly. He was considered to be one of the 'merchants and of great credit' in the town. Sohier seems to have left Rye about 1579. HMC, 13th Report, *The Manuscripts of Rye and Hereford Corporations* ... (London, 1892), pp. 6, 24, 25, 59, 62; W.J. Hardy, 'Foreign Refugees at Rye', *HS* 2 (1887-88), pp. 568, 570; G. Mayhew, *Tudor Rye*, (Hove, 1987), pp. 88-89, 254, 258, 295-96.

¹⁸ They were Simon, Claude, Mathieu, Pierre, Cornille, Jehan, Clare (the wife of Georges des Plus), Wauldrue (the wife of Guillaume Coppin) and Marie (the wife of Christopher de Faloise).

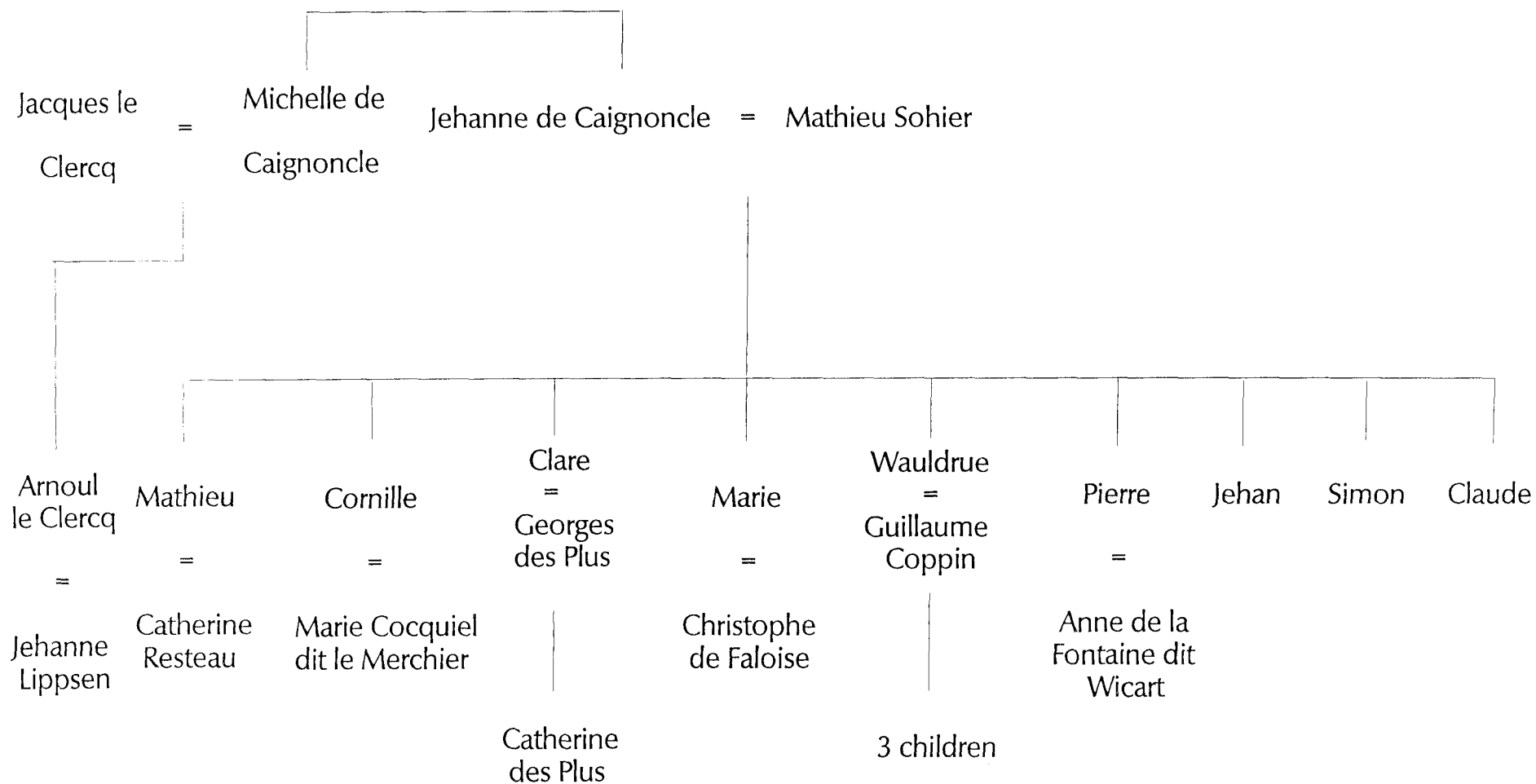


Figure I - The Sohier Family

The principal property bequeathed by Mathieu Sohier to his eldest son Simon was the *domaine proche* and *cens* for the seigneurie of Bailloel and the fief of Haussy. Besides these manorial rights Mathieu Sohier also received *rentes* on rural properties as well as in Valenciennes itself.¹⁹ The family appears to have retained these kind of interests after the death of Mathieu Sohier, according to occasional references to the family in the records of property confiscated by the *Conseil des Troubles*. For example, a payment of 75 *livres tournois* was due to the heirs of Mathieu Sohier of Valenciennes, at Condet as a *cens* payment; a *rente* payment of 48 *livres tournois* was from Roland Boid to the widow of Simon Sohier at Basecles and a *cens* payment of 53 *livres tournois* was due to the widow of Mathieu Sohier at Bernissart. These confiscations also record that Christopher de Faloise, the husband of Marie Sohier, held the seigneurie of Rengies.²⁰ The Sohier lands at Haussy were referred to as late as 1593 when Mathieu Sohier's son and namesake drew up his will.²¹

Mathieu Sohier was described in 1557 as a merchant but his will and references to the family in the records of property confiscated by the *Conseil des Troubles*, show him to have been a member of the merchant classes that had begun to invest in the countryside. Investment in seigneuries, land and *rentes* not only provided a financial return but it also opened the route for possible social advancement.²² However the Sohiers holdings do not match those belonging to the wealthy merchants such as Vincent Resteau and particularly the wealthy wine merchant Michel Herlin, whose properties and interests were scattered throughout Hainaut.²³

A further gauge of the family's economic standing can be obtained from the value of the property that was confiscated from the Sohiers and their relatives by the *Conseil des Troubles*. The household goods of Jean le Thieullier, the cousin of Jehanne de Caignoncle, realised 527 *livres tournois* 3 s. 3 d.²⁴ Guillaume Coppin's household goods may only have realised 83 *livre tournois* 2 s. yet in a will drawn up in 1566, he made bequests in excess of 4,100 *livres tournois*.²⁵

In spite of their relative affluence the Sohiers did not invest heavily in public *rentes* issued by the city of Valenciennes. The *Comptes des Massards* for 1565-66 include only one reference to

¹⁹ ADN, B20115 (Matières généalogiques 1355-1564) No. 22472 Mathieu Sohier & Jehanne de Caignoncle, 1557.

²⁰ ADN Chambre des Comptes B12700 f. 12, 19, 21v, 40v.

²¹ PRO PCC Prob. 11/106 Mathewe Soheire.

²² G.W. Clark, 'An Urban Study During the Revolt of the Netherlands: Valenciennes, 1540-1570', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University 1972, pp. 71-72, 73, 74, 117; F. Barbier, 'L'imprimerie, la Réforme et l'Allemagne: Le cas de Nicolas Basse, Valenciennois', *Valentiana* 12 (1993), p. 11.

²³ Clark, 'An Urban Study during the Revolt of the Netherlands', pp. 72, 74.

²⁴ ADN Chambre des Comptes B12701, f. 12.

²⁵ ADN Chambre des Comptes B12701, f. 11v- 12; PRO PCC Prob. 11/55 William Coppin.

Jehanne de Caignoncle and three to Jehan Sohier. However it seems that the enthusiasm for such *rentes* among the prosperous merchants of Valenciennes was limited; Michel Herlin, who was fabulously wealthy, only received 20 *livres* from *rentes*.²⁶ These public *rentes* provided a secure investment but they could be less lucrative than investment in trade and so were favoured more by the *échevinale* families than by the merchants.

The wealth and economic status of the Sohiers may partly explain their ability to form marriage alliances with some of the leading families in the city. It seems likely that they were distantly related to the ancient Sohier de Vermandois family of Mons, probably being descended from one of the minor branches of the family that had settled in Valenciennes.²⁷ If such a connection existed, it can only have served to enhance the social standing of the Sohiers, for members of the Sohier de Vermandois family had held several positions of local prominence at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries.²⁸ The children of Mathieu Sohier were certainly able to marry into *échevinale* families: Pierre married Anne de la Fontaine dit Wicart; Mathieu married Catherine Resteau, the daughter of François Resteau and Anne Godin. Cornille Sohier married the daughter of one of the leading and wealthiest Calvinist merchants of Tournai, François Cocquiel dit le Merchier. Mathieu Sohier, himself had married Jehanne de Caignoncle, the sister-in-law of Jacques le Clercq and the sister of Nicolas de Caignoncle, another prominent Valenciennes merchant.²⁹

The Sohiers' economic status and marriage alliances therefore placed them amongst the mercantile élite of Valenciennes. While the government of the city rested in the hands of a tight oligarchy of *échevinale* families who dominated the *Magistrat*, the merchant families controlled the *Conseil Particulier* which served as an important adjunct to the *Magistrat*. Some *bourgeois* families did serve for short periods on the *Magistrat* such as the de Caignoncles who served on the *Magistrat* on ten occasions and the le Mesureurs who served twenty four times during the sixteenth century,³⁰ but other wealthy merchants were excluded from the *Magistrat* such as Michel Herlin

²⁶ Archives Communales de Valenciennes, CC 146-I Comptes des Massards 1565-66, f. 45 (Name given is Madree, the soubriquet of the de Caignoncles), 115 (Michel Herlin), 141, 186, 193v (Jehan Sohier).

²⁷ *Armorial Général de France de d'Hozier. Compliment. Notice Généalogique sur la famille Sohier de Vermandois*, (Paris, 1879), p. 9.

²⁸ For example, Florence Sohier was the Abbess des Dames de Beaumont at Valenciennes at the end of the fifteenth century. In 1531, Guillaume Sohier was *Chartreux* at Valenciennes. [J. le Carpentier], *La Véritable origine de la très-ancienne et très-illustre maison de Sohier*, (Leiden 1661), p. 9; *Notice Généalogique sur la famille Sohier de Vermandois*, pp. 7-8.

²⁹ Bibliothèque Municipale de Valenciennes, Manuscrits 809-818 Casimir de Sars, livres généalogies, III, p. 19, IX, p. 601; Stadsarchief Antwerpen, Certificatieboek 22, f. 156-58.

³⁰ Clark, 'An Urban Study During the Revolt of the Netherlands', pp. 114, 116.

and Vincent Resteau. The Sohiers were probably represented on the *Conseil Particulier*. Although there are no lists of those who served on the *Conseil Particulier*, the membership usually included the constables of the bourgeois militia. Arnoul le Clercq and Guillaume Coppin were both constables in 1553³¹ while Jehan le Mesureur and Jehan Sohier were amongst those appointed to act as the captains of the Town Watch at the execution of the *Mausbrulez* in 1562.³²

For all their economic success and social status, the Sohiers did not assume a prominent role in the political life of Valenciennes. Lacking the wealth of the Herlins and the prestige of such established families as the le Boucqs, they do not appear frequently in the political life of the city. They may in fact have chosen to direct their energies towards commerce rather than becoming involved in civic affairs. They may have also been 'disqualified' on account of suspicions about their religious orthodoxy. The Jacques Sohier who had been arrested in the company of *dogmatiseurs* in 1544, was probably the nephew of Mathieu Sohier mentioned in the will of 1557. It is not certain that he was a sympathiser, for he was mistaken on that occasion for Jérôme, the brother of the Libertine Anthoine Pocquet.³³ There is however stronger evidence to link the Sohiers with the heresy in Valenciennes.

By the late 1540s, the Reformed movement had begun to recover from the fierce bout of persecution which had followed the arrest and execution of Pierre Brully in 1545.³⁴ The hostility towards the religious policy of Brussels among the magistrates of Valenciennes was particularly conducive for such a recovery. The civic authorities resented in particular the jurisdiction of the special commission set up by central government to try cases in the wake of Brully's preaching and alleged that it contravened their privileges. Furthermore, the torture of suspected heretics and the confiscation of their property was contrary to the privileges of Valenciennes.³⁵ A *placard* issued on 20 November 1549 upheld Charles V's claim to the confiscated property in the case of heretics and initiated a long-running dispute between the government and the Valenciennes authorities.³⁶ The

³¹ C. Paillard, *Histoire des Troubles religieux de Valenciennes 1560-1567*, 4 vols. (Brussels, 1874-76), III pp. 413, 416.

³² Paillard, *Histoire des Troubles*, II, pp. 176-85. For the *Maubrulez*, see below p. 28.

³³ ADN, B20115 (Matières généalogiques, 1355 -1564), 22472, Mathieu Sohier & Jehanne de Caignoncle, 1557; C. Paillard, *Une page de l'Histoire Religieuse des Pays-Bas. Le procès de Pierre Brully* (1878), pp. 148; C. Rahlenbeck, 'Les chanteries de Valenciennes. Episodes de l'histoire du seizième siècle', *Bulletin de la Commission de l'Histoire des Eglises Wallonnes*, 1st Series 3 (1888), pp. 124-25.

³⁴ For a recent article on early Protestantism in Valenciennes, see D. Courbet, 'Les Protestants à Valenciennes entre 1520 et 1545', *Valentiana*, 12 (1993), pp. 17-24.

³⁵ See Paillard, *Histoire des Troubles*, IV, pp. 35-69.

³⁶ The *placard* upheld the Emperor's claim to confiscated property, in the case of heretics 'nonobstant coustumes, privileges et usances pretendues ou contraires par aucuns ville ou

placard seems to have coincided with the execution and confiscation of the goods of Michelle de Caignoncle, the widow of the *bourgeois* Jacques le Clercq.³⁷ This no doubt heightened the concern of the Valenciennes authorities about the issue of confiscated property. The execution certainly appears to have distressed the poor who had benefitted from de Caignoncle's charity.³⁸

Michelle de Caignoncle was the sister of Jehanne de Caignoncle and so was closely related to the Sohiers. The accounts of the confiscation of her property reveal that amongst those who received payments from her estate were Georges des Plus and Mathieu Sohier. The sale of her moveable goods raised 1212 *livres tournois* 4 s. 12 d., a sizeable sum.³⁹ Although the privileges of the citizens of Valenciennes did not protect the widow of a *bourgeois*, such as Michelle de Caignoncle, her execution revealed that this class was not exempt from the powers of the Inquisition. She was in fact the only member of a merchant family to be executed in Valenciennes during Charles V's reign and her execution was included by Jean Crespin in his martyrology.⁴⁰

The Calvinist movement grew in strength during the 1550s and the Sohiers continued to be actively involved. Jehan le Mesureur, a cousin of Jehanne de Caignoncle, and later a refugee in Southampton assumed an important role in the emerging church. He appears to have been an important member of an informal group of wealthy Calvinists which predates the first formal Calvinist consistory in Valenciennes organised by Ambroise Wille of Tournai in 1563.⁴¹ Jehan le Mesureur examined Paul Chevalier prior to his appointment as the Calvinist minister in December

pays'. *Recueil des Ordonnances des Pays-Bas sous de règne de Charles-Quint* ed. C. Laurent et al. ii^e série, V pp. 575-78. See A.C. Duke, *Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries*, (London, 1990), p. 164; Paillard, *Histoire des Troubles*, IV pp. 42-69, 248-62.

³⁷ The actual date of Michelle de Caignoncle's execution has been fiercely contested by historians. Jean Crespin's martyrology dates the execution as being in 1551 but Paillard attempted to disprove this and other possible dates, concluding that the execution took place in 1549, probably later than 2 April. The most likely date of the execution according to Hodeigne's thorough examination of the sources, was between 15 September and 1 December 1549. J. Crespin, *Histoire des Martyrs persecutez et mis à mort pour la vente de l'Evangile, depuis le temps des apostres iusques à present (1619)*, ed. D. Benoit, (Toulouse, 1885-89), I p. 558; C. Paillard, 'Note sur Michelle de Caignoncle', *BSHPP*, 26 (1877), pp. 554-58; M. Hodeigne, 'Le protestantisme à Valenciennes jusqu'à la vielle de la Révolution des Pays-Bas', unpublished mémoire de licence, Université de Liège, 1966-67, pp. 97-102.

³⁸ Crespin, *Histoire des Martyrs persecutez et mis à mort*, I, p. 558.

³⁹ ADN, Chambre de Comptes, B12696. Extracts were published in Paillard, 'Note sur Michelle de Caignoncle', pp. 559-61.

⁴⁰ Crespin, *Histoire des Martyrs persecutez et mis à mort*, I, p. 558.

⁴¹ P. Beuzart, *La répression à Valenciennes après les troubles religieux de 1566*, (Paris, 1930), pp. 118-19.

1561.⁴² He may also have helped to organise the psalm-singing demonstrations, the *chanteries*, in the autumn of 1561.⁴³

The power of the Calvinists in Valenciennes was vividly demonstrated in 1562 in the *Maubruslez* affair. Following the arrest of Maillart and Fauveau, the Calvinists put pressure on the *Magistrat* and reminded them of their responsibilities as godly magistrates, while also threatening civil disorder.⁴⁴ On the other side the Regent demanded action against Maillart and Fauveau as she believed that the spread of heresy in the city was due to the failure of the civic authorities to deal effectively with heresy. After vacillating the *Magistrat* solved its dilemma by appointing a Town Watch to supervise the execution and to maintain order, which included thirty known Catholics and thirty suspected Calvinists. These included Michel Herlin and Jehan de Lattre, as well as Jehan le Mesureur and Jehan Sohier.⁴⁵ The release of the *Maubruslez* by the crowd in Valenciennes revealed the extent to which the Calvinists had undermined the authority of the *Magistrat*.

The Regent blamed the *Magistrat* for the *Mausbrulez* affair and attempted to ensure that office-holding in Valenciennes was restricted to loyal Catholics.⁴⁶ The appointment to the *Magistrat* of suspected Calvinists, such as Michel Herlin, Bertrand Gruel and also Guillaume Coppin in July 1562 and Jehan le Mesureur in July 1563, demonstrates the failure of this policy.⁴⁷ Margaret of Parma also appointed her '*conseiller et maistre d'hostel*' to supervise the implementation of the *placards* in Valenciennes.⁴⁸ Still the Calvinists continued to defy the government and in the spring of 1563 they held a series open air sermons.⁴⁹ The central government reacted harshly by imposing a garrison upon Valenciennes in May 1563 and in September a further *placard* was issued to deal with the city.⁵⁰ This *placard* reiterated an earlier *placard* of 1561 while imposing harsh penalties

⁴² L.-E. Halkin & G. Moreau, 'Le procès de Paul Chevalier à Lille et Tournai en 1564', *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire*, 131 (1965), p. 9.

⁴³ On le Mesureur's involvement with the Reformed cause, see AGR, Conseil des Troubles 88, f. 80. A transcription of this confession is published in L.A. van Langeraad, *Guido de Bray. Zijn leven en Werken*, (Zierikzee, 1884), pp. LXXVII-LXXVIII.

⁴⁴ Paillard, *Histoire des Troubles*, II pp. 144-45.

⁴⁵ Paillard, *Histoire des Troubles*, II pp. 176-85.

⁴⁶ Paillard, *Histoire des Troubles*, II, pp. 308, 311; P.J. le Boucq, *Histoire des Troubles advenues à Valenciennes à cause des hérésies 1562-1579*, ed. A.P.L. de Roubaux de Soumoy (Brussels, 1864), p. 7.

⁴⁷ Le Boucq, *Histoire des Troubles advenues à Valenciennes*, pp. 5, 8. The name given is 'Colpin' but it seems that this was interchangeable with 'Coppin'.

⁴⁸ Paillard, *Histoire des Troubles*, II, pp. 362-66.

⁴⁹ Paillard, *Histoire des Troubles*, III pp. 246-48.

⁵⁰ Paillard, *Histoire des Troubles*, III pp. 303, 428-43.

upon suspected Calvinists or their sympathisers. This development alarmed the *Magistrat*. In particular, they resented the requirement that clerics provide certificates of religious orthodoxy for people who travelled between parishes and the need for newcomers to the city to bring such certificates with them.⁵¹ Such restrictions were seen to threaten not merely Valenciennes' trade but also the cloth industry which depended upon workers coming in from the surrounding villages. The city authorities protested to the Regent that such restrictions contravened the privileges Philip had sworn to uphold but also threatened *la ruyne et depopulation de la ville et de l'entrecours de la marchandise*.⁵² Furthermore the garrison placed a heavy financial burden upon the city which also served further to disrupt the trading life of the city. The repression caused some Calvinists to leave Valenciennes. Jehan le Mesureur had gone by the end of June, having migrated to Sedan in the Ardennes, later to be joined by his wife and household.⁵³ A *marchand de laine*, Jacques de Leau was summoned to appear before the Inquisition in November 1564 for not going to church and having attended the *presches*. Since de Leau had already left Valenciennes with his household without the permission of the *Magistrat*, he was banished from the town and his property was confiscated.⁵⁴

There was in fact a general emigration from the area of the Walloon towns after 1562. Some chose exile and migrated either to France or to the emerging stranger communities in England. There was however also a clear movement towards Antwerp from the Walloon towns. One Protestant merchant commented in 1558: 'Antwerp is a world of its own; one can hide away there without having to flee'.⁵⁵ The city authorities were not prepared to jeopardise Antwerp's position as an international trading centre or to alienate the foreign merchants there by rigorously enforcing the *placards*. Fifteen Valenciennes merchants became citizens of Antwerp between 1542 and 1566, compared with only one since 1533 and eight merchants between 1567 and 1585.⁵⁶ Unfortunately there is no indication as to the religious beliefs of these merchants. However migration was not solely motivated by religion but also by commercial reasons, although in some

⁵¹ Paillard, *Histoire des Troubles*, III pp. 428-43.

⁵² Paillard, *Histoire des Troubles*, III pp. 460-61, 465-68.

⁵³ Le Boucq, *Histoire des Troubles advenues à Valenciennes*, p. 8.

⁵⁴ ADN, Chambre de Comptes, B12704, f. 66v-67; Paillard, *Histoire des Troubles*, IV pp. 103-4, 383-84, 426-27. It seems likely that this was the Jacques de Leau who died in Southampton in December 1567, *Registre*, p. 100.

⁵⁵ J. Decavele, *De Dageraad van de Reformatie in Vlaanderen (1520 - 1565)*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1975), I p. 586.

⁵⁶ E. Coornaert, *Les Français et le commerce international à Anvers fin du XVe - XVIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1961), I p. 184.

instances it would be difficult to distinguish between the two motives. Indeed the close commercial links between the Walloon towns and Antwerp may have meant that in many cases this migration was merely a transfer of business location.

It seems likely that Jean de Beaulieu decided to migrate to Antwerp for commercial reasons. There is no reference to him in the Valenciennes archives and he became a citizen of Antwerp as early as 1558.⁵⁷ De Beaulieu was actively involved in Antwerp's overseas trade and had trading interests in Spain.⁵⁸ The Sohiers also had extensive commercial interests; Claude Sohier retained factors in Dieppe, Rouen and London.⁵⁹

The merchant community was particularly well represented amongst the leading Calvinists in Antwerp during 1566, occupying positions of power and responsibility.⁶⁰ As many as 54.3 % of the 103 people who were prosecuted in the wake of the Troubles and whose occupations can be traced came from this sector. Some indication of their economic status, comes from the fact that over sixty percent of the Antwerp Calvinists, including the merchants, had moveable goods worth in excess of 1000 *carolus gulden*. The Calvinist merchants were not amongst the very richest citizens of Antwerp, but they were certainly a wealthy élite.⁶¹ This helps to give some indication of the community in which the de Beaulieus and the Sohiers lived.

The Walloons formed a close knit group in Antwerp, living in the same area of the city and forming close business and personal ties. This strengthened existing relationships and resulted in new links being established between people from the different Walloon towns. An example of this is the marriage in 1564 between Cornille Sohier and Marie, the daughter of François Cocquiel dit le Merchier one of the leading and wealthiest Tournai Calvinists.⁶² Religion clearly served to reinforce such ties between the Walloons. It is possible that people, such as Anthoine Jurion, who

⁵⁷ Stadsarchief Antwerpen, *Antwerpse Poortersboeken 1533 - 1608*, 6 May 1558.

⁵⁸ See below p. 82.

⁵⁹ Stadsarchief Antwerpen, Certificatieboek 26, f. 514v.

⁶⁰ It should be noted that the term '*handel*' can refer to merchants involved in Antwerp's Mediterranean trade as well as to pedlars travelling between towns. However of the 55 persons active in the '*handel*' identified by Dr. Marnef, 46 were merchants, 3 merchant-brokers, 1 merchant sugar-refiner, 1 grocer, 1 pedlar/chapman and 3 involved in the sale of armour. G. Marnef, '*Antwerpen in Reformatietijd. Ondergronds protestantisme in een internationale handelsmetropool 1550-1577*', unpublished thesis Universit   de Leuven, 1991, II p. 296.

⁶¹ Marnef, '*Antwerpen in Reformatietijd*', I p. 187. Slightly revised figures appear in G. Marnef, '*The Changing Face of Calvinism in Antwerp 1550-1585*', in A. Pettegree, A. Duke, G. Lewis (ed.), *Calvinism in Europe 1540-1620*, (Cambridge, 1994), p. 154.

⁶² See below p. 38.

had moved to Antwerp from Mont de Perine in Hainaut, came into contact with the group that later migrated to Southampton although there is no evidence of any formal link between before their migration.⁶³ The same may also be true of the van Santuoort family, possibly related to the prominent Antwerp Calvinists of that name.⁶⁴

The central government used spies to identify the leading Calvinists in Antwerp. One of these was a merchant Philippe Dauxy who sent a list to Margaret of Parma of the leading Calvinists from the Walloon towns of Cambrai, Valenciennes, Tournai, Mons and the names of two men from Armentières.⁶⁵ On the list of Valenciennes Calvinists identified:

*Jehan de Beaulieu, beaufrs de Jan van Hof leur rabby, et Nicolas de Beaulieu, beaufrs de S^r Caerle Cocquel, et tous leurs freres compaignons dont Jan Damman est lung.*⁶⁶

Dauxy produced *Les moyens pour remedier au desastre d'Anvers* which also gives further details about the Calvinists. Adrien de la Barre, an associate of Jan Damman and *compaignon de Jan de Beaulieu, pres les freres mineurs* appears in this second memorandum.⁶⁷ It also suggested that Jan van Hof and Jean de Beaulieu were members of the consistory in Antwerp.⁶⁸ A further report from another spy, Geronimo de Curiel also identified the Calvinist merchants of Antwerp. The company of Jan Damman (i.e. including Jean de Beaulieu and Adrien de la Barre) was one of those which was denounced by the spy.⁶⁹ From these spy reports, it is clear that de Beaulieu was a significant figure within Antwerp's Reformed community.

Although none of these reports refer to the Sohiers, the family were associated with the Calvinists of Antwerp. The contract of marriage between Cornille Sohier and Marie Cocquiel dit le Merchier, was witnessed by Denis des Maistres, a prominent Calvinist who had fled from

⁶³ His migration to Antwerp can be assumed because his son was described as being a native of the city. He may be identified with the Anthoine Jurion, *parmentier*, who was living in Antwerp in 1558, aged 29. When Jorion died in 1578 he described himself as being 46 years or thereabouts and was occupied in the trade of silkweaving. Stadsarchief Antwerpen, Certificatieboek 13, f.181v; HRO Wills, 1578/B/53; *Registre*, p. 85.

⁶⁴ *Registre*, p. 39. Jehan de Beaulieu stood as *parain* at the baptism of the daughter of Roelant and Marguerite van Santuoort, 11 January 1568. It is possible that they may have been related to the prominent Calvinists Guillaume and Jan van Santvoort who were involved in Antwerp's Spanish trade, Van der Essen, 'Le progrès du Luthéranisme', p. 220; Van der Essen, 'Episodes de l'histoire religieuse', pp. 355-56.

⁶⁵ Van der Essen, 'Le progrès du Luthéranisme', pp. 152-234.

⁶⁶ Van der Essen, 'Le progrès du Luthéranisme', p. 215.

⁶⁷ Van der Essen, 'Le progrès du Luthéranisme', p. 225.

⁶⁸ Van der Essen, 'Le progrès du Luthéranisme', p. 221.

⁶⁹ Van der Essen, 'Episodes de l'histoire religieuse', pp. 358-59, 360.

Tournai to Antwerp and was denounced by Dauxy. Furthermore Nicolas du Vivier, a leading member of the Antwerp church acted on behalf of the Sohiers.⁷⁰ Mathieu Sohier and his wife Catherine Resteau seem to have been closely linked to the Calvinist cause in Antwerp and were cited to appear before the *Conseil des Troubles* for having sheltered a Calvinist minister in their home.⁷¹

Antwerp like other parts of the Southern Netherlands experienced the wave of hedge-preaching and then the Iconoclastic Fury of the *Wonderjaar*. An agreement was quickly reached between Orange and the Reformed in Antwerp which granted them three places of worship within the city. Consequently the Reformed community assumed a more public role during the remainder of 1566. They were involved in formulating the Three Million Guilders Request. This was ostensibly an attempt to purchase religious freedom from Philip II but was in reality intended to finance troops to defend the Reformed churches should the Request fail.⁷² Mathieu, Cornille and Claude Sohier and Arnoul le Clercq all contributed to the Three Million Guilders Request, though de Beaulieu's name is surprisingly absent.⁷³ Brederode agreed at a meeting in Antwerp in February 1567 to protect the Reformed churches, if they financed the necessary military forces. Arnoul le Clercq was one of the two people who was appointed to collect the 20,000 florins that had been apportioned to the Valenciennes church.⁷⁴ While the Reformed community in Antwerp played a prominent part in 1566-1567, the Calvinists there were spared the traumas and persecutions experienced by their coreligionists in the Walloon towns of Valenciennes and Tournai. Consequently many of the Protestants, who were later cited to appear before the *Conseil des Troubles* or whose property was to be confiscated, had been able to escape from the city and to have disposed of their property.⁷⁵

A number of Calvinist sympathisers, and later refugees in Southampton, remained at

⁷⁰ Stadsarchief Antwerpen, Certificatieboek 22, f. 156-58. On Denis des Maistres, see G. Moreau, *Histoire du Protestantisme à Tournai jusqu'à la veille de la Révolution des Pays-Bas*, (Paris, 1962), pp. 245, 330-31; van der Essen, 'Le progrès du Luthéranisme', pp. 216, 220. On Nicholas du Vivier, see Moreau, *Histoire du Protestantisme*, pp. 295-96; Marnef, 'Antwerpen in Reformatietijd', II, p. 283.

⁷¹ AGR, Chambre de Comptes, 111, f. 11v.

⁷² A. Pettegree, 'The Exile Churches and the Churches "Under the Cross": Antwerp and Emden During the Dutch Revolt', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 38 (1987), pp. 200-3.

⁷³ R. van Roosbroeck, *Het wonderjaar te Antwerpen 1566-67: Inleiding tot de studie der godsdienstonlusten te Antwerpen van 1566 tot 1585*, (Antwerp, 1930), pp. 502-3.

⁷⁴ Beuzart, *La répression à Valenciennes*, p. 134.

⁷⁵ This seems to have been the case with Mathieu Sohier and his wife. AGR, Chambre des Comptes, 18312, f. 10.

Valenciennes after the imposition of the garrison in 1563 in spite of the damaging economic consequences that it had upon the town.⁷⁶ The Reformed movement there was suppressed until April 1566 when Margaret of Parma was forced to mitigate the effects of the heresy legislation and the powers of the Inquisition, in response to the presentation of the Request by the *Gueux*. After the earlier repression of the Calvinists, the Reformed seized the opportunity of this more tolerant atmosphere to reassert their faith. A wave of hedge-preaching broke out in the Southern Netherlands and exiles began to return to the area. Around Tournai and Valenciennes, the *presches* suspended since 1563, started again in June 1566 with encouragement from the Antwerp consistory. This wave of hedge preaching was on a much larger scale than the earlier *presches*, which also included Reformed baptisms and marriages,⁷⁷ and was closely watched by authorities who employed spies to report on who attended these meetings. Amongst those who attended from Valenciennes were the prominent Calvinists such as Michel Herlin, Vincent Resteau, as well as relatives of the *échevinale* family the de la Fontaine dit Wicarts.⁷⁸ The latter two were related to the Sohiers. Government spies also noted Guillaume Coppin, a member of the Valenciennes consistory and later an exile in Southampton, and his relatives among those present at the *presches*. On 11 July 1566 the daughter of Jehan Coppin, her grandmother and maidservant as well as the daughter of Guillaume Coppin were sighted. Jehan Coppin's wife, Peronne Doige was seen by the spies on 15 July and at the largest *presche* on 17 July Jehan Coppin's daughter was again sighted with her maidservant as well as the wife of Guillaume Coppin (Wauldrue Sohier). Guillaume Coppin and other members of his extended family attended another *presche*.⁷⁹ The spies also reported others who may have later migrated to Southampton, such as the Jehennot Coureur whose husband Jehan had already left the area.⁸⁰

The wave of hedge-preaching gave way in August 1566 to the Iconoclastic Fury, with the violent destruction by the Calvinists of religious images. In Valenciennes itself this was more a deliberate act for the religious images were removed from the parish churches by the Calvinists so that the buildings could be taken over for Reformed worship. The *Magistrat* felt unable to oppose the destruction, in view of the suspected Reformed sympathies of the civic militia and so acquiesced

⁷⁶ On the impact of the garrison, see Clark, 'An Urban Study during the Revolt of the Netherlands', pp. 248-60.

⁷⁷ Peronne Doige, the wife of Jehan Coppin and later an exile in Southampton was recorded as having participated at a baptism on 16 August, 1566, Rahlenbeck, 'Les chanteries de Valenciennes', pp. 168, 184; *Registre*, pp. 87, 89.

⁷⁸ Rahlenbeck, 'Les chanteries de Valenciennes', pp. 168, 171, 175, 179, 181, 182 (Herlin); 177 (Resteau); 163, 167, 182 (de la Fontaine dit Wicart).

⁷⁹ Rahlenbeck, 'Les chanteries de Valenciennes', pp. 164, 167, 168, 172, 173, 179, 183; Beuzart, *La répression à Valenciennes*, p. 119.

⁸⁰ Rahlenbeck, 'Les chanteries de Valenciennes', p. 165.

to the Calvinists' demands.⁸¹ Margaret of Parma saw this as a violation of the recently agreed Accord, in which concessions had been granted in return for noble assistance in restoring order to the Netherlands. The Calvinists were given permission to worship freely in the places where their religion had already been established. Furthermore the Regent viewed the iconoclasm not only as a violation of the Accord but also as further evidence of the ineffectiveness of the *Magistrat* in Valenciennes.⁸² She attempted to impose a garrison upon Valenciennes in order to secure the city against a perceived threat from France.⁸³ When the city refused to accept the garrison the central government declared on 14 December 1566 that Valenciennes was in a state of rebellion because the Calvinists had seized the parish churches in contravention of the Accord and had refused to admit the garrison.⁸⁴

Within Valenciennes power had effectively passed to the *Conseil Particulier* in which the leading Calvinists such as Michel Herlin assumed a prominent role. Though the consistory itself did not have any formal role within the city during the rebellion, several of its members exerted a powerful influence on the *Conseil Extraordinaire*.⁸⁵ With the establishment of rebel Calvinist government in the city, many decided to leave Valenciennes though some like Jehan le Mesureur returned from exile. He later confessed that he left his wife and eight children to return and fight so that he could live with a free conscience.⁸⁶ There were three main problems that the town faced during the rebellion: poverty and unemployment, provisions and defence. Even before the town had been declared rebel, the *Général Aumosne* had begun to provide poor relief for both Calvinists and Catholics. In the face of protests from the Governor, Noircarmes, the *Conseil Extraordinaire* appointed Jehan le Mesureur, Jehan le Thieullier and several other members of the consistory as the administrators and supervisors of the *Général Aumosne*.⁸⁷ Three *bourgeois* companies were organised for the defence of the town as well as a largely artisan force known as the *soldats à deux*

⁸¹ Beuzart, *La répression à Valenciennes*, pp. 117-18.

⁸² C. Paillard (ed.), 'Papiers d'état & documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire pendant les années 1566 et 1567', *Mémoires Historiques sur l'arrondissement de Valenciennes*, 6 (1879), pp. 6-9, 297-300.

⁸³ Paillard, 'Papiers d'état & documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de Valenciennes', pp. 40-41, 239-40.

⁸⁴ Van Langeraad, *Guido de Bray*, pp. XCIII-XCVI.

⁸⁵ Clark, 'An Urban Study during the Revolt of the Netherlands', pp. 344-47.

⁸⁶ AGR, Conseil des Troubles, 88, f. 80.

⁸⁷ Beuzart, *La répression à Valenciennes*, p. 125.

patars.⁸⁸ Jehan le Mesureur participated in the military affairs of the town, taking part in sorties from the town and collecting money to finance the *soldats à deux patars*.⁸⁹ This artisan army was financed by a levy imposed on the town, for which Georges Desplach (probably Georges des Plus, the husband of Clare Sohier) served as a collector.⁹⁰ The town surrendered only on 23 March 1567, by which time the government had recovered the initiative: the Calvinist forces had been defeated at Wattrelos, Lannoy and Oosterweel, and the relieving force assembled by Brederode were in disarray in Holland.

The leading participants of the rebellion were arrested in the wake of the town's surrender and interrogated. These included Jehan le Thieullier and Jehan le Mesureur; Guillaume Coppin appears to have avoided arrest. The executions began on 31 May 1567, when the two ministers, Peregrin de la Grange and Guy de Brès were hanged and the Michel Herlins (father and son) and Jean Mahieu were beheaded. Jehan le Thieullier was beheaded on 28 March 1568.⁹¹ Jehan le Mesureur, however, managed to escape from Michel Herlin's house where he had been imprisoned and fled to Southampton, in spite of a reward being offered for his capture.⁹²

Many of those who had fled from Valenciennes during the Troubles, were summoned to appear before the *Conseil des Troubles* in order to explain their absence. Those who failed to attend after the third summons were banished and had their property confiscated. Some of these people had played a prominent role in the Calvinist church, such as Guillaume Coppin and Jehan le Mesureur.⁹³ The list of those summoned includes the names of people who became members of the Southampton community but whose role during the Troubles is unknown. These include men such as Bon Rapareillier and Gilles Seulin.⁹⁴ However these men did not flee from Valenciennes on their

⁸⁸ Several later exiles in Southampton and their relations can be identified amongst the members of the *bourgeois* companies: François de le Becq, Marc le Blanc, Jacques le Clercq, Jehan Coppin *le jeusne*, Nicholas Dorville, Georges des Plus, Pierre Sohier. AGR, Conseil des Troubles, 104, pp. 87, 88, 90, 93, 96. On the military organisation of Valenciennes during the siege, see Clark, 'An Urban Study during the Revolt of the Netherlands', pp. 373-80.

⁸⁹ Beuzart, *La répression à Valenciennes*, p. 130.

⁹⁰ Beuzart, *La répression à Valenciennes*, p. 129. Several later refugees in Southampton were amongst those who contributed: Arnoul le Clercq, Guillaume Coppin, Jehan Coppin and Gilles Seulin. AGR, Conseil des Troubles, 104, pp. 102-3.

⁹¹ Le Boucq, *Histoire des Troubles advenues à Valenciennes*, pp. 25-26, 30.

⁹² AGR Conseil des Troubles 88, f. 80; le Boucq, *Histoire des Troubles advenues à Valenciennes*, pp. 27-28.

⁹³ Beuzart, *La répression à Valenciennes*, p. 119.

⁹⁴ AGR, Conseil des Troubles 315A, f.189v-190; le Boucq, *Histoire des Troubles advenues à Valenciennes*, p. 48.

own; their families and sometimes their servants went with them and further confiscations refer to the property left behind by their relations.⁹⁵ Amongst those who also fled to Southampton, were several who apparently took no part in the rebellion. Although such persons were not sentenced by the *Conseil des Troubles*, they still decided to become exiles.⁹⁶

The exiles from Valenciennes, who settled in Southampton, were therefore a cohesive group, linked through employment, business and family ties. They were also associated with the Reformed cause in the Netherlands from as early as the 1540s and several figures such as Jehan le Mesureur, were directly involved in the rebellion of Valenciennes. The migration of such an extensive group to Southampton required leadership and planning. Unfortunately the refugees remain largely anonymous during the negotiations for the establishment of the Southampton community. These exiles were the founder members of the Southampton community and several of them - Arnoul le Clercq, Mathieu Sohier and Jean de Beaulieu - formed a wealthy élite and dominated the community in its early years.

⁹⁵ For example, Anne le Mesureur, sister of Jehan le Mesureur and widow of Philippe Dorville: AGR, Conseil des Troubles 315A, f. 143v; ADN, Chambre des Comptes, 12704, f.123v-124v, 12705, f. 82v.

Wauldrue Malapert, widow of Vincent de Beaulieu, AGR, Chambre des Comptes, 19082, f.113v-114; ADN, Chambre des Comptes, 12704, f. 142v-143, 12705, f. 52v.

⁹⁶ For example, Chrestienne de Preseau: ADN, Chambre des Comptes, 12704, f. 143, 12705 f. 48.

(ii) Tournai

The spread of Calvinist support in the 1560s was not confined to Valenciennes. Although the movement had been checked in Lille,⁹⁷ Tournai with its strong commercial links with France emerged as the other major centre of Walloon Calvinism. The Calvinist church in Tournai was organised by the minister Guy de Brès who had strong links with the Reformed churches in France.⁹⁸ In September 1561, the Calvinists of Tournai followed the example of their co-religionists in Valenciennes and publicly demonstrated their faith by singing psalms in the streets.⁹⁹ In spite of the reaction against the *chanteries*, the events in France and then the rescue of the *Mausbruslez* in Valenciennes emboldened the Reformed to further acts of defiance. A group of Calvinists marched from Tournai, chanting psalms and gathered in the woods close to the neighbouring village of Orcq. Together with sympathisers from Valenciennes they heard a sermon preached by one of their ministers, probably Guy de Brès.¹⁰⁰ These *prêches* continued in 1563 and attracted large crowds. While most of those persecuted for their involvement were *gens de basse condition, aucuns fort jeunes et femmes de joyeuse vie*, two merchants were implicated in the armed assembly held in the woods at Breuze.¹⁰¹ One of these men was probably Louis de Callonne, a prosperous merchant who later fled to Southampton. He was fined 100 livres for his involvement at this meeting.¹⁰²

The refugees from Tournai who settled in Southampton, formed a much smaller and less cohesive group than the exiles from Valenciennes. However like their counterparts, they also had a longstanding commitment to the Reformed cause. Roland Petit, one of the founder members of the Southampton community, was the son of a prosperous merchant and *échevin*, Nicaise Petit, who had been arrested in the wake of the *chanteries*.¹⁰³ The Calvinist community in Tournai like that of Valenciennes had been repressed, but the Reformed reasserted themselves during the *Wonderjaar*. Together with Louis de Callonne, Petit was one of those reported as frequently being

⁹⁷ M. Willems-Closset, 'Le protestantisme à Lille jusqu'à la veille de la révolution aux Pays-Bas, (1521-1565)', *Revue du Nord*, 52 (1970), pp. 199-216; R.S. Du Plessis, *Lille and the Dutch Revolt. Urban Stability in an Era of Revolution, 1500-1582*, (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 158-99.

⁹⁸ Moreau, *Histoire du Protestantisme*, pp. 144-67.

⁹⁹ Moreau, *Histoire du Protestantisme*, pp. 169-71.

¹⁰⁰ Moreau, *Histoire du Protestantisme*, pp. 208-10.

¹⁰¹ Moreau, *Histoire du Protestantisme*, p. 232.

¹⁰² Moreau, *Histoire du Protestantisme*, pp. 232, 362.

¹⁰³ Stadsarchief Antwerpen, Certificatieboek 23, f. 3; *Registre* p. 3; Moreau, *Histoire du Protestantisme*, p. 340.

in the company of the Reformed ministers, in the autumn of 1566.¹⁰⁴ They also participated in the Iconoclastic Fury and were amongst those who directed the sack of the church of St. Brice.¹⁰⁵ Louis de Callonne and Roland Petit were banished and their property confiscated by the *Conseil des Troubles*. These records reveal that they were both wealthy merchants.¹⁰⁶

One of the leading Tournai merchants and Calvinists was François Cocquiel dit le Mercier. He had attended a conventicle at which Guy de Brès preached and when the royal commissioners arrived in Tournai, he took refuge in Rouen, where he met Paul Chevalier.¹⁰⁷ Mercier returned briefly to Tournai in 1562 before migrating to Antwerp.¹⁰⁸ It was in Antwerp that Mercier came into contact with the Sohiers and his daughter was married to Cornille Sohier.¹⁰⁹ In the wake of the Troubles, le Mercier and his wife were banished by the *Conseil des Troubles* and their goods were confiscated.¹¹⁰ Le Mercier migrated to Rye with his son-in-law Cornille Sohier and several other members of that family.¹¹¹ Although le Mercier does not appear in the Southampton records, it seems likely that he was the father of Jean le Mercier who dominated the

¹⁰⁴ A. Hocquet, *Tournai et le Tournaisis au XVI^e au point de vue politique et social*, (Brussels, 1906), pp. 385-86.

¹⁰⁵ Moreau, *Histoire du Protestantisme*, p. 362; E. Soil de Moriamé, 'L'église de Saint-Brice à Tournai', *Annales de la Société historique et archéologique de Tournai*, nouvelle série, 13, pp. 228, 378-79.

¹⁰⁶ Louis de Callonne: ADN, Chambre des Comptes, B13190, f. 161; AGR, Chambre des Comptes, 1203, f. 282v-284.
Roland Petit: ADN, Chambre des Comptes, B13190, f. 1; AGR, Chambre des Comptes, 1203, f. 246-251.

¹⁰⁷ Moreau, *Histoire du Protestantisme*, pp. 332-34; Halkin & Moreau, 'Le procès de Paul Chevalier', p. 8.

¹⁰⁸ Moreau, *Histoire du Protestantisme*, pp. 332-33.

¹⁰⁹ Stadsarchief Antwerpen, Certificatieboek 22, f. 156-58. On the Walloon community in Antwerp, see above pp. 31-33.

¹¹⁰ Moreau, *Histoire du Protestantisme*, p. 333.

¹¹¹ He was recorded at Rye in March 1569 in the company of Cornille Sohier and Sohier's brothers-in-law, Michel de Faloise and Christopher de Faloise. However le Mercier was not included in the survey of aliens in Rye made in November 1572. Le Mercier seems to have remained in Rye; in 1577 and 1579 he provided testimonies with Cornille Sohier on behalf of other members of the exile community. On this last occasion he was described as a merchant 'and of great credit'. Le Mercier retained his interest in continental affairs and was one of the merchants who contributed to the raising of a company of Wood Beggars. W.J. Hardy, 'Foreign Refugees at Rye', *HS* 2 (1887-88), p. 568; HMC, 13th Report, *The Manuscripts of Rye and Hereford Corporations*, pp. 59, 62; Moreau, *Histoire du Protestantisme*, pp. 333-34.

commercial life of Southampton during the 1580s and early 1590s.¹¹²

Some refugees from Tournai settled in Southampton some years after the establishment of the exile community. The most prominent of these later refugees was Philippe de la Motte who arrived in Southampton in May 1585.¹¹³ The reasons which led de la Motte to migrate were different from those which motivated these earlier exiles who were associated with the Troubles of 1566.¹¹⁴

¹¹² When Jean le Mercier married the daughter of Arnoul le Clercq in 1579, he was described as being a native of Tournai. In a deposition made in 1625, le Mercier was described as being the son of Francis Mercier. *Registre*, p. 86; *The Book of Examinations and Depositions, 1622-1644*, I, p. 59.

¹¹³ BL MSS Bibl. Egerton 868, 'Delamotte Yearbook', f. 8.

¹¹⁴ On de la Motte's migration, see below pp. 192-94.

(iii) Armentières

The largest group to settle in Southampton after those from Valenciennes and Tournai, originated from Armentières. However they were not present when the community was established in 1567; only one family from Armentières, the du Beffroys, were admitted to the communion of the French church before 1569.¹¹⁵ Between 2 January, 1569 and 1 January 1570, seventy three people were admitted to Communion (excluding *Anglois* and the Channel Islanders). Of these twenty (27.4%) came from Armentières and three more from the neighbouring town of Bailleul.¹¹⁶ In the following decade, a further ten families from Armentières appear in the *Registre*.¹¹⁷ Probably the most notable settler in Southampton from the Armentières area was Walerand Thevelin, the minister of the French church. Walerand Thevelin was first mentioned when his wife was admitted to the Lord's Supper in July 1568; as a minister Walerand's admission was not recorded so it is not possible to find out when he arrived in the town.¹¹⁸

Like the families from Valenciennes, the *Registre* reveals relationships between the Armentières families that antedated their arrival in Southampton. Eloy Bacquelier was admitted to Communion on 1 January 1569/70 with his wife Jane Seneschal; his son Andre was admitted in 1574. In 1575 Marguerite and Marie Bacquelier were admitted and may also have been the children of Eloy. Another of Eloy's relatives, possibly his brother, Andrieu Bacquelier had been admitted with his wife in October 1569.¹¹⁹ A letter sent from Armentières by Eloy's brother Jean, in 1570, yields further information about the family. Besides commending himself to Eloy, his wife and son as well as to Andrieu and his wife, Jean also referred to 'Maye et Jaqueminne, la fille Jennette' in England. There does not appear to be any reference to these women in the *Registre*.¹²⁰ Furthermore

¹¹⁵ *Registre*, p. 4. Tibaut d'Armentières seems likely to be the same person as Tiebault du Beffroy whose wife and daughter were admitted in July 1568.

¹¹⁶ They were: Jan Blancquart; Pasque Bridou; Anthoine Bulleteu & his wife Anthoinette Warquemin; Janne de la Croix; Pierre le Gay; Gilles le Plus & his wife Janne de Grison; Gille Hocedé; Michel du Jardin; Bastien de la Met & his wife Jenne du Riuage; Jan Seneschal; Eloy Bacquelier & his wife Jane Seneschal; Andrieu Bacquelier & his wife; François Ghemart, his wife & sister, Catherine.
From Bailleul: Mathieu Face, Charles Face & his wife. *Registre*, pp. 5-6.

¹¹⁷ They were: Mathieu Bennet; Marguerite de Concy; Marie de Concy; Anthoine Cousin (there is no reference to his being admitted to the Lord's Supper); Martin Cuuelier; Balthasar des Maistres; Marguerite le Roy; Nicolas de Seury & his wife Jacquemine du Reid; Madelaine Vervelour. *Registre*, pp. 6, 10, 12, 14, 15, 84, 86.

¹¹⁸ *Registre*, p. 4.

¹¹⁹ *Registre*, pp. 5, 10, 11.

¹²⁰ A.L.E. Verheyden, 'Une correspondance inédite adressée par des familles protestantes des Pays-Bas à leur coreligionnaires d'Angleterre (11 novembre 1569 - 25 février 1570),

the letter also contained a message for Peter le Gay, who had been received in Southampton in April 1569.¹²¹ It is also conceivable that Jan Seneschal, another Southampton settler from Armentières, and Jane Seneschal were related.¹²²

The de Seuerys were also related to several Armentières families that settled in Southampton. Nicolas de Seuery was admitted to communion with his wife Jacquemine du Reid in 1570. His grandson was baptised in the French church in 1578 but there is no reference to his son Pierre de Seuery being admitted but his stepson, Pierre de la Croix, does appear.¹²³ Was Pierre de la Croix related to Janne de la Croix of Armentières?¹²⁴ Furthermore Nicolas de Seuery was the brother of Salomon de Seuery and the uncle of Marguerite de Concy and probably Marie de Concy.¹²⁵

The Armentières families were related to one another by ties of blood and business before they arrived in Southampton, although the networks were less tightly-knit than in the case of Valenciennes. Unfortunately the records for Armentières are not as complete as those for Valenciennes and so a detailed examination of the lives of the individuals who later fled to Southampton is more complicated. Eloy Bacquelier was one of the men from Armentières who came to hold a prominent position; he became an elder of the Southampton church.¹²⁶ It is difficult to establish the links between the Bacquelier family and Armentières, not least because the spelling of the surname can vary from the extremes of Bacler and Bacquelier, even within the same document.¹²⁷ The Bacqueliers of Armentières were actively involved in commerce with a certain Anthoine Bacler, fils de Eloy who resided in Antwerp while his brother Michel and two brother-in-laws were resident in Lille.¹²⁸ There are a number of references to the Bacquelier family in the

Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire, 120 (1955), pp. 194-95.

¹²¹ *Registre*, p. 5. It is possible that le Gay was also related to Balthasar des Maistres who was married to Martine le Gay, *Registre*, p. 10.

¹²² Eloy Bacquelier's wife was Jane Seneschal and Jan Seneschal, also from Armentières was admitted to Communion in the company of Andrieu Bacquelier. Eloy's son, André Bacquelier, acted as *parain* for the child of Jan Seneschal in 1576. *Registre*, pp. 5, 43.

¹²³ *Registre*, pp. 6, 11, 43. It is possible that an error was made in the *Registre* and that Pierre de Seuery and Pierre de la Croix are in fact the same person.

¹²⁴ *Registre* pp. 6, 84. She was admitted in 1571 and was married in the presence of both of her parents.

¹²⁵ *Registre*, pp. 84, 87. Marie de Concy may have been the sister of Marguerite de Concy.

¹²⁶ *Registre*, p. 101.

¹²⁷ For example, AGR, Conseil des Troubles, 6, f. 118, 119v.

¹²⁸ Stadsarchief Antwerpen, Certificatieboeken 15, f. 543-45v.

notarial archives of Antwerp but their relationship with the exiles in Southampton is unclear.¹²⁹

There are a few references to the later exiles in the local archives in Armentières. Eloy and André Bacquelier were among the thirty six people prosecuted in 1565 for irregularities concerning their cloth.¹³⁰ Balthasar des Maistres was prosecuted in August 1567 for similar reasons.¹³¹ Des Maistres, Francois Ghemart and Anthoine Flayel from nearby Erquinghem sur la Lys were recorded in 1565 as having contributed to the purchase of grain for the use of the poor, to ease the economic crisis.¹³²

The Reformed faith in Armentières developed quickly during the 1560s and a church was organised. The Calvinists of Armentières benefitted from the growing strength of the faith in the Pays de l'Alieu, with *prêches* and the services of itinerant ministers. During 1566 these *prêches* became more audacious and violent, eventually exploding in the Iconoclastic Fury. In Armentières these attacks were concentrated on the town church and on the convent of the Grey Sisters with its church and hospital. There were also attacks on the religious houses and churches in the surrounding area. This destruction culminated in the occupation of the church by the Calvinists in Armentières and an attempt to establish a Genevan style of church government. Gradually however Catholicism and the authority of central government was restored through the intervention of the provincial governor Egmont who was also '*Seigneur-propriétaire de la ville*'. In early September 1566, Egmont visited Armentières and granted concessions to the Calvinists in the town, allowing them to build a temple outside the town and to retain a minister.¹³³

Several of those who later sought exile in Southampton were actively involved in the Troubles. One Andrieu Bacquelier, an *échevin* of Armentières, was accused of having sympathised with and attended the *prêches* but he had died by September 1567.¹³⁴ Andrieu Bacquelier *le jeusne*, Michel du Jardin, Eloy Bacquelier and his wife were all banished and had their goods confiscated for *avoir fréquenté les presches des sectaires et eulx démontré favorisans aux troubles et désordres*

¹²⁹ Stadsarchief Antwerpen, Certificatieboeken 14, f. 129; 17, f.8-9; 18, f. 462; 20, f. 74v; 21, f. 115v, 135, 167, 169.

¹³⁰ Archives Communales d'Armentières, FF40 f. 189v.

¹³¹ Archives Communales d'Armentières, FF40 f. 323v, 328.

¹³² Archives Communales d'Armentières, HH 1 f. 1-6v.

¹³³ J.-M. Regnault & P. Vermader, 'Armentières au temps des troubles religieux du XVI^e siècle, 1545-1574', unpublished mémoire de maîtrise, Université de Lille III, 1972, pp. 21, 159-90.

¹³⁴ P. Beuzart, 'La Réforme dans les environs de Lille, spécialement à Armentières, en 1566 d'après un document inédit', *BSHPF* 78 (1929), p. 53.

passez.¹³⁵ Francois Ghemart was a member of the Armentières consistory and had been involved in the construction of a Protestant temple.¹³⁶ He also seems to have known or had links with an Armentières Calvinist who lived in Antwerp, Guillaume Reubin.¹³⁷ Anthoine Flayel was accused of having participated in the iconoclasm at Erquinghem and Armentières as well as fighting for the Calvinists at Lannoy as also did Jan Senechal.¹³⁸ These men had all fled from Armentières by September 1567 and were banished in their absence.¹³⁹

The first minister of the Southampton community, Walerand Thevelin, originated from this area and had played a prominent role during the Troubles. Thevelin came from the village of Frélinghien or possibly Quesnoy-sur-le-Deûle.¹⁴⁰ He may have been related to a certain Jacques Thevelin who was involved in the iconoclasm at Armentières and the construction of the Protestant temple in the village.¹⁴¹ Walerand was chosen in August 1566 to serve as the preacher in Tourcoing and after his appointment a consistory was formed within the town. In the same month Thevelin publicly celebrated the Lord's Supper in the market-place at Tourcoing, attended by a '*grande*

¹³⁵ AGR, Conseil des Troubles, 6, f. 119v.

¹³⁶ Beuzart, 'La Réforme dans les environs de Lille', pp. 54-55.

¹³⁷ Verheyden, 'Une correspondance inédite', p. 126. Guillaume Rubin or Robin was one of the Calvinists identified by Philippe Dauxy, Van der Essen, 'Le progrès de Lutheranisme', pp. 217, 221.

¹³⁸ Beuzart, 'La Réforme dans les environs de Lille', pp. 55, 56.

¹³⁹ AGR, Conseil des Troubles, 6, f. 118-119v; Beuzart, 'La Réforme dans les environs de Lille', pp. 52, 55, 56.

¹⁴⁰ They are neighbouring villages close to Lille. Thevelin described himself as being a native of Frelinghien but was described in Cuvillon's report on the Troubles as being from Quesnoy sur le Deûle. *Registre*, p. 40; Beuzart, 'La Réforme dans les environs de Lille', p. 58.

¹⁴¹ Beuzart, 'La Réforme dans les environs de Lille', p. 54. While Jacques Thevelin has the same surname as Walerand Thevelin, the above source quoted in P.M. Crew, *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands 1544-1569*, (Cambridge, 1978), p. 191 does not prove what, if any, relationship there was between the two men. Furthermore Crew has confused Walerand Thevelin with Wulfart Tevelin, citing I.L.A. Diegerick, ed. *Documents du XVIe siècle, Archives d'Ypres. Documents du XVIe siècle, faisant suite à l'inventaire des chartes, etc. (Mémoire justificatif du magistrat d'Ypres sur les troubles religieux arrivés en cette ville, en 1566 & 1567 etc.)* 4 vols. (Bruges, 1874-77), III p. 255. This document from the échevinal records at Ypres concerned Wulfart Thevelin's wife giving her god daughter a Dutch psalm book to be used at the *présches*. This Wulfart Thevelin can probably be identified with the Wulfart Thevelin who settled in Norwich rather than Walerand Thevelin. Wulfart Thevelin retained his links with Ypres writing to a friend there in 1567; in February 1577 his son was permitted to live in Ypres lodging with Jean Thevelin. Crew, *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm*, p. 191; W.J.C. Moens, *The Walloons and their Church at Norwich, their History and Register, 1565-1832*, (HSP, 1, 1887-88), Part II pp. 219, 223.

nombre et avecq armes'.¹⁴² In October 1566 Thevelin was one of the Walloon ministers present at the Synod of Ghent to discuss the possibility of buying religious freedom from the King, the so-called Three Million Guilders Request.¹⁴³ By September 1567 Thevelin had fled from the Netherlands and was subsequently banished by the Council of Troubles.¹⁴⁴

As was the case at Valenciennes, some people migrated from Armentières who do not seem to have been involved in the Troubles. Tiebault du Beffroy, does not appear amongst the Armentières Calvinists prosecuted by the *Conseil des Troubles* although it seems likely that he originated from that area. He fled to Southampton with his family, leaving his brother to oversee the disposal of his property in order to avoid it being confiscated.¹⁴⁵ It is possible that other exiles who came from Armentières were related to those whose names appeared amongst those involved in the Troubles.¹⁴⁶

Some members of the Calvinist community in Armentières were conciliatory in the wake of the Troubles. In January 1567, 134 confessed Calvinists petitioned for the suspension of the *prêches* for six months in order to avoid the possibility of having troops billeted upon them. The signatories included Andrieu Bacquelier *fils* and Balthasar des Maistres.¹⁴⁷ The latter was not banished nor does he seem to have been prosecuted by the *Conseil des Troubles*, in fact he was still in Armentières as late as August 1567.¹⁴⁸ He does not appear in the Southampton records before 1574.¹⁴⁹

Cuvillon reported in September 1567 that Franchois Ghemart, Jehan and Loys Desbonnetz

¹⁴² Beuzart, 'La Réforme dans les environs de Lille', pp. 58-59.

¹⁴³ Stadsarchief Gent, Series 94^{bis}, reg. 9 f. 253-256v. This examination of Pierre Watepatte identified 'Walleran ministre de tourquoine' as being one of the ministers at the meeting. I am grateful to Dr. J. Decavele for providing me with a photocopy of this source. On the Request, see above p. 33.

¹⁴⁴ AGR, Conseil des Troubles, 6, f. 229.

¹⁴⁵ Verheyden, 'Une correspondance inédite', p. 181.

¹⁴⁶ The names of Nicolas le Gay and Pierre de la Bye appear in Baulde Cuvillon's report, and with Michel Bennet, among the signatories to the request for the suspension of the *prêches*. Pierre Vervelour was accused of having attended the *prêches*. AGR Conseil des Troubles 6, f. 119v; Archives Communales d'Armentières, FF 84, f. 60-61v; Beuzart, 'La Réforme dans les environs de Lille', pp. 53, 54, 55.

¹⁴⁷ Archives Communales d'Armentières, FF 84, f. 60-61v.

¹⁴⁸ Archives Communales d'Armentières, FF40, f. 323v, 328. Proceedings were taken against des Maistres in August 1567 relating to cloth production.

¹⁴⁹ *Registre*, p. 10.

had all fled to Sandwich.¹⁵⁰ It seems that the exiles in fact initially migrated to Sandwich rather than directly to Southampton, where they only began to appear after 1569. The few records that have survived for the Walloon community there do include references to these exiles. The deacons accounts record that a payment of 6 *d.* was made to 'Carle face' in October 1568 and contributions for the poor were collected from Eloy Bacquelier and Jan Seneschal in January 1569. In October 1569 4 *d.* was given to Nicolas Seuery and in June 1571 the church paid 3 *s* for the wife of Gilles le Plus of Armentières to travel to Southampton.¹⁵¹ The reason for this subsequent move of these refugees to Southampton is unclear.

The exiles from Armentières did not form such a cohesive group as the refugees from Valenciennes. However Armentières was much smaller than Valenciennes and it seems likely that these exiles would have been members of the same congregation but the sources are insufficient to identify the extent to which there were also familial or business ties between these exiles. However like their coreligionists in Tournai and Valenciennes, a number of these exiles had been actively involved in the Troubles of 1566.

¹⁵⁰ Beuzart, 'La Réforme dans les environs de Lille', p. 52.

¹⁵¹ Huguenot Library, London, MS/J 27 Sandwich French Church: Poor Relief Accounts, 1568-72, pp. 6, 12, 47, 122.

(iv) Low Countries

Although most of the initial settlers in Southampton seem to have belonged to large cohesive groups or to have primarily migrated from one particular town or village in the Netherlands, some of those who settled in Southampton did not belong to such extensive networks. In some cases small family groups migrated from the Low Countries. For example three women were admitted to the Lord's Supper on 2 January 1569, two of whom were certainly sisters, and all of whom originated from Saily-sur-la-Lys. Henricus Lems from Bruges and his son, Jan, both appear in Southampton.¹⁵² Other migrants came on their own, such as Ponthelet de Tro from Liège who was admitted on 2 January 1569.¹⁵³

The strangers who arrived in Southampton were mainly from the French or Walloon-speaking areas of the Southern Netherlands. However a few people came from the Flemish-speaking areas, such as Jorinque van Musenol from Ghent. She was admitted with her husband and two other Flemings, Paul de la Mer and his wife Francois Himant, in April 1570.¹⁵⁴ While the latter do not appear again in the *Registre*, Jorinque settled in Southampton and remained there until her death in 1583.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² *Registre*, pp. 3, 4, 5.

¹⁵³ *Registre*, p. 4.

¹⁵⁴ *Registre*, p. 6.

¹⁵⁵ *Registre*, pp. 84, 104.



Map II - Place of Origin of Refugees from France

(v) France

The second distinct area from which members of the French-speaking community originated, after the Southern Netherlands, was France. These exiles were drawn from a much wider area than the exiles from the Southern Netherlands, coming from a number of different towns and villages in Northern France (see Map II). However a number of migrants came directly across the Channel from the Pays de Caux (see Map III). This rural area lies between the Channel coast, as far as Dieppe, to the north and to the south, the river Seine. The area forms part of the rural hinterland of Rouen and includes the ports of Le Havre, Fécamp and Dieppe which had strong commercial links with Southampton.¹⁵⁶ Generally these exiles do not seem to have been such a cohesive group as those from the Southern Netherlands, with often only individuals or families being drawn from the villages of the Pays de Caux.¹⁵⁷ The only significant exception to this is the group which migrated from Dieppe in the wake of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day. These migrants seem to have been members of the same congregation and to have familial ties which predated their migration.¹⁵⁸

There is a further difference between the migration from France and that from the Southern Netherlands. The migrants from the Southern Netherlands who settled in Southampton, principally arrived in the wake of the Troubles of 1566 and Alva's régime in the Netherlands. The migration from France took place over a longer period of time. A few migrants from France had settled in Southampton before 1572 but the significant influx only began in wake of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day. The French refugees gradually came to dominate the Southampton church for, as the situation in France deteriorated with the continuing civil war, more refugees sought safety in Southampton. For example, sixty-four people were admitted to the Lord's Supper in the wake of the Treaty of Nemours of 1585 which resulted in renewed persecution of the Huguenots.¹⁵⁹ Southampton continued to be an important refuge for French Huguenots into the seventeenth century with exiles arriving from the Ile de Ré in 1628.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁶ P. Benedict, *Rouen during the French Wars of Religion*, (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 18-19; P. Benedict, 'Rouen's Foreign trade during the Era of the Religious Wars (1560-1600)', *Journal of European Economic History*, 13 (1984), pp. 31-32; J.L. Thomas (née Wiggs), 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century', unpublished M.A. thesis, Southampton University, 1955, pp. 83-84.

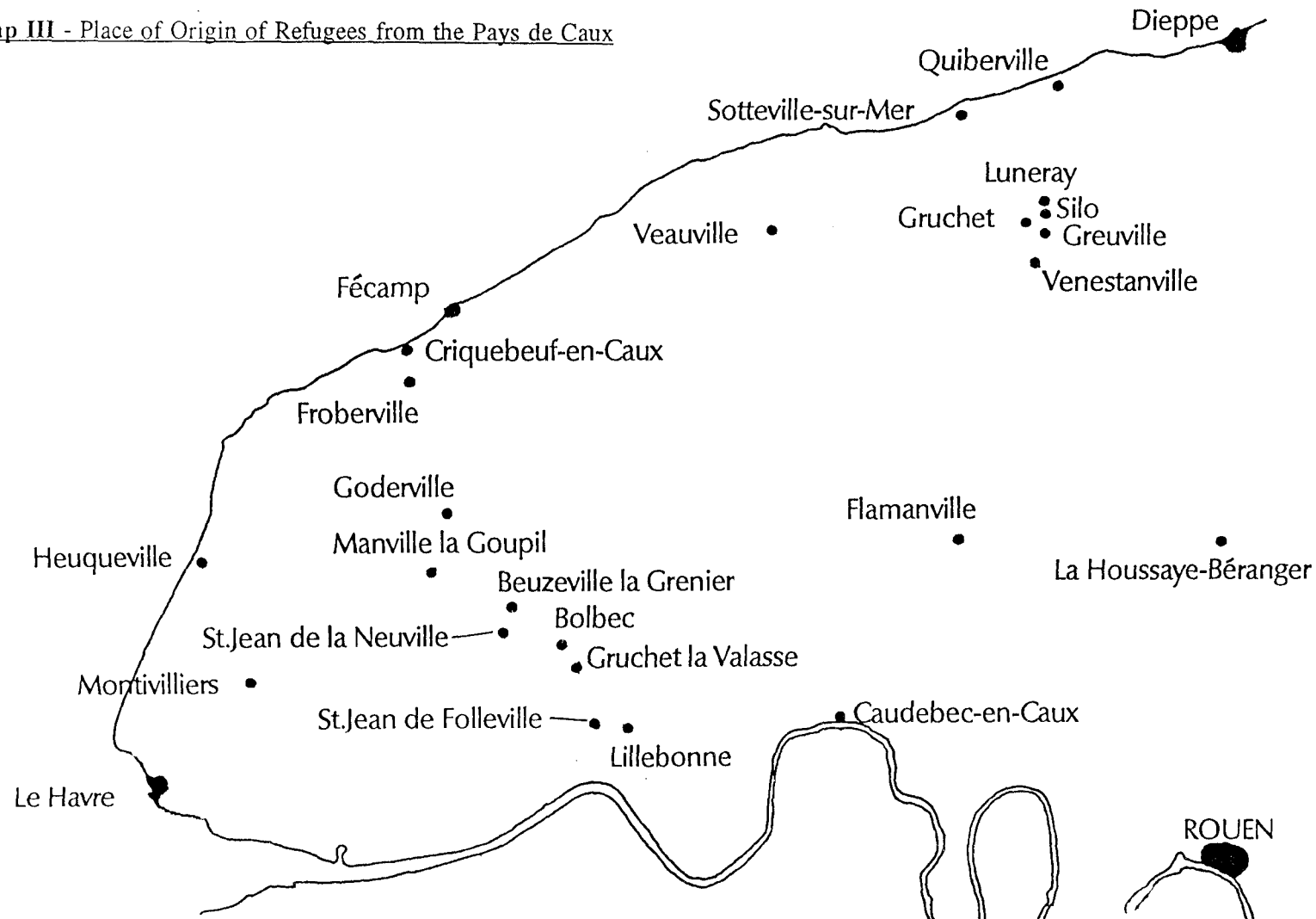
¹⁵⁷ On the development of Protestantism in this area, see E. Lesens, *Le protestantisme dans le Pays de Caux*, ed. V. Madelaine, (Paris, 1906).

¹⁵⁸ *Registre*, pp. 8-9. Members of the community testified on each others behalf as they were admitted to the Lord's Supper. Nicolas Gobelot may have been an elder of the church.

¹⁵⁹ *Registre*, pp. 19-20. They were admitted between October 1585 and January 1586.

¹⁶⁰ *Registre*, pp. 35-36.

Map III - Place of Origin of Refugees from the Pays de Caux



The Massacre caused a widespread migration from France to the exile communities in England as well as the Channel Islands. The scale of this migration can be seen from a census of the French community in Rye made in November 1572. This listed 395 refugees from Dieppe, 173 from Rouen and 5 from Lillebonne who had all arrived in Rye since the end of August. While the census was being compiled a further eighteen people arrived in the port for religious reasons on 4 November, and a further thirty nine Frenchmen were noted on the ships that arrived in the following few days.¹⁶¹ Many of the refugees dispersed beyond Rye, a number of them joined the Southampton community such as the Miffant family, for example. Jacques Miffant with his wife and three children had arrived in Rye on 1 September, but were admitted to the French church in Southampton with a testimony from the minister of Rye in July 1573.¹⁶² The influx of French refugees to Southampton is noticeable in the increase in the numbers who were admitted to the Lord's Supper. In July 1572, only five people admitted including two Channel Islanders who were merely passing through the town, and in October, thirteen were admitted of whom nine were described as *françois*. The significant increase in admissions occurred in 1573: thirty-nine were admitted in January, thirty-nine in April, fifty-four in July and twenty in October. The arrival of so many refugees from France alarmed the authorities in Southampton who feared that the community might also harbour spies and so from July 1573, they required those who were admitted to the church to produce testimonials as proof of their beliefs.¹⁶³

The dislocation and personal anguish caused by the Massacre can be clearly seen in several instances. A family from Armentières, the du Beffroys, had fled from the Southern Netherlands to Southampton in the wake of the Troubles and then had migrated to Fécamp in 1571. They were forced to return to Southampton in the wake of the Massacre.¹⁶⁴ Another couple had been betrothed in the church at Fécamp but had been forced to flee and so their marriage was celebrated in Southampton in March 1573.¹⁶⁵ A number of those who fled from France had attended Mass before their departure, probably in an attempt to prove their Catholic beliefs, and were obliged to

¹⁶¹ Hardy, 'Foreign Refugees at Rye', pp. 569-75. N.B. The figures exclude anyone who is noted as having been in Rye for a longer period.

¹⁶² Miffant seems to have eventually returned to the continent because in February 1579 a testimonial was produced on his behalf for one Vincent Dugard of Dieppe. Several leading refugees in Rye testified that 'James Miffant, with his wife Francis Soyer, did continually dwell within the realm of England from the feast of St. Bartholomew 1572 until 1578 and there lived for the cause of religion during all that time, not any way intruding themselves into the causes of war nor having any dealings that way, but very quietly behaving themselves like honest good people'. Hardy, 'Foreign Refugees at Rye', p. 574; *Registre*, p. 8; *The Manuscripts of Rye and Hereford Corporations*, p. 62.

¹⁶³ *Registre*, pp. 7-9.

¹⁶⁴ See above pp. 40, 44; *Registre*, pp. 4, 9, 84.

¹⁶⁵ *Registre*, pp. 84-85.

acknowledge publicly their fault, before they were admitted to the Lord's Supper.¹⁶⁶

Generally it is more difficult to identify the antecedents of these French migrants, and the circumstances which caused them to seek exile, than it is for those who originated from the Southern Netherlands. This is partly because the French refugees were not persecuted by a single organisation such as the *Conseil des Troubles*. However it is possible to identify some of the more prominent figures, such as the ministers who migrated in the wake of the Massacre. For example, four of the five ministers who were admitted to the Lord's Supper in April 1573, in the wake of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, can easily be identified.¹⁶⁷ M. des Moulins, also known as Richard le Molere, had been the minister at Carenten in the Cotentin.¹⁶⁸ The minister M. de la Vigne was probably Mathieu de la Faye, dict de la Vigne who had been a minister at St. Lô during the Huguenot occupation of the town in 1564. He was forced to go into exile on Jersey, in the wake of the Edict of St. Maur in 1568.¹⁶⁹ The third minister, Jean Louveau Sieur de la Porte had been a prominent preacher in the Orléanais as well as in Brittany. He had been arrested in October 1572 but escaped in a canoe in a journey which took ten days. He eventually left France from Morlaix and was admitted to the Southampton church with his wife and four others.¹⁷⁰ The final

¹⁶⁶ See below pp. 212-14.

¹⁶⁷ *Registre*, p. 8.

¹⁶⁸ The Norman gentlemen, Gilles de Gouberville travelled to hear a sermon preached by des Moulins in 1562. Des Moulins' wife had been admitted to the Lord's Supper on 1 January, 1570 and his son was baptised on 16 February, 1570. M. Cauvin, 'Le Protestantisme dans le Cotentin, XVI^e, XVII^e, XVIII^e, XIX^e & XX^e', *BSHPF* 116 (1970), pp. 60, 72-73; Gilles de Gouberville, *Le journal de Sire de Gouberville*, ed. Abbé Tollemer, (*Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, Caen, 1892), p. 783.

¹⁶⁹ During the 1560s at St. Lô, he produced several Protestant works including a *Traitté de la peste, avec une prière pour les malades*. Some of his correspondence as minister at St. Lô has survived. He had corresponded with Calvin since 1559 and in 1562, to inform him about Comte de Montgomery attendance at the Lord's Supper. De la Vigne signed a letter written in 1560/61 from the Reformed congregation of St. Lô to Coligny. He took refuge on Jersey after the expulsion of ministers from France in 1568; in 1572 he was recorded as being in London. He served the parish of St. Helier, Jersey until he returned to France in the wake of the peace of Fleix in 1580. De la Faye took refuge again on Jersey in 1585 where he served as minister of Grouville and then St. Helier. He returned to the church of St. Lô in 1591. Cauvin, 'Le Protestantisme dans le Cotentin', *BSHPF* 117 (1971), p. 73. J. Pannier, 'Les Montgomery et leurs Eglises de Lorges et de Ducey', *BSHPF* 90 (1941), p. 293; 'Lettres de l'Eglise de St. Lô', ed. F. Delteil, *BSHPF* 117 (1971), p. 87; de Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge*, I p. 200, II 385, 423, 426, 431, 444, III p. 104; 'Recteurs de St. Helier', *Société Jersiaise. Bulletin Annuel*, 7 (1910-14), pp. 86-87.

¹⁷⁰ F. de Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1892), I p. 200. He spent some time in London before being recalled to his church at la Roche-Bernard.

minister M. Boisel was probably Jean de Boisseul, formerly the minister at Guérande.¹⁷¹ All of these ministers were accompanied by their wives and families when they came to Southampton.

Another prominent group represented among the refugees who were admitted in the wake of the Massacre were those of the *officier* class; for example, Jan le Noble who was described as the *Contrerolleur*.¹⁷² Probably one of the most eminent of the French refugees was *le Lieutenant Criminel de Rouen*. His departure from France was commented upon by the French ambassador, and he was admitted to the Lord's Supper in July 1573.¹⁷³ Although not mentioned by name, this was probably Vincent le Tellier who had been the *Lieutenant Criminel du Bailli de Rouen* but had been deprived of office by the *Parlement de Rouen* under an edict which deprived Huguenots of royal office.¹⁷⁴ Another refugee from Rouen was Damoiselle Claude Auber, the daughter of Guillaume III Auber, Sieur de la Haye et du Mesnil Varin who had been *conseiller au Parlement de Rouen* from 1537 to 1554.¹⁷⁵ While Claude Auber settled briefly in Southampton, many of the prominent figures in the *Registre* merely passed through Southampton.

This is certainly true of the entourage of the Comte de Montgomery's widow, Elisabeth

¹⁷¹ Jean de Boisseul was recorded at Geneva in 1563. He served as a pasteur first at Guérande in 1565, then Le Croisic in 1569. He took refuge at Blain in 1569, then in England between 1572, when he was recorded in London, and 1576. Between 1577 and 1579 he was the pasteur at La Rochelle and ended his career at Marennes in 1604. He may have been the author of a pamphlet entitled *Traicté contre les danses* (La Rochelle, 1606). *Le Livre du Recteur de l'Académie de Genève (1559-1878)*, ed. S. Stelling-Michaud, 6 vols. (Geneva, 1959-81), II p. 242; de Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge*, I p. 200.

¹⁷² Jan le Noble originated from Dieppe and he was admitted, with his family, to the Lord's Supper in Southampton in July 1573. He may have been the Jean Lenoble, Sieur de Grosmesnil, who had taken a prominent role within Dieppe during the siege of 1562. He was certainly an important figure because his arrival in England was commented upon by the French ambassador. *Registre*, pp. 9, 42; G. & J. Daval, *Histoire de la Reformation à Dieppe, 1557-1657*, ed. E. Lesens, 2 vols. (Rouen, 1878), I, p. 33; Bertrand de la Mothe-Fénélon, *Correspondance diplomatique de Bertrand de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénélon, Ambassadeur de France en Angleterre de 1568 à 1575*, 7 vols. (Paris-London, 1838-40), V, p. 155.

¹⁷³ *Registre*, p. 9; *Correspondance diplomatique de Bertrand de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénélon*, V, p. 155.

¹⁷⁴ He married Marie, the daughter of Jacques de Brevedent, Sieur de Vannecocq by whom he had daughters. ADS-M, ANC/1B0615, Arrêts de Parlement, December 1568-June 1569; *Recueil des Lettres & Mandemens du Roy, enuoyées en sa Court de Parlement de Rouen*, (Paris, 1569); H. de Frondeville, *Les conseillers du Parlement de Normandie au seizième siècle*, 3 vols. (Paris-Rouen, 1960-70), I p. 245; P. Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion*, (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 76-78.

¹⁷⁵ A transcript of her marriage contract with Michel de la Forest reveals that she was also related to the Miffant family of Rouen. *Registre*, p. 8; de Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge*, pp. 370-73; Frondeville, *Les conseillers du Parlement de Normandie*, I, p. 276.

de la Touche, which was admitted to the Lord's Supper on 3 July, 1573.¹⁷⁶ The Comte de Montgomery was a key figure in the Huguenot aristocracy and had played a prominent role in the French Wars of Religion. However his attempted invasion of Normandy for the Protestant cause resulted in his defeat and his execution in June 1574.¹⁷⁷ His widow had also supported the Reformed cause being one of the important group of female patrons.¹⁷⁸ She was accompanied to Southampton by her son, and her daughter Charlotte whose husband, Christophe de Chateaubriand S^r de Beaufort had been killed at the battle of Jarnac in 1568.¹⁷⁹ The entourage also included two servants and Fumee, Launay and La Fosse *ses damoiselles*.¹⁸⁰ The Comtesse's minister, Michel de la Forest, provided a testimony on behalf of the retinue and he remained in the town after the entourage left.¹⁸¹

However some of the Frenchmen who were admitted to the Lord's Supper seem to have been visiting Southampton for commercial reasons. This seems to have been the case with three Rouennais - Rened le Nud, Richard le Nud and Maillart *libraire* - who were admitted to the Lord's Supper in April 1569.¹⁸² The lives of these men provides an interesting insight in the early French members who appeared in Southampton. As there is only one reference to these men in the *Registre*, they were probably just passing through Southampton when they attended the church.

It is not possible to identify clearly 'Maillart *libraire*' as there were several *libraires* in sixteenth century Rouen who had the surname, variously spelt Maillart, Maillard or Mallard.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁶ *Registre*, p. 11.

¹⁷⁷ Pannier, 'Les Montgomery', pp. 293-95. See below pp. 241-42.

¹⁷⁸ J.H.M. Salmon, *Society in Crisis. France in the Sixteenth Century*, (London, 1975), p. 120.

¹⁷⁹ De Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge*, I, p. 330.

¹⁸⁰ The identity of these *desmoiselles* is unclear. The sieur de Launay of Brittany was in London in 1569 and in 1573 *le Capitaine* La Fosse was part of Montgomery's entourage. De Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge*, I, 153, 197.

¹⁸¹ He married Claude Aubert in May, 1576 in Southampton and their son was baptised there in May 1577, although it does not appear in the baptismal records. *Registre*, p. 85; de Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge*, III p. 372.

¹⁸² *Registre*, p. 5.

¹⁸³ Jehan Maillard had occupied a shop in the *portail des libraires* but had died in 1553. He had two sons, Jehan and Thomas Maillard both of whom became *libraires*. Both of them stood as godfather to children baptised in the Catholic church between 1555 and 1560. There is a break in the references to the Maillards after 1565 for fourteen years which may suggest that they had left Rouen. A Thomas Mallard was given permission to print breviaries for the use of the diocese of Rouen in 1586 but it is not clear if this was the same man. In 1590 a certain Maillard who had returned from exile in England and was one of the elders and deacons from Rouen, who re-established the Reformed church in Dieppe.

Richard le Nud was a Rouen merchant who frequently acted as a factor for merchants from the Devon port of Totnes.¹⁸⁴ However it appears that Richard le Nud had died around 1559¹⁸⁵ but his widow continued to be actively involved in Rouen's foreign trade. She had contacts not only with Totnes but also with merchants from Southampton, including the Walloon exiles.¹⁸⁶ It is possible that the Richard le Nud who appeared in the *Registre* was either a son of the late Richard le Nud or an incomplete reference to his widow.

There are however more references to Rene le Nud. His name appears periodically in the commercial records of Rouen¹⁸⁷ and he was described on several occasions as the factor of John Bodeley of London.¹⁸⁸ There is little indication as to his religious beliefs. He does not seem to have stood as a godparent for any of the children baptised in the Reformed church, but these records only survive for the short period from 1564 to 1566.¹⁸⁹ In fact his daughter Anne was baptised in

ADS-M, G7329 St. Nicolas: Comptes 1550-1600, entry dated 2/1/1553; 4E2147 St. Nicolas: Baptêmes et Mariages 1543-1593, entries dated 23/10/1555, 5/1/1560, 18/2/1560; Daval, *Histoire de la Réformation à Dieppe*, I p. 142; E. Gosselin, 'Simples Notes sur les Imprimeurs et Libraires Rouennais', *Glanes Historiques Normandes a Travers les XV^e, XVI^e, XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles. Documents inédits*, (Extrait de la Revue de la Normandie, 1869), pp. 95-96.

¹⁸⁴ M.E. le Parquier, 'Le commerce maritime de Rouen dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle', *Bulletin de la Société libre d'Emulation du commerce et de l'industrie de la Seine-Inférieure*, (1926-27), p. 96.

¹⁸⁵ ADS-M, G6479 St. Etienne des Tonneliers, Easter 1557-1560. There is an entry which refers to the payment for the burial of Richard le Nud which took place after Easter 1558.

¹⁸⁶ Archives Communales de Rouen, B2 Journaux des Echevins, f. 140v, 144, 144v, 150v, 154, 154v, 155, 156, 157, 166, 167, 169v, 170v, 171, 172, 176, 177, 179, 179v, 184v, 185, 187, 188, 188v, 189, 190v, 191v, 192, 194, 199, 199v, 204, 218, 223, 229, 230, 230v, 232v, 233, 236^{bis}v, 239, 240, 245-45v, 246, 246v, 253, 256v, 257, 259v, 260v, 263v, 264, 264v, 272, 272-73v, 288; B3 Journaux des Echevins, f. 3, 4v, 8v, 9, 14v, 93, 101v, 103, 111v, 112, 113v, 116v, 117v, 172v, 174v, 177, 192, 201v, 210v, 211v, 217, 243v.

¹⁸⁷ Archives Communales de Rouen, B2 Journaux des Echevins, f. 200, 259v, 264; B3 Journaux des Echevins, f. 14v.

¹⁸⁸ Archives Communales de Rouen, B2 Journaux des Echevins, f. 259v, 264. John Bodeley may have been John Bodley the former Marian exile. Bodley was a wealthy merchant from Exeter but after his exile became a prominent figure amongst the London Puritans and became an elder of the French church in London. C.H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles. A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism*, (Cambridge, 1938), pp. 92-94; J. Fines, *A Biographical Register of Early English Protestants and other opposed to the Roman Catholic Church, 1525 - 1558*, (1981); A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London*, (Oxford, 1986), p. 274.

¹⁸⁹ ADS-M, 4E3394 Eglise de Quevilly ou de Rouen recueille à Quevilly, Baptêmes 1564 - 1566.

the Catholic parish church of St. Etienne des Tonneliers.¹⁹⁰ This baptism took place on the 26 August, 1572, in the midst of the St. Bartholomew's Massacre in Paris but before the bloodshed spread to Rouen.¹⁹¹ Some Protestants faced with the Massacre attempted to prove their Catholic orthodoxy by making donations to the Catholic church or having their children rebaptised.¹⁹² In spite of the date of this baptism, it does not seem to be one of the rebaptisms that took place in the parish of St. Etienne des Tonneliers.¹⁹³ It therefore seems less likely that Rene le Nud was a religious exile than that he was admitted to the Lord's Supper in Southampton while in the town on business.

The refugees from France therefore comprised a very diverse group. Prominent figures and merchants passed through the town and were admitted to the Lord's Supper. Some humbler figures such as the Hersents, the Deserts, the Hesselins and the le Pages settled in the town. Unlike the refugees from the Southern Netherlands, they were not part of a large cohesive group and their commitment to the Reformed cause is far from clear. Some of them did come to hold office in the French church in Southampton but they were also actively involved in the town's overseas trade, particularly with Northern France.

¹⁹⁰ ADS-M, 4 E 2020, St. Etienne des Tonneliers, Baptêmes 1572.

¹⁹¹ The bloodshed in Rouen was delayed until 17-20 September, 1572 but the Rouen officials were clearly aware of what had happened in Paris and attempted to maintain calm in the city. See P. Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion*, (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 126-28.

¹⁹² Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion*, pp. 129-30.

¹⁹³ ADS-M, 4E2020, St. Etienne des Tonneliers: Baptêmes 1572. The baptism of Rened le Nud's daughter appears in the normal chronological sequence, from January to December 1572. There is a second list of baptisms which are not in sequence, which seem likely to be Catholic rebaptisms. There were four baptisms on 18 September, thirteen on 19 September and one 28 October, 1572. The first two dates coincide with the Massacre in Rouen.

(vi) Channel Islands

The proximity of the Channel Islands to the French coast meant that they were an important refuge for French Protestants during the French Religious Wars. In 1568 seventeen ministers fled to Jersey after the outbreak of the third religious war. In the wake of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, a number of French aristocrats, such as the Comte de Montgomery and the widow of Odet de Coligny, took refuge in the Channel Islands.¹⁹⁴ Some of these refugees returned to France but others used the Islands merely as a staging post before travelling to Southampton and beyond.¹⁹⁵

However some members of the French community in Southampton did originate from the Channel Islands. A number of Channel Islanders settled in Southampton before the establishment of the refugee community. The long-standing commercial links between the town and the Islands, as well as a favourable rate of custom between 1515 and 1553, had led some Channel Islanders to settle in the town for commercial reasons. Some of these men married into local families and became burgesses of the town.¹⁹⁶

A number of these Channel Islanders who had settled in the town became members of the newly founded French church. Cornelis Poingdextre, Hugh Dervall and Pierre Janverain were all admitted to the first celebration of the Lord's Supper in 1567; Lawrence Williams and Richard Etuer were both admitted before 1570.¹⁹⁷ These men were all described as '*Anglois*' when they were admitted but it seems that the assumption that this term was applied to all Channel Islanders, is incorrect.¹⁹⁸

This group retained close links with their native Channel Islands but had also settled in Southampton. Although detailed biographies have been produced elsewhere, it is worthwhile to examine the career of one of these Channel Islanders who became particularly closely linked with

¹⁹⁴ De Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge*, II, pp. 385, 386-9.

¹⁹⁵ For example, Mathieu de la Faye (see above p. 52) was one of the seventeen ministers who took refuge on Jersey in 1568 and he arrived in Southampton in 1573, de Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge*, II p. 385.

¹⁹⁶ See T.B. James, 'The Geographical Origins & Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton 1400-1600', unpublished thesis, St. Andrews University 1977, pp. 368-410; see below pp. 63-64, 258-59

¹⁹⁷ *Registre*, pp. 3, 5.

¹⁹⁸ James, 'The Geographical Origins & Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton', pp. 357, 384. Some of those admitted to the French church were described as having originated from either Alderney, Guernsey, Jersey or Sark. The term '*Anglois*' was also applied to Englishmen who attended the French church, such as Dr. John James. It seems likely that those Channel Islanders who had settled in Southampton, were considered by the scribe of the French church as being English like the native inhabitants of the town.

the French community.

Richard Etuer was admitted to the Lord's Supper of the French church at Easter 1568. He came from a Jersey family but he was probably born in Southampton.¹⁹⁹ He became a Burgess of the town in 1567 and was closely connected with the church of St. Lawrence where he was elected churchwarden.²⁰⁰ Etuer developed close links with the leading members of the French community, chartering ships with Mathieu Sohier and Arnoul le Clercq. He also stood as the godfather to the son of Arnoul le Clercq in 1573.²⁰¹ Although Etuer migrated to London in the early 1580s, he remembered the French church when he died in 1603.²⁰²

Southampton continued to attract settlers from the Channel Islands in the second half of the sixteenth century. They continued to settle in the town for commercial reasons and were admitted to the Lord's Supper in the French church, such as Isaac Herevill, John Cornish and John Clungeon.²⁰³ Other Channel Islanders came to the town in search of employment or to be apprenticed in Southampton.²⁰⁴ These settlers were less welcome in the town and the Corporation ordered several ship masters from the Islands in 1575, not to 'bring any maner of men women or children over unto this town of Southampton to remayne here or inhabit other than such as are merchants such as passeth too and froo about theyre affairs'.²⁰⁵ Not all of these Channel Islanders were admitted to the French church.

The continued commercial links brought a more transient population of Channel Islanders to Southampton, who were sometimes noted in the *Registre*, as *passant*.²⁰⁶ In some cases men had actually left the town in the period between being given permission to attend the Lord's Supper and

¹⁹⁹ *Registre*, p. 3; *The Third Book of Remembrance*, III, p. 111. He was probably related to John Etuer, the son of the late Lucas Etuer of Jersey, who in 1577 sold to a Jersey merchant a quantity of wheat which he had received on the death of his uncle Richard Etuer of the parish of St. Saviour, Jersey. SRO SC2/6/5, f. 42v.

²⁰⁰ SRO PR4/2/1, f. 13; SC3/1/1, f. 83.

²⁰¹ *Registre*, p. 41; see below pp. 88, 90-91.

²⁰² PRO PCC Prob. 11/102 Richard Etuer. See below p. 219.

²⁰³ See below pp. 133, 259.

²⁰⁴ On the apprenticeship of Channel Islanders, see below p. 168; James, 'The Geographical Origins & Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton', pp. 404, 407-9.

²⁰⁵ SRO SC9/3/2, quoted in James, 'The Geographical Origins & Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton', p. 404. A presentment was made by the Court Leet in 1582, ordering strangers 'to take towne borne children & other Englishe children, wheras now they take french & guarnzey children'. *Court Leet Records*, p. 228.

²⁰⁶ *Registre*, pp. 7, 14, 16.

the service itself.²⁰⁷ It is difficult to identify many of these Channel Islanders, some of whom were presumably sailors or traders visiting the port. The death of Thomas de la Court from Guernsey was recorded in the *Registre* in 1573, with the comment '*qui estoit venu en ceste ville de Hamptone pour sa marchandise ... passant*'.²⁰⁸ There is no reference to de la Court being admitted to the Lord's Supper. The death of another Channel Islands merchant, Thomas de Lecq of St. Brelade, Jersey, was not recorded in the community's register although he did make a bequest to the poor of the French church.²⁰⁹ In some cases people appear to have been readmitted to the Lord's Supper on their return to Southampton.²¹⁰

Links between the Calvinist church of the Channel Islands with the diocese of Winchester and the French church, resulted in other transient visitors being admitted.²¹¹ Nicolas Baudouin had preached the first sermon to the community and in 1569 *monsieur le doien*, the Dean of Guernsey, John After, was admitted.²¹² Adrian Saravia had originated from the Southern Netherlands but had lived in exile on Guernsey before migrating to Southampton. Two of his students, Nicollas Effard and Nicollas Carye, may have accompanied him from Guernsey; they were admitted to the Lord's Supper in April 1572.²¹³

The Channel Islanders therefore represent a different element in the French-speaking community in Southampton. Their motivation for coming to Southampton was purely economic; they continued to settle in the town after 1567, just as they had before that date. However a French-speaking church with a Reformed service, naturally attracted the Channel Islanders while they were in the town.

²⁰⁷ *Registre*, p. 4.

²⁰⁸ *Registre*, p. 101.

²⁰⁹ The inventory of de Lecq's goods suggests that he was only visiting Southampton on business, and had not settled in the town. HRO 1578/B/31; see below pp. 218, 220.

²¹⁰ Nicolas Samarais was admitted on Easter Sunday, 1568. He may be the same person as the Nicolas Samares from Guernsey who was admitted on 3 July, 1569. Another person who may have been admitted twice was Nicolas Poiteuin. He was probably the Nicolas le Pot Vin admitted in 1569. *Registre*, pp. 3, 4, 5.

²¹¹ On these links, see below pp. 184-85.

²¹² J.H. Hessels, (ed.) *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1887-97), III pp. 2555-56; *Registre*, p. 8.

²¹³ On Saravia, see below pp. 204-5; *Registre*, p. 7. It seems likely that these were the two students, for whom the Governor of Guernsey, Sir Thomas Leighton sought to obtain places at either Oxford or Cambridge, to allow them to train for the ministry. I am indebted to Dr. Ogier for this reference. PRO SP15/19/26.

(vii) England

The stranger churches in London attracted some prominent English Puritans to their services such as John Bodley (who became an elder of the French church), William Whittingham and Henry Killigrew. Some of these Puritans merely attended the sermons or were generous patrons of the church but a few were admitted to the Lord's Supper. In 1568 the Earl of Leicester was reported to have communicated at the French church, confirming his association with the Reformed church.²¹⁴ The situation in London was exceptional; the attendance of Englishmen at the French church in Southampton, who were presumably sufficiently fluent in French to follow the sermons or service, was not on the same scale.

The *Registre* remains the principal source for identifying Englishmen who were attached to the French church in Southampton, whether there were any Englishmen who came to listen to the sermons delivered in the church, is unclear. However care needs to be taken in using the *Registre* to identify Englishmen because the term '*Anglois*' often seems to be applied to settled Channel Islanders while later some of those from refugee families who were born in the town came to describe themselves as being natives of Southampton.

In spite of these difficulties, some Englishmen can be identified. Jehan Vallet who was admitted in December 1567 came from Southampton and his wife from the Isle of Wight. Their son was baptised in the same month.²¹⁵ In October 1575, *Mestre Trenchart, gentil homme, Anglois*, was admitted to the Lord's Supper but there is no further reference to him in the *Registre*.²¹⁶ Some of Adrian Saravia's students also became members of the French church; Edward Reynolds was admitted in April 1577. Reynolds later rose to prominence through his service to the Earl of Essex.²¹⁷ The Queen's physician, Dr. John James, was admitted in July 1579. A skilled linguist,

²¹⁴ P. Collinson, 'The Elizabethan Puritans and the foreign Reformed Churches in London', in P. Collinson, (ed.), *Godly People. Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism*, (London, 1983), pp. 262-63, 269-70; A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London*, (Oxford, 1986), pp. 212, 273-75.

²¹⁵ *Registre*, pp. 3, 39.

²¹⁶ *Registre*, p. 11. The identity of M. Trenchart is unclear; he does not seem to have been resident in Southampton. He might have been Sir George Trenchard I (c. 1548-1630) of Wolverton, Dorset. The Trenchards seem to have been a staunchly protestant gentry family and Sir George actively persecuted recusants, searched for catholic priests and in 1583 he collected contributions for Geneva. His association, if any, with Southampton is unclear. P.W. Hasler, *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons 1558-1603*, 3 vols. (London, 1981), III, pp. 526-27; D. Underdown, *Fire from Heaven. Life in an English Town in the Seventeenth Century*, (London, 1992), pp. 10, 17, 23.

²¹⁷ *Registre*, p. 13; C.F. Russell, *A History of King Edward VI School Southampton*, (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 55-66; Hasler, *House of Commons*, III, pp. 286-88.

he served under Leicester in the Netherlands where he corresponded with Saravia.²¹⁸

These admissions to the Lord's Supper were exceptional. Occasionally the Mayor and corporation attended the French church, in 1567 to hear the first sermon preached to the congregation and in 1617 to attend the funeral of Philippe de la Motte.²¹⁹ Other Englishmen stood as godfather to children baptised in the French church: Emery Lake was the godfather for the son of Richard le Pork in 1587;²²⁰ John Jeffray stood as godfather to the daughter of Estienne Bride in 1589.²²¹ Whether these men had any extensive contacts with the French church is unclear. The links between the host community and the French church are discussed more fully below in the chapter on integration.

²¹⁸ *Registre*, p. 13; *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivuum*, II, pp. 790-91, 796-97, 798-802, 814-15, 817-18, 820-31; Hasler, *House of Commons*, II, p. 374. A further link with Southampton is suggested in a letter sent to James by Saravia, in June 1586, in which Arnoul le Clercq sent greetings to the doctor. Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivuum*, II, pp. 799-800.

²¹⁹ Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum*, III p. 2555-56; *Registre*, pp. 111-12.

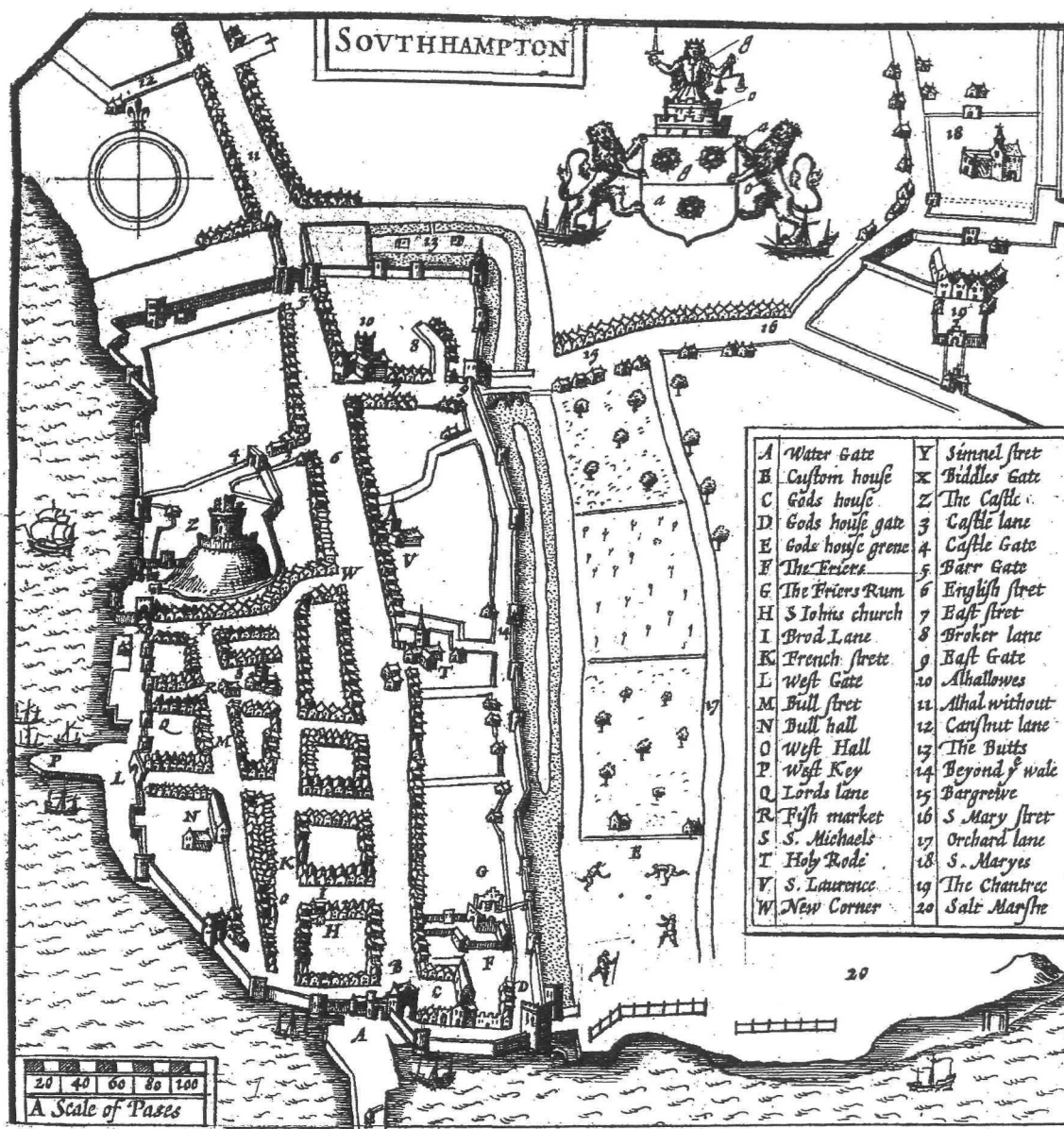
²²⁰ *Registre*, p. 47. Emery Lake played a minor role in the town's government and was the father of Thomas Lake, Secretary of State 1616-19, and Arthur Lake, Bishop of Bath and Wells 1616-26. The entry in the *Registre* describes him as the 'beau-pere' of Richard le Pork. *The Third Book of Remembrance*, III, p. 66; Russell, *A History of King Edward VI School*, pp. 97-111; Hasler, *The House of Commons*, II, pp. 428-29.

²²¹ *Registre*, p. 48. Jeffray was a wealthy Merchant Adventurer, a former Mayor of the town, who was knighted by the King in 1603. He was also Member of Parliament for the town. Southampton Record Office, *Southampton in 1620 and the "Mayflower". An exhibition of documents, July-September 1970*, p. 51. For further examples, see below p. 261.

Conclusion

The refugees from the Southern Netherlands were the most important element in the newly-established French community in Southampton. Furthermore these exiles predominantly came from three centres - Valenciennes, Tournai, Armentières. The dominance of refugees from particular towns can also be seen in the exile communities which were established in Wesel and Frankfurt. The settlers in Southampton were members of extensive cohesive groups bound together by commercial and familial ties. In most cases these exiles also revealed a strong commitment to the Reformed cause.

The dominance of the Walloon exiles in Southampton was gradually undermined by the settlement of other French-speaking groups in the town. These settlers were generally not members of large cohesive groups; the exiles from France were drawn from a very wide area. These exiles did not all share the same commitment to the Reformed cause as the exiles from the Southern Netherlands. Many refugees fled from France in the wake of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day Eve, some may have been religious exiles but others may have come to Southampton for commercial reasons. The Channel Islanders who attended the French church had settled in Southampton for economic motives, just as they had done before 1567. Although the Walloon exiles initially dominated the French-speaking community in Southampton, the character of the community inevitably changed as these more disparate elements settled in the town.



Map IV - Southampton in 1611¹

¹ Taken from J. Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, (London, 1611).

The Foundation of the French-speaking Reformed Community.

According to a long-standing tradition the French church was established by letters patent granted by Edward VI. Indeed this claim was subsequently inscribed in the *Registre* and was referred to in legal opinions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as the French church sought to defend their right to use God's House chapel.¹ There seems to be an assumption that because letters patent existed for other stranger communities, there should be letters patent concerning the establishment of the Southampton community. Yet not all stranger communities received letters patent, Canterbury being a particularly good example of a settlement that did not do so.² It is interesting to note that letters patent only survive for the Dutch/Flemish communities. There is in fact no evidence of letters patent being granted for the establishment of the Southampton community in either Edward VI's or Elizabeth's reign. It would seem that the Southampton Church was referring to the letters patent granted for the settlement of foreign Protestants in England by Edward VI in 1550 and their subsequent reaffirmation by Charles II.³ By appealing to these privileges,⁴ the French Protestants came to assume that they also sanctioned the community in Southampton.

While the French-speaking community was not formally established in Southampton until 1567, aliens from Northern Europe had settled in the town before that date. There were groups of alien craftsmen and a few aliens even managed to achieve burgess status. However these aliens did not form any sizeable community in the town.⁵ Of greater significance was the settlement of merchants from the Channel Islands in the town, such as Lawrence Williams, the Darvalls, the Janverins and the Majors. These men achieved burgess status but there were other less prominent settlers in the town. Although they formed a French-speaking community, these men were not refugees but had chosen to settle in Southampton for commercial reasons. The Channel Islanders achieved municipal office, they married into local families and were quickly assimilated.⁶ Although the Reformation had progressed more rapidly in the Channel Islands, these settlers worshipped in

¹ SRO D/FC3/8/10b. Attempts were also made during this dispute to discover the letters patent. SRO D/FC3/8/3, D/FC3/8/4.

² Letters Patent were issued for the communities in London (1550), Sandwich (1561), Norwich (1565), Maidstone (1567).

³ *The Minute Book of the French Church at Southampton, 1702 - 1939*, ed. E. Welch, (SRS 23, 1979), p. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁵ T.B. James, 'The Geographical Origins and Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton, 1400-1600', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of St. Andrews 1977, pp. 339-44.

⁶ James, 'The Geographical Origins & Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton', pp. 379-410.

the local parish churches; Richard Etuer and Lawrence Williams both became churchwardens of St. Lawrence's church.⁷

There is no evidence that the refugees had settled in Southampton before negotiations to obtain official permission for the establishment of the community began, as had happened at Sandwich.⁸ It has been suggested that Anthoine Jorion, a founder member of the French church, may have had settled in Southampton as early as 1560.⁹ The dating of the document upon which this assumption rests seems to be inaccurate.¹⁰ The refugees settled in Southampton during the summer of 1567, de Beaulieu referred to being in Southampton in June 1567 and Jorion's name appears in the muster list drawn up in August 1567.¹¹

Provincial communities of refugees had already been established by 1567 in Sandwich and Norwich, with the assistance of the exile churches in London. Sir William Cecil was keen to exploit the economic opportunities offered by the refugees for introducing new industries which had the combined advantage of reducing England's dependence on foreign powers and reducing the flow of currency overseas. The Privy Council had become worried during the 1560s that the value of luxuries being imported to England could not be met by the value of the country's exports. Sir William Cecil had begun to assess the value of England's overseas trade; in 1559-61 an assessment was made on the figures for London's overseas trade and a document for the year ending Michaelmas 1565, revealed the details of the value and form of all English exports. Cecil attacked the import of superfluous luxuries and attempted to encourage domestic production of goods to offset the damaging adverse balance of trade.¹² Cecil showed a clear interest in granting patents and monopolies for innovative projects put forward by foreigners.¹³ As secretary to Protector Somerset, he had also witnessed the community established at Glastonbury to produce continental-style

⁷ SRO PR4/2/1, f. 13, 15.

⁸ M.F. Backhouse, 'The Strangers at Work in Sandwich: Native Envy of an Industrious Minority 1561-1603', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 10 (1991), p. 74.

⁹ James, 'The Geographical Origins & Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton', p. 347.

¹⁰ Jurion is recorded as paying stall & art dues in the parish of Holy Rood in a Leet Estreat roll which has been dated c. 1560. However the document is probably much later. Jurion's name does not appear in the surviving stall & art lists for 1558, 1559, 1565 and 1566. The same estreat list includes the names of other refugees who also do not appear in the surviving pre-1567 stall & art lists. The document is therefore more likely to date from after the establishment of the French community. SRO SC6/1/3-6, SC6/2/2.

¹¹ PRO SP12/43/20; SRO SC13/2/3.

¹² L. Stone, 'Elizabethan Overseas Trade', *Ec.H.R.* Second Series, 2 (1949-50), pp. 32-37, 43-44.

¹³ Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 139-42.

worsted, and as a result may have been encouraged to sanction the creation of alien communities with innovative skills in provincial towns.¹⁴

The town council of Sandwich was granted letters patent in July 1561 allowing the creation of an exile community. Permission was given for twenty-five households to go to Sandwich who had been selected for their skills in the 'new draperies' by the ministers of the Dutch church in London. The households also had to receive letters of attestation from the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London and the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Lord Cobham.¹⁵ In 1565 the Norwich authorities approached the Duke of Norfolk at his palace about the possibility of establishing an alien community in the city, similar to those that had been developed in London and Sandwich. Looking back to the prosperity of the earlier settlement of Netherlanders and their contribution to the cloth industry, the Norwich authorities sought to benefit from the sixteenth century diaspora of Calvinist Netherlanders.¹⁶ The Duke already had contacts with a leading figure in the Dutch community, Jan Utenhove. Permission was granted for the settlement by the Privy Council and the London churches assisted in the migration of thirty households, mainly from Sandwich, to Norwich.¹⁷

There is no surviving evidence that the Southampton Corporation directly petitioned for permission for an alien community, but like Norwich the town seems to have traditionally associated prosperity with alien communities of French and Italians. This prosperity was harked back to in 1552 when the town's fee farm was lowered. The payments were reduced by £150 to only £50 so long as the customs receipts did not exceed £200 or the Venetian galleys or Genoese carracks did not return to the port.¹⁸ The establishment of the refugee community in the town has been seen as being an attempt to revive Southampton's prosperity. While the corporation was experiencing financial difficulties at the time of the establishment of the French-speaking community but these difficulties should be seen as being distinct from the circumstances of the town's economy. A decline in the corporation's finances did not necessarily mean that the town's trade had declined, in fact in some cases the corporation painted an excessively bleak picture in order to gain concessions for the town. The town was not suffering from economic stagnation; in fact the period 1561 to 1579 seems to have been one of renewed prosperity. The corporation was

¹⁴ A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London*, (Oxford, 1986), pp. 140-41; see below p. 139.

¹⁵ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Elizabeth, II*, p. 336; Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 141-42; Backhouse, 'The Strangers at Work in Sandwich', pp. 74-75.

¹⁶ W.J.C. Moens, *The Walloons and their Church at Norwich*, (HSP, 1, 1887-88), pp. 17-18.

¹⁷ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Elizabeth, IV*, pp. 209-10; Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 263.

¹⁸ J.S. Davies, *A History of Southampton*, (Southampton, 1883), pp. 157-8.

however prone to take advantage of any financial opportunities which emerged.¹⁹

The Southampton corporation lacked the opportunity provided to Norwich by the residence of the local magnate, the Duke of Norfolk. The Earl of Southampton was a minor and his Southampton residence, Bull Hall in Bugle Street, was not purchased until 1568.²⁰ However the Earl of Pembroke, at one time the guardian of the Earl of Southampton, did have an interest in the town. He was the lessee of the Friary site after the Dissolution of the monasteries and later bought the adjoining property.²¹ It was no doubt the Earl's interest in the town and his membership of the Privy Council which made him the recipient of regular gifts from the Corporation. At the end of 1566 he received a tun of wine worth £9, having already received earlier in that year gifts of oranges and lemons, a large jar of musk and twenty loaves of sugar.²²

During 1566, the Southampton Corporation came into direct contact with the Earl of Pembroke and the government as a result of the dispute about the sweet wine monopoly. The town had been granted letters patent by Philip and Mary in 1554 which were intended to ensure that Southampton was the sole place of import for malmsey wine. Queen Mary confirmed the grant in June 1558 and imposed a penalty of 20 s. per butt on sweet wines which were not unloaded in Southampton. The town's privilege was disputed in the courts but an Act of Parliament was obtained in 1563 which confined the payment of fines to alien importers. The town corporation was to receive 10 s. for every fine which was imposed. In 1566 the Venetians claimed that they were exempt from such fines because of letters patent which allowed Benedict Spinola, a naturalised financier, to import goods like any Englishman.²³ The dispute was submitted to the arbitration of the Earl of Pembroke. In April 1567, the Earl decided that a fee of £50 should be paid to the town

¹⁹ J.L. Thomas (née Wiggs), 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton in the second half of the sixteenth century', unpublished M.A. thesis, Southampton University, 1955, pp. 4-7, 9.

²⁰ Henry Wriothesley, second Earl of Southampton, (1545-81), achieved his majority in 1568 and in the same year purchased the Bull Hall from the heirs of John Huttoft for £600. *D.N.B.* 21, pp. 1067-68; A. Bartlett, 'Beaulieu in Tudor and Stuart Times. The End of the Abbey: The Wriothesleys 1500-1673', pp. 53-54. There is a copy of this unpublished typescript in the Cope Collection, Hartley Library, University of Southampton. For a 'biography' of this property, see *The Cartulary of God's House, Southampton*, ed. J.M. Kaye, 2 vols. (SRS, 19-20, 1976), II, pp. 277-78.

²¹ Pembroke was his guardian until 1560 when Southampton was entrusted to Sir William More of Loseley Park. *D.N.B.* 21, p. 1068; Bartlett, 'Beaulieu in Tudor and Stuart Times', pp. 53-54; C.P.S. Platt, *Medieval Southampton: The port and trading community, AD 1000-1600*, (London, 1973), p. 211.

²² SRO SC5/3/5; SC5/2/1, f. 120.

²³ On Spinola, see below pp. 246-47. For a biography, see *The Third Book of Remembrance*, III, p. 124.

corporation for each Levant cargo landed elsewhere under Spinola's patent.²⁴ These fines came to be an important source of income for the town corporation.

During this dispute the town's affairs in London were handled by John Caplin, a wealthy and prominent burgess of the town and their representative in the 1563 Parliament.²⁵ His accounts for the session of Parliament at the end of 1566, show that he had access to the Earl of Pembroke, providing him with a New Year's gift and making payments to the Earl's secretary.²⁶ It is conceivable that some informal approaches may have been made by Caplin on behalf of the Corporation concerning the establishment of an alien community in the town during Pembroke's arbitration concerning the sweet wine monopoly. Pembroke certainly seems to have been involved in the negotiations for the establishment of the French community because one of the letters sent by the refugees was directed to Pembroke, as well as Sir William Cecil.²⁷

Besides having access to the Earl of Pembroke at this time, Caplin also had close links with another local magnate, Robert Horne, Bishop of Winchester (1561-1579). Horne attempted to build up a protestant party in Hampshire as a counterbalance to the conservative Paulet faction.²⁸ Caplin seems to have had Reformed sympathies: he may have been the John Caplin who appeared before the Winchester consistory court in 1529 for importing two copies of Tyndale's works as well as an English translation of the Gospels.²⁹ Caplin was also the commissioner who made a survey of the remaining church goods in the town in 1552-53.³⁰ The emergent Protestant gentry, encouraged by Horne, centred on the Kingsmill and Gifford families.³¹ While in London during the autumn of

²⁴ *The Third Book of Remembrance*, III, pp. 70-71.

²⁵ In 1561, Caplin was one of the main contributors to the lay subsidy in the town and in the same year the administration of the town's finances were entrusted to him as he was their major creditor. When he died in 1568 he left substantial property in and around Southampton, including the manor of South Stoneham. PRO PCC Prob. 11/52 John Caplin; P.W. Hasler (ed.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1558 - 1603*, 3 vols. (London, 1981), I p. 535.

²⁶ SRO SC5/3/5.

²⁷ PRO SP12/43/30.

²⁸ R.H. Fritze, 'The Role of the Family and Religion in the local Politics of Early Elizabethan England: The Case of Hampshire in the 1560s', *The Historical Journal*, 25 (1982), pp. 267-87.

²⁹ R. Houlbrooke, *Church Courts and the People during the English Reformation, 1520-1570*, (Oxford, 1979), p. 227.

³⁰ 'Church Goods in Hampshire, A.D. 1549', trans. T. Craib, *PHFC*, 9 (1920-24), p. 96. For a general account of the survey of church goods in the town, see Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, pp. 190-91.

³¹ Fritze, 'The Role of the Family and religion in the Local Politics of Early Elizabethan England', pp. 271-75; R.H. Fritze, '"A rare example of Godlyness amongst Gentlemen":

1566 also Caplin made payments for services to a Mr. Kingsmill.³² The Caplin family had more direct links with the Bishop; John Caplin leased some land from him at Bitterne and in 1572 Horne ordered the town corporation of Winchester to elect Caplin's son and namesake as their Member of Parliament.³³

Caplin's precise role in the negotiations for the establishment of a stranger community is unclear. It is possible that he may have acted as an intermediary between town corporation and the government. In the surviving records of the negotiations there is a reference in a letter written by the Corporation to earlier correspondence between Caplin and Horne concerning the establishment of the refugee community.³⁴ These links with Bishop Horne may partly explain the following enigmatic entry which appears in the Mayor's Account Book for Michaelmas 1567 to Michaelmas 1568:

Itm. for charges at mr John Capelins when
the too bysshopes dined there as apperethe by
a bill ----- iij li xij s x d³⁵

As the town corporation reimbursed Caplin for the cost of entertaining these two bishops, it is likely that Caplin was attending to the Corporation's business and so this may possibly be related to the issue of the stranger community in Southampton. The other Bishop may have been Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London (1559-1570), who was also involved in the negotiations.

The two bishops had both been religious refugees during Mary's reign; Horne allegedly left England in the company of John à Lasco, the first Superintendent of the London stranger churches. Horne had been the pastor of the English church at Frankfurt where he probably came in contact not only with à Lasco but also with the Valerand Poullain who had been the pastor of the short-lived Walloon community at Glastonbury.³⁶ Both men retained a close interest in

The role of the Kingsmill and Gifford Families in promoting the Reformation in Hampshire', in P. Lake & M. Dowling (ed.), *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England*, (London, 1987), pp. 144-61.

³² SRO SC5/3/5.

³³ PRO PCC Prob. 11/52 John Caplin; HRO W/K5/4, p. 56. It is interesting to note that by 1568, Caplin had also purchased the Friary site from the Earl of Pembroke.

³⁴ PRO SP12/42/71.

³⁵ SRO SC5/3/1, f. 122v.

³⁶ C.H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles. A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism*, (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 188-90; P. Denis, *Les Eglises d'étrangers en pays rhénans (1538-1564)*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège (Paris, 1984), pp. 60, 344, 346, 349, 356-58. On Grindal, see P. Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal 1519-1583. The Struggle for a Reformed Church*, (London, 1979).

continental affairs after their return from exile and regularly corresponded with the continental reformers.³⁷ Edmund Grindal, as Bishop of London was the Superintendent of the newly reconstituted stranger churches in London and was actively involved in their affairs, attempting to settle disputes, representing the interests of the refugees. Grindal had also been involved in the establishment of the Sandwich community.³⁸

Unfortunately the Southampton strangers remain largely anonymous during the course of the negotiations; only Jean de Beaulieu is mentioned by name, in a petition which he sent to the government concerning customs duties.³⁹ The refugees were actively involved in the negotiations, commenting on the various proposals made about the size of their settlement, the production of the 'new draperies' *etc.*⁴⁰ In view of the detailed knowledge that de Beaulieu had about the negotiations and his prominence in the early years of the community, it seems likely that he played a pivotal role in organising the migration of the Valenciennes exiles to Southampton. The role of the French Church in London during the negotiations for the establishment of the Southampton community is largely unknown due to a *lacuna* in the consistory records of the community but their role may have been greater than has been previously assumed. In the refugees' petition to the Queen they stated that '*chascun apporte certificat à l'appaisement du consistoire de l'église de vostre ville de Londres ou de cestuy le quel avec le temps se polra dresser esdicts villes, de leur religion, conduite, fame et renommée*'.⁴¹ The Dutch Church in London had been actively involved in the establishment of the Sandwich community selecting suitable exiles to settle in the town.⁴² Whether Threadneedle Street was involved to the same extent in directing the refugees to Southampton is unclear but it is interesting to note that a few of those recorded as attending the first celebration of the Lord's Supper in Southampton in December 1567, were recorded in 1568 as living in London or as being members of the French church there.⁴³ These refugees may have been directed

³⁷ See, *The Zurich Letters*, ed. H. Robinson, (Cambridge, 1842); *The Zurich Letters (Second Series) A.D. 1558-1602*, ed. H. Robinson, (Cambridge, 1845).

³⁸ Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 137-38, 142, 146, 150-51, 154, 157, 161-63, 171-72, 178-79, 245-49, 271.

³⁹ PRO SP12/43/20.

⁴⁰ The refugees' views were expressed in various correspondence but the following letters were actually sent by the refugees themselves. PRO SP12/43/20, SP12/43/30, SP15/13/81.

⁴¹ PRO SP12/43/29.

⁴² See above p. 65.

⁴³ Jehan Castelain, François Cruel, Pasque Gosseau were all described in 1568 as being members of the French church and natives of the lands of Philip II. Gilles du Mortier and Bon Rapareille were also recorded as living in London in 1568. All of these men were

to Southampton by the Threadneedle Street church but had then soon decided to return to the capital.

On 16 May 1567, two letters were sent by refugees from the Low Countries. In the first sent to Sir William Cecil, the refugees, while emphasising Elizabeth's kindness in the past to strangers who sought refuge in England, begged permission to present a petition to the Queen. This letter was accompanied by a petition to be presented to the Queen. Neither of these documents contains the names of any of the petitioners nor states from which towns in the Low Countries they originated. These general petitions were later enclosed with a letter dated 22 July 1567, in which Bishop Grindal discussed the establishment of a community in Southampton.⁴⁴

The petition to the Queen acknowledged that according to the Scriptures true Christians should expect to suffer. However the refugees bewailed the situation in the Low Countries, referring to the growth of Protestantism under persecution and their perception of the events of 1566 following the Beggars' Request in April of that year.

En vertu de laquelle ordonnance, estant la force et rigueur desdicts placcards et Inquisition tenue en suspens, les consciences demeuroient libres, franches et exemptes de toutes recherches, de sorte que de là le peuple affamé et altéré après la parole de Dieu print occasion de faire et d'assister aux assemblées publiques, lesquelles furent le vingt-cinquième jour d'aoust confirmées et autorisées par accord faict entre ladicte dame et la Noblesse par forme de provision jusques à aultre ordonnance du Roy à l'advis des Estats-Généraulx, comme dict est. Mesmement places furent assignées en plusieurs quartiers pour y estre bastis temples aux fins et à l'effect que dessus, ce que a esté faict. Or, ce pendant que le peuple, s'arrestant du tout sur le susdict accord et promesse, jouissoit des presches en toute assurance (comme il pensoit) de corps et de biens, on levoit petit à petit et introduisoit dans le pais le plus couverte ment gens d'armes en tel nombre et quantité que finalement les fidèles ont esté estonnés, quant ils se sont trouvés surprins, pillés, saccagés, massacrés, leur ministres mis à mort, leur presches empeischés, en manière que pour le jourd'hui ès Pais-Bas on n'oït à parler que de meurtres, pilleries, massacres, emprisonnements, rebaptisements des petits enfants baptisés selon l'Eglise Réformée, bannissements, confiscations de biens et de toutes sortes de desbordements exécutés contre les fidèles subjects du Roy, dont la plus grand part des habitants èsdicts Pais-Bas se treuve tellement intimidée que chascun d'eulx ne pense que à quelque retraicte seure pour les consciences et personnes.⁴⁵

As the refugees had been forced by these circumstances to flee their natural country they requested permission of the Queen to be allowed to settle in England. They requested that the Queen

... donner grâce et licence à tous gentilhommes, bourgeois, marchants et artisans des Pais-Bas de pouvoir librement venir en cestuy vostre royaume et soy retirer ès villes lesqueles il

admitted to the first celebration of the Lord's Supper in Southampton. *Returns of Aliens dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London*, ed. R.E.G. Kirk & E.F. Kirk, 3 Parts, (HSP, 10, 1900-8), I, pp. 395, 396, 397; III, pp. 331-32, 416; *Registre*, p. 3. On Bon Rapareille, see below p. 251-52.

⁴⁴ PRO SP12/43/29.

⁴⁵ PRO SP12/43/29.

*vous plaira dénommer et désigner à cest effect, èsqueles il leur soit permis de librement demeurer, négotier et exercer toutes sortes de stiles et mestiers, chascun selon sa sorte et qualité ou quelque aultre qu'il estimera plus convenable, eu regard aux particulieres commodités des lieux ...*⁴⁶

The Queen responded to this petition by directing the refugees to Southampton. These Calvinist Netherlanders were directed to Southampton by the government, presumably after informal approaches had been made by the Corporation concerning the establishment of an alien community.

Southampton was probably not completely unknown to the strangers. There were long-established trading links between Rouen and Southampton, and the de Beaulieu family had factors in Rouen and Dieppe for the trade with Valenciennes and Antwerp.⁴⁷ There were also connections between the Calvinist communities in Rouen and the Walloon towns.⁴⁸ Furthermore a branch of the Sohier family had emigrated to the Channel Islands from Mons in the early sixteenth century. There were strong trading links between Southampton and the Channel Islands and the Sohiers also visited the port. This all may have contributed to some awareness of the port of Southampton before the refugees arrived.⁴⁹

The Corporation's opinion about the establishment of the community had already been canvassed in a letter sent by Bishop Horne to John Caplin. This letter has not survived but the Corporation's response to it has. (The speed of the negotiations is remarkable, the Corporation's letter is dated 29 May, only two weeks after the refugees' initial petition). The Corporation wrote that since 'certayne persons being destitue of dwelling places for them and there family wyssheth to have abode in the Towne of Southampton' and if 'theye wilbe quiet persons there cane but do good amongst us ... and thinke we maye and shalbe hable well to have a hundreth or more of them'.⁵⁰

The refugees then wrote to the Mayor and Corporation of Southampton after being directed to the town by the Queen. They claimed that they could not

'endure and abide our consciences to be burdened and in especiall to beare the intolerable

⁴⁶ PRO SP12/43/29.

⁴⁷ Stadsarchief Antwerpen, Certificatieboeken 26, f. 436.

⁴⁸ L.-E. Halkin & G. Moreau, 'Le procès de Paul Chevalier à Lille et Tournai en 1564', *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire*, 131 (1965), pp. 8-10; G. Moreau, *Histoire du Protestantisme à Tournai jusqu'à la vielle de la Révolution des Pays-Bas*, (Paris, 1962), pp. 166-67; J.-F. Gilmont, 'Premières éditions françaises de la *Confessio belgica*', *Quaerendo*, 2 (1972), pp. 173-181.

⁴⁹ *Armorial Général de France de d'Hozier (Complément): Notice Généalogique sur la famille Sohier de Vermandois*, (Paris, 1879), pp. 9-10, 29-32; HRO Wills 1569/B/22, the will of Andrew Booke was witnessed by Philip Sohier in 1568.

⁵⁰ PRO SP12/42/71.

clogge of the Spanish Inquisicon: Wee have determined with our selves without regard either of the losse of our goodes or native Contrey to seeke out an other place of habitacon where it may be lawfull for us to live more quietly and Christian like'.⁵¹

The surviving records of the negotiations about the Southampton community are concerned with the conditions for the settlement after the Queen 'appointed us [the strangers] unto this your Towne, where wee should freely & peaceably make our abode and quietly exercise marchandizing'.⁵²

Most of the correspondence relating to the establishment of the French church in Southampton was published in the Calendar of State Papers enabling nineteenth century historians to provide an account of the terms agreed for the establishment of the community.⁵³ J.S. Davies quoted at length from several sources, in particular the refugees petition together with the Corporation's response to the proposals, which was annotated by Sir William Cecil.⁵⁴ W.J.C. Moens virtually produced a calendar of the correspondence upon which de Schickler's account of the foundation seems to have been based.⁵⁵ Rather than repeat these accounts it seems more profitable concentrating on the issues which formed the focus of the debate over the terms of the establishment of the community and so were discussed in a number of letters. The series of letters and a summary of their contents appears in Table I.

⁵¹ BL, Cottonian MSS, Vespasian FIX, f. 230.

⁵² BL, Cottonian MSS, Vespasian FIX, f. 230.

⁵³ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1547-1580*, ed. R. Lemon, (London, 1856), pp. 292, 294, 296, 299; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Addenda 1566-1579*, ed. M.A. Everett Green, (London, 1871), pp. 31-32. The letters in the Addenda are tentatively dated May 1567 but as the Corporation's response to the original proposal about the establishment of a stranger community is dated 29 May, these documents are more likely to have been written in June 1567.

⁵⁴ Davies, *A History of Southampton*, pp. 403-5.

⁵⁵ W.J.C. Moens, 'The Walloon Settlement and the French Church at Southampton', *HS* 3 (1888-91), pp. 56-60; F. de Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1892), I, pp. 323-27.

Table I - Correspondence relating to the establishment of the French Church

Date	Correspondents	Content of Letters	Reference
16 May 1567	Request presented to the Queen of England by the refugees of the Low Countries.		PRO SP12/43/29
16 May 1567	Refugees of the Low Countries to Cecil.		PRO SP12/43/29
29 May 1567	Mayor &c of Southampton to Cecil.	Response to letters sent to John Caplin by Bishop Horne which express the Corporation's willingness to admit refugees skilled in the 'new draperies'.	PRO SP12/42/71
Undated	A Copy of the Straungers sute for the inhabiting in the Towne of Southampton.	A copy of the original petition sent by the refugees to the mayor and Corporation of Southampton, complete with its preamble and conclusion, making a number of requests concerning their settlement.	British Library, Cottonian MSS. Vesp. FIX f. 230.
Undated	Abstract of a petition of certain strangers of the Low Countries to the Mayor &c of Southampton; with answers thereto.	A copy of the strangers petition with the Corporation's responses to the requests made by the refugees with further notes and answers added by Sir William Cecil.	PRO SP15/13/80
Undated	Low Country aliens to the Bishop of Winchester.	Response to the objections to their petition made by the Corporation.	PRO SP15/13/81
Undated	Answer to certain petitions made by the town of Southampton.	Permission granted for the settlement of twenty families, ten servants per household and the payment of half strangers' customs.	PRO SP15/13/82
June 1567	Petition of John de Beaulieu, for himself and other foreigners at Southampton, to Cecil.	A letter largely concerned with the payment of customs duties.	PRO SP12/43/20
30 June 1567	The Bishop of Winchester to Cecil.	He recommends the case of the refugees who wish to settle in Southampton.	PRO SP12/43/16
22 July 1567	The Bishop of London to Sir William Cecil.	Grindal commented on Cecil's notes on the original petition. There are further notes made on this letter by Cecil concerning the numbers to be allowed to settle and customs duties. The two letters of the 16 May 1567 were enclosed with this letter.	PRO SP12/43/29
22 July 1567	The refugees of the Low Countries to the Earl of Pembroke and Sir William Cecil.	The letter concerns the number of servants to be permitted, customs duties and the raw materials required for the 'new draperies'.	PRO SP12/43/30
19 Sept. 1567	The Bishop of Winchester to Cecil.	An assurance by the Bishop that the refugees were not sectaries.	PRO SP12/44/8

Some of the requests made by the refugees were very quickly settled during the negotiations. For example the refugees requested that 'wee shall deale with landlordes and owners for taking of howses, noe more yearly rent to be required of us than was used to be paid theise two yeares last past'.⁵⁶ The Corporation readily agreed to this demand stating that 'they shall fynd theyr landlords reasonable'.⁵⁷

However there was more prolonged discussion which focussed on three main areas: the size of the community to be established, the rate of customs duties to be paid and the form of religion of the refugees. The first main issue concerned the size of the community which was to be established. The refugees requested that 'wee may have in our houses soe many men, servants and maidens of our Country folke as wee shall thincke needfull for the doeing and finishing of this our syrvides'. They claimed that if they were forced to take on inexperienced help they would be unable to produce the new draperies adequately. They also sought some form of accommodation for any artisans such as shoemakers, tailors, etc.⁵⁸ The decision on this latter point was ultimately left to the town corporation.⁵⁹ The town corporation enthusiastically welcomed the possibility of establishing a stranger community by stating that they would 'have a hundreth or more of them' but Cecil was concerned to limit the size of the community.⁶⁰ He commented on the corporations' response to the strangers' petition to the effect that they should be allowed six servants for the first two years.⁶¹

The strangers protested to Bishop Horne that they needed servants for the manufacture of the 'new draperies' and that the employment of unskilled Englishmen could be damaging.⁶² The Privy Council relented and granted permission for 'twenty families or households of stranngers born in the Low Countries' to settle in Southampton and in every household there should be ten menservants besides any children under twelve.⁶³ After a year there should be two English

⁵⁶ BL, Cottonian MSS, Vesp. FIX, f. 230v.

⁵⁷ PRO SP15/13/80. Several leases survive in the local archives. Mathieu Sohier leased the West Hall from the Corporation in November 1570; the same property was leased to Isaac le Gay in 1601. The building which is now the Tudor House Museum, was leased by Arthur Pitt to Robert de la Place in September 1576. SRO SC2/6/5, f. 19, SC4/3/58, SC4/3/121.

⁵⁸ BL, Cottonian MSS, Vesp. FIX, f. 230v.

⁵⁹ PRO SP12/43/29. See below pp. 169-70.

⁶⁰ PRO SP12/42/71, SP15/13/80.

⁶¹ PRO SP15/13/80.

⁶² PRO SP15/13/81.

⁶³ For a discussion of household sizes, see below pp. 150-52.

apprentices in every household and after seven years one English apprentice should be taken for every two strangers, in order to instruct Englishmen in the skills of the 'new draperies'.⁶⁴ The refugees appealed to the Earl of Pembroke and Sir William Cecil that:

*ils requièrent d'avoir tel nombre de valets et servantes de leur nation qu'ils rejectent ceulx de la nation angloise, mais d'autant que à ce commencement valets inexpérimentés polroient gaster le tout, déclairants qu'ils entendent avec le temps recevoir Anglois, si avant qu'aucuns se veulent mettre en service, les traicter, apprendre et introduire ès sciences d'iceulx artifices, comme ceulx de leur nation propre.*⁶⁵

The size of the community seems to have been finally settled in July 1567 when Sir William Cecil made some notes on a letter from Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London, relating to the establishment of the community. Here Cecil stated that the community should be brought to a 'competent number' within three years. There were not to be more than twelve strangers per household and no more than forty households were to be permitted. Cecil also waived the suggestion that the refugees should settle in Salisbury and Winchester and not be confined to Southampton.⁶⁶ The Southampton community was therefore potentially much larger than the Sandwich community which was restricted to twenty-five households and the Norwich community which was restricted to thirty households.⁶⁷

This suggests that the refugee community was much larger than had been initially assumed. Davies and Moens both considered that the undated document, 'Answer made to certain petitions made by the town of Southampton' was the final document in the course of the negotiations and that only twenty families were permitted to settle in Southampton.⁶⁸ However it would seem that this document predates Grindal's annotated letter which granted permission for a much larger community. The error may have arisen because although the former document is calendared in some detail, Grindal's letter is treated only cursorily.

The exiles in their initial petition to the Queen pledged to pay '*toutes contributions, tailles, subsides, imposts, charges ordinaires et extraordinaires*' and in their petition to the town corporation in Southampton, they promised that they would be 'readie at all times with our goodes for habilitie to pay such taxes & talents and other Imposicons for the maintenance of your

⁶⁴ PRO SP15/13/82.

⁶⁵ PRO SP12/43/30.

⁶⁶ PRO SP12/43/29.

⁶⁷ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Elizabeth, II*, p. 336; III, pp. 209-10.

⁶⁸ This document stated that twenty families or households were to be permitted and 'that every household there may be tenne men servants besides childeren which shalbe under thage of twelve yeres'. PRO SP15/13/82; Davies, *A History of Southampton*, pp. 404-5; Moens, 'The Walloon Settlement', p. 59.

Towne'.⁶⁹ In spite of these promises the payment of the strangers rate of customs duties became an important area of discussion concerning the establishment of the community. Merchant strangers were liable to pay higher taxes and dues than native merchants.⁷⁰ The refugees in their original petition had requested that they should have a favourable rate of custom for a twenty year period, after which it could be raised according to the Queen's pleasure, on goods which were made in Southampton and exported overseas.⁷¹ The Mayor and Corporation referred this issue to the Privy Council and according to Cecil's notes on the petition the refugees were not granted a favourable rate of custom.⁷² Again the refugees protested against the decision to the Bishop of Winchester, stating that the introduction of the 'new draperies' would result in some risk and expense for the refugees themselves. The 'new draperies' would however be innovative but they would also provide employment and prosperity. As a result the refugees requested that they should pay only half the usual strangers' customs.⁷³

Jean de Beaulieu protested directly to the Privy Council concerning the decision that the refugees should continue to pay the strangers' rate of customs. He complained that having introduced 'the art and science of many handicraftes', the refugees would have to bear the cost and expense of introducing these handicrafts. However having established and shared their knowledge with native Englishmen, the Englishmen would have an unfair advantage over the refugees because they did not pay the higher rate of customs duties.⁷⁴

The Privy Council did accede to the refugees's request. They stated 'that during the space of seven yeres, the said stranngers shall paye but half such custome and subside as stranngers do or ought to paye, for any maner of wares which the sayd stranngers shall make in the sayd town of Southampton and that hath not ben usually made heretofore in this Realm'.⁷⁵ In spite of this concession the refugees protested to Cecil and the Earl of Pembroke that the customs they paid on goods produced in Southampton should be moderated so that their livelihood was not threatened.⁷⁶ Edmund Grindal commented that the refugees should be granted a reduced rate of custom on goods

⁶⁹ PRO SP12/43/29; BL, Cottonian MSS, Vesp. FIX, f. 231.

⁷⁰ *Returns of Strangers in the Metropolis: 1593, 1627, 1635, 1639. A Study of an Active Minority*, ed. I. Scouloudi, (HSP, 57, 1985), pp. 29-30.

⁷¹ BL, Cottonian MSS, Vesp. FIX, f. 230v

⁷² PRO SP15/13/80.

⁷³ PRO SP15/13/81.

⁷⁴ PRO SP12/43/20.

⁷⁵ PRO SP15/13/82.

⁷⁶ PRO SP12/43/30.

which they had introduced into the country, noting that 'the Quenes Majestie should have a custome where she had none before'. Cecil's annotations show that he conceded that the Queen should suspend the excess customs normally paid by strangers, on goods which were newly introduced and produced in Southampton. This concession applied only to goods which were exported from Southampton and only for a seven year period.⁷⁷

The third area of discussion centred on religious issues, a place for the refugees to worship and their form of worship. The strangers had emphasised their suffering for the Word of God in their petition to the Queen.⁷⁸ The refugees asked the town corporation 'to have one church assigned whether wee may resort to learne to reverence both God and the magistrates, within which it may be lawfull to have sermons and other service and sacraments to be used apperteyning to the Christian Religion and administracion as it was used in the time of the Noble Prince of famous memorie King Edward the Sixth'.⁷⁹ Cecil however noted that the refugees should conform either to the Religious Settlement or to the order of the London stranger churches. A further note in another hand, at the base of this petition, stated that the refugees had offered to make a confession of faith to the Bishop of Winchester.⁸⁰ Robert Horne wrote to Sir William Cecil on the 30 June, appealing to his religious sympathies for the 'Banyshed netherlanders afflicted and forced oute of their natyve contrie for the self same faythe that we professe'. The Bishop went on to state that:

'they can not live without great disordres amonge themselves and sectes dangerous to the naturall subjectes, oneles by your good meanes also they may have lycence to gather to gether into some one churche and so to lyve undre some godly discipline ... and there is for that purpose a churche that may well be spared and fytt for them withoute the molestation of any the parishes of Hampton'.⁸¹

The Bishop's approach seems to have tried to ensure a separate place for the refugees to worship freely by warning of the dangers which would occur if Cecil did not grant permission. However Horne's comments about 'sectes dangerous to the naturall subjectes' may have awakened fears about Anabaptism and sectaries into the kingdom. The re-establishment of the stranger churches had been seen as a means of controlling this and a proclamation had been issued in September 1560 banning all Anabaptists from the kingdom.⁸²

Before 22 July the refugees had informed Edmund Grindal that they would conform to the doctrine and rites of the French Church in London as well as providing a confession of faith for

⁷⁷ PRO SP12/43/29.

⁷⁸ PRO SP12/43/29.

⁷⁹ BL, Cottonian MSS, Vesp. FIX, f. 230.

⁸⁰ PRO SP15/13/80.

⁸¹ PRO SP12/43/16.

⁸² Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 138-39.

the Bishop of Winchester.⁸³ Unfortunately there is no evidence as to whether this was the Belgic Confession of Faith or the French confession of 1559. However in September the refugees suspected that questions about the religious orthodoxy of the community had hindered the establishment of the church. The refugees had provided the Bishop with written bonds assuring him that they would 'beware and watchful that no corrupt sectes or opinions shal be suffered to growe among them, for they them selves hate and deteste all soche'. The Bishop urged the Privy Council to accept the refugees suit and promised that 'as very prudently and not without good cause they maye feare sectaries to crepe in under pretence of the Gospell, so shall I not fayle to be watchfull to prevent that evell by Godes grace'.⁸⁴ This assurance seems to have allayed the fears relating to the orthodoxy of the community.

The refugees seem to have settled by September 1567. The first entry in the *Registre* relates to the death of Jean Rapareiller who was buried in the town's cemetery on the 21 September, 1567. According to the *Registre* the first celebration of the Lord's Supper was on the 21 December.⁸⁵ However the community's first service was held on the 28 October 1567 when a sermon was delivered by Nicholas Baudouin, a minister from Guernsey. The congregation included the town corporation led by the mayor Robert Ayre, as well as the Bishop of Winchester.⁸⁶ The Bishop was given two gallons of Gascon wine by the Corporation, presumably in recognition for his services.⁸⁷ The attendance of the Bishop and the corporation is perhaps the clearest evidence of their support for the establishment of the stranger community.

⁸³ PRO SP12/43/29.

⁸⁴ PRO SP12/44/8.

⁸⁵ *Registre*, pp. 3, 100.

⁸⁶ J.H. Hessels (ed.), *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1887-97), III, pp. 2555-56.

⁸⁷ SRO SC5/1/47.

Introduction.

Charles Phythian-Adams argued that 'by the *late* fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries even the more important towns and cities were under pressure; so much so indeed, that the period 1520-1570, the culminating years of that period, might well be regarded as a time of acute urban crisis'.¹ Other historians have supported this view of an urban crisis during the sixteenth century.² The situation in Southampton was seen as being typical. A dramatic fall in customs receipts and the apparent insolvency of the Corporation were seen as being indicative of the town's economic stagnation. This was furthered by the fall in cloth exports during the 1520s and 1540s. Urban poverty and the lack of growth in the town's population during the sixteenth century were seen as further symptoms of this urban crisis.³ Dr. Alwyn Ruddock's research would also seem to support this view of an urban crisis. In 1949 she wrote that 'the growth of London [in the early Tudor period] had sapped the trade and population of the southern port and the loss of her role as London's outpost brought catastrophic commercial decline. Unable to furnish her required quota of ships and seamen to meet the Armada, the port sunk into a moribund condition until the coming of the railways in the nineteenth century once again opened up her former role as London's outpost'.⁴ This image is perpetuated in the final chapter of Ruddock's book *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton, 1270 - 1600*, which is entitled 'The Decline of Southampton in the Sixteenth Century'.⁵

This theory of an overall urban crisis during the sixteenth century has not gone

¹ C. Phythian-Adams, 'Urban Decay in Late Medieval England', in P. Abrams & E.A. Wrigley (ed.), *Towns and Societies. Essays in Economic History and Historical Sociology*, (Cambridge, 1978), p. 183.

² P. Corfield, 'Urban Development in England and Wales in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', reprinted in J. Barry, *The Tudor and Stuart Town. A Reader in English Urban History, 1530-1688*, (London, 1990), pp. 35-62; P. Clark & P. Slack, *English Towns in Transition, 1500-1700*, (Oxford, 1976).

³ Phythian-Adams, 'Urban Decay in Late Medieval England', pp. 169, 180, 181-82; Corfield, 'Urban Development in England and Wales', pp. 43, 54-55.

⁴ A.A. Ruddock, 'London capitalists and the Decline of Southampton in the Early Tudor Period', *Ec.H.R.*, Second Series, 2 (1949-50), p. 151.

⁵ A.A. Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton, 1270 - 1600*, (SRS, I, 1951). Also see, C.P.S. Platt, *Medieval Southampton. The port and trading community, A.D. 1000-1600*, (London, 1973), pp. 215-26.

unchallenged.⁶ The evidence for an urban crisis at Southampton is unconvincing. One of the symptoms identified by Corfield was the lack of growth in the town's population. Southampton had a population of around 2,000 in the early 1520s after which it 'expanded only little, if at all, in the rest of the sixteenth century'. However the population did expand and rapidly because by 1596, according to the Count of Heads, the town's population was 4,200.⁷ The evidence for the town's economic stagnation is also unconvincing. Much of Ruddock's research relates however to the first half of the sixteenth century and much of the evidence provided for the Elizabethan period has been challenged by Mrs. J.L. Thomas in her unpublished thesis, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton in the Second half of the Sixteenth Century'.⁸ In particular Thomas challenged the evidence for a continuous economic decline, commenting that a distinction should be made between the corporation's financial difficulties and the town's economic circumstances. Some of the sources which reveal financial difficulties should be treated with caution since they were the result of special pleading and were an attempt to avoid the exactions of central government. The evidence of decay presented by the Court Leet resulted from the work of a body which was charged with finding and drawing attention to problems in the town. While there were certainly some financial problems, there was not a continuous economic decline in Southampton. The town inevitably had to readjust as a result of the growth of London and other external forces but the town remained an important regional centre with excellent port facilities and whose inhabitants continued to be dependent upon trade for their livelihoods.⁹

Thomas identified two periods of prosperity in the town. The first was during the late 1560s and the 1570s and was 'characterized by the increasing proportion of trade being handled by the town merchants, by the development of the town's shipping and by the extension of the area of trade'.¹⁰ The second period was in the early 1590s and followed an economic depression which had begun in the early 1580s, thereby predating the outbreak of the Spanish War in 1585. This prosperity owed little to the town of Southampton itself and was shortlived, being followed by a period of economic stagnation. In a similar study for the first half of the seventeenth century, D. Lamb identified a general increase in prosperity after the conclusion of the Spanish War in 1604 which lasted until 1610. This prosperity resumed again between 1613 and 1616 due to a growth

⁶ A. Dyer, 'Growth and Decay in English Towns 1500-1700', *Urban History Yearbook*, (1979), pp. 60-76.

⁷ Corfield, 'Urban Development in England and Wales', p. 43; SRO SC3/1/1, f. 254v.

⁸ J.L. Thomas (née Wiggs), 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton in the Second half of the Sixteenth Century', unpublished M.A. thesis, Southampton University, 1955.

⁹ Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', p. 220; Dyer, 'Growth and Decay in English Towns', p. 69.

¹⁰ Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', p. 221.

in imports which more than offset the decline in Southampton's exports.¹¹

Although Thomas' account remains the standard text for any consideration of Southampton's overseas trade in the Elizabethan period, she only fleetingly considered the involvement of members of the exile community in town's commerce. This chapter will attempt to assess the significance of the refugee merchants in the town's overseas trade. The refugee community was never solely composed of poor clothworkers. Although the negotiations for the establishment of the Walloon community had concentrated upon establishing the manufacture of the 'new draperies' in Southampton, there had also been lengthy discussions concerning the payment of customs duties. It was agreed that the refugees should not pay the usual higher rate of strangers customs on goods which were manufactured in the town by the new techniques for a seven year period.¹²

The involvement of the refugee merchants in the town's overseas trade can be divided into three main periods. The first period between 1567 and c. 1585 was characterised by several refugee merchants who took an active role in overseas trade but by 1585 had migrated from the town. In the second period, c. 1585 - 1595, coincided with the Spanish War when the refugees' involvement in foreign trade was dominated by the activities of Jean le Mercier. During the final phase, between c. 1595 and 1616, the refugee community was represented by the second generation of immigrants and more recent migrants, who became actively involved in the town's trade.

The Refugee Merchants, 1567 - c. 1585.

During this period several refugee merchants played an active role in the town's overseas trade: Jean de Beaulieu, Arnoul le Clercq, Mathieu Sohier and Anthoine du Quesne. The first three merchants were all related and originated from Valenciennes. They were also members of an extensive commercial network, the experience of which undoubtedly contributed to their mercantile activities in Southampton.

Mathieu Sohier was the younger brother of Claude Sohier, an Antwerp merchant who with his companions had retained factors at Rouen, Dieppe and London. In 1567, Sohier's factor at Rouen seems to have been Henry de Beaulieu and the factor at Dieppe was probably Augustin de Beaulieu.¹³ In April 1567 Claude Sohier claimed that he had to leave Antwerp to see to his business affairs in Dieppe, Rouen and other places in England and France. He stated that he did not

¹¹ D. Lamb, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton in the First half of the Seventeenth Century', (unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of Southampton, 1972), pp. 23-24.

¹² See above pp. 75-77.

¹³ In the 1572 survey of strangers in Rye, Augustin de Beaulieu was recorded as coming from Dieppe. Stadsarchief, Antwerpen, Certificatieboeken 26 f. 436, 514v; W.J. Hardy, 'Foreign Refugees at Rye', *HS*, 2 (1887-88), p. 569.

however intend to move abroad.¹⁴ However Claude Sohier died in London in 1568 and his will refers to his business interests on the continent; he divided his interest and stock in companies, including the company at Valenciennes, between his wife and children. Claude's brothers Mathieu, Pierre and Cornille Sohier were amongst those who were appointed as the executors of the will.¹⁵ Although Pierre, Jehan and Cornille Sohier were all involved in Claude Sohier's business affairs, the extent of Mathieu Sohier's involvement is unclear.¹⁶

The business affairs of Jean de Beaulieu before 1567 are much clearer. He was a member of an Antwerp company with Jehan Damman and Adrien de la Barre which had goods and interests at Seville. Henry de Beaulieu, Jean's brother, was apparently resident in Seville in 1564.¹⁷ He had business dealings with his distant relatives, the Malapert brothers who had also migrated from Valenciennes to Antwerp.¹⁸ He may have also had commercial links with his father-in-law, Jean van Hof who was based in London.¹⁹ As has been seen, de Beaulieu's brothers had also acted as factors.

These two examples provide some indication of the mercantile background and experience which some of the refugee merchants possessed. Unfortunately little evidence has survived concerning the activities of Mathieu Sohier's cousin, Arnoul le Clercq, before 1567. Little is known about Anthoine du Quesne; he became a member of the French church in April 1573 but it is not clear from where he originated.²⁰

Besides this experience, the merchants possessed the necessary funds to become actively involved in Southampton's commercial life. The refugee merchants seem to have evaded the

¹⁴ Stadsarchief Antwerpen, Certificatieboeken 28, f. 117v.

¹⁵ PRO PCC Prob. 11/50 Claude Sohier.

¹⁶ Stadsarchief, Antwerpen, Certificatieboeken 22, f. 172.

¹⁷ Stadsarchief Antwerpen, Certificatieboek 20, f. 61-62; L. van der Essen, 'Episodes de l'histoire religieuse et commerciale d'Anvers dans le second moitié du XVI^e siècle, *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, 80 (1911), p. 360.

¹⁸ Stadsarchief Antwerpen, Certificatieboek 20, f. 61-62, 66v.

¹⁹ Jan van Hof was the father of de Beaulieu's wife, Sarra van Hoven. In 1545 he was living in London, in the parish of St. Olave in the borough of Southwark, when he contributed to the lay subsidy. He made further payments in 1552 and 1559. He retained contact with Antwerp and was identified as a Calvinist by one of Margaret of Parma's spies in the city. He may have been related to the Bruges merchant, Jacobus van der Hoven, who lived in London. See above p. 31; M.E. Bratchel, 'Alien merchant colonies in sixteenth century England: community organisation and social mores', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 14 (1984), p. 54; *Registre*, p. 39; *Returns of Aliens dwelling in London*, I, pp. 115, 237, 261.

²⁰ He also provided testimonies for seven people, including his wife, who were admitted to the church between October 1573 and January 1575. *Registre*, pp. 8, 9, 10.

confiscation of their goods by the Council of Troubles. Mathieu Sohier and his wife certainly seem to have managed to dispose of their property before they left Antwerp.²¹ Other refugees were less fortunate; one merchant, Roland Petit was described by Jean de Beaulieu as 'beinge a pooreman by reason of the stay of his goods beyonds the seas'.²² Mathieu Sohier's brother-in-law, Guillaume Coppin was forced, in October 1572, to revise his will due to his losses in the Netherlands. His wife was left only Coppin's moveable goods and jewels after his debts had been settled instead of the 2700 livres which she had first been promised. Coppin's son's legacy of 1400 livres tournois was reduced to 300 with a further 400 livres tournois 'when liberty shall be in the Low Countries and that profit and the sale of my goods which are at Valenciennes may be made and that my testament may be effected'. In fact Coppin's dilapidated position was such that he seems to have been in receipt of poor relief from the Threadneedle Street Church.²³

Some indication of the extent to which the merchants were able to retain their assets is revealed in the 1571 lay subsidy returns. Their tax assessment was based upon the valuation of their goods. Jean de Beaulieu was assessed as having moveable goods worth £20, Mathieu Sohier goods worth £15 and Arnoul le Clercq also £15. While this was considerably less than the £50 assessment for John Crooke and also that of Richard Goddard senior (£30), it did mean that the refugees had similar resources to Southampton merchants such Nicholas Capelain (£20), Lawrence Williams (£15), William Staveley (£20) and greater resources than those of men such as Richard Etuer (£6), Richard Goddard Junior (£8), Andrew Studley (£7) and John Errington (£5). These men formed the small élite of wealthy Southampton merchants identified by Thomas who engaged in the Gascon and Spanish trades.²⁴ Unfortunately this analysis can not be taken further into the 1570s and 1580s because the lay subsidy returns have not survived. Further evidence of the means and status of Mathieu Sohier is provided by his lease of West Hall, a substantial property complete with cellars and warehouses which had in the past been occupied by Italian merchants.²⁵ Sohier leased the Hall

²¹ AGR, Chambre des Comptes, 111, f. 11v. This revealed that they did not have any goods to be confiscated.

²² PRO H.C.A. 13/18 f. 266v. In spite of this claim, Roland Petit possessed goods worth £5 according to the 1571 lay subsidy assessment, PRO E179/174/387.

²³ PRO PCC Prob. 11/55 William Coppin. Several payments to a Guillaume Coppin and his wife were made between November 1572 and June 1573, French Protestant Church of London Archives, Soho Square, MSS DL/MS194, f. 7, 7v, 8, 10v, 11, 14, 22v, 23, 26v, 29, 88.

²⁴ PRO E179/174/387; Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 86, 99.

²⁵ Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping*, pp. 122-23, 130-31, 157, 234, 236, 241, 243-45. For a history and description of West Hall, see Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, pp. 97-98. The property is marked on Speed's map of Southampton with the letter 'O', see Map IV, p. 62.

for two years from the Southampton corporation at £12 per annum in 1570.²⁶

Although le Clercq and Sohier were the most prominent refugee merchants in this period, they tended to overshadow a number of smaller traders such as Guillaume Hersent, Robert Cousin, Guillaume Terrie and Emery Durant. These merchants generally traded on a much smaller scale and less widely than their more prominent counterparts. This was no doubt in part the result of their more limited means which was reflected in their lay subsidy payment in 1571. Emery Durant and Robert Cousin were both assessed as having goods worth £3. Guillaume Hersent may have been the alien called 'William Hamsome' whose goods were worth less than £3 and so subject to the poll tax.²⁷

Some of these men only occasionally exported and imported goods through Southampton. For example refugees such as Emery Durant,²⁸ Pierre Thieudet,²⁹ Gaspard Desert³⁰ and Pierre Trenchant³¹ only occasionally appear in the royal port books, importing goods from St. Malo, Rouen and Caen. As a result they probably do not justify being called merchants. More significant than this was the regular cross-Channel trade of men such as Guillaume Hersent and Robert Cousin³² who regularly traded with Northern France.

²⁶ SRO SC4/3/58.

²⁷ PRO E179/174/387.

²⁸ Emery or Aymeri Durant originated from Valenciennes and was admitted to the first celebration of the Lord's Supper, with his first wife, in December 1567. After his wife's death in April 1568, he married Marie le Febure. He had four children baptised at the French Church. He was last recorded in Southampton in October 1579 and may have migrated after that date to London. *Registre*, pp. 3, 15, 39, 40, 41, 83, 100;

²⁹ For a biography, see *The Third Book of Remembrance*, IV, p. 76. See also pp. 145, 146, 152, 168, 174, 252.

³⁰ Desert was admitted to the Lord's Supper in July 1569; his wife Clarette was admitted six months later. Six of the children were baptised in the French Church between 1570 and 1588. Desert was an elder and frequently stood as *parein* at baptisms. He lived mainly in the ward of SS. Michael & John where he was recorded as paying 'stall & art dues' until 1583. SRO SC6/1/8, 11-15, 17-18; *Registre*, pp. 5, 6, 10, 13, 15, 18, 40, 42, 43, 44, 46, 48, 85; see below pp. 174, 209, 252.

³¹ Pierre Trenchant was admitted to the Lord's Supper in July 1570 and died in March 1602. he had initially lived in SS. Michael & John's ward but by 1580 he had moved to Above Bar. He was regularly recorded as paying his stall & art dues. SRO SC6/1/12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 24; *Registre*, pp. 6, 107.

³² Robert Cousin originated from Tournai and was admitted to the Lord's Supper in Southampton at Easter 1568. His brother Gilles was resident in Southampton in 1575 but by 1584 he was living in Norwich. Robert Cousin and his wife died in 1584 possibly both as a result of the plague. PRO PCC Prob. 11/67 Robert Cousin; *Registre*, pp. 4, 42, 104.

Map V - The Principal Ports with which Southampton traded.



Any study of the foreign trade in this period is limited by the only partial survival of the royal port books recording goods entering and leaving Southampton. For this period only two books survive which record not only imports and exports but also wine imports (which were recorded separately from 1575-76 onwards); in the other years, the records are incomplete or unavailable for consultation due to their condition. For various reasons the information provided by the port books should be treated with some caution and in particular because the Southampton port books include not only shipping from Southampton itself but also from the Isle of Wight and Portsmouth. The petty customs accounts also provide some evidence about the strangers' involvement in overseas trade.³³

The first reference to the refugee merchants appears in the petty customs accounts in March 1568 when Mathieu Sohier paid 2 *d.* on a barrel of oil; Jean de Beaulieu imported barrels of butter, soap, 'pack threve', rape oil, one packet of Holland cloth, one of [earthen] ware and two bundles of teasels.³⁴ In 1568-69 Mathieu Sohier was recorded as importing 27½ tuns of wine.³⁵ The petty customs accounts also refer to goods being imported and exported by other refugee merchants such as Arnoul le Clercq and Augustin de Beaulieu.³⁶

A clearer picture of the strangers' involvement in overseas trade can be seen from the surviving port books. These are dominated by the activities of Arnoul le Clercq and Mathieu Sohier, Jean de Beaulieu apparently having left Southampton before the period covered by these records. This chapter will inevitably concentrate on the principal refugee merchants but several merchants such as Robert Cousin and Guillaume Hersent were involved in the town's overseas trade albeit on a much smaller scale during the sixteenth century and should not therefore be overlooked.

The commercial interests of Mathieu Sohier and Arnoul le Clercq were wide-ranging. Trade with Spain, Portugal and the Atlantic islands was dominated by the small élite of Southampton merchants who possessed the resources to charter vessels for such long journeys and were involved

³³ On the reliability of these sources, see D.M. Woodward, 'Short Guides to records: Port Books', *History* 55 (1970), pp. 207-210; Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 23-26. One of the problems of using the port books is the identification of the different ports but variant spellings may be found from the index of H.J. Smit, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van den handel met Engeland, Schotland en Ierland*, 2 vols. (The Hague, 1950).

³⁴ SRO SC5/4/64, entry dated 20/3/1568.

³⁵ SRO SC5/4/65, not foliated.

³⁶ 1568-69: SRO SC5/4/65, not foliated and the entries are undated.
1569-70: SRO SC5/4/66, entries dated 6/11/1569, 19/10/1569 [*sic*], 4/12/1569, 16/1/1570, 17/3/1570, 20/5/1570, 28/7/1570, 9/8/1570, 5/9/1570.

in what was essentially a luxury trade. In 1577, Mathieu Sohier chartered the *Dove of Hampton* for a voyage to Lisbon.³⁷ However the refugee merchants only really imported very small quantities of goods from these areas. In 1573-74, for example, le Clercq imported one tun of bastard cask and four tuns of seck cask from Andalucia and a further five tuns of seck cask from Puerto de Santa Maria. To place the scale of the refugee imports in context, in 1575-76 le Clercq imported to Southampton one tun of secke cask compared with the 120 tuns and 16 butts of seck cask imported from Andalucia by Southampton merchants. The élite Southampton merchants monopolised the town's trade with the Iberian peninsula. Besides wine, they imported cargoes of figs, raisins, ginger, brimstone, oil and Spanish salt and iron from Andalucia, Ayamonte, Bilbao and St. Sebastian.³⁸ This trade was particularly important for the town's prosperity but the refugee merchants do not appear to have played any part in it.³⁹

The merchants did however occasionally trade with the Atlantic islands of the Azores and the Canaries. For example the *Angel of Poole* returned from the Azores with 3 score and 15 quintals of green woad for Arnoul le Clercq in 1574. In June 1574 the *John of Hampton* returned to Southampton with eighteen tuns of Canary wine for Mathieu Sohier and Anthoine le Quesne.⁴⁰ The principal commodity imported from the Azores was green woad and the refugee merchants imported limited quantities of woad to Southampton. This trade was however also dominated by the small group of Southampton merchants who monopolised the Spanish trade.⁴¹ In 1575-76, 406,300 lbs of green woad was imported. Southampton merchants imported 197,500 lbs of woad (48.6%) together with 100 lbs of sugar, other English merchants imported 208,000 lbs of green woad which included 70,000 lbs of green woad imported by John Jones of Lyme. This accounted for 51.2% of woad imports. Arnoul le Clercq imported to Southampton a mere 800 lbs of woad (0.2%) and 100 lbs of sugar.⁴²

The refugee merchants were much more actively involved in the town's trade with South Western France. Thomas also identified this as an area which attracted only a few of the wealthiest Southampton merchants because of the necessary investment of capital in large ships for the long

³⁷ SRO SC2/6/5, f. 43.

³⁸ PRO E190/814/10 (Andalucia) f. 21v, 22v, 32, 32v; (Ayamonte) f. 20v, 22v; (Bilbao), f. 19v; (St. Sebastian) f. 25v, 27v. On the Spanish trade with Southampton, see Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 96-103; T.B. James, 'Southampton and Spain in the Sixteenth Century to the 1588 Armada: A Sample of Sources for Ceramic Studies', in *British Archaeological Reports* (forthcoming, 1993/94).

³⁹ Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 96-97.

⁴⁰ PRO E190/814/9, f. 28, 29.

⁴¹ Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 103-4.

⁴² PRO E190/814/10, f. 21, 32, 32v, 33v, 36.

voyage and because it was a trade in semi-luxury goods.⁴³ In 1575-76 for example the *Dove of Hampton* sailed from Southampton on 28 November 1575 for Bordeaux, carrying cloth for le Clercq, Sohier and Etuer and returned to Southampton from La Rochelle on 28 February 1576 carrying 30 weighs of bay salt and 3 tuns of Rochelle wine for the merchants. The *Dove of Hampton*, sailed with another cargo for the merchants to La Rochelle on 9 April 1576 and it returned to Southampton on 24 July, 1576.⁴⁴ The refugee merchants generally seem to have traded as individuals but on one occasion there seems to have been a combined venture between refugee and native merchants. In a contract for the *Flying Dove of Hampton* in February 1583, the tonnage of the ship was divided between Richard Goddard (25 tons), Peter Janverain (12 tons), John Exton (5 tons), Alexander Pendry (5 tons), Mathieu Sohier (5 tons) and Arnoul le Clercq (15 tons).⁴⁵

From Table II and Table III the significance of the refugee merchants' imports from Bordeaux and La Rochelle can be compared with that of the level of imports of the native merchants. The imports of 'Other Englishmen' refers to the goods imported by Englishmen who were not natives of Southampton; in some cases imports by seamen from ships which originated from Southampton are also included in this category. 'Alien merchants' refer to merchants and mariners from overseas who imported goods through Southampton. It should also be noted that the figures for goods imported from La Rochelle does include some goods which were imported through the Isle of Wight and Portsmouth but in each case they were imported by either English merchants who were not natives of Southampton or foreign mariners.

From Table II, it is clear that the refugee merchants only imported a limited quantity of wine into Southampton during 1575-76, a mere 9½ tuns of Gascon wine compared with the 96 tuns of Gascon wine imported by the Southampton merchants.⁴⁶ Wine was not the only cargo which came to Southampton from South West France; these are itemised in Table III. From this table it is evident that bay salt was probably the principal import for the refugee merchants. In 1575-76, 320 weighs of Bay salt were imported to Southampton and its satellites, from La Rochelle, including one cargo of 70 weighs imported by one William Lounde of Yarmouth. The refugee merchants therefore accounted for 12.6% of the imported bay salt compared with the 54.3%

⁴³ Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 86-87.

⁴⁴ PRO E190/814/10, f. 25, 37, 40v, 44-44v.

⁴⁵ SRO SC2/6/5, f. 117.

⁴⁶ The 9½ tuns of Gascon wine was imported jointly by Arnoul le Clercq and Mathieu Sohier. The following Southampton merchants imported Gascon wine in 1575-76, the number of tuns each imported is given in brackets. They were: Nicholas Caplin (18), Richard Goddard (14½), John Crooke (15), Richard Etuer (7), John Errington (6 & 1 hogshead), Robert Moore (6), John Favor (6), Thomas Turner (5), John Calway (4), John Howper (4), James Betts (3), William Staveley (2½), Peter Stoner (2), Robert Knaplocke (2). One further tun of wine was imported by James de Marin.

imported by Southampton merchants.⁴⁷ The town's importation of Toulouse woad had gradually been replaced by green woad from the Azores but it is clear from Table III that small quantities of woad were still being imported by refugee and Southampton merchants.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Mathieu Sohier imported 10 weighs of bay salt, Arnoul le Clercq 31 weighs. Southampton merchants imported salt, the number of weighs of bay salt appears after each name in the list. They were: John Croke (50), John Favor (30), Richard Biston (24), John Carew (16), Richard Goddard (11), Richard Etuer (10), Alexander Paynton (8), John Elsy (7), Martin Bewes (4), Thomas Demaricke (4), Thomas Turner (4), Mathew Mahalt (3), Peter Stoner (3), William Nutshawe (3).

⁴⁸ Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', p. 85.

Table II - Wine Imports to Southampton, 1575-76

	La Rochelle ⁴⁹	Bordeaux ⁵⁰
Refugee Merchants	2 tuns of Rochelle wine cask	9 ½ tuns of Gascon wine cask
Southampton Merchants	1 tun of Rochelle wine cask	96 tuns and 1 hogshead of Gascon wine cask
Other Englishmen	----	2 tuns of Gascon wine cask
Alien Merchants	----	1 tun of Gascon wine cask

Table III - Imports to Southampton from SW France, 1575-76.

	La Rochelle ⁵¹	Bordeaux ⁵²
Refugee Merchants	41 weighs of bay salt 1,500 lbs of Toulouse woad 800 lbs of cotton wool	2 tuns of vinegar
Southampton Merchants	177 weighs of bay salt	35,800 lbs of prunes 16 tuns & 3 hogsheads of vinegar 252 cakes of rosin 2,400 lbs & 2 bags of feathers 1,800 lbs of Toulouse woad 5 cwt. of Spanish iron
Other Englishmen	103 weighs of bay salt 1000 lbs Castell soap 130 reams of paper 500 lbs of Spanish iron	-----
Alien Merchants	5 weighs of bay salt	-----

The figures recorded in Table II and Table III suggest that the refugee merchants' imports from South Western France were only of limited significance. However the ships chartered by le Clercq and Sohier did not always return directly to Southampton. In September 1576, Arnoul le Clercq and Mathieu Sohier with Richard Etuer, a Southampton merchant who had links with the refugee community, chartered the *Dove of Hampton* 'for one viage from hence [Southampton] to Rochell and ther to tarrie sixe dayes and from thence to Burdeaux ther to tarrie xvij dayes to unlade

⁴⁹ PRO E190/814/10, f. 37.

⁵⁰ PRO E190/814/10, f. 37, 37v, 38.

⁵¹ PRO E190/814/10, f. 19, 25, 25v, 28v, 29, 31v, 32, 33, 34, 34v, 35, 35v.

⁵² PRO E190/814/10, f. 37, 37v, 38.

& also to relade &c and from thence to tarrie at Guarnzie two tides to have awnswere of the merchants whether he shall goe to St. Mallowes or Suthampton'.⁵³ In September 1578 the merchants chartered the *Dove of Hampton* again to La Rochelle and then to Charente, the ship was then 'to reterne within th'isle of Wighte for annswere wher they shall passe to Midlebroughe, Duncarke or ostende in Flanders'.⁵⁴ The *Dove of Hampton* returned to Southampton from Middelburg on the 29 December 1578.⁵⁵ The same ship was chartered by the merchants for similar voyages in October 1579 and November 1580.⁵⁶

The involvement of le Clercq and Sohier in trade between La Rochelle and Middelburg may in fact have been a continuation of their business interests from before the Troubles. Middelburg was the main entrepôt for foreign wines into the Netherlands, a right which was long contested by its commercial rival Antwerp. Through the granting of special privileges, Middelburg grew to be the main centre for the import of French wines into the Netherlands, in particular those from Western France.⁵⁷ This trade had originally been dominated by the Rochelais but after 1555 the trade in wine between La Rochelle and the Netherlands came to be dominated by merchants from the Netherlands, England as well as German merchants. These merchants from the Netherlands had similarly taken over the importation of wine from Bordeaux.⁵⁸ The activities of the refugee merchants perhaps should be seen in this context rather than assuming that their interests were confined to trading directly between Southampton and the Western French ports.

It is difficult to assess the significance of this trade network but perhaps some insight can be gained from one cargo which went to Middelburg via Southampton. In a contract dated January 1577, le Clercq hired the *Grey Falcon of London* to transfer 171 'butts of wines of sheres commonlie called Seckes' from Southampton to Middelburg which was to be delivered to one Jasper Craiet and le Clercq was to pay £25 for the freight costs.⁵⁹ Unfortunately the port books which may have indicated from where this wine may have originated, are unfit for production for 1576-77.

⁵³ SRO SC2/6/5, f. 19v.

⁵⁴ SRO SC2/6/5, f. 62v.

⁵⁵ PRO E190/815/5, f. 4v.

⁵⁶ SRO SC2/6/5, f. 74v, 84.

⁵⁷ E. Coornaert, *Les Français et le Commerce International à Anvers. Fin du XVe - XVIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1961), I pp. 118-20; J. Craeybeckx, *Un grand commerce d'importation: Les vins de France aux anciens Pays-Bas (XIIIe - XVIe siècle)*, (Paris, 1958), pp. 28-35.

⁵⁸ Craeybeckx, *Les vins de France aux anciens Pays-Bas*, pp. 239-45.

⁵⁹ SRO SC2/6/5, f. 35v.

The refugee merchants imported goods from the Netherlands, presumably after their cargoes from La Rochelle or Bordeaux had been unloaded. The *Dove of Hampton* had sailed to Bordeaux but returned from Middelburg on 29 December, 1578 with 1200 lb of madder for Mathieu Sohier, 1200 lb for Richard Etuer and 2400 lb of madder and 4000 lb of hops for Arnoul le Clercq. The ship sailed to La Rochelle on 27 January, 1579 and returned from Middelburg on 24 April with a cargo of 3000 lb of hops, 1400 lb of madder, 3 lasts of pitch & tar and 2 lasts of Flemish soap for Arnoul le Clercq.⁶⁰

Goods were not solely imported from the Netherlands by le Clercq and Sohier as a result of this triangular trade network. They also traded directly with the Netherlands. As has been seen le Clercq had hired the *Grey Falcon of London* in 1577 to sail to Middelburg, in the same year he chartered the *Prosperity of Rye* to 'Sclase' [Sluys] in Flanders and then on to Bruges.⁶¹ The refugee merchants also imported goods from the Netherlands through Dunkirk, Flushing and Ostende.⁶² The use of a range of Netherlands ports may have been due to the political difficulties which made Antwerp inaccessible.⁶³ Generally bags of hops and madder were imported from the countries but the refugee merchants also imported small quantities of cloth. In 1575-76 for example Arnoul le Clercq imported 38 pieces of Ghentish cloth into Southampton but in addition English merchants imported small quantities of says, Holland cloth and mockadoes.⁶⁴ Southampton's trade with the Netherlands was generally limited and declined after 1580. It was not a trade which generally attracted the more important merchants and even the refugees' direct trade with their homeland seems to have been limited.⁶⁵

The town's trade with the Baltic was also limited but it reached its peak during the late 1570s.⁶⁶ The partnership of Etuer, Sohier and le Clercq also played a role in this trade. The *Peter of Hampton* returned from Danzig in August 1575 with a cargo of 9 lasts of pitch and tar, 50 bales of flax, 1500 lb of hemp and 20 kegs of eels.⁶⁷ Similar cargoes were imported in the *Dove of*

⁶⁰ PRO E190/815/5, f. 4v, 9; E190/815/7, f. 7.

⁶¹ SRO SC2/6/5, f. 37.

⁶² PRO E190/814/9, f. 23 (Ostende); E190/814/10, f. 22 (Dunkirk); E190/815/5, f. 13 (Flushing).

⁶³ On these political difficulties, see G. Ramsey, *The Queen's Merchants and the revolt of the Netherlands. (The end of the Antwerp mart, Vol.II)*, (Manchester, 1986), pp. 175-76, 180-81.

⁶⁴ PRO E190/814/10, f. 22, 23, 33v.

⁶⁵ Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 104-5.

⁶⁶ Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 111-12.

⁶⁷ PRO E190/814/10, f. 34v.

Hampton in September 1579 and the *Lyon of Hampton* in August 1581.⁶⁸

Like many of the lesser merchants Arnoul le Clercq and Mathieu Sohier were also involved in the cross-Channel trade with Northern France. Occasionally cargoes were imported from Calais but their cargoes were generally similar to those which were imported from the Netherlands.⁶⁹ According to the port books, Arnoul le Clercq and Mathieu Sohier seem to have been less actively involved in trade with Rouen than the smaller merchants, Robert Cousin and Guillaume Hersent. Cousin imported a variety of goods from Rouen which were often related to the production of the 'new draperies' such as teasels, woolcards and woad. He also imported small quantities of Normandy canvas, vinegar, paper, prunes, rape oil and on one occasion one tun and one ponchion of French wine from Rouen and other Norman ports. Cousin seems to have traded regularly until his death in 1584. Hersent⁷⁰ also imported small quantities of vinegar, Normandy canvas, teasels etc. from Norman ports but in particular he regularly imported woad from Caen. In 1580-81, for example, he imported 56, 000 lb of woad from Caen.⁷¹

Le Clercq and Sohier were more actively involved in trade with St. Malo. The importation of canvas from Brittany was one of the most important element in Southampton's import trade until the mid-1580s.⁷² The quantity of canvas imported by the refugee merchants seems to have varied. In 1575-76 the refugee merchants do not seem to have imported any goods from St. Malo. In 1580-81 however Arnoul le Clercq imported 69½ 'fardels' of vitry canvas, 3 'fardels' of Rumbelo canvas and a further 90 bolts of unspecified canvas from St. Malo. He also imported 3,100 lbs of prunes from St. Malo.⁷³ The Breton trade however generally attracted the lesser merchants due to the lower costs involved, in particular small-scale Southampton merchants and merchants from Salisbury and the Channel Islands dominated the importation of canvas from St. Malo.⁷⁴

⁶⁸ PRO E190/815/5, f. 14v; E190/815/11, f. 23.

⁶⁹ For example, on 16 January, 1581 the *Dolphin of Hampton* returned with a cargo for Arnoul le Clercq of 1200 lb of hops, ten ½ pieces of frizadoes and two ½ pieces of frizadoes for his own use. Further quantities of hops were imported later that year for le Clercq and Sohier. PRO E190/815/11, f. 6, 12v, 13. See also, Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', p. 83.

⁷⁰ Guillaume Hersent originated from France and was admitted to the Lord's Supper in October 1569. By July 1573 he was an elder of the French church and frequently stood as a *parain* at baptisms. He was the father of Jean Hersent and the husband of Jane Gloria. He died in September 1590. *Registre*, pp. 5, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 105.

⁷¹ PRO E190/815/11, f. 3, 10, 24.

⁷² Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 69-71.

⁷³ PRO E190/815/11, f. 1v, 4, 5v, 8, 10v, 15, 16v, 18v, 20v, 21v, 25.

⁷⁴ Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', p. 86.

While it is clear that the refugee merchants imported a range of different goods to Southampton, they had only one major export, the cloths of the 'new draperies'. Although the export of the 'old draperies', in particular the Winton or Hampshire kerseys reached its height in the 1570s, the refugee merchants rarely exported these cloths.⁷⁵ The exportation of the 'new draperies' is analysed in Table IV, the figures being derived from the surviving Exchequer Port Books. It should be noted that the figures given for 1573-74 and 1578-79 differ from the totals calculated by Mrs. Thomas. However she did not explain the criteria used for calculating the pieces of cloth which were exported and only calculated the volume which were exported for sample years. Furthermore she did not distinguish between bays and says, the quantities of which were added together in her calculations.⁷⁶ In Table IV and subsequent tables of 'new drapery' exports, the export of the 'new draperies' include cloths that were exported through Southampton's satellite ports which were recorded in the royal port books. Furthermore the totals also include the small quantities of cloth which were described as being for the merchant's 'own use'. The total number of bays and says have not been added together in order to demonstrate the different varieties and quantities of cloth that was produced and because it may be inaccurate to equate a piece of one cloth with another especially with the different types of bays, for example, which appear. The figures only refer to says and bays, other cloths of the 'new draperies' of which only negligible quantities were exported having been excluded from these totals.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ On the export of the 'old draperies', see Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 74-76. Two examples of refugee merchants exporting 'old draperies' can be found in the 1573-74 port book. One packet of 30 pieces of blankets was exported by Arnoul le Clercq and Robert Cousin exported 10 blankets. PRO E190/814/9, f. 32, 38v.

⁷⁶ The totals calculated by Thomas are as follows:

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>TOTAL No. OF BAYS & SAYS EXPORTED</u>
1573-74	452½
1578-79	677½
1585-86	781½
1588-89	1516
1593-94	3270
1600-01	723

Source: Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', p. 77.

⁷⁷ For example, in 1573-74 Arnoul le Clercq exported 25 pieces of says, 24 mockadoes, 4 pieces of Holland cloth and 3 score of 'goads' of cottons. PRO E190/814/9, f. 35v.

Table IV - Export of Says and Bays, 1567 - c. 1585

	1573-74	1575-76	1578-79	1579-80	1580-81	1583-84
Refugee Merchants	253 says	185 says	421½ says 11 bays	575 says 14 bays	382 says 6 bays	34 says
Other Merchants	81½ says 140½ bays	219 says 107½ bays	93½ says ¹ 109 bays	207 says 132 bays	259 says ² 344 bays	81 says 131 bays
TOTAL	334½ says 140½ bays	404 says 107½ bays	515 says 120 bays	782 says 146 bays	641 says 350 bays	115 says 131 bays

¹ This figure excludes 25 pieces of Hondschoote say.

² This figure excludes 7 yards of say.

From Table IV it is clear that the export of says and bays increased rapidly until 1579-80; the total number of says exported in that year was twice the quantity exported in 1573-74. The export of says declined in 1580-81 which may be linked with the beginnings of the town's economic decline in the early 1580s. The export of says collapsed in 1583-84 to less than half the total which was exported in 1573-74. This collapse in exports was probably caused by the outbreak of plague, which lasted from April 1583 through to April 1584 and caused seventy-one deaths in the French community.⁷⁸ The collapse also coincided with the departure of Mathieu Sohier and Arnoul le Clercq from Southampton.⁷⁹ In 1583-84, the refugee merchants exported a mere thirty-four says, less than a third of the cloths of the 'new draperies' which were exported.⁸⁰

Table IV also reveals that the exportation of bays from Southampton was dominated by non-refugee merchants. In some years there was a single large consignment of bays exported by one merchant which does distort the figures. For example in 1575-76, William Merryvall of Salisbury exported 55 bays to Bayonne. In 1580-81, 50 bays were sent to the Azores by the Southampton merchants Richard Biston and Edmund Caplin and John Croke.⁸¹ It is surprising that the refugee merchants did not become involved in the exportation of bays but before 1579 the

⁷⁸ *Registre*, pp. 102-104.

⁷⁹ See below pp. 107-11.

⁸⁰ The export of the 34 says by the refugees was as follows:
 Arnoul le Clercq 20 says
 Le Clercq & Jean le Mercier 6 says
 Mathieu Sohier 2 says
 Guillaume Hersent 3 says
 Augustin de Beaulieu of London 3 says

⁸¹ PRO E190/814/10, f. 43; E190/815/9, f.13.

principal markets for bays seem to have been in areas such as Andalusia, Bayonne and the Azores, which were dominated by the élite of Southampton merchants.⁸² It is possible that the refugee community only produced says and not bays, so that the absence of the refugee merchants is perhaps not surprising.

The failure of the refugee merchants to export bays is all the more significant in view of their domination of say exports. Table V analyses the refugee merchants' share of the export of says. In 1573-74 the refugee exported 75.7 % of the says which left Southampton and in 1578-79

Table V - Percentage of Total Number of Says Exported by the Refugees

	1573-74	1575-76	1578-79	1579-80	1580-81	1583-84
le Clercq	35.3%	17.6%	34.75%	24.8%	31.1%	22.6%
Sohier	13.5%	21.0%	18.1%	10.5%	7.0%	1.7%
Others	26.9%	7.2%	29.0%	38.2%	21.5%	5.2%
TOTAL	75.7%	45.8%	81.85%	73.5%	59.6%	29.5%

reached 81.85 % of the exported says. The refugees' share of the exports declined after 1578-79, even though the total number of says exported peaked in 1579-80. The sharp fall in the refugees' share of say exports in 1575-76 to a mere 45.8 % is intriguing. Arnoul le Clercq's share of say exports fell to a mere 17.6 % and may in part account for the decline. However the fall may have been due to the increase in the customs duties for refugees. Permission for the refugees to be exempt from the higher strangers customs rate for goods produced by the new techniques for a period of seven years.⁸³ When this exemption ended in 1574, they presumably had to pay a higher rate for the export of says. Consequently Southampton merchants were now able to export the cloths of the 'new draperies' more cheaply than the refugee merchants. However any such fall in the refugees' share of say exports was temporary and had clearly recovered their dominance by 1578-79.

The distribution of say exports from Southampton for the period 1567 - 1585, based on the evidence from the surviving royal port books, are outlined in Table VI to Table X. The regional distribution of trade in 1583-84 has been omitted from these tables due to the small numbers of 'new drapery' cloths which were exported during this year. From these tables it is possible not only to analyse the distribution of say and bay exports but also the proportion of this trade which was handled by the refugee merchants. The total number of cloths exported to each area is calculated

⁸² See above pp. 86-87.

⁸³ See above pp. 75-77.

N.B. Hondchoote says are abbreviated to H.says in the following tables.

Table VI - Distribution of 'New Drapery' Exports, 1573-74⁸⁴

	Spain & Portugal	Atlantic Islands	W France	N France	Brittany & C.I.	Neths.	Other	TOTAL
Arnoul le Clercq	37 says	35 says	20 says	4 says	0	22 says	0	118 says
Mathieu Sohier	8 says	8 says	23 says	0	0	6 says	0	45 says
Other Refugee Merchants	0	6 says	4½ says	56 says	3 says	20½says	0	90 says
Other Merchants	8 says 27 bays	2 says	7 says 97 bays	4 says	58½ says	0	0	79½ says 124 bays
TOTAL	53 says 27 bays	51 says	54½ says 97 bays	64 says	61½ says	48½ says	0	332½ says 124 bays
% of Total Exported	15.8% says 19.2% bays	15.3% says	16.3% says 69.0% bays	19.1% says	17.5% says	14.5% says	0	-

84

PRO E190/814/9. In total 334½ says and 140½ bays were exported. The table excludes 2 says and 16½ bays which were sent to a port which can not be identified, Eirck.

Table VII - Distribution of 'New Drapery' Exports, 1575-76⁸⁵

	Spain & Portugal	Atlantic Islands	W France	N France	Brittany & C.I.	Neths.	Other	TOTAL
Arnoul le Clercq	0	0	54 says	17 says	0	0	0	71 says
Mathieu Sohier	0	0	33 says	49 says	3 says	0	0	85 says
Other Refugee Merchants	0	0	0	29 says	0	0	0	29 says
Other Merchants	9 says 17 bays	77 says 35 bays	30 says 55 bays	47 says	56 says ½ bay	0	0	219 says 107½ bays
TOTAL	9 says 17 bays	77 says 35 bays	117 says 55 bays	142 says	59 says ½ bay	0	0	404 says 107½ bays
% of Total Exported	2.2% says 15.8% bays	19.1% says 32.6% bays	29.0% says 51.2% bays	35.2% says	14.6% says 0.5% bays	0	0	-

⁸⁵

PRO E190/814/10. In total 404 says and 107½ bays were exported.

Table VIII - Distribution of 'New Drapery' Exports, 1578-79⁸⁶

	Spain & Portugal	Atlantic Islands	W France	N France	Brittany & C.I.	Neths.	Other	Other
Arnoul le Clercq	7 says	0	47 says	99 says	20 says 11 bays	6 says	0	179 says 11 bays
Mathieu Sohier	0	0	15 says	72 says	0	0	6 says	93 says
Other Refugee Merchants	0	0	0	146½ says	3 says	0	0	149½ says
Other Merchants	8 says	24 says 71 bays 25 H.says	18½ says	2 says	41 says 38 bays	0	0	93½ says 109 bays 25 H.s.
TOTAL	15 says	24 says 71 bays 25 H.says	80½ says	319½says	64 says 49 bays	6 says	6 says	515 says 120 bays 25 H.s.
% of Total Exported	2.9% says	4.7% says 59.2%bays	15.6% says	62.0% says	12.4% says 40.8% bays	1.2% says	1.2% says	-

⁸⁶

PRO E190/815/7. In total 515 says and 120 bays were exported in this year.

Table IX - Distribution of 'New Drapery' Exports, 1579-80⁸⁷

	Spain & Portugal	Atlantic Islands	W France	N France	Brittany & C.I.	Neths.	Other	TOTAL
Arnoul le Clercq	0	0	34 says	80 says	54 says 14 bays	26 says	0	194 says 14 bays
Mathieu Sohier	5 says	0	22 says	41 says	0	14 says	0	82 says
Other Refugee Merchants	0	0	31 says	233 says	35 says	0	0	299 says
Other Merchants	54 says* 59 bays	16 says 16 bays	67 says	3 says	61 says 57 bays	0	0	201 says 132 bays
TOTAL	59 says 59 bays	16 says 16 bays	154 says	357 says	150 says 71 bays	40 says	0	776 says 146 bays
% of Total Exported	7.5% says 40.4% bays	2.1% says 10.9% bays	19.7% says	45.7% says	19.2% says 48.6% bays	5.1% says	0	-

* This consignment includes the cargo of the *Angel of Hampton* which was described as sailing for San Lucar de Barremeda and the Azores.

⁸⁷ PRO E190/815/6. In total, 782 says and 146 bays were exported in this year. 6 says are excluded from this table which were sent to 'Marrines', a port which cannot be identified.

Table X - Distribution of 'New Drapery' Exports, 1580-81⁸⁸

	Spain & Portugal	Atlantic Islands	W France	N France	Brittany & C.I.	Neths.	Other	TOTAL
Arnoul le Clercq	18 says	0	41 says	43 says	80 says	11 says	6 says	199 says
Mathieu Sohier	0	0	17 says	17 says	11 says 6 bays	0	0	45 says 6 bays
Other Refugee Merchants	0	0	22 says	86 says	30 says	0	0	138 says
Other Merchants	20 says 24 bays	20 says 130 bays	129 says 28 bays	0	83 says 138 bays	0	0	252 says 320 bays
TOTAL	38 says 24 bays	20 says 130 bays	209 says 28 bays	146 says	204 says 144 bays	11 says	6 says	634 says 326 bays
% of Total Exported	5.9% says 6.9% bays	2.3% says 37.1% bays	32.6% says 8% bays	22.8% says	31.8% says 41.1% bays	1.7% says	0.9% says	-

⁸⁸

PRO E190/815/9. In total, 641 says and 350 bays were exported from the port. The table does not include 24 bays and 5 says which were sent to the port of 'Blewet' and 2 says which were sent to 'Marrines' by other merchants. It has not been possible to identify these ports.

at the end of each column and this is then calculated as a percentage of the total number of says or bays, respectively, which were exported during that particular year. The tables omit the small quantities of cloth which do not fit the description of pieces of say and bay. These have however been included in the data in Table IV.

From the above tables it is clear that a marked change took place in the export of says and bays to Spain and Portugal. In 1573-74 15.8 % of the total number of says exported from Southampton were sent to Spain and Portugal but by 1580-81 this had declined to only 5.9% of say exports, and at its lowest point accounted for a mere 2.2 % of say exports. From Table VI it is clear that the refugee merchants initially exported a significant number of says to Spain and Portugal, le Clercq sending 37 says and Sohier 8 says. No other refugee merchants exported cloths to Spain and Portugal which would tend to confirm that the Iberian trade only attracted the wealthier merchants.⁸⁹ However after 1573-74 the volume of cloths exported by the refugee merchants declined. This may have been the result of the restoration of the strangers' rate of customs which made it more difficult for the refugee merchants to compete in that market.⁹⁰ The refugee merchants continued occasionally to export smaller quantities of says to Iberia, probably the most significant consignment being the 18 pieces exported by Arnoul le Clercq to Lisbon (Vlisbona).⁹¹ The English merchants generally maintained a steady trade in the 'new drapery' cloths with the Iberia but this was on a very small scale. In particular they exported significant quantities of bays; in 1573-74, 114 bays were exported which accounted for 81.1% of bay exports. The significance of these bay exports also declined over this period. The volume of exports sent to Spain and Portugal slumped in 1578-79. This may have been a consequence of the establishment of the Spanish Company, although the data for 1579-80 shows a recovery.

The export trade with the Atlantic Islands seems to have undergone similar changes. From Table VI, it is clear that the refugee merchants were actively involved in exporting the 'new draperies' to the Azores and other Atlantic Islands. In fact, le Clercq exported more says to the Atlantic Islands than any other merchant in 1573-74 and the Atlantic Islands accounted for 15.3% of the total number of says exported in that year. However after 1573-74, the refugee merchants ceased to export cloths to the Atlantic Islands. Again the reason for this may have been the restoration of the strangers' rate of customs. The trade seems to have fallen to the English merchants who exported says and in particular significant quantities of bays. In 1578-79, 59.2% of the total number of bays were exported to the Atlantic Islands. The trade with the Atlantic Islands does not seem to have suffered any decrease after the establishment of the Spanish

⁸⁹ See above pp. 86-87.

⁹⁰ See above, p. 96.

⁹¹ PRO E190/815/9, f. 11.

Company.⁹²

The principal destination for the 'new draperies' was France. The more lucrative trade was with the ports of Western France, in particular Bordeaux and La Rochelle. In this period this area accounted for between 15.6% and 32.6 % of the total number of says which were exported. Small quantities of bays were exported to Western France, principally to Bayonne. La Rochelle and Bordeaux were both important for the import of wine to Southampton and the export of the 'new drapery' cloths represented the other half of this trade for the refugee merchants. From Table VI it is clear that Arnoul le Clercq and Mathieu Sohier exported the largest number of says to these ports, 43 of the total number of 54½ says which were exported to Western France. This dominance is again evident in Table VII and Table VIII when even greater quantities of says were exported. In 1579-80 (Table IX) other refugee merchants had begun to export cloth, totalling 31 pieces of say. This was the result of two consignments, the first consignment of 13 pieces sent by one Nicholas Vydell of Hampton, alien, to La Rochelle in June 1580 and the second of 18 says was sent to Bordeaux by Jean le Mercier, le Clercq's son-in-law.⁹³ Le Mercier again exported says to La Rochelle in 1580-81 (Table X) and two other Southampton refugees, Gaspard Desert and Pierre Poche, also exported small quantities to Bordeaux.⁹⁴ Table IX and Table X demonstrate that English merchants were becoming increasingly involved in the exports of says to these ports which had previously been monopolised by the refugee merchants. In 1580-81, the total number of says exported by the refugee merchants to La Rochelle and Bordeaux (80 pieces) was for the first time less than the number exported by the English merchants who exported 129 says. Previously the refugee merchants had dominated the export of these cloths to western France while the English merchants chiefly exported the cloths of the 'old draperies' as well as quantities of tin, wax and lead.⁹⁵

The ports of Northern France generally attracted the smaller merchants presumably because this trade required less capital.⁹⁶ From the tables it is clear though that this trade also attracted the smaller refugee merchants, the total number of says exported by these merchants exceeded the number of says exported by either Arnoul le Clercq and Mathieu Sohier. The cloths were exported to several different Norman ports such as Dieppe, Caen, Rouen, Honfleur (this is surely the Hunfleet which appears in the port books), Quillebeuf-sur-le-Seine (anglicized as Kilbeise) and Le Havre (Newhaven).

⁹² On the impact of the Spanish Company, see below pp. 108-9.

⁹³ PRO E190/815/6, f. 17, 20v.

⁹⁴ PRO E190/815/9, f. 6v, 7, 19.

⁹⁵ Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', p. 85.

⁹⁶ Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', p. 86.

The volume of the 'new draperies' exported to Northern France fluctuated during this period. In 1573-74, 19.1% (64 says) of the total number of says exported from Southampton were sent to Northern France. This increased to 62% (319½ says) in 1578-79 only to fall to 22.8% (146 says) in 1580-81. As can be seen from Tables VI - X, this trade was dominated by the refugees and with the exception of 1575-76 only negligible quantities were exported by non-refugee merchants, often fewer than four says. Although cloth was exported to these areas by le Clercq and Sohier significant quantities of the 'new draperies' were also exported by other refugees. In 1579-80, Sohier and le Clercq accounted for 33.9% of the says exported to Northern France but other refugee merchants exported 65.3% of the says. In this cross-Channel trade, two principal merchants stand out: Guillaume Hersent and Robert Cousin exported 94 of the 233 says sent to Northern France in that year. Generally however the quantities of says exported by these other refugee merchants were quite modest.

Rouen was one of the destinations to which cloth was exported in Northern France. Goods sent to this city had to be sold immediately after unloading unless a *congé* were obtained from the municipal authorities permitting the merchants to store their goods. Since many Spanish, Italian and Flemish merchants tended to avoid the need to apply for *congés* by retaining legally resident factors in Rouen, the majority of the *congés* refer to English merchants.⁹⁷ Although merchants from Southampton were amongst those who applied for *congés* from the Rouen authorities,⁹⁸ only three *congés* refer to the refugee merchants. This suggests that the refugees either sold their goods immediately on arrival in Rouen or that they exploited their contacts in Rouen's 'Flemish' community. Jehan le Mesureur may have acted as a factor; certainly he arranged a *congé* on behalf of Arnoul le Clercq and Mathieu Sohier, in which he was described as a *stippulant*.⁹⁹ (A *stippulant* was probably a broker). In a *congé* authorised in June 1572, the merchants stored their goods at the home of Richard le Nud who had passed through Southampton in 1569.¹⁰⁰ The final *congé* was issued to Robert Cousin in November 1575.¹⁰¹ The reliability of the *congés* as a source for studying

⁹⁷ P. Benedict, 'Rouen's Foreign trade during the Era of the Religious Wars (1560-1600), *Journal of European Economic History*, 13 (1984), pp. 38-39. On the English in Rouen, see C. Douyère, 'Les Marchands étrangers à Rouen au XVIe siècle', *Revue des Sociétés Savantes de Haute-Normandie, lettres et Sciences Humaines*, 69 (1973), pp. 24-43.

⁹⁸ *Congés* granted to Southampton merchants in the period 1563-75. Archives Communales de Rouen, B2 Journaux des Echevins, f. 167, 179, 184v, 187, 218, 223, 229, 253, 338; B3, f. 59v, 90v, 116, 116v, 117v, 166v, 174v, 177, 211v, 212, 245, 252, 271, 273, 273v, 280, 280v.

⁹⁹ Archives Communales de Rouen, B3 Journaux des Echevins, f. 211v; C. Douyère, 'Les Marchands Etrangers à Rouen au XVIe siècle', p. 28.

¹⁰⁰ Archives Communales de Rouen, B3 Journaux des Echevins, f. 243v; *Registre*, p. 5.

¹⁰¹ Archives Communales de Rouen, B3 Journaux des Echevins, f. 353.

Rouen trade declines from the mid-1570s onwards, as the information contained in the *congés* becomes less detailed,¹⁰² but these earlier *congés* do provide an insight into the disposal of the says exported from Southampton.

Significant quantities of the 'new draperies' were also exported to Brittany and the Channel Islands during this period. This area accounted for between 12.4 % and 31.8% of say exports in this period. Before 1579 this area of trade did not attract the refugee merchants but by 1580-81 the refugee merchants exported 59.3% of the says sent to Brittany and the Channel Islands. The cloths were principally exported to St. Malo with smaller quantities of cloths being sent to Morlaix and Nantes.

The tables reveal that only negligible quantities of the 'new draperies' were exported to the Netherlands. Table VI reveals that the greatest number of cloths were exported there from Southampton in 1573-74 when a total of 48½ says were exported but this only amounted to a mere 14.5% of the total number of says exported. The only merchants who did export these cloths were le Clercq and Sohier but even so it remained a very small part of their export trade. This limited number of exports should not perhaps be surprising in view of the political situation in the Netherlands but also because the 'new drapery' cloths were produced there anyway. In fact, Orange had reluctantly granted the Merchant Adventurers in 1573 safe passage for four ships to sail along the Scheldt estuary, which was controlled by the rebels, to Antwerp so long as they only contained English produce and not the 'new draperies' which would compete with the Dutch textile industry.¹⁰³

The final section in the tables entitled 'Other' refers to cloths sent to ports outside the geographical area of the specified categories, Danzig being a case in point.

Migration and Decline

The 'Flemish' community in Rouen seems to have attracted several of the early refugee settlers in Southampton.¹⁰⁴ Indeed some of these merchants may have had earlier links with Rouen for there were trading links between that city and both Antwerp and Valenciennes. Henri de Beaulieu, who stood as the godfather for his nephew Jean de Beaulieu in 1570 seems to have migrated to Rouen. Similarities in the heraldry of the de Beaulieus and the knowledge that the Rouen Henri de Beaulieu originated from Valenciennes, suggest that the former refugee in

¹⁰² On the reliability of the *congés*, see Benedict, 'Rouen's Foreign Trade', pp. 38-39.

¹⁰³ G.D. Ramsay, *The Queen's merchants and the revolt of the Netherlands. The end of the Antwerp mart, Vol. II*, (Manchester, 1986), p. 179.

¹⁰⁴ 'Flemish' was the generic term for anyone from the Low Countries. See Douyère, 'Les Marchands Etrangers à Rouen au XVIe siècle', pp. 45-60.

Southampton and his namesake in Rouen were in fact one and the person.¹⁰⁵ He had probably been the factor of Claude Sohier and settled in Rouen from about 1568 onwards where he may have remained during the disorders in the Netherlands. In June 1571 Henri de Beaulieu became a naturalised Frenchman. He took an active part in Rouen's commercial life and by 1576 was described as a citizen of Rouen. He bought land at Creully and in 1575 became Ecuyer, Seigneur de Barneville.¹⁰⁶ Another member of the de Beaulieu family also appears to have settled in Rouen. Pierre de Beaulieu, the brother of Jean and Henri de Beaulieu, who had been admitted to the first celebration of the Lord's Supper in Southampton, was active in Rouen between 1570 and 1572.¹⁰⁷

Nicholas Dorville was another exile who apparently settled in Rouen after having being admitted to the first celebration of the Lord's Supper in Southampton in 1567. He traded with Rouen and was described in March 1571 as being resident in England but by November, Dorville had settled in Rouen.¹⁰⁸ He was also involved in commerce with Henry de Beaulieu.¹⁰⁹ Dorville's uncle, Jehan le Mesureur may also have migrated to Rouen because in February 1572 he arranged a *congé* in Rouen on behalf of Arnoul le Clercq and Mathieu Sohier in Rouen.¹¹⁰ Dorville was not recorded again in Southampton after December 1567 and the last entry found relating to le Mesureur is dated 18 July, 1568.¹¹¹

The migration to Rouen began very soon after the establishment of the exile community

¹⁰⁵ The de Beaulieu family which settled in Normandy bore arms which were described as: '*d'azur à un chevron d'or accompagné de trois grelots de même*'. The de Beaulieu family in Valenciennes, members of which migrated to Southampton, bore the following arms: '*quintier au chevron d'argent, accompagné de trois grelots de même*'. The similarities in these arms would suggest that 'differencing for cadency' had taken place whereby slight changes or modifications were made to arms but retaining their distinctive and principal features of the arms. This is because 'armorial bearings should be distinctive not only of the family as a whole, but also of its several branches and individual members'. Bibliothèque Municipale de Valenciennes, Casimir des Sars MSS I pp. 713-5; *Dictionnaire des Familles Françaises anciennes ou notable à la fin du XIXe siècle*, (Evreux, 1904), III pp. 169-70; *Boutell's Heraldry*, revised by C.W. Scott-Giles, (London, 1958), pp. 108-9.

¹⁰⁶ Archives Communales de Rouen, B3 Journaux des Echevins, f. 414v; *Armorial Général de France*, (Paris, 1738), Registre Premier, Première Partie, p. 56; *Dictionnaire des Familles Françaises*, III, pp. 169-70; Douyère, 'Les Marchands Etrangers à Rouen au XVIe siècle', p. 46.

¹⁰⁷ *Registre*, p. 3; Douyère, 'Les Marchands Etrangers à Rouen au XVIe siècle', p. 46.

¹⁰⁸ Archives Communales de Rouen, B3 Journaux des Echevins, f. 86, 97v, 104, 117v, 193v, 194v.

¹⁰⁹ Archives Départementales de la Seine-Maritime, Meubles 1 (1 oct. 1571 / 31 mars 1572) -29 mars, 1572. I am grateful to Mme. C. Demeulenaere-Douyère for providing me with details from Rouen's notarial archives concerning the 'Flemings'.

¹¹⁰ Archives Communales de Rouen, B3 Journaux des Echevins, f. 211v.

¹¹¹ *Registre*, pp. 3, 39.

in Southampton. Other refugee merchants traded for slightly longer before leaving the town. In May 1571 Jean de Beaulieu claimed that he had 'occupied and used the makinge of bayes & sayes and nothings ells' but 'for theise iiij or v monthes space he hathe litle or nothings tradid the makinge of bayes and sayes as before'.¹¹² Yet according to the town's petty customs books, he had been actively involved in the town's trade before 1570.¹¹³ De Beaulieu seems to have migrated from Southampton soon after 1571. He was assessed for the lay subsidy and paid his stall & art dues in Southampton in 1571 and was described in October 1571 as being resident in Hampton.¹¹⁴ Although he apparently had lodgings in London by May 1571, he does not appear in any of the surveys of aliens made in the capital.¹¹⁵ A similar move to London was made by de Beaulieu's brother Augustin although his name does periodically reappear in the Southampton archives.¹¹⁶

The impact of such merchants on the economy of Southampton was limited when set beside the contribution of merchants like Arnoul le Clercq and Mathieu Sohier who traded from Southampton throughout the 1570s. By the early 1580s Southampton had begun to experience economic difficulties. In 1582 an account of the decayed state of Southampton was written by an anonymous author. After recounting the town's prosperity earlier in the sixteenth century, the author went on to identify the reasons for Southampton's decline.¹¹⁷ He stated that:

The most part of our Merchants were nowe become rych and so taryed at home taking their rest, and in their places sett yong men to the seas for their factors, trusting them with great stockes: so that these factors in short time by their factor shippes and provision allowed them, gott good sommes of money, and fell to occupying for them selves lustely: but in shorter tyme then they had to gett this wealth, by lusteness, banquetting and gamming, they spent away all their owne, and yet were so bolde with their Masters as to consume their substance, and so brought them home such accomptes as manie of them feelee the smarte therof unto this daye. In this article you must understande that after a man hath

¹¹² PRO HCA 13/18, f. 264v.

¹¹³ SRO SC5/4/64, f. 25v, 27; SC5/4/65, f. 20v, 22, 22v, 23, 26v, 33v, 34; SC5/4/66, f. 5v, 8v, 11, 40v. The royal port books have not survived for this period.

¹¹⁴ PRO E179/174/387; SRO SC6/1/8.

¹¹⁵ PRO HCA 13/18, f. 317v.

¹¹⁶ Augustin de Beaulieu seems to have migrated to London by 1577. In that year he received power of attorney to act on behalf of Mathieu Sohier in the capital. He was assessed for the lay subsidy on goods worth £30 in 1582 and was resident in the parish of St. Andrew Hubbard, London. De Beaulieu returned to Southampton to act as *parain* to Marie Bride in 1581 and to Judith, the daughter of Jean le Mercier in 1587. He occasionally imported and exported goods through Southampton after his departure. In 1583-84, he exported three says to La Rochelle. In 1586 he imported one tun of Gascon wine from Bordeaux and the following year canvas from Guernsey. PRO E190/816/4, f. 10; E190/816/10, entry dated 17/3/1586; E190/816/11, entry dated 11/8/1587; SRO SC2/6/5, f. 41v; *Registre*, pp. 45, 47; *Returns of Aliens dwelling in London*, II, p. 240.

¹¹⁷ PRO SP12/156/43-44; Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 7-9. For his comments on the state of Southampton's religious life, see below p. 179.

borne anie good office in the towne, it is some discredit unto him to goe any more to the seas, but must still tarie at home & keepe some state and countenance. This case and state ys manie times dearly bought.

The author clearly had some particular merchants in mind when he wrote this moralistic attack but the reference to holding municipal office would suggest that the refugee merchants were not amongst the accused.

The memorialist went on to identify a more pressing problem. He wrote:

(8) For these eight or tenne yeares last past pyrates have styll haunted about these costes, who have not only taken manie ships bounden into this port and sold away their commodities under foote in the Contrie to the great hindrance of our Merchants having the lyke commodities to serve the Contrie withall; but have also robbed and spoyled many of our Merchants even at their owne dores, & so sold away their good as it were before their owne faces, to the undoing of many which shall never be able to recover themselves againe.

Piracy was certainly something which affected the refugee merchants directly. As will be seen some refugees such as Jean de Beaulieu were actively involved in financing the operations of the Sea Beggars and benefited from the trade in prize goods. Other Southampton merchants, possibly including the refugees, had merely traded in the prize goods which were dispersed through Meadhole.¹¹⁸ While dealing in prize goods could be lucrative, piracy could damage trade. A petition came before the Privy Council in 1575 concerning the *Black Raven* which had been carrying £1000 worth of goods for Arnoul le Clercq, Richard Etuer and one Roger Perrye of Poole when it was attacked by Portuguese pirates. Unfortunately the appropriate port book has not survived so it is impossible to identify the cargo or the ship's destination. The merchants obtained letters of reprisal 'for the staie of certein Portingalls' goodes in recompense of the losse of a ship called the *Black Raven* ... spoiled by the subjectes of the Kinge of Portingall'. A ship called the *Flying Ghost* was seized together with its cargo of salt. However Andrew Ruiz, a member of the prominent Spanish merchant family who was based at Nantes in Brittany, claimed that the cargo of salt belonged to him. The dispute was still unresolved in February 1577.¹¹⁹ This is only recorded case of refugee merchants having experienced financial losses and difficulties as a result of piracy but given the the prevalence of freebooters in this period, it would be surprising if that experience was unprecedented.

The Spanish trade was of particular importance for the town's economy but with the

¹¹⁸ PRO HCA 13/18, f. 281v-285; O.G.S. Crawford, 'Meadhole and Shoflete', *PHFC*, 17 (1952), p. 114.

¹¹⁹ *Acts of the Privy Council, 1575-77*, pp. 62-63, 279-80. Thomas has also identified an entry in the Southampton archives which may also relate to the same ship and its cargo of salt, which according to depositions taken in December 1575 belonged to one Adrian Cornellis and Lawrence Hendrickson. This reference may in fact have been part of the merchants' attempts to disprove Ruiz's claim to the cargo of salt. SRO SC9/3/2 Mayor's Book 1575-76; Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 139-40. On Andrew Ruiz, see H. Lapeyre, *Une Famille de Marchands. Les Ruiz*, (Paris, 1955), pp. 47-59.

establishment of the Spanish Company in 1577 the memorialist suggests that trade became increasingly restricted. While this may have been the case, the Southampton merchants were not entirely excluded from the trade with Spain as has been sometimes implied. In fact when the Company was established in 1577 twenty-six Southampton merchants were listed as founder members, including Richard Etuer who had close links with the refugee community.¹²⁰ Furthermore it was possible for ports such as Yarmouth to continue to trade with the Iberian peninsula ignoring the monopoly of the Spanish Company.¹²¹ In view of the limited trade that the refugee merchants had with Spain and Portugal before 1577, the establishment of the Company probably did not seriously effect their business interests.

The refugees with their burden of a higher rate of customs duties after 1574¹²² may have experienced financial difficulties as a result of the farming of customs duties. The farming of customs was certainly another complaint made by the anonymous memorialist in 1582 who implied that this resulted in the stricter collection of the customs. Whether this had any great impact is unclear because apart from several specific instances of fraud, the port books seem to have generally been reliable.¹²³

The memorandist also drew attention to other possible reasons for the economic decline of Southampton but Thomas concluded that the causes of the decline are unclear and suggested that 'a temporary decline owing to a series of unfortunate mischances became a more permanent decline as trade became increasingly difficult following the outbreak of the Spanish War and as the more profitable branches of the town's trade were cut off'.¹²⁴ The decline and in particular the allegations made by the memorandist deserve closer investigation but these fall outside the scope of this thesis.

Whatever the causes of the depression and its possible impact directly or indirectly upon the refugee merchants, Arnoul le Clercq and Mathieu Sohier left Southampton in 1583. Le Clercq made a stall and art payment of 20 s. in 1582 and in the following year exported three

¹²⁰ *The Spanish Company*, ed. P. Croft, (*London Record Society*, 9, 1973), p. xvii. The following merchants were listed as founder members of the Company resident in Southampton: John Croke, William Staveley, Nicholas Chapelyn [*sic*, Capelin], Richard Goddard, John Bullycard, Robert Moore, John Favor, Peter Stoner, Richard Bysonne [*sic*, Biston], Emery Lakes, Alexander Peynton, John Addyson, Robert Norman, John Erington, Thomas Demerecke [*sic*, Demaricke], Peter Jaunryne [*sic*, Janverain], Bernard Courtmell, Richard Elner [*sic*, Etuer], Andrew Harryes, John Harper, Walter Earle, William Chydley, John Carewe, Stephen Bartye, John Sedgeswyck and John Marche. *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Elizabeth*, VII, p. 318.

¹²¹ *The Spanish Company*, p. xvii.

¹²² See above p. 96.

¹²³ PRO SP12/156/43; Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 24-26.

¹²⁴ Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', p. 54.

consignments of cloth from Southampton.¹²⁵ In July 1582, however, le Clercq had appointed Jean le Mercier as his attorney for collecting and paying debts.¹²⁶ It seems that le Clercq migrated to Middelburg although he does not seem to have become a member of the Walloon church in the town.¹²⁷ He exported cargoes of herrings to Southampton from Middelburg in 1585 and 1586 and a further cargo of raisins in April 1587.¹²⁸ Two of these cargoes were transported in the *Flying Dove of Hampton*, a ship which le Clercq had used while he was living in Southampton and which he again hired when he was in Middelburg in December 1585.¹²⁹

In 1583 Mathieu Sohier made a payment of 6 s. 8 d. for his stall & art dues; this is the last reference to him living in Southampton.¹³⁰ A 'Duch' merchant called Mathieu Sohier was recorded in a survey of strangers in London in 1583 as living in Walbrooke ward in the company of Guido Malapert.¹³¹ Malapert may have been a relative of Sohier and seems to have been a significant refugee merchant.¹³² Although Sohier continued occasionally to import and export goods through

¹²⁵ PRO E190/816/1 f. 2v, 4v, 10; SRO SC6/1/17.

¹²⁶ SRO SC2/6/5, f. 95.

¹²⁷ The archives of the Walloon Church at Middelburg were destroyed by enemy action in May 1940 but a card index of the archives was compiled before their destruction. An Arnoul le Clercq was admitted, with his wife, as a member of the church in 1601 but it is unclear whether this could be the same person. Bibliothèque Wallonne, Amsterdam.

¹²⁸ PRO E190/816/8 f. 4; E190/816/11, 30/12/1586 & 19/4/1587.

¹²⁹ PRO E190/816/8, f. 4, E190/816/11 30/12/1586; SRO SC2/6/5 f. 117; H.J. Smit, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van den handel met Engeland, Schotland en Ierland (1485-1585)*, 2 vols. (The Hague, 1950), Vol. II p. 1299.

¹³⁰ SRO SC6/1/18.

¹³¹ There is a further Mathieu Sohier recorded in this survey as living in Langbourne ward. This may have been Mathieu Sohier, son of Simon, who was admitted to the Lord's Supper in Southampton in 1571 and was the *parain* for the daughter of Jan Seneschal in 1578. He may have been a nephew of his namesake. *Returns of Aliens dwelling in London*, II, pp. 323, 336, 340; *Registre*, pp. 6, 44.

¹³² Guido Malapert settled in England in c. 1568 and may have migrated from Bruges where two of his children were born. He was a member of the Dutch church of London and made regular contributions to the church's fund for the maintenance of students. He was periodically exempted from making lay subsidy payments and was recorded as having loaned money to the Crown, £100 in 1588 and £50 in 1590. As will be seen below, he exported significant quantities of the 'new draperies' through Southampton. By 1597 Malapert seems to have left London for Middleburg from where he wrote to the London Dutch church for an attestation so that he could participate in the Lord's Supper. However he was accused of having left London secretly without paying his creditors, although Malapert denied this and claimed that his wife had settled his debts. *Returns of Aliens dwelling in London*, II, pp. 206, 209, 210, 323, 340, 384, 412, 415, 428, 440, 466, 485, III, p. 442; *Returns of Strangers in the Metropolis 1593, 1627, 1635, 1639. A Study of an Active Minority*, ed. I. Scouloudi, (HSP, 57, 1985), p. 192; Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-*

Southampton,¹³³ he seems to have remained in London until his death in 1605.¹³⁴

The Refugees and Overseas Trade, c. 1585 - c. 1595

The economic decline of Southampton in the early 1580s was exacerbated by the outbreak of war against Spain and the military situation in the Netherlands. In the Netherlands, the Company of Merchant Adventurers had left Antwerp for the relative safety of Middelburg in October 1582. Antwerp surrendered to Parma's forces in August 1585 and further anxiety was caused amongst the Merchant Adventurers by the Spanish capture of Sluys, which threatened the island of Walcheren. These events combined with the difficulties being experienced at Emden, the Company's German mart, resulted in a fall in the export of English cloth.¹³⁵ The consequent unemployment amongst the clothworkers was exacerbated by the poor harvest of 1586. The combination of social crisis and heightened anxiety about possible Spanish attack may have played some part in the Hampshire Beacon Plot of 1586 when a group of plotters, who included several weavers and tailors intended to loot barns and storehouses for grain after they had attracted support through firing the beacons.¹³⁶ The crisis of 1586-87 ended with the Merchant Adventurer's establishment of a suitable outlet for English cloths at Stade and the threat to Gelderland diminished with the withdrawal of the main Spanish troops in 1587.¹³⁷ The significance of such a dislocation in trade in Southampton is debateable because according to Thomas, trade with the Netherlands was 'never of primary importance' in Southampton during Elizabeth's reign. Yet a steady, if unspectacular, trade was maintained with the Netherlands until the crisis of the 1580s from which it failed to recover.¹³⁸ It is therefore likely that the disruption of trade with the Netherlands had little impact on Southampton. However it should be noted that although London's cloth trade experienced crises in trade with the Netherlands between 1561-63 and 1571-73, this did not cause

Batavae Archivuum, III pp. 1003, 1011.

¹³³ PRO E190/816/6, f. 2, E190/816/10, entry dated 17/3/1586, E190/817/3, f.3v.

¹³⁴ PRO PCC Prob. 11/106.

¹³⁵ Ramsay, *The Queen's Merchants and the revolt of the Netherlands*, pp. 188-90; J.D. Gould, 'The Crisis in the Export Trade, 1586-1587', *English Historical Review*, 71 (1956), pp. 212-15.

¹³⁶ J.D. Jones, 'The Hampshire Beacon Plot of 1586', *PHFC*, 25 (1968), pp. 105-118.

¹³⁷ Gould, 'The Crisis in the Export Trade', pp. 220.

¹³⁸ Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', p. 105.

a permanent collapse in cloth exports.¹³⁹

The disruption of trade with Iberia and the Atlantic Islands bore much more heavily on Southampton than the difficulties in the Netherlands. The trade with Spain had been an important element of the town's prosperity until the outbreak of hostilities when it generally ceased. A limited degree of trade was maintained by alien merchants using alien ships, in some cases with the protection of the English authorities. Commerce with the Azores was also technically affected following the annexation of the Portuguese kingdom and empire by Philip II in 1580 but a regular trade does seem to have been sustained, in spite of losses through privateering.¹⁴⁰

Privateering became an important element of the town's trade during the Spanish war. Merchants, such as John Croke, John Errington and Richard Goddard, had all been actively involved in trade with Spain and the Atlantic islands but finding this trade disrupted by war, resorted to privateering in order to obtain their imports.¹⁴¹ One of the largest shipowners in Southampton, Henry Ughtred received letters of reprisal from the Duke of Anjou in 1582 authorising him to equip three ships to sail against the Spaniards at Peru and 'other islands'. One of his ships, the *Susan Fortune* attacked the Portuguese fishing fleet off Newfoundland that summer.¹⁴² One ship which was taken as a prize during this period, was the *Jacques of Dieppe* with its cargo which belonged to one Nicholas Sohier of Rye, presumably a relative of Mathieu Sohier's brother Cornille.¹⁴³ A specialised industry developed in Southampton centred on privateering and was probably partly responsible for the revival in the town's trade between 1592 and 1596.¹⁴⁴ It seems that there was also a noticeable revival in the town's normal trade with France and the Channel Islands in the early 1590s, but the town's trade seems to have stagnated again until the end of the century.

¹³⁹ R. Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution. Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653*, (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 6-8.

¹⁴⁰ Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 102-4.

¹⁴¹ Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 99, 103, 147-52; K.R. Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering. English Privateering during the Spanish War, 1585-1603*, (Cambridge, 1964), p. 15.

¹⁴² SRO SC2/6/5, f. 104; Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering*, p. 202. For a short biography of Henry Ughtred or Oughtred, see Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', p. 189.

¹⁴³ The *Jacques of Dieppe* had been loaded in Spain for Nicholas Sohier of Rye, Peter de Caulx and Peter de Bourdevill who were described as being burgesses of Dieppe. The ship was taken by the *Godspeed of Southampton*. The cargo included sack wine, figs, olives, cork and sweet oils. Nicholas Sohier sold the cargo of the ship, on behalf of the company, to John Errington and John Sedgewick for £400. SRO SC2/6/5, f. 178-179; Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', p. 163; *The Third Book of Remembrance*, III pp. 92-93.

¹⁴⁴ Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 54, 136-65.

During this period only one refugee merchant, Jean le Mercier, matched the activity of le Clercq and Mathieu Sohier in the town's overseas trade. Jean le Mercier originated from Tournai and may have been the son of François Cocquiel dit le Merchier, a prominent Calvinist merchant who had migrated to Antwerp and was associated with the Sohiers.¹⁴⁵ He first appears in Southampton in 1579 when he married the daughter of Arnoul le Clercq.¹⁴⁶ Le Mercier first became involved in Southampton's overseas trade in the early 1580s. He exported 18 says to Bordeaux in September 1580 and the following month a further 14 says were sent to La Rochelle; in August 1584 he exported 6 says to St. Malo with Arnoul le Clercq.¹⁴⁷ But it was not until 1585 that le Mercier played a prominent part in the town's trade.

Le Mercier's commercial connections were not as extensive as those of his father-in-law, Arnoul le Clercq, and Mathieu Sohier. This may in part have been due to the foreign political situation. As a result of Parma's reconquest of Brabant and Flanders, which culminated with the fall of Antwerp in August 1585, Elizabeth concluded the Treaty of Nonsuch by which she agreed to provide assistance openly to the Dutch cause. This disrupted not only trade with the Netherlands but also with Spain. The situation worsened when Philip II seized English ships in December 1585, in reprisal for Drake's actions in the Caribbean. With the renewal of civil war in France trade became more difficult as the west coast of France and the Channel became the haunt of pirates.¹⁴⁸

Although le Mercier does not seem to have traded with Spain, he apparently imported one cargo of green woad from the Azores which belonged to Portugal and was therefore subject to Philip II since 1580.¹⁴⁹ He did however import wine from Bordeaux, as well as resin and prunes on occasion, and salt from La Rochelle. Trade with these ports even attracted one of the town's smaller merchants whose trade was normally confined to Northern France. Guillaume Hersant imported bay salt, dates and oats from La Rochelle in 1588-89.¹⁵⁰ Le Mercier's trade with south western France does seem to have been less frequent than that of le Clercq and Sohier but again this may have been due to the political situation. In fact it became necessary to protect the wine

¹⁴⁵ For a biography of François Cocquiel dit le Merchier, see above p. 38.

¹⁴⁶ Originating from Valenciennes, Janne le Clercq, the daughter of Arnoul was admitted to the Lord's Supper in July 1576. She married Jean le Mercier in 1579 and their twelve children were baptised in the French church. She died in January 1621. *Registre*, pp. 12, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 86, 112.

¹⁴⁷ PRO E190/815/6, f. 20v; E190/815/9, f. 6v, 7; E190/816/4, f. 10.

¹⁴⁸ G. Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, (London, 1977), pp. 214-5, 217-8; P. Benedict, 'Rouen's Foreign trade during the Era of the Religious Wars (1560-1600)', *Journal of European Economic History*, 13 (1984), p. 60.

¹⁴⁹ PRO E190/817/2, f. 8.

¹⁵⁰ PRO E190/817/4, entries dated 23/6/1589, 19/8/1589, 13/9/1589.

fleet to Bordeaux with a convoy against pirates, which was financed by a levy imposed on the imported goods.¹⁵¹

Le Mercier did however trade regularly with Middelburg with several cargoes being imported each year.¹⁵² It is unclear what, if any, links there were between le Mercier and le Clercq who had migrated to Middelburg in 1583. Le Mercier imported goods which had been produced or manufactured in the Netherlands such as hops, madder, rape oil and Holland linings but he also imported goods which were redistributed through Middelburg in particular sack wine but also pitch and tar, cables and tarred ropes from the Baltic.¹⁵³ Trade with the Low Countries was however always liable to disruption on account of the war there.

Le Mercier traded frequently with Brittany and the Channel Islands. In 1585-86 twelve ships returned from St. Malo with cargoes for Jean le Mercier and in 1587-88 another 14 ships returned from St. Malo. These ships generally carried cargoes of canvas, which trade was an important part of Southampton's imports and reached its peak between 1578-79 and the mid-1580s.¹⁵⁴ Canvas was also imported from the Channel Islands, for example in 1586-87 only four ships sailed from St. Malo to Southampton but 15 ships sailed from the Channel Islands.¹⁵⁵ The neutrality of the Channel Islands meant that trade with Brittany could be sustained even during trade embargoes and periods of political disruption.¹⁵⁶ Wine was imported from St. Malo and also from Guernsey to Southampton, for example in 1587-88 le Mercier imported 46 butts of sack wine in casks.¹⁵⁷ The Channel Islands played an important role in this cross-Channel trade, redistributing

¹⁵¹ Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', p. 89, which cites *Acts of the Privy Council 1591-92*, pp. 86, 320.

¹⁵² PRO E190/816/8, f. 7, 9; E190/816/11, entries dated 18/11/1586, 13/2/1587, 6/4/1587, 5/5/1587; E190/817/2, f. 4, 10v, 13; E190/817/4, entries dated 23/12/1588, 11/8/1589; E190/817/6, entries dated 1/10/1589, 20/11/1589, 6/3/1590, 23/4/1590.

¹⁵³ For example in April 1586, the *Peter of Hampton* had a cargo of 6 hogsheads and 8 barrels of rape oil, 800 lb of madder and the *Hare of London* had a cargo of 2400 lb of hops. In March 1586 the *Hare of London* had a cargo of 6½ barrels of sack wine cask and the *Peter of Hampton* imported a further 3 barrels. PRO E190/816/8; E190/816/10.

¹⁵⁴ Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 69-71.

¹⁵⁵ PRO E190/816/11.

¹⁵⁶ On the neutrality of the Channel Islands, see J.C. Appleby, 'Neutrality, Trade and Privateering, 1500-1689', in A.G. Jamieson, *A People of the Sea. The Maritime History of the Channel Islands*, (London, 1986), pp. 59-71.

¹⁵⁷ PRO E190/816/11, entries dated 2/6/1587, 11/7/1587 and 10/8/1587; E190/817/2, f. 18, 19; E190/817/5, entries dated 3/1/1589, 8/2/1589 and 24/2/1589.

goods.¹⁵⁸ The trade with Brittany and the Channel Islands also attracted some of the smaller refugee traders such as Guillaume Hersent. In 1587-88, for example, he imported cochineal, prunes, vitry canvas and oleron canvas from St. Malo.¹⁵⁹

Trade with Northern France also continued although le Mercier only traded infrequently with these parts. In particular he imported quantities of Normandy canvas and along with these consignments also came other goods such as prunes, vinegar and millstones. In June 1587, he imported in one shipment four packets of Normandy canvas, one packet of buckrams as well as 80 dozen woolcards and ten tuns of wine.¹⁶⁰ Guillaume Hersent and other lesser merchants also continued to trade with Northern France as they had before 1585. Charles Heslin seems to have become involved in the cross-Channel trade after 1585 and imported a range of goods from the Northern French ports such vinegar, rape oil, millstones as well as Rouen canvas, buckrams and quilts.¹⁶¹

The cross-Channel trade was however vulnerable to privateering. In July 1587 a ship was brought into Southampton which had sailed from St. Malo to Guernsey with a cargo of canvas belonging to Jean le Mercier and several foreign merchants, and another cargo of canvas which belonged to le Mercier and several English merchants.¹⁶² The ship was brought to Southampton by 'menn of warr' after it had been taken about Guernsey by one Thomas Shrive and his company.¹⁶³

Although privateering became an important element in the town's prosperity during this period, le Mercier does not seem to have been directly involved. He did however trade in the prize goods which resulted from such privateering. Sir Thomas Leighton, the Governor of Guernsey, had seized a cargo of oil and other goods which were suspected of being Spanish. When however the cargo was shown to have belonged to a Monsieur de Bordeaux, a Paris merchant, the Privy Council wrote to the Mayor and Corporation of Southampton requiring them to ensure that the raisins were

¹⁵⁸ See J.C. Appleby, 'Neutrality, Trade and Privateering 1500-1689', in A.G. Jamieson (ed.) *A People of the Sea. The Maritime History of the Channel Islands*, (London, 1986), pp. 75, 81.

¹⁵⁹ PRO E190/817/2, f. 4v, 7v, 9, 9v, 10.

¹⁶⁰ PRO E190/817/2, f. 8; E190/816/11, entry dated 15/6/1587.

¹⁶¹ PRO E190/816/8, f. 1, 6v; E190/816/11, entries dated 11/11/1586, 29/8/1587, 15/6/1587; E190/817/2, f. 6v; E190/817/6, entry dated 30/3/1590. After 1590, Heslin became increasingly involved in trade with the Western French ports, see below p. 129.

¹⁶² Besides Mercier, the alien merchants were Guillaume le Moine, John le Moine, Lawrence Thomas and others. The English merchants were David Eaton, Robert Banes and Robert Bulbeck and others.

¹⁶³ PRO E190/816/11, entry dated 11/7/1587. Thomas Shrive was not one of the privateers identified in K.R. Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering. English Privateering during the Spanish War, 1585-1603*, (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 241-273.

returned to de Bordeaux's agent, John Melhorne, and that appropriate restitution was made for any raisins which had been sold. Jean le Mercier apparently bought a cargo of raisins from this ship.¹⁶⁴ Possibly the cargo of Malaga raisins which had been imported by le Mercier from Guernsey in the *Pearl of Hampton* in April 1587, may have been those to which the Council referred.¹⁶⁵ Le Mercier and other refugees also imported other goods to Southampton from Guernsey which may have been legally redistributed through Guernsey or may have been prize goods. For example, in April 1588 le Mercier imported eight bags of Carthaginian alum from Guernsey and in February 1589 the *Barbara of Guernsey* brought to Southampton a cargo of currants for le Mercier, figs for Pierre le Gay and Claude Moutonnier; canvas, prunes and figs for Esay Bernay and in addition to canvas, a barrel of cochineal for Guillaume Hersent.¹⁶⁶

A more significant example of le Mercier purchasing prize goods occurred after the Portuguese expedition of 1589.¹⁶⁷ The venture, led by Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake, was largely a failure but a number of ships were taken as prize and were brought back to England. On the 30 June 1589 permission was given for the cargoes of perishable goods and corn to be sold from these ships and commissioners were appointed to oversee these sales.¹⁶⁸ At Portsmouth these commissioners included Thomas Heaton, the Customer of Southampton, Andrew Studley and Richard Goddard of Southampton and Thomas Thorney of Portsmouth.¹⁶⁹ The Privy Council also decreed that the grain from one of these prize ships could be used to repay the money owed to the Mayor and Corporation of Southampton for the supplies they provided for the soldiers who had embarked from Southampton for the Portugal expedition. A prize ship, the *Young Froe* [sic], was therefore despatched to Southampton with its cargo of grain.¹⁷⁰

The sale of grain from these prize ships did not proceed smoothly and several Portsmouth commissioners were summoned before the Privy Council accused of exploiting their position to

¹⁶⁴ *Letters of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. R.C. Anderson, (PSRS, 22, 1921-22), pp. 111-12; *Acts of the Privy Council, 1587-88*, pp. 146-47.

¹⁶⁵ PRO E190/816/11, entry dated 19/4/1587. A further quantity of raisins was imported from Guernsey by Mercier in May 1587 in the *Barbara of Alderney*, entry dated 27/5/1587.

¹⁶⁶ PRO E190/817/2, f. 9v, E190/817/4, entry dated 24/2/1589.

¹⁶⁷ For an account of this expedition, see W.T. MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I. War and Politics 1588-1603*, (Princeton, 1992), pp. 73-96; J. Sugden, *Sir Francis Drake*, (London, 1990), pp. 263-84; *The Expeditions of Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake to Spain and Portugal, 1589*, ed. R.B. Wernham, (Naval Records Society, 127, 1988).

¹⁶⁸ *Expeditions of Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake*, pp. lvii, 199.

¹⁶⁹ *Expeditions of Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake*, pp. 310-11.

¹⁷⁰ 1,950 men embarked from Southampton for Portugal together with a regiment of 200 men under Captain Huntley. *Expeditions of Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake*, pp. 305, 344-45.

purchase grain at the lowest possible price of 6 s. 6 d. per quarter for wheat and 4 s. per quarter for rye.¹⁷¹ It is unclear whether or not Jean le Mercier was a commissioner but he seems to have taken advantage of the this low rate to purchase a quantity of poor quality grain. Since le Mercier agreed to buy further quantities of grain, paying 10 s. per quarter for wheat and 5 s. 4 d. per quarter of rye, regardless of the quality, the Privy Council decided that le Mercier should also be allowed to purchase some of the better quality grain from the *Young Froe* which had been earlier earmarked for the Mayor and Corporation of Southampton. The profits from this sale were to be used to repay the debt owing to Southampton.¹⁷²

The Privy Council permitted le Mercier to export the grain from Portsmouth to Holland, Zeeland or any part of France not subject to the Catholic League, free of customs duties. Previously, Andrew Studley had exported 58 sacks of wheat and 130 sacks of rye to Middelburg. The Council was also prepared to sell le Mercier further quantities of grain from the captured ships if he so wished.¹⁷³ The sale of this grain to le Mercier provides a clearer impression of his stature as a merchant than can be gleaned from the royal customs books.

Besides purchasing prize goods, le Mercier was involved in the illegal trade with the League towns of Northern France. On 11 July 1588 English ships were prohibited from trading directly with the ports of Normandy, Brittany and Picardy and were required to trade through the Channel Islands. By October 1588 however direct trade with these ports had resumed.¹⁷⁴ In April 1591 the Queen issued a proclamation forbidding her subjects from 'repairing to any port or creek of Picardy, Normandy or Brittany where the rulers of the same ports or creeks do not manifestly obey the French king'. Furthermore all trade either directly or indirectly with the Leaguer towns was prohibited but the Crown was aware of smuggling of goods to these ports and also the use of the Channel Islands as a staging post for exports.¹⁷⁵ The proclamation failed to halt supplies and munitions being exported to the League and complaints were made by the merchants of Zeeland about the Catholic League being supplied by English merchants through Jersey and Guernsey.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷¹ *Acts of the Privy Council, 1589-1590*, p. 68; *Expeditions of Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake*, pp. 310-11.

¹⁷² *Acts of the Privy Council, 1589-1590*, p. 75.

¹⁷³ *Acts of the Privy Council, 1589-1590*, pp. 74-77; *Expeditions of Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake*, p. 311.

¹⁷⁴ HMC Salisbury MSS, III p. 338; Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', p. 87. Goods were imported to Southampton from St. Malo by Jean le Mercier on 9/9/1588, 24/9/1588 (two cargoes), 16/7/1588, PRO E190/817/2, f. 14, 14v, 15, 19.

¹⁷⁵ *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, ed. P.L. Hughes & J.F. Larkin, 3 vols., (Yale, 1964-69), III pp. 77-79.

¹⁷⁶ *List and Analysis of State Papers, Foreign Series, Elizabeth I*, ed. R.B. Wernham, (London, 1980), Vol. III June 1591-April 1592, p. 175 No. 209. Appleby wrote that the

In March 1593 the Privy Council began an enquiry into merchants who continued to trade with St. Malo and the League towns. Le Mercier was identified as one of the merchants who continued to trade with these ports and in January 1592 apparently had 3000 crowns worth of goods which belonged to two St. Malo merchants. Apparently the embargo of 1588 had little impact upon the commercial activities of Jean le Mercier. Furthermore le Mercier frequently imported canvas from Guernsey thereby exploiting the island's neutrality. Since the port books for 1591 and 1592 are incomplete, it is not possible to glean any information about le Mercier's trade with northern France after April 1591. The Council directed the Mayor of Southampton to examine le Mercier as to his trading interests and to search his premises for any goods which originated from St. Malo or League towns, which were then to be inventoried and stored.¹⁷⁷ Le Mercier's examination provides some valuable details about his trading operations and shows how the neutrality of the Channel Islands was exploited by merchants. Two fardels of vitré canvas were found in le Mercier's possession. These had been purchased by a Vitré merchant, John le Moine and then sent to Pontorson in Brittany from where they were despatched to one Phillipp Journois, le Mercier's factor on Jersey. The factor then arranged for the canvas to be shipped to le Mercier in Southampton. It is possible that le Mercier may have also retained a factor on Guernsey. Le Mercier denied trading with any of the League either directly or indirectly. He did however admit on further questioning that the previous January to having in his possession some goods which belonged to one of the St. Malo merchants identified by the Privy Council.¹⁷⁸ Le Mercier was summoned before the Privy Council and duly appeared on 25 March 1593. He was required to attend daily and not depart without a special license from the Council. The enquiry was deferred in April 1593 because of complaints from some West Country merchants that le Mercier was being detained from his business and there were two ships loaded and waiting to sail. Le Mercier was licensed to leave for a month but there is no further record of his appearing before the Privy Council on this matter.¹⁷⁹

The difficult international situation also had an impact upon the export of goods from Southampton. The refugee merchants continued to be principally involved in exporting the cloths of the 'new draperies' from the town and le Mercier played a prominent role in this trade. The

complaint from these merchants prompted the 1591 proclamation. However the complaint was dated July 10/20 1591 and also from its contents it is clear that the complaint postdates the proclamation. Appleby, 'Neutrality, Trade and Privateering', p. 70.

¹⁷⁷ *Acts of the Privy Council, 1592-1593*, p. 119.

¹⁷⁸ *Book of Examinations and Depositions, 1570-1594*, ed. G.H. Hamilton, (PSRS, 16, 1914), p. 108.

¹⁷⁹ *Acts of the Privy Council, 1592-93*, pp. 136, 170.

refugee community had however been seriously weakened by the impact of the plague in 1583-84 which had adversely affected the production of bays and says in the town. The volume of bays and says that were exported from Southampton between 1585 and 1594 appear in Table XI.

Table XI - Export of Says and Bays, 1585 - 1594

	1585-86	1586-87	1587-88	1588-89	1590-91	1593-94
Refugee Merchants	145 says 120 bays	201½says ² 136 bays	88 says 176 H.says 90 n. bays	262½ says 41 bays 35 H. says	548½ says 2 bays 21½ H.says ⁵	1516 says 12 s. bays 26½H. says
Other Merchants	233 says 247½ bays ¹	577½ says 823 bays ³	446½ says 238 bays 291 H.says 65 s.bays	520 says 694½ bays 85 H.says ⁴	414½ says 246½bays 80 H.says ⁶	826 says 6 bays 646 s.bays 19 d. bays 182 H.says
TOTAL	390 says 367½ bays	779 says 959 bays	534½ says 238 bays 467 H. says	782½ says 735½ bays 120 H.says	963½ says 248½bays 101½Hsay	2342 says 6 bays 658 s.bays 19 d. bays 208½Hsay

(Abbreviations: H.say - Hondchoote says; s.bays - single bays; d.bays - double bays).

- ¹ This figure excludes 24 yards of bays
- ² This figure excludes 2 remnants of says.
- ³ This figure excludes 40 yards of bays.
- ⁴ This figure excludes 20 yards of serge.
- ⁵ This figure excludes 20 yards of stammell bays.
- ⁶ This figure excludes one remnant of say.

From Table XI it is clear that the export of the 'new draperies' from the town slowly recovered from the nadir of 1583-84 when a paltry 115 says and 131 bays had been exported. (The exports for 1583-84 have not been tabulated due to the limited volume of exports and the fact that of the refugee community only exported 34 says in total).¹⁸⁰ This meant that any increase in the export of these cloths during this period started from a very low base. By 1588-89 the total number of says exported was almost equal to the number exported in 1579-80, when 782 says had been exported. However more than five times the number of bays (735½ bays) were exported in 1588-89 than almost a decade earlier when 146 bays had been exported. The gradual increase in exports continued until 1593-94 when the export of says by refugee merchants had increased to almost two

¹⁸⁰

See above p. 95.

and half times the number exported two years previously. A similar increase can be seen in the export of these cloths by non-refugee merchants. This growth clearly reflects the revival in Southampton's economic fortunes in the early 1590s which Mrs. Thomas identified.¹⁸¹ Some impression of the scale of the Southampton export of the 'new draperies' can be obtained by comparing the Southampton exports with those exported from London. Unfortunately the evidence does not survive for the same years to allow a direct comparison between the exports of the two ports. The figures survive for 1594-95 when in total 10,976 bays, 4,256 says, 33,455 pairs of worsted stockings and 168,065 cottons were exported from London.¹⁸² In 1593-94, 2,342 says, 208½ Hondschoote says, 6 bays, 658 single bays and 19 double bays were exported from Southampton. Solely in terms of say exports those sent from Southampton were significant but in comparison with the London exports for the 'new draperies', Southampton's contribution was limited.

One anomaly in the gradual increase in exports needs to be explained. The number of says and bays exported from Southampton by non-refugee merchants in 1586-87 was inflated by the exports of Guido Malapert and two other alien London merchants. They exported 178 says and 715 bays which amounted to 22.9 % and 74.6 % respectively, of the total number of says and bays exported from the port during 1586-87.¹⁸³ It should also be noted that the cloths exported by Mathieu Sohier through Southampton are included amongst the figures for 'other merchants' as he had migrated from the town around 1583.

Table XI also clearly shows that the refugee merchants began to export other 'new drapery' cloths besides says during this period. In 1585-86 120 bays were exported, 136 the following year and in 1587-88 176 Hondschoote says were exported. It is however clear from the table that says remained the principal cloth exported by the refugee merchants and, with the exception of 1588-89, more says were exported by the refugees than other types of cloth. Table XII shows the refugees share of the total number of says which were exported in this period. Initially the refugees' share of the total number of exports declined together with those of the French community's principal

Table XII - Percentage of Total Number of Says Exported by the Refugees

	1585-86	1586-87	1587-88	1588-89	1590-91	1593-94
Le Mercier	21.0 %	19.0 %	13.9 %	12.8 %	2.5%	13.5 %
Others	14.4 %	6.9 %	4.5 %	20.8 %	54.5%	51.2 %
TOTAL	35.4 %	25.9 %	18.4 %	33.6 %	57.0%	64.7 %

¹⁸¹ Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 54-55.

¹⁸² L. Stone, 'Elizabethan Overseas Trade', *Ec.H.R.* Second Series, 2 (1949-50), p. 45.

¹⁸³ PRO E190/816/11, f. 1, 1v, 2, 3, 5.

merchant, Jean le Mercier. After 1587-88 when Mercier's share of say exports continued to decline, other refugee merchants increased their share of exported says, to over fifty per cent of the total number exported in 1590-91. Certainly in 1590-91 the 24 says and 20 Hondschoote says (these were not included in Table XII) exported by le Mercier seem insignificant compared with the 242 says exported by Peter le Gay. By 1593-94 le Mercier's share of say exports had recovered and he was again the principal refugee merchant, exporting 316 says and 8 Hondschoote says compared with the 283 says exported by Claude Moutonnier and 271 by Peter le Gay.

The regional distribution of these 'new drapery' exports are detailed in Table XIII to Table XVIII and are based upon the surviving royal port books. These tables clearly show the impact that the war with Spain and the conflicts in France had upon international trade.

N.B. Hondschoote says are abbreviated to H.says in the following tables.

Table XIII - Distribution of 'New Drapery' Exports, 1585-86¹⁸⁴

	Spain & Portugal	Atlantic Islands	W France	N France	Brittany & C.I.	Neths.	Other	TOTAL
Jean le Mercier	0	0	0	22 says 56 bays	52 says 64 bays	2 says	6 says	82 says 120 bays
Other Refugee Merchants	0	0	0	48 says	3 says	5 says	0	56 says
Other Merchants	50 says 100 bays	0	80 says	2 says	109 says 147½ bays	0	0	241 says 247½ bays
TOTAL	50 says 100 bays	0	80 says	72 says 56 bays	164 says 211½ bays	7 says	6 says	379 says 367½ bays
% of Total Exported	12.8% says 27.2% bays	0	20.5% says	18.5% says 15.2% bays	42.1% says 57.6% bays	1.8% says	1.5% says	-

¹⁸⁴

PRO E190/816/6. In total 390 says and 367½ bays were exported but the export of 7 says by alien merchants to 'Watville' and 4 says by other merchants to 'Melvin' have been omitted from the table as these places can not be identified.

Table XIV - Distribution of 'New Drapery' Exports, 1586-87¹⁸⁵

	Spain & Portugal	Atlantic Islands	W France	N France	Brittany & C.I.	Neths.	Other	TOTAL
Jean le Mercier	0	0	0	28 says 20 bays	120 says 116 bays	0	0	148 says 136 bays
Other Refugee Merchants	0	0	0	48½ says	5 says	0	0	53½ says
Other Merchants	54 says 631 bays	130 says 100 bays	142 says	44 says 14 bays	207½says 78 bays	0	0	577½ says 823 bays
TOTAL	54 says 631 bays	130 says 100 bays	142 says	120½ says 34 bays	333 says 194 bays	0	0	779 says 959 bays
% of Total Exported	6.9% says 65.8% bays	16.7% says 10.4% bays	18.2% says	15.5% says 3.6% bays	42.7% says 20.2% bays	0	0	-

¹⁸⁵

PRO E190/816/11. In total 779 says and 959 bays were exported during this year.

Table XV - Distribution of 'New Drapery' Exports, 1587-88¹⁸⁶

	Spain & Portugal	Atlantic Islands	W France	N France	Brittany & C.I.	Neths.	Other	TOTAL
Jean le Mercier	0	0	35 says	0	39 says 176 H.says 90 narrow bays	0	0	74 says 176 H.says 90 narrow bays
Other Refugee Merchants	0	0	0	17 says	7 says	0	0	24 says
Other Merchants	90 H.says	0	129 says	63 says	230½ says 201 H.says 233 bays	0	14 says 5 bays	436½ says 233 bays 291 H.says
TOTAL	90 H.says	0	164 says	80 says	276½ says 233 bays 377 H.says 90 narrow bays	0	14 says 5 bays	534½ says 233 bays 90 narrow bays 467 H. says
% of Total Exported	19.3% H.says	0	30.7% says	15.0% says	51.7% say 97.9% bay 80.7% H.says 100% narrow bays	0	2.6% says 2.1% bays	-

¹⁸⁶

PRO E190/817/1. In total 534½ says, 467 Hondschoote says, 238 bays and 90 narrow bays were exported during this year.

Table XVI - Distribution of 'New Drapery' Exports, 1588-89¹⁸⁷

	Spain & Portugal	Atlantic Islands	W France	N France	Brittany & C.I.	Neths.	Other	TOTAL
Jean le Mercier	0	0	47 says 16 bays	0	43 says 25 bays 35 H.says	6 says	4 says	100 says 41 bays 35 H.says
Other Refugee Merchants	0	0	119 says	0	41½ says	2 says	0	162½ says
Other Merchants	0	0	305½ says 403 bays	0	193½ says 171½ bays 55 H.says	10 says	0	509 says 574½ bays 55 H. says
TOTAL	0	0	471½ says 419 bays	0	278 says 196½bays 90H.says	18 says	4 says	771½ says 615½ bays 90 H.says
% of Total Exported	0	0	60.3% says 57% bays	0	35.5%say 26.7%bay 75% H.says	2.3 % says	0.5% says	-

¹⁸⁷

PRO E190/817/3. In total 782½ says, 735½ bays and 120 Hondschoote says were exported during this year. 11 says, 120 bays and 30 Hondschoote says have been omitted from the table which were sent to St. John de Ace which it has not been possible to identify.

Table XVII - Distribution of 'New Drapery' Exports, 1590-91¹⁸⁸

	Spain & Portugal	Atlantic Islands	W France	N France	Brittany & C.I.	Neths.	Other	TOTAL
Jean le Mercier	0	0	19 says 20 H.says	0	5 says	0	0	24 says 20 H.says
Other Refugee Merchants	0	0	410 says	71 says	39½ says 2 bays 1½ H.says	4 says	0	524½ says 2 bays 1½ H.says
Other Merchants	0	0	213 says 190 bays 30 H.says	24 says ½ bay	177½ says 56 bays 42 H.says	0	0	414½ says 246½ bays 72 H.says
TOTAL	0	0	642 says 190 bays 50 H.says	95 says ½ bay	222 says 58 bays 43½ H.says	4 says	0	963 says 248½ bays 93½ H.says
% of Total Exported	0	0	66.7% says 76.5% bays 49.3% H.says	9.9% says 0.2% bays	23.1% says 23.3% bays 42.9% H.says	0.4% says	0	-

¹⁸⁸

PRO E190/817/7. In total 963 says, 248½ bays and 101½ Hondschoote says were exported during this year. 8 Hondschoote says have not been included in this table because it has not been possible to identify the 'Isles of Terrevall'.

Table XVIII - Distribution of 'New Drapery' Exports, 1593-94¹⁸⁹

	Spain & Portugal	Atlantic Islands	W France	N France	Brittany & C.I.	Neths.	Other	TOTAL
Jean le Mercier	0	0	165 says 8 H.says	11 says	130 says	10 says	0	316 says 8 H.says
Pierre le Gay	0	0	229 says	6 says	36 says	0	0	271 says
Moutonnier	0	0	192 says	48 says	43 says	0	0	283 says
Other Refugee Merchants	0	0	378 says	70 says	198 says 18½ H.says 12 single bays	0	0	646 says 18½ H.says 12 single bays
Other Merchants	0	8 H.says 6 single bays	221 says 6 bays 31 single bays 4 double bays	67 says 24 single bays 5 double bays	476 says 174 H.says 585 single bays 10 double bays	0	50 says	814 says 6 bays 646 single bays 19 double bays 182 H.says
TOTAL	0	8 H.says 6 single bays	1185 says 8 H.says 6 bays 31 single bays 4 double bays	202 says 24 single bays 5 double bays	883 says 192½ H.say 597 single bays 10 double bays	10 says	50 says	2330 says 208½ H.says 6 bays 658 single bays 19 double bays
% of Total Exported		3.8% H.says 0.9% single bays	50.6% says 3.8% H.says 100% bays 4.7% single bays 21.1% double bays	8.2% says 3.7% single bays 26.3% double bays	37.7% says 92.3% H.says 90.7% single bays 52.6% double bays	0.4% says	2.1% says	-

PRO E190/818/1. In total 2342 says, 208½ Hondschoote says, 6 bays, 658 single bays and 19 double bays were exported during this year. 7 says which were exported to 'Carrington' and 5 says exported to 'Touke' by other merchants have been excluded from the table because these ports can not be identified.

From Table XIII and Table XV it is clear that trade in the 'new draperies' with Spain continued after 1585; the total number of cloths sent to the Iberian peninsula in 1585-86 and 1586-87 exceeded the number exported in previous years.¹⁹⁰ However these exports were the result of the activities of a few London merchants. Richard Scofield exported a single consignment of 50 says and 100 bays to Lisbon (Vlishbona) in 1585-86 which accounted for all the says and bays exported in this year.¹⁹¹ Guido Malapert and two other alien merchants based in London were responsible for all of the cloth which was exported to Iberia, it all being directed to Lisbon.¹⁹² Traditionally Southampton's Iberian trade had been focussed upon Andalusia but only one cargo was not directed to Lisbon in this period, the 90 Hondschoote says exported by Richard Staper of London sent to San Lucar de Barremada.¹⁹³ It should also be noted that there was only one consignment exported to the Atlantic islands in the period before 1593. A single consignment of cloth was exported to Madeira by Guido Malapert.¹⁹⁴ From 1588 onwards even these exports by London merchants ceased and this area of trade had not revived by 1593-94 like other areas of trade.

Trade with the ports of western France only gradually recovered from their low point in 1583-84. In 1580-81 209 says had been exported there but this total was not exceeded until 1588-89 when 471½ says were exported from Southampton to these ports. To an extent this disruption may have been due to the dangers to shipping of the renewal of piracy in this area after 1585.¹⁹⁵ Arnoul le Clercq and Mathieu Sohier had played an important role in this trade before they left Southampton in 1583 but generally the consignments sent to La Rochelle and Bordeaux before 1588-89 were exported by substantial Southampton merchants such as John Crooke and George Heaton. Sohier did however still continue to export some cloths, as did Richard Etuer, through Southampton although he was now resident in London.¹⁹⁶ The refugees' share of the 'new drapery' cloths which were exported to these ports did gradually increase so that by 1590-91 they were responsible for 66.8% of the says exported to the Western French ports and by 1593-94 this had increased to 81.4% of says. Le Mercier began again to export cloths to these ports from 1587-88

¹⁹⁰ See above Table VI to Table X. The greatest number of cloths exported to Iberia in this period were 53 says and 114 bays in 1573-74.

¹⁹¹ PRO E190/816/6, f. 4v.

¹⁹² Of the 54 says and 631 bays, only 6 says were not exported by these three merchants. PRO E190/816/11, f. 1, 1v, 2, 3, 5.

¹⁹³ Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', p. 97; PRO E190/817/1, f. 1v.

¹⁹⁴ PRO E190/816/11, f. 5.

¹⁹⁵ P. Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion*, (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 172-73.

¹⁹⁶ PRO E190/816/6, f. 2, 4, 4v.

and the totals increased to 165 says by 1593-94. However by this date other refugee merchants such as Claude Moutonnier and Pierre le Gay had also begun to export significant quantities of the 'new draperies' to these ports as can be seen in Table XVIII. However other members of the French community also exported smaller quantities of the 'new draperies'. For example Jean Hersent exported 145 says to La Rochelle in 1593-94, Balthasar des Maistres exported 86 says, Charles Heslin 60 says, Daniel Seulin 27 says and Pierre Poche exported only 16 says. The latter four merchants sent all of the cloths which they exported during this year to La Rochelle.¹⁹⁷

La Rochelle was certainly the principal destination for 'new drapery' exports in Western France, with 1120 of the 1185 says exported to these ports being sent to that city. A variety of cloths were exported to La Rochelle by English merchants but those exports from Southampton seem to have been particularly prized. The trade however remained in the hands of English merchants with the cloths being sold to the La Rochelle merchants by 'commissionaires' who were resident in the town.¹⁹⁸ By the end of the sixteenth century one of these commissionaires was Charles Heslin.¹⁹⁹ Heslin had become increasingly involved in exporting cloths to Western France and by January 1599 had migrated to La Rochelle.²⁰⁰ By 1624 Daniel Hersent had two resident factors in La Rochelle.²⁰¹ The settlement of an agent in the town perhaps reflects the importance of this cloth trade with La Rochelle for the refugee community by the end of the century.

While the trade, in the 'new draperies', with La Rochelle prospered, the cross-Channel trade with the Northern French ports of Normandy declined. Only in 1593-94 did the total number of says exceed the totals reached in 1580-81 and even this was below the peak of 319½ says in 1578-79. In that year 62% of the total number of say exported were sent to Northern French ports

¹⁹⁷ PRO E190/818/1.

¹⁹⁸ E. Trocmé & M. Delafosse, *Le Commerce Rochelais de la fin du XVe siècle au début du XVIIe*, (Paris, 1952), pp. 132-33, 149.

¹⁹⁹ Charles Heslin was a native of Dieppe and was admitted to the Lord's Supper in Southampton in April 1577. He may have been apprenticed to his father-in-law, Mersio Balue, who originated from the Pays de Caux. Heslin was living at Balue's house when he was admitted. He had four children by his wife, Janne who he married in December 1577. Pierre le Gay and Jean Hersent were amongst those who acted as *parain* to his children. He was probably related to Francoise Heslin who joined the community in January 1583. In 1581 he was living in SS. Michael & John's ward where he paid 2 *d* in stall and art dues but by 1594 he had moved to the parish of Holy Rood where he was assessed for the lay subsidy on the basis of goods worth £10. PRO E179/174/415; SRO SC6/1/16; *Registre*, pp. 13, 17, 44, 45, 46, 49, 86, 105.

²⁰⁰ Heslin was mainly involved in the cross-Channel trade until about 1588. After that date he seems to have only traded with La Rochelle and Bordeaux. In January 1599, he was described as 'of' La Rochelle rather than Southampton. PRO E190/817/3, f. 3; E190/817/7, f. 6; E190/818/1, f. 1, 2v; E190/818/6, f. 6, 7v, 12v, 13; E190/818/10, f. 4v.

²⁰¹ *Examinations and Depositions, 1622-1644*, I, p. 44.

but in 1593-94 they accounted for a mere 8.2% of says.²⁰² In 1588-89 no cloths at all were exported to these ports perhaps as a result of the royal proclamation forbidding exports not only to Norman ports but also to those of Picardy and Brittany.²⁰³

The decline in the exports of cloths undoubtedly owed a great deal to the economic and political situation in France. By the early 1580s the heavy taxation imposed by Henry III began to damage Rouen's economy; in addition there was also a serious shortage of money in circulation in Normandy. These economic problems were exacerbated by the renewal of the French religious wars after the 'Day of the Barricades' in May 1588. Normandy was ravaged by war between the royalists and the League forces for five years. Rouen was secured by the League in February 1589; there was an abortive siege in 1589 by Navarre and a more intense but unsuccessful siege in 1591-92. Trade suffered from this conflict with ships having to travel in armed convoys down the Seine to Rouen while merchants, especially the English merchants who became the focus of attention for the city's Leaguer authorities, migrated. This disruption in trade continued until Rouen finally submitted to Henry IV in 1594.²⁰⁴

The political disturbances in Normandy also affected the export trade with Brittany and the Channel Islands. After the assassination of Henry III in August 1589, the Guise assumed control seizing royalist strongholds and leaving only small isolated pockets loyal to Henry of Navarre. The Spanish also attempted to establish a base for themselves in Brittany. England intervened in Breton affairs after a request for assistance from the royalist governor and English troops arrived in May 1591.²⁰⁵ Trade was inevitably the victim of such instability. We have already noticed a proclamation against trading with the ports of the northern France from Brittany to Picardy in July 1588 and a further proclamation against trade with the Leaguer towns followed in 1591.²⁰⁶

Nevertheless the trade with Brittany and the Channel Islands continued despite the political upheavals. In 1587-88, when the trade was at its peak, 51.7% of say exports and 97.9% of bay exports went to this destination and even in 1590-91 when trade diminished, it accounted for 23.1% of say exports and 23.3% bay exports. There were however violent fluctuations in the destinations of these cloth exports. In 1587-88, 229½ says were exported to St. Malo, 99 says in 1588-89 but in 1590-91 no 'new drapery' cloths were exported to St. Malo. This decline was only partially

²⁰² See above Table VIII, Table X and Table XV.

²⁰³ See above p. 117.

²⁰⁴ Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion*, pp. 161, 211-12, 217; P. Benedict, 'Rouen's Foreign Trade during the Era of the religious wars (1560-1600)', *Journal of European Economic History*, 13 (1984), pp. 60-65.

²⁰⁵ W.T. MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I. War and Politics, 1588-1603*, (Princeton, 1992), pp. 148-49, 152-53.

²⁰⁶ See above p. 117.

offset by an increase in the quantity of cloths exported to Guernsey and Jersey. The cloths exported to the Channel Islands were probably re-exported to Brittany exploiting the Islands' neutrality but in spite of this, the war did apparently diminish the total volume of exports in this period.

Trade with the Netherlands was not significant in this period and in some years there were no 'new drapery' exports. All of the says, except the ten says which were exported by le Mercier to Flushing in 1593-94, were exported to Middelburg.²⁰⁷ The 'Other' destinations of 'new drapery' exports were the ports of Danzig and in 1587-88 Wexford in Ireland.²⁰⁸

While says were certainly the principal commodity exported by le Mercier, he did periodically export cloths of the old draperies. For example in 1585-86 he exported twelve Hampshire kersies and two Winton kersies to Middelburg and ten northern dozens were sent to St. Malo.²⁰⁹ Occasionally he exported cottons, 'friezes' and 'buffins'.²¹⁰ Limited quantities of tin were also exported from Southampton by le Mercier, for example in 1588 he sent 3 barrels containing 1000 lbs of tin to Morlaix. A further 200 lb of tin was exported from Southampton by Pierre le Gay.²¹¹ Sometimes le Mercier exported goods from Southampton which had originated elsewhere. For example, pitch and tar which presumably came from the Baltic was exported to St. Malo while Portuguese salt was exported to Danzig. In 1592 he exported a cargo of dried pilchards and hake from Plymouth to Bordeaux.²¹² These different exports were however exceptional; the principal export for le Mercier and other refugee merchants remained the 'new draperies'.

The Refugees and Overseas Trade, c. 1595 - c. 1620

The prosperity of the early 1590s was shortlived and the town's overseas trade began to decline.²¹³ During the 1590s there was also a change in the refugee merchant community. Particularly significant was the sudden change in the fortunes of Jean le Mercier after 1594. His name does not appear in the 1596-97 port book and his lay subsidy payment fell from 53 s.

²⁰⁷ PRO E190/816/6, f. 5, 6; E190/817/3, f. 4, 7v; E190/817/7, f. 3v; E190/818/1, entry dated 9/9/1594.

²⁰⁸ PRO E190/816/6, f. 5v; E190/817/1, f. 5v ('Waieshforde in Irelande'); E190/817/3, f. 1v; E190/818/1, entry dated 8/7/1594.

²⁰⁹ PRO E190/816/6, f. 5, 5v.

²¹⁰ PRO E190/816/6, f. 6v; E190/816/11, f. 5; E190/817/3, f. 9v; E190/817/7, f. 8v; E190/818/1, f. 6.

²¹¹ PRO E190/817/3, f. 2v, 9.

²¹² PRO E190/816/11, entries dated 7/2/1587, 9/2/1587, 10/5/1587; *Book of Examinations and Depositions, 1570-1594*, p. 134.

²¹³ Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 54-56.

4 *d.* based on goods valued at £10 in 1594 to a mere 8 *d.* in 1599 which was a mere poll contribution.²¹⁴ This financial trouble was the result of 'great losses on the seas and by the evill dealinge of his factours and copartners, and by suites of lawe in forraine partes for the recovery of his goodes whereof he was spoiled at the seas'.²¹⁵ It is possible that some of these losses were the result of the illegal trade with the League towns, of which le Mercier was accused.²¹⁶ A petition was made to the Privy Council on le Mercier's behalf by Sir Thomas West, Thomas Clarke, Francis Mills and Francis Cotton.²¹⁷ They requested that le Mercier should be allowed time to settle his debts which he would be able to do through continuing to trade and by recovering money which was still owed to him. It seems that the two most rigorous creditors were James Parkinson and John Jeffries, a Southampton merchant, who were eager to recover these debts through the courts. Le Mercier also had further creditors in London, in particular one Richard French, another insistent creditor. John Rochefort, a member of the stranger community, was presumably another creditor and was owed £135 by le Mercier, although it was considered that there was little hope in recovering this sum.²¹⁸ The Privy Council responded to the petitioners by requesting that they should see le Mercier's creditors and urge them to pursue a more tolerant approach in the settlement of his debts. The results of this intervention are unclear but le Mercier does not seem to have been able to recover his former prominent role in the town's trade. There are only occasional references to le Mercier importing small quantities of goods after 1600.²¹⁹ However le Mercier does not seem to have been impoverished as he received the maximum lay subsidy

²¹⁴ PRO E179/174/415; E179/174/446.

²¹⁵ *Acts of the Privy Council, 1598-1599*, pp. 211-13.

²¹⁶ Another Southampton merchant, Thomas Heaton, had been actively involved in privateering and seems to have experienced severe financial difficulties by 1595 and was later imprisoned for debt. Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 154-56.

²¹⁷ On Francis Mills, see below p. 182. Thomas West was either Thomas West II of Wherwell, Hampshire (1550?-1602), later 2nd Baron Delaware or his son and namesake, Thomas West III (1577-1618). The identity of the other two men is unclear. Francis Cotton had been a commissioner for the Portuguese prize goods disposed of at Portsmouth who may have been related to William Cotton who had become a freeman of Southampton in 1597. P.W. Hasler, *The House of Commons 1558-1603*, 3 vols. (London, 1981), I, p. 663, III pp. 603-4; *D.N.B.* 20, pp. 1255-56.

²¹⁸ HRO Wills 1606/B/46 John Rocheforte.

²¹⁹ Mercier's name does not appear in the port books between 1596 and 1599. He reappears in January 1601 when he imported 14 packets of Holland cloth and 6 barrels of rape oil from Dieppe. In 1605 he imported Gascon wine from Bordeaux and French wine from Flushing. PRO E190/818/13, f. 11; E190/819/4, entries dated 19/11/1605, 21/11/1605.

assessment of 8 s. 4 d. in 1602. He remained in Southampton until his death in 1626.²²⁰

There were other noticeable changes amongst the refugee merchants. Guillaume Hersent who had been actively involved in the cross-Channel trade and had later exported small quantities of says further afield, died in 1590. His son who had become involved in trade before Guillaume's death, and later his grandsons, became leading refugee merchants during the early seventeenth century. Claude Moutonnier who had become a significant exporter of says in the late 1580s and early 1590s had migrated to Caen, Normandy, by 1598.²²¹ Another merchant, Estienne Michelot, also seems to have left Southampton by the mid-1590s.²²² Several other merchants who had emerged in the early 1590s continued to trade into the seventeenth century but died shortly afterwards, such as Pierre le Gay who died in 1604 and Balthasar des Maistres who died in 1605.²²³

Southampton's mercantile community in the early seventeenth century has been analysed by D. Lamb. His analysis was based upon a list of proposed contributions to be made by Southampton merchants towards the cost of sending a fleet to suppress the North African pirates. While the list is not exhaustive (three merchants appear to have been omitted) it does give an indication of the state of the merchant community in 1619. Lamb identified certain merchants as being French, primarily on the basis of whether or not there was a reference to the merchants in the *Registre*. The following merchants were identified: Peter Seale, Peter Priaulx, John Clungeon, William Marinell, Peter Clungeon, Paul Desert, John Hersent, John Guillam, Judith de la Motte, Daniel Hersent, Isaac Herevill, Matthew Vibert, John de la Bye, James Roberts and John Pittoone.²²⁴

The 'French' merchant community identified by Lamb can be divided into two groups. The

²²⁰ *Registre*, p. 113; *Assembly Books*, I p. 5; Southampton City Record Office, *Southampton in 1620 and the "Mayflower". An Exhibition of Documents, July-September 1970*, p. 50 No. 136.

²²¹ *Actes des Colloques*, pp. 36, 37, 38, 41.

²²² Michelot originated from St. Malo and had traded with Southampton. His brother, Guillaume, lived in London but occasionally traded through Southampton. Estienne Michelot was admitted to the Lord's Supper in June 1593. He was accompanied by his wife, Gillette Bernard, and their daughter Magdaleine was baptised in February 1594. He lived in SS. Michael & John's ward where he made a scavage payment of 12 d. in 1593. Michelot was assessed on goods worth £6 for his lay subsidy payment in 1594 but he seems to have left the town by 1598. He was actively involved in the town's overseas trade until his departure. PRO E190/817/1, f. 5, 7; E190/817/4, entry dated 11/9/1589; E190/817/5, entries dated 9/12/1588, 18/12/1588; E190/817/6, entry dated 27/4/1590; E190/817/7, entry dated 19/2/1591; E190/817/10, f.4; E190/818/1, (imports) entries dated 3/12/1593, 10/1/1594, 7/2/1594, 25/2/1594, 27/2/1594, 20/4/1594, 3/6/1594; E190/818/1, (exports) entries dated, 29/10/1593, 1/11/1593, 7/11/1593, 14/11/1593, 26/11/1593, 9/2/1594; PRO E179/174/415; PRO Req. 2/198/21; SRO SC5/17/2; *Registre*, pp. 24, 50, 51.

²²³ *Registre*, pp. 108, 110.

²²⁴ Lamb, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 500-3.

first group consists of merchants from refugee families, such as the Hersents, Paul Desert²²⁵, James Roberts,²²⁶ Judith de la Motte and Jan de la Bye. With the exception of the last two merchants, these were second or third generation immigrants who had been born in Southampton. The other two merchants, Judith de la Motte and Jan de la Bye were both described as being natives of Armentières.²²⁷ However Judith de la Motte was the daughter of Balthasar des Maistres and the widow of the minister Philippe de la Motte, who had both been involved in the town's overseas' trade.²²⁸

The second group which can be identified is that of the Channel Island merchants and includes the Clungeons, Isaac Herevill, William Marrinell, John Pittoone, Peter Seale and Peter Priaulx.²²⁹ These merchants seem to have been first generation settlers in Southampton. Matthew Vibert may have also belonged to this group but may have been a member of a Channel Island family which had settled in Southampton.²³⁰ These merchants seem to have worshipped at the French church. Priaulx had even closer links with the refugee community. He seems to have traded on a small scale from 1585 and may have been a factor or apprentice of Jean le Mercier. Priaulx seems to have subsequently married le Mercier's daughter.²³¹

A glimpse of the commercial interests of one of the refugee merchants, John Rochefort, can be gained from examining his will and the probate inventory of his goods. Rochefort had

²²⁵ The son of Gaspard Desert who was admitted to the Lord's Supper in July 1569. Paul was baptised in April 1578. He married the daughter of Jan Clungeon in 1615 by whom he had several children. *Registre*, pp. 5, 43, 58, 61, 93, 114; *Southampton in 1620 and the "Mayflower"*, p. 68 No. 259.

²²⁶ He was the son of Richard Robert who originated from Coulonby, Normandy, who had been admitted to the French church in 1577. He was baptised in August 1584 and was admitted to the Lord's Supper in 1601. He married the daughter of Robert le Page in 1610 and had four children. He died in 1620. *Registre*, pp. 28, 46, 56, 57, 59, 93, 111, 112.

²²⁷ *Registre*, p. 89.

²²⁸ PRO E190/818/1, 8/1/1594, 3/6/1594; E190/818/1, f. 2, 3, 4v, 7, 9, 12, 13, 15, 18; E190/818/6, f. 2v, 6, 6v, 7v, 8, 10, 10v, 11, 12v; E190/818/6, f. 25; E190/818/7, 14/2/1598, 28/3/1598, 1/10/1597, 4/10/1597, 4/1/1598, 17/2/1598, 17/4/1598, 6/7/1598 14/8/1598, 27/9/1598; E190/818/9, 12/2/1598; E190/818/10, f. 2, 2v, 4, 5, 6, 10v, 11v, 18v, 20v, 31; E190/818/12, 23/1/1600; E190/818/13, f. 2, 12v, 17v, 18, 19v, 20v, 24, 28; E190/819/2, f. 22v, 25v; HRO Wills 1615/A/24; *Registre*, p. 89. Judith's son John de la Motte was one of three merchants omitted from the assessment. See above p. 133.

²²⁹ *Registre*, pp. 87, 89, 92. For further details on these merchants, see below p. 259.

²³⁰ James, 'The Geographical Origins and Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton', pp. 511, 512, 619; *Assembly Books*, I, p. 8.

²³¹ PRO E190/816/11, f. 1, 3v; E190/817/5, entry dated 24/2/1589; E190/817/7, f. 8v; E190/818/1, f. 2v, 9; *Registre*, pp. 45, 55, 56, 57, 114; *Southampton in 1620 and the "Mayflower"*, pp. 41 (No. 87), 50 (136).

originated from Rouen but had admitted to the Lord's Supper in Southampton in December 1594.²³² Rochefort was a substantial merchant, his goods were valued at £528 4 s. 7 d. at the time of his death in 1606. It is clear from the probate inventory that Rochefort was actively involved in the production of the 'new draperies' and possessed four serge looms. It would seem that Rochefort was still trading up until the time of his death. One balette of five pieces of serge and a further two small pieces of black dyed serge had been delivered in pawn to John Piton and Peter Seale of Jersey for £37, that Rochefort had received by exchange and these agents were to be paid when the balette reached St. Malo. The value of the balette was £45 and was to be delivered to one Pierre Paumier in St. Malo. Rochefort also traded with Western France. Six hogsheads of Rochelle wine and a balette of canvas, valued at £24, arrived at Southampton in the *Mayflower*. The merchant had a further three parts of a hogshead of Rochelle claret in his cellar. Rochefort may also have imported salt from this area. He was owed £19 by Edward Barlow²³³ for 142 quarters of salt. This situation was not unique. Robert le Page was another merchant who died while actively involved in the town's trade and after his death consignments worth £60 came from La Rochelle and another consignment from Dieppe which was worth £34.²³⁴

There is a degree of continuity in Southampton's overseas trade from Elizabeth's reign into the early seventeenth century. However any study of the town's overseas trade between the mid-1590s and c. 1620 is limited by a hiatus in the surviving royal port books. These record foreign trade between 1596 and 1602 but there is then a break of a decade in the records until 1612. Furthermore during this gap in the records, the port books ceased to be calculated from Michaelmas to Michaelmas but from Christmas to Christmas. As a result it is awkward to make any direct comparison between the earlier and later port books.

Although the conclusion of the war with Spain undoubtedly had an impact upon overseas trade, the general direction of this trade in the early seventeenth century remained largely unchanged. The import trade was principally centred upon the Channel Islands, St. Malo and Morlaix with trade with the ports of Western France and Normandy being of only secondary importance. The trade with the Netherlands and the Iberian peninsula was only of limited significance.²³⁵

Linen and canvas from Brittany and Normandy were the most important commodities imported to Southampton during this period, accounting for 73.6% of total imports in 1613 and this

²³² HRO Wills 1606/B/46 John Rocheforte; *Registre*, p. 25.

²³³ For a biography of Edward Barlow, see *Assembly Books*, I, p. 15n.

²³⁴ HRO Wills 1612/A/58 Robert le Page.

²³⁵ Lamb, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 42-44.

increased to 84.7% of imports in 1619.²³⁶ The refugee merchants such as Pierre le Gay, John Hersent, Balthasar des Maistres and Robert le Page were all engaged in importing canvas from St. Malo at the turn of the century.²³⁷ Besides canvas these merchants imported other goods from St. Malo such as resin, almonds, raisins and Seville oil.²³⁸ Members of the French community also continued to trade with the northern French ports; the principal merchant who imported goods from Caen to Southampton was David Moutonnier who was probably the son of Claude.²³⁹ Some of the refugees also traded with the Netherlands, for example Philippe de la Motte imported twelve barrels of rape oil and four bags of madder from Flushing in 1601-2.²⁴⁰ The import of wine doubled between 1606 and 1609, the most marked growth being in the import of Spanish wine which quadrupled. By 1617 the level of imports seem to have fallen back to the lower levels of 1606.²⁴¹ This would not have affected many strangers directly for few of them had imported wines.

The 'new draperies' were Southampton's most important export in the first half of the seventeenth century, although the actual volume of 'new drapery' exports seems to have peaked in the second decade of the century. The actual quantities of 'new drapery' exports have not been calculated and tabulated as they have been for the earlier periods.²⁴² This is partly due to the

²³⁶ Lamb, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', p. 49.

²³⁷ PRO E190/818/10, f. 14v, 15v, 16v, 17v, 18, 18v, 20v, 21, 22, 22v, 23, 23v, 24, 24v, 26v, 27, 28, 31.

²³⁸ PRO E190/818/10, f. 22, 26.

²³⁹ Lamb, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', p. 69.

²⁴⁰ PRO E190/819/2, f. 22v, 25v.

²⁴¹ Lamb, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', p. 128.

²⁴² The figures which Lamb calculated for these exports are tabulated below.

'New Drapery' Exports, excluding 'Cottons', from Southampton, 1600 - 1619.

Year Ending	Mich. 1601	Mich. 1602	Xmas 1613	Xmas 1614	Xmas 1616	Xmas 1619
Serges	1287	781½	-	-	-	-
Cloth Rash - So'ton	-	-	2274	2381	2865	2980
Winchester	-	-	203	288	212	120
Perpetuanas- So'ton	-	-	520	459	391	367
Winchester	-	-	146	60+12y d	110	80
Says	60	9	976	830	766	429

Source: Lamb, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', p. 57.

inconsistencies in the surviving port books but also due to the emergence of even more varieties of the 'new draperies'. New cloths such as perpetuanas first appear in 1612-13 but as can be seen from Table XVIII, a variety of different types had emerged. There were also several changes in terminology; the cloth which had been exported as says had by 1596-97 come to be called serge. This name seems to have changed again by 1613 to 'cloth rash'.²⁴³ These changes in terminology and in the types of cloth makes any direct comparisons with earlier 'new drapery' exports difficult.

By the seventeenth century, the term the 'new draperies' had also come to embrace other types of cloth which were not produced by the refugee community. The export of the 'old draperies' declined markedly in the first half of the seventeenth century. In Southampton the export of the 'old draperies', of which the Hampshire and Winton kersies were the most important cloths, had declined after reaching their peak in the early 1570s. The 'new draperies' offered a lighter and cheaper alternative to the English broadcloths. However by the end of the seventeenth century the 'new draperies' should not be merely confined to the cloths produced by the refugee communities; 'new draperies' had emerged elsewhere in response to the changing patterns of demand for cloth. The rapid growth of serge-production in Devon was typical of this development. In Southampton, cottons were an important export in the first two decades of the seventeenth century. These 'new draperies' were probably produced in the counties of Southern England. As a result of this 'expansion' of the 'new draperies', the cloths produced by the refugee community only represented a share, albeit the most important, of the total volume of the 'new draperies' exported in the early seventeenth century.²⁴⁴

The involvement of the 'French' merchants in the town's overseas trade in 1619 was also examined by Lamb. In terms of imports, the most active 'French' merchants were John Clungeon, Peter Clungeon, John Guillam and Peter Seale who imported 73 of the 224 consignments imported by the principal Southampton merchants. In general these merchants seem to have imported cloth from St. Malo. These merchants together with the Hersents, Peter Priaulx and James Roberts were all actively involved in exporting cloth from Southampton which was principally exported from St. Malo, La Rochelle and Bordeaux.²⁴⁵

²⁴³ In 1593-94 the phrase 'sayes al. sarges' was used and by 1596-97, 'sarge' seems to have become the common term. There are still references to says but these were presumably what had earlier been called Hondschoote says. PRO E190/818/1, E190/818/6. On the adoption of the term cloth rash, see Lamb, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', p. 54 which cites *Examinations and Depositions, 1622-1644*, I p. 48.

²⁴⁴ Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 74-76; Lamb, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 54-58; D.C. Coleman, 'An Innovation and its Diffusion: the 'New Draperies'', *Ec.H.R.*, Second Series, 22 (1969), p. 428; R. Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution. Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653*, (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 36-39.

²⁴⁵ Lamb, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 504-5, 514.

The presence of the 'French' merchants continued to be felt in Southampton's overseas trade later into the seventeenth century, through the activities of merchants such as the de la Mottes, Paul Mercer and the Clungeons. However as the members of the community gradually began to penetrate municipal government and became increasingly integrated into Southampton society, as has been seen in an earlier chapter, it becomes less valid to identify these merchants as a separate group in the town's economic life.

Conclusion.

The refugee merchants clearly made a substantial contribution to Southampton's overseas trade in the second half of the sixteenth century. While there were a number of small traders who regularly engaged in the cross-Channel trade, the principal benefit to Southampton's economy came from a very small group of prominent merchants: Arnoul le Clercq, Mathieu Sohier and Jean le Mercier. In importing goods to Southampton, these merchants were generally engaged in a similar trade to the indigenous Southampton merchants. However their most important contribution was in the development of a new export trade from Southampton, that of the 'new draperies'. These merchants rarely encroached upon the types of goods exported by Southampton merchants. Refugee merchants were responsible for on average about 70% of the says exported from Southampton between 1573 and 1580. The merchants contribution to Southampton's overseas trade was however tempered by war, plague as well as local economic crises during the 1580s. As a result some merchants left Southampton while others such as Jean le Mercier adapted to the changed circumstances. By the early seventeenth century, the 'new draperies' had become the most important export from Southampton and of these the most significant were the serges which had been introduced by the refugee community.

The Refugees and the production of the 'New Draperies'.

During the 1560s, Cecil and the Privy Council became alarmed that the value of luxuries being imported to England could not be met by the value of the country's exports. Cecil therefore attempted to encourage the domestic production of goods in order to offset this damaging adverse balance of trade.¹ Part of this encouragement of domestic production meant supporting proposals made for the introduction of new skills and products to England.² The establishment of the 'new draperies' by the exile communities should correctly be seen against this background.

In 1561 the Privy Council granted permission for a community of Dutch refugees to be established in Sandwich. It was hoped that through the introduction of the skills of the 'new draperies' that it would be possible to revitalise Sandwich's flagging economy.³ Other towns also cherished the hope that their urban economies would benefit from these new techniques introduced by exile communities; communities were soon established in Norwich (1565), Maidstone (1567) and Stamford (1567).⁴ The introduction of the 'new draperies' also played an important part in the negotiations for the establishment of the refugee community in Southampton.⁵

The economy of Southampton was largely dependent upon overseas trade; the town lacked any substantial manufacturing industry.⁶ There had been several attempts to establish textile production in Southampton during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In 1483 attempts were made to settle foreign clothworkers in the town and to educate the English in the new techniques for the dyeing and finishing of cloth. Anthony Spinola revived this scheme in Henry VII's reign but it came to nothing.⁷ The plans of Antonio Guidotti, to introduce twenty-four silkweavers from Messina to the town in 1537, were also unsuccessful.⁸ The stagnation in overseas

¹ See above pp. 64-65.

² Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 139-42.

³ Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p.141; M.F. Backhouse, 'The Strangers at Work in Sandwich: Native Envy of an Industrious Minority 1561-1603', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 10 (1991), p. 74.

⁴ Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 263-4.

⁵ See above pp. 74-75.

⁶ Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', p. 44. This is to an extent confirmed by an examination of the probate inventories produced for residents of Southampton before 1567, which reveals the dominance of mercantile and maritime trades. *Southampton Probate Inventories 1447-1575*, E. Roberts and K. Parker, (ed.) (SRS, 34-35, 1992), I.

⁷ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III A.D. 1476-1485*, p. 342; Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping*, p. 217.

⁸ A.A. Ruddock, 'Antonio Guidotti', *PHFC*, 15 (1941-43), pp. 37-38.

trade during the 1550s and 1560s probably had an adverse effect upon the town's prosperity.⁹ It was no doubt hoped that the establishment of the refugee community and the introduction of the 'new draperies' would help to revitalise Southampton's economy.

The 'New Draperies'.

The 'new draperies' had been developed in Flanders 'partly in a commercialization of peasant techniques drawing into the market economy; and partly in a copying, and adaptation, of Italian textile models'.¹⁰ The cloths of the new draperies offered an alternative to the 'old draperies', for which Hampshire had been an important centre with the production of the Hampshire and Winton kersies.¹¹ The refugees proposed '*composer sayes de Honscooten, draps d'Armentiere et couvertures d'Espagne, desqueles sortes de marchandises jusques à présent la manufacture ne s'est faicte, ny cognue*'.¹² They do not however seem to have introduced the '*draps d'Armentiere*' or the '*couvertures d'Espagne*' to Southampton. It has been argued that the production of '*draps d'Armentiere*' at Coventry from 1568 onwards may have prevented the manufacture of this type of cloth in Southampton. The Flemish community at Norwich produced '*couvertures d'Espagne*' but only for a very short period.¹³

The Southampton community seems to have concentrated on producing says. These cloths had been produced in Flanders since the twelfth century using local wool and a variety of says had emerged with different types of spun warps and wefts.¹⁴ By the sixteenth century the term 'say' had come to be applied not just to 'says' but also to 'serges'. Technically there was very little difference between the two types of cloth which both had jersey warps and carded wefts; a say had a warp which was made to appear prominent through doubling and twisting of the yarn, whereas the warp in a serge was inconspicuous.¹⁵ In the royal port books for Southampton for 1593-94, these cloths were described as 'sayes al. sarges' and by 1596-97 'sarge' seems to have become the

⁹ Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 51, 56.

¹⁰ D.C. Coleman, 'An Innovation and its Diffusion: "the New Draperies"', *Ec.H.R.*, Second Series, 22 (1969), p. 421.

¹¹ R. Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution. Commercial Change, Political Conflict and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653*, (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 37-38.

¹² PRO SP12/43/30.

¹³ E. Kerridge, *Textile Manufactures in Early Modern England*, (Manchester, 1985), pp. 34-35.

¹⁴ Kerridge, *Textile Manufactures*, pp. 6-7.

¹⁵ Kerridge, *Textile Manufactures*, pp. 7, 60, 111, 113.

common term for the cloths exported.¹⁶

It seems that both 'broad' and 'small' serges were produced in Southampton. These narrow cloths were suitable for making doublets while the broad serges which could be up to six quarters wide were suitable for making larger garments such as cloaks.¹⁷ The broad serge seems to have been produced more widely than the narrow serges. As the broad loom required two people to operate it, it was less easily adapted for serge production in rural areas. By the early seventeenth century the 'Hampton broad serges' came to be called 'cloth rashes'.¹⁸

The refugees also seem to have attempted to produce pinnion serge, a coarser cloth which developed in the West Country but which came to challenge the Hampton serges. According to Kerridge, the yarn which the refugees attempted to purchase in the West Country in 1601 was to be used in the production of pinnion serges.¹⁹ Although the evidence which Kerridge cites for pinnion serge manufacture in Southampton dates from the mid-seventeenth century it seems that this cloth may have been produced in Southampton since the late sixteenth century.²⁰ In 1590 Gilles Seulin left 40 *lbs.* of 'pynyon earne' while in 1606 Jean Rochefort left 5 tods 7 *lbs.* of 'middell pinion' as well as some pieces of coarse serge.²¹

The community may also have produced Hondschoote says which traditionally had a rockspun weft and a slackly twisted wheelspun warp.²² As Hondschoote says were specifically recorded in the royal port books and the name continued to be used after 1597, it seems that this cloth was distinct from the says/serges produced by the refugee community.²³

The refugees did not however confine themselves to producing says or serges; in 1574 the Court Leet referred to those 'that mak serge & estammel'.²⁴ 'Estammel' was a cloth known as 'stammet' (and later as tammy), in which the yarn had been scoured in order to make it smoother or finer. The immigrants from the Netherlands introduced the production of stammet kerseys to England, though only limited quantities of this cloth were manufactured by the refugee communities

¹⁶ PRO E190/818/1, E190/818/6.

¹⁷ Kerridge, *Textile Manufactures*, p. 111.

¹⁸ Kerridge, *Textile Manufactures*, p. 113; *Examination and Depositions, 1622-1644*, I, p. 48.

¹⁹ Kerridge, *Textile Manufactures*, pp. 113-14, 116-17. Also see below pp. 146-47.

²⁰ Kerridge, *Textile Manufactures*, p. 299, fn. 289.

²¹ HRO Wills 1590/Ad/42, 1606/B/46.

²² Kerridge, *Textile Manufactures*, p. 7.

²³ PRO E190/818/1, E190/818/6.

²⁴ *Court Leet Records*, p. 106.

and little was exported from Southampton.²⁵

Silk weaving was also introduced to Southampton by the refugees. In 1574 Anthoine Jurion was described as being a silk weaver and was accused by the Court Leet of the retail selling of silk and ribbon lace.²⁶ When he died in 1578, he left amongst his goods 28 *lbs* 3 *oz* of different coloured silks which together with a range of other silks, threads and laces were assessed as being worth £76 4 *s*.²⁷ The references to silkweaving in Southampton are limited. Another refugee who was described as a silkweaver was Vincent Nérin, who in 1582 married Jurion's widowed daughter-in-law.²⁸ In 1584 a certain John Cordon, the son of a woollen draper, was apprenticed to Nérin who was 'to teach him to weaue silke'.²⁹

The royal port books reveal that a variety of 'new drapery' cloths were exported from Southampton, but it is unclear whether these cloths were produced in the town. The first available royal port book for the period after the establishment of the community covers the period from Michaelmas 1573 to Michaelmas 1574. It reveals that 334½ pieces of say and 140½ bays were exported from Southampton; refugee merchants exported 253 of these says (75.8%) and no bays.³⁰ In addition the refugee merchants exported other small quantities of the 'new draperies'; they exported forty pieces of blankets, twenty-nine pieces of mockadoes, four pieces of Holland cloth and three score 'goads' of cottons.³¹ The more varied cloths exported by the refugees in 1573-74 may not have been produced in Southampton. The 'mockadoes' were sometimes described as being 'of Flanders making' and may have been imported. Anthoine le Quesne imported '3 peeces mockadoes, flanders makinge' in February 1574.³² The four pieces of Holland cloth exported by Arnoul le Clercq may also have been imported; in 1575-76 Holland cloth and Ghentish cloth was imported by le Clercq and Mark James of Newport.³³

²⁵ SRO SC5/4/65; Kerridge, *Textile Manufactures*, pp. 110-11.

²⁶ *Court Leet Records*, p. 106.

²⁷ HRO Wills 1578/B/53.

²⁸ Catherine des Plus had initially married Abraham Jurion in 1575 but he died in May 1579, three months after his father. HRO 1578/B/53; *Registre*, pp. 85, 88, 102.

²⁹ SRO SC2/6/5, f. 168v.

³⁰ PRO E190/814/9; see above p. 95.

³¹ PRO E190/814/9, f. 32, 35v, 36.

³² PRO E190/814/9, f. 34.

³³ PRO E190/814/10, f. 22. Mark James was baptised in Newport in 1542 and died in 1605. He may have been a Marian exile. James was a Burgess of the town (1572), constable of Newport in 1572, 1574, 1577 and baliff in 1580, 1586. He migrated to Portsmouth in 1592 and he became Mayor in 1595-96 and 1603. He was the uncle of Dr. John James. I am grateful to Dr. T.B. James for this information.

The Production of the 'New Draperies'.

By 1569 the refugees had 'set vp in ye towne a dyenge house, wevinge & fullinge'.³⁴ Unfortunately little information has survived concerning the production of the 'new draperies' in Southampton, though a few informative wills and probate inventories allow us to build up a picture of the method of production and the processes involved. The inventory of the goods of Jean Rochefort is particularly helpful as he was actively involved in manufacturing cloths: when he died several serges were still on the looms. The limited means and the old equipment left by Peter Poché suggest that he may have retired from manufacturing before he died.³⁵ These sources are also helpful in studying the organisation of the cloth industry in the town but, for reasons of clarity, this is discussed in a separate section.³⁶

Initially some members of the stranger communities in London and Sandwich returned to the Netherlands to purchase yarn. One Cool Boye often returned to Tournai while a refugee from Sandwich went to purchase yarn at Tourcoing. A certain François Ente, who had been banished from the Netherlands, had been seen buying yarn in Armentières.³⁷ There is no evidence to suggest that the refugees in Southampton made similar journeys to the Netherlands to purchase yarn; the town was clearly more distant than Sandwich for such expeditions. The refugee merchants do however seem periodically to have imported wool to Southampton. From the petty customs accounts, it is clear that Arnoul le Clercq, Mathieu Sohier, Augustin de Beaulieu, Jean de Beaulieu and Robert Cousin all occasionally imported sacks of wool but there is no evidence of where these sacks originated.³⁸ At Norwich small quantities of finer grades of wool were imported but generally these seem to have been brought to the city by sea from London.³⁹

By the 1570s the community at Sandwich had begun to manufacture yarn themselves and was generally supplied with wool by Flemish dealers who mainly bought their wool within Kent,

³⁴ *Court Leet Records*, p. 60.

³⁵ HRO Wills 1603/Ad/52, 1606/B/46.

³⁶ See below pp. 150-56.

³⁷ E. de Coussemaker, *Troubles religieux de XVI^e siècle dans la Flandre Maritime 1560-1570*, 4 vols., (Bruges, 1876), I, pp. 346-54.

³⁸ Unfortunately these entries can not be confirmed by comparison with the royal port books because the entries do not coincide. SRO SC5/4/64; SC5/4/65, entry dated 19/7/1569; SC5/4/66, entries dated 15/2/1570, 13/4/1570, 18/7/1570, 18/8/1570; SC5/4/67, entry dated 10/7/1571; SC5/4/73, entries dated Nov. 1577, 16/7/1578.

³⁹ N.J. Williams, *The Maritime Trade of the East Anglian Ports, 1550-1590*, (Oxford, 1988), p. 177.

in particular from the Romney Marsh area.⁴⁰ The refugees in Southampton also seem to have begun to manufacture their own yarn, as spinning wheels or 'tournes' were mentioned in some probate inventories.⁴¹ It seems that the Southampton clothiers were able to use long Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire combing wool to produce their warps and for the weft, initially Hampshire and Berkshire wool and by the early seventeenth century Devon and Cornwall wool was considered better for some fabrics.⁴² Probably the clearest insight into the wool used in the manufacture of the 'new draperies' in Southampton can be gleaned from the probate inventory of the goods of Jean Rochefort compiled in 1606.⁴³ He possessed the following quantities of wool:

13 stone 4 <i>lbs.</i> of Leominster wool	£ 16	1 s.	4 d.
45 tods 14 <i>lbs.</i> of fleece wool	£ 72	16 s.	
17 tods of Spanish wool, valued at 42 s. per tod	£ 35	14 s.	
5 tods 8 <i>lbs.</i> of Spanish wool, valued at 40 s. per tod	£ 10	11 s.	
7 tods 24 <i>lbs.</i> of Spanish wool, valued at 12 d. per <i>lb</i>	£ 11		
5 tods 7 <i>lbs</i> of 'middell pinion', valued at 6 d. per <i>lb</i>	£ 3	13 s.	6 d.
One small barrel full of wool valued at		10 s.	
Four small baskets with certain wool valued at	£ 1		

Leominster wool was considered to be the best type of wool for carding; March wool, which came from the Welsh Marches around Wenlock and the Clun Forest, was the second best wool.⁴⁴ In the same inventory a clear distinction was made between serges made with Leominster wool and those which were made from March wool.

Further details about the wool which the clothmakers brought into the town might have been obtained from the brokerage accounts, the records of petty customs payments made on goods brought into the town. Unfortunately these do not survive after 1566 and during the later sixteenth century, the Corporation leased the brokage dues. A sergemaker, Michael Nutley farmed the brokage dues in 1607 for five years and again in 1612.⁴⁵ There were disputes in this period between Nutley and the other sergemakers who refused to pay brokage dues on wool which they brought

⁴⁰ Backhouse, 'The Strangers at Work in Sandwich', p. 81.

⁴¹ HRO Wills 1603/Ad/52, 1606/B/46.

⁴² P.J. Bowden, *The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England*, (London, 1962), pp. 63-64.

⁴³ HRO Wills 1606/B/46.

⁴⁴ Kerridge, *Textile Manufactures*, pp. 2, 20.

⁴⁵ SRO SC5/15/1-3. On the Nutley family and the farming of the Bargate duties, see *The Third Book of Remembrance*, III, pp. 117-18.

into the town. In 1609, Estien Latelais,⁴⁶ Isaac le Gay,⁴⁷ Pierre Thieudet and Richard Robert⁴⁸ were all ordered to pay their arrears to Nutley while John Clungeon and Isaac Herevill were ordered to pay the arrears owing up to the time when they became burgesses.⁴⁹ The arrears that each sergemaker owed were recorded by the Town Assembly later that year.⁵⁰ In 1612 the sergemakers were ordered by the Corporation to reach an agreement with Nutley in July 1612, concerning the brokage dues on wool entering the town.⁵¹ The matter had still not been resolved by January 1614 when Nutley complained to the Corporation about John Hersent⁵² and other Frenchmen who refused to pay the customary rate of a penny on each tod of wool.⁵³ In January 1616 the clothiers reached an agreement with the Corporation about the brokage dues. The clothiers agreed to pay 4 *d.* on every sack which contained thirteen tods of wool and 2 *d.* for every half sack of wool brought into the town.⁵⁴

Although some probate inventories do include spinning wheels, by the early seventeenth

⁴⁶ Latelais was admitted to the Lord's Supper with his wife, Madalaine de la Pille, in October 1579. Their children were baptised in the church and he frequently acted as a *parain*. He lived initially in the ward of Holy Rood but moved to the ward of All Saints Within, where he regularly recorded as making scavage, stall & art and lay subsidy payments. In 1594 he was assessed as having goods worth £8. Although he was a member of the church's consistory, he was fined by the Court Leet in 1601, 1604 and 1605 concerning his scales and weights which were too light. PRO E179/174/415; SRO SC5/17/3, SC5/17/8, SC5/17/9, SC6/1/16, SC6/1/17, SC6/1/20, SC6/1/21, SC6/1/22, SC6/1/24, SC6/1/25, SC6/1/27, SC6/1/28, SC6/1/29; *Registre*, pp. 15, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 108; *Assembly Books*, I, p. 17. See below p. 209.

⁴⁷ Isaac le Gay was the son of Pierre le Gay and was baptised in the French Church in August 1573. He was admitted to the Lord's Supper in 1589 and married Esther Behout in April 1600. They had six children, including Pierre le Gay, and he frequently acted as a *parain*. He lived in the ward of SS. Michael & John where he was recorded as making stall & art dues and in 1602 a lay subsidy payment of 6 *d.* He was fined in 1611 for having weights that were too light. He died in September 1613. SRO SC6/1/25, SC6/1/27, SC6/1/30; *Registre*, pp. 22, 41, 48, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 91, 107, 110; *Assembly Books*, I, p. 11.

⁴⁸ A native of Normandy, he was admitted to the Lord's Supper in October 1577. He married Anne le Blanc in September 1580 and their two children were baptised in the French church. His wife died in 1621. *Registre*, pp. 13, 46, 48, 49, 51, 54, 59, 87, 112.

⁴⁹ *Assembly Books*, II, p. 14. See below p. 259.

⁵⁰ *Assembly Books*, II, p. 64.

⁵¹ *Assembly Books*, III, pp. 40-41. On the same occasion the sergemakers were ordered to pay their employees in English money, see below p. 153.

⁵² For a biography, see below p. 260.

⁵³ *Assembly Books*, III, p. 81.

⁵⁴ *Assembly Books*, IV, p. 37.

century the spinning of yarn seems to have been largely put out by the sergemakers.⁵⁵ This was inevitable due to the large number of spinners who were needed to supply one weaver. Whereas the ratio of spinners to weavers in the production of the broadcloths had been 3 : 1, in the production of fine serge it was 10 : 1.⁵⁶ The wool was prepared for spinning by being carded or combed, it was then 'seamed', dressed with grease before spinning. There are a few references to Southampton refugees who were involved in this stage of the cloth production process. Bastien Lamoureux who had been admitted to the Lord's Supper in 1567 was described as a '*pegneur*' while another refugee left 'a pair of combs' when he died in 1583.⁵⁷ When Pierre Thieudet died in 1612, he left fifty pounds of combed wool and two dozen pounds of wool at the spinners. His goods also included five tods of wool 'seamed' ready for the spinners.⁵⁸

Again the probate inventory of Jean Rochefort's goods provides further information about the type of yarn which was used:⁵⁹

363 lbs of Leominster yarn, valued at 2 s. per lb.	£ 36	6 s.
54 lbs. of 'Devyse yarne', valued at 20 d. per lb.	£ 4	10 s.
112 lbs. of March wool yarn, valued at 12 d. per lb.	£ 5	12 s.
216 lbs. of coarse yarn, valued at 9 d. per lb.	£ 8	2 s.
164 lbs. of very coarse yarn, valued 6 d. per lb.	£ 4	18 s.
216 lbs. of the same yarn, valued at 22 d.		8 s.
60 lbs. of small 'torne' yarn, valued at 2 s. 8 d. per lb.	£ 8	
One pack of 'list yarne' valued		4 s.
One 'chaine warpt of litle-torne yarne' valued	£ 2	10 s.

By 1601 Hampshire yarn had come to be considered inferior to yarn produced in Devon and Cornwall which 'serveth best for the abb of some sort of sarges and stuffs' and 'that without the same they cannot make the said stuffes vendable and for use'. The Mayor and Corporation of Southampton appointed an agent to purchase yarn in the markets but he had been arrested and was forbidden by the Justices in Devon from purchasing more yarn. The Southampton authorities protested to the Privy Council and argued that the production of serges was important for the local

⁵⁵ HRO Wills 1603/Ad/52, 1606/B/46. See below pp. 152-53.

⁵⁶ D. Seward, 'The Devonshire Cloth Industry in the early seventeenth century', in R. Burt, (ed.), *Industry and Society in the South West*, (University of Exeter, 1970), p. 49.

⁵⁷ HRO Wills 1583/Ad/10; *Registre*, p. 3.

⁵⁸ HRO Wills 1611/B/65.

⁵⁹ HRO Wills 1606/B/46.

economy. The Privy Council acquiesced and wrote to the Justices of the Peace in Devon and Cornwall authorising agents to purchase West Country yarn as this would not cause a shortage but the agents were not however to purchase more than between sixty or eighty pounds of yarn per week.⁶⁰

By the early seventeenth century the cloth was woven on either broad or narrow looms. A certain James Flower was apprenticed in 1618 and was to be 'instructed in weaving serge both upon the broad and narrow looms'.⁶¹ The broad loom seems to have been operated by two men because when the Corporation drew up regulations for the Company of sergemakers, they forbade two apprentices to operate the loom.⁶² When Clement Graunt, who was described as a 'sargemaker' died in 1584 he left a weaver's loom; it is not possible to identify whether this was a broad loom or a narrow one but a broad loom would have required two people to operate it. This is also true of the 'sarge lome withe a harnys, a warping barr, a quylling turne' which was left by Gilles Seulin in 1590.⁶³ However Peter Poché left in 1603 'ij olde lomes, i great & i small', and in 1611 the inventory of Pierre Thieudet's goods reveals that he had 'one great loome & one small loome, with the harnest & tournes to them belonging'. John Rochefort owned four looms when he died in 1606: 'three loomes for great sardges furnished and one loome for small sardges furnished 4 tornes and polles to dryv chaines upon'.⁶⁴

By the early seventeenth century, the woven serges were dyed 'in the piece', in a range of colours: black, tawny, minom [grey], 'grisburn' or 'French russet', silver and white.⁶⁵ When the refugees first arrived in Southampton, they had requested permission to be able to export cloths undyed because they were uncertain that sufficient numbers of says would be produced to allow them to employ a dyer. It was also considered that the quality of the local water would not ensure that the colour of cloths would be fresh. They were given permission to export undyed cloths for a limited period but it seems that they soon found somewhere suitable to dye the cloths.⁶⁶ In this respect Southampton was not an ideal location for the cloth industry because it frequently

⁶⁰ *Acts of the Privy Council, 1601-1604*, pp. 347-48. Also see above p. 141.

⁶¹ *A Calendar of Southampton Apprenticeship Registers 1609-1740*, compiled by A.J. Willis, ed. A.L. Merson, (SRS, XII, 1968), p. 8.

⁶² *Assembly Books*, II, p. 50, IV, p. 77.

⁶³ HRO Wills 1584/Ad/25, 1590/Ad/42.

⁶⁴ HRO Wills 1603/Ad/52, 1606/B/46, 1611/B/65.

⁶⁵ *Examinations and Despositions, 1622-1644*, I, p. 48.

⁶⁶ PRO SP12/43/29, SP15/13/78. The different sources of water were also important for dyeing. Apparently 'well water ... was only suitable for reds or for dyeing cloths made wholly or largely of cotton wool. River water was essential for clear blue, yellow or green wools or woollens'. Kerridge, *Textile Manufactures*, p. 164.

experienced problems over its water supply, which since the thirteenth century had been piped from the Hill area of Southampton.⁶⁷

Dyeing clearly required a significant quantity of water and it may have been for this reason that at least one dye-house was set up in the Hill district. In 1584 Robert Cousin bequeathed to his late wife's son-in-law, Claude Moutonnier, 'that dyeng shope which I have at the hill with the tubbes, chaudrons and all the Instruments belonginge or servinge to the said dyenge'.⁶⁸ When Isaac le Gay died in 1613 he left his 'dyehouse at Hill and groundes thappurtaining', presumably the dyehouse which he had inherited from his father, Pierre le Gay, in 1604.⁶⁹ As Moutonnier had left Southampton in 1598, it was possible that le Gay's dyehouse originally belonged to Cousin and then Moutonnier.⁷⁰

However dyeing was not confined to the Hill area of Southampton but also took place in the town centre. Isaac le Gay owned a second dyehouse, which indicates le Gay's status as a sergemaker, which was attached to his home, West Hall.⁷¹ This property had been occupied by Mathieu Sohier and was later leased by Judith de la Motte from the Corporation.⁷² There were however complaints made to the Court Leet about dyeing in the town. In 1602 the Court Leet complained that John Hersent had taken a water pipe to his house from the town cistern and had drawn off water for dyeing. He was accused of taking sufficient water to supply a quarter of the town and of causing a water shortage.⁷³ The Court Leet complained in 1616 about 'the servants of mr. philipp delamote for castinge their oade [woad] and dyenge water out of the dye house in the backe parte of Bull Street, which is most vnseemelye & Causeth vnsavorie smells to the people passinge bye'.⁷⁴ De la Motte's widow was accused of similar offences in 1619 and 1624.⁷⁵

After dyeing the cloths were finished by the clothworkers, who were skilled in 'Rowinge', 'burling', 'fulling', 'dressing and pressing of kerseys, serges and other draperies'.⁷⁶ Some cloths

⁶⁷ C.P.S. Platt, *Medieval Southampton: The port and trading community, A.D. 1000-1600*, (London, 1973), pp. 65, 144, 181, 207.

⁶⁸ PRO PCC Prob. 11/67 Robert Cousin.

⁶⁹ PRO PCC Prob. 11/106 Pierre le Gay, Prob. 11/122 Isaac le Gay.

⁷⁰ See above p. 133.

⁷¹ PRO PCC Prob. 11/122 Isaac le Gay; SRO SC4/3/121.

⁷² SRO SC4/3/58, SC4/3/187.

⁷³ *Court Leet Records*, p. 367.

⁷⁴ *Court Leet Records*, p. 503.

⁷⁵ *Court Leet Records*, pp. 557, 599.

⁷⁶ *Assembly Books*, IV, p. 80.

were fulled; Robert Cousin owned a fulling shop and 'all that which belongeth to the occupacion of a ffuller' when he died in 1584.⁷⁷ Some cloths were felted, after dying the nap on cloth was raised using teasels and then the cloth was sheared.⁷⁸ Various probate inventories make reference to shears and Cousin also bequeathed to Moutonnier 'all the greate sheeres which I have servinge for to sheare withall and alsoe the shearing tables handells telses [*sic*] and all other thinges servinge to the dressing of clothes'.⁷⁹ In 1593 several cloths were 'trimmed, shorne and dried' after they had been dyed; a similar process of shearing cloths after dyeing was commented upon in 1624.⁸⁰ In 1613 the shearmen and clothiers of the town were criticised by the Court Leet because on a Sunday they 'hange there Clothes to be stretched and dried uppon severall Racks as well in Godeshowse Greene as in other places'.⁸¹ These racks presumably needed a sizeable area: in 1587 the Court Leet presented Lionel Awsten for weakening the town walls by cutting into a defensive bank in order to stand his racks.⁸² The Corporation leased part of God's House Green, for twenty-one years, to another shearman, John Wyatt, so that he could to set up his racks.⁸³

A final stage in the finishing process was the pressing of the serges, which gave the cloths a sheen. In 1597 one William Terrie⁸⁴ petitioned the Privy Council and claimed that he had lived in Southampton for sixteen years and had made his living through pressing serges. However in recent years, Terrie alleged that strangers, who had in the past solely occupied themselves in dyeing

⁷⁷ PRO PCC Prob. 11/67 Robert Cousin.

⁷⁸ This was the case with the *saies drappées* which had been produced at Bruges, Armentières, Lille, Arras, St. Omer, Mechlin and Liège. Kerridge, *Textile Manufactures*, p. 7.

⁷⁹ PRO PCC Prob. 11/67 Robert Cousin; HRO 1603/Ad/52.

⁸⁰ See below pp. 154-55.

⁸¹ *Court Leet Records*, p. 456.

⁸² *Court Leet Records*, pp. 259-60.

⁸³ *Assembly Books*, III, p. 24. Several racks can be seen in Speed's map of Southampton, see above Map IV, p. 62.

⁸⁴ Guillaume Thiery originated from the Pays de Caux, Normandy and married Rachel le Roy dit Bouillon at the French church in August 1580. He was occasionally involved in the cross-Channel trade. He initially lived in the ward of Holy Rood where he was assessed for the stall & art dues in 1581 and 1587. By 1594 he was living in SS. Michael & John's ward where he was assessed for the lay subsidy on goods worth £3. Thiery seems to have been sufficiently respected to act as a *parain* on a number of occasions. Four of the couple's children were baptised in the church, the last being in April 1598. In September 1598, Thiery was described as being in debt and had been living in La Rochelle for the previous one and a half years. His wife remained in Southampton. PRO E179/174/415; SRO SC6/1/16, SC6/1/19; Hatfield House, Salisbury MSS, CP64/37-38; *Registre*, pp. 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 50, 51, 52, 87.

cloth, now also pressed serges. Terrie requested that the Privy Council should order the dyers to cease pressing cloths. The Privy Council wrote to the Mayor and several aldermen in Southampton for their advice on this issue.⁸⁵

The Mayor's response to this letter is unknown. It is however clear that Terrie had not had a monopoly in the pressing of serges in the town since at least c. 1584 when Robert Cousin bequeathed to Claude Moutonnier 'my presse serge or washe clothes after the fashion of fflorence, with all the thinges belonginge and servinge to the saide presse'.⁸⁶ Moutonnier was certainly dyeing and pressing serges by 1593.⁸⁷

Terrie's wife seems to have pursued her husband's claims for a monopoly. On 20 September 1598 the minister and elders of the French church wrote to Sir Robert Cecil and explained their reasons for opposing the grant of such a monopoly to Rachel Terrie. They complained that many strangers would be damaged financially by such a grant because some refugees had imported and set up presses from the continent which cost a hundred crowns or more. Furthermore without competition, the cost of pressing says would probably increase such that it would not be viable for them still to be produced. Besides the consequences of such a monopoly, Terrie was accused of being an unsuitable character to operate such a monopoly and in the past when serges were taken to her and her husband for pressing, they were sometimes lost or secretly sold.⁸⁸

The request for this privilege was referred for consideration to a tribunal which consisted of Sir Julius Ceasar and two others. The Mayor and Corporation of Southampton petitioned these men in July 1599. Their letter argued against the granting of this privilege to Rachel Terrie (whom they described as being 'verie idle, a prattlinge Gossipp, unfitt to undertake a matter of so great a charge') and reiterated the points made by the refugees the previous year.⁸⁹ It would seem that Terrie's petition was unsuccessful as several sergemakers, such as Judith de la Motte, seem to have owned their own serge presses in the early seventeenth century.⁹⁰

The Organisation of Cloth Production.

It is difficult to obtain from the fragmentary evidence a clear impression of how the

⁸⁵ *Acts of the Privy Council, 1597*, pp. 9-10.

⁸⁶ PRO PCC Prob. 11/67 Robert Cousin.

⁸⁷ See below p. 155.

⁸⁸ Hatfield House, Salisbury MSS, CP64/37-38.

⁸⁹ BL, Lansdowne MSS, 161, f. 127.

⁹⁰ *Examinations and Depositions, 1622-1644*, I, pp. 48, 50.

production of the 'new draperies' was organised in Southampton. During the negotiations for the establishment of the community, the petitioners requested to be able to employ 'men and maid servants of their own country' for the manufacture of the 'new draperies' because the employment of unskilled Englishmen could be damaging. The Council permitted twenty families of strangers to settle in the town on condition that they trained two English apprentices for seven years and then took two Englishmen for every two strangers.⁹¹ However while the strangers agreed to train English men they appealed to be allowed sufficient servants to produce the 'new draperies'. Cecil noted that while there should be a 'competent number' of Englishmen after three years, he permitted twelve strangers per household but there was to be no more than forty households.⁹²

It is clear from the negotiations about the community's establishment that the term 'household' referred to a working unit, i.e. the master craftsman and his employees or apprentices, rather than merely to the man's family.⁹³ Bishop Grindal wrote in 1567: 'I suppose it were good no limitation were made, for limitinge of the membre of families shall restrayne excessive numbre of servauntes'.⁹⁴ In the letters patent drawn up for the establishment of the community in Norwich, the phrase '... being all householders or master workmen' is used and at Maidstone in 1567 the total was to include '200 persons being householders, children or servants, men and not women'.⁹⁵

This form of organisation is confirmed by the situation in Sandwich. Two lists of the strangers were drawn up during the early 1560s. The first list compiled in 1561 reveals that there were 173 bay workers divided into seventeen groups and 74 say workers divided into eight groups. Each of these groups was headed by a master. A similar pattern appears in the list compiled in 1563, in which 285 names were divided into groups of bay workers with their masters and groups of say workers with their masters.⁹⁶ In 1573 a survey of the Sandwich community listed the twenty-five masters separately.⁹⁷ This structure reflects the guild-controlled organisation of the urban-based

⁹¹ PRO SP15/13/82.

⁹² PRO SP12/43/29-30.

⁹³ For a discussion of household structure, see N. Goose, 'Household size and structure in early-Stuart Cambridge', *Social History*, 5 (1980), pp. 347-85.

⁹⁴ PRO SP12/43/29.

⁹⁵ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Elizabeth*, III, pp. 39-40; IV, pp. 209-10.

⁹⁶ Backhouse, 'The Strangers at Work in Sandwich', p. 81; M.F. Backhouse, 'De Vlaamse vluchtelingenkerk in Sandwich in 1563. Twee manuscripten uit het British Museum', *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, 147 (1981), pp. 84-113.

⁹⁷ M.F. Backhouse, 'De Vlaamse vluchtelingenkerk in Sandwich in 1573. Een derde manuscript uit het British Museum', *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, 148 (1982), pp. 229-67.

cloth industry in the Southern Netherlands and which can also be seen to an extent in some English towns.⁹⁸

It seems likely that the production of the 'new draperies' in Southampton was initially organised in a similar way. Occasionally the community's register refers to those admitted to the Lord's Supper as living with a particular person, '*Chez Bourdel*' for example. In most cases these people were probably apprentices rather than workmen.⁹⁹ However some of those described as being servants may have been journeymen employed in the production of the 'new draperies' who also lived with their master, rather than being merely domestic servants.¹⁰⁰ One Pierre Everard who was admitted to the Lord's Supper in 1574 was described as being a '*seruiteur de mestre More*'.¹⁰¹

This household form of organisation was however modified because of the large quantities of yarn that was required for the production of the 'new draperies'.¹⁰² By the early seventeenth century, some producers of the 'new draperies' began to act as entrepreneurs and to develop the putting-out system for spinning wool. Jean Rochefort's probate inventory included 47 *lbs* of combed wool with the spinners, a further 23 *lbs* of combed wool and 283 *lbs* of wool 'for the great torne'.¹⁰³ This was not an isolated example, Pierre Thieudet left £11 worth of wool 'abrod a spyning' and when Robert le Page died in 1612 he owed 14 *s.* to diverse spinners.¹⁰⁴

The use of the putting-out system for spinning resulted in complaints being made to the Corporation in 1609. Isaac le Gay and other sergemakers were accused of employing people in the countryside rather than townsmen in spinning yarn. The sergemakers denied the charge and Isaac le Gay claimed to have one hundred and forty people within the town on his books. However the sergemakers complained that some of the the poor people they employed stole the wool or yarn but the sergemakers agreed to employ any person who approached them for work so long as they had

⁹⁸ E. Coornaert, 'Draperies rurales, draperies urbaines. L'évolution de l'industrie flamande au moyen age et au XVI^e siècle', *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 28 (1950), pp. 86-90; R.S. DuPlessis, *Lille and the Dutch Revolt. Urban Stability in an Era of Revolution, 1500-1582*, (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 96-99; G.W. Clark, 'An Urban Study during the Revolt of the Netherlands: Valenciennes 1540-1570', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University 1972, pp. 29-45; Kerridge, *Textile Manufactures*, pp. 179-86.

⁹⁹ *Registre*, p. 17. See below p. 160.

¹⁰⁰ For the situation in England, see Goose, 'Household size and structure in early-Stuart Cambridge', pp. 373-75.

¹⁰¹ *Registre*, p. 10.

¹⁰² See above p. 146.

¹⁰³ HRO Wills 1606/B/46.

¹⁰⁴ HRO Wills 1611/B/65, 1612/A/58.

been given a testimonial by the Mayor.¹⁰⁵ The sergemakers seem to have employed workers as far afield as Lymington because in 1608 they were warned not to deliver or receive 'anie yearne works' from workers there, due to an outbreak of plague in that town.¹⁰⁶

Although the sergemakers clearly employed a large number of spinners there were complaints made about the way they paid them. In 1604 a complaint was made in the Court Leet against Philip de la Motte, Pierre le Gay, Estien Latelais, John Hersant, Balthasar des Maistres and Robert le Page who were accused of paying their spinners 'in wares at a verie hard rate, which the poore people are Constrayned to sell againe to whomsoever they cann gett to buye it and that at least by two pence in a shillinge losse, they the said aliens refusinge to pay them in monie'. The Court Leet demanded that the offenders be called before the Town Assembly and be ordered to desist from making such payments in kind.¹⁰⁷ The matter does not appear to have been resolved because in 1612 the following sergemakers were called to the Town Assembly: Isaac Herevill, John Hersant, Isaac le Gay, Andrew Harris, Richard Allen, Roger Morse, Mr. Palmer, Richard Goare, Clement Audley, Hugh Newe, Robert Rochefort.¹⁰⁸ They were ordered 'to paie good English money to their worcke folkes in respect they are not otherwise able to live'. The sergemakers promised to conform to this request.¹⁰⁹

The 'putting-out' system was also used in other areas of cloth production. Although Jean Rochefort seems to have owned a sizeable and well-equipped establishment, the probate inventory of his goods refers to 'a peece of sarge to be woven at lindost [Lyndhurst?] in the forest' and to a piece of serge 'at the sherman'.¹¹⁰ When Robert le Page died, he had significant quantities of wool and yarn but he does not seem to have owned any equipment for the making or finishing of cloths. His probate inventory reveals that le Page owed money to various spinners as well as to a certain Joseph who was a weaver.¹¹¹ It is difficult to establish from this fragmentary evidence the extent to which the weaving of cloth may have been 'put out'.

By the early seventeenth century, the production of the 'new draperies in Southampton seems to have become divided between cloth production and cloth finishing. Jean Rochefort also owned a large establishment which would have employed a number of workmen. He had 'an old

¹⁰⁵ *Assembly Books*, II, p. 69.

¹⁰⁶ *Assembly Books*, I, p. 72.

¹⁰⁷ *Court Leet Records*, p. 414.

¹⁰⁸ Robert Rochefort was the son of Jean Rochefort and seems to have taken over his father's business interests. HRO Wills 1606/B/46.

¹⁰⁹ *Assembly Books*, III, pp. 40-41.

¹¹⁰ HRO Wills 1606/B/46.

¹¹¹ HRO Wills 1612/A/58.

torne' in the gallery, in his shop he had three looms for weaving broad serges and a loom for small serges, there was a combing chamber above the shop, in the garden there was a rack for drying serges on and in the courtyard there was 'a pearche to rowe sarges'.¹¹² It is however clear that Rochefort lacked the means to dye or finish the cloths which were produced in his workshop. The probate inventory of the goods of Peter Poché reveal that he possessed the necessary equipment for spinning yarn (one old 'tourne', a 'warpenbare', and a dozen bobbins), weaving cloth (2 old looms, one large and one small), dying the cloth (Poché owned a dye house), shearing (in the shearing chamber he had six pairs of old shears with a shearing table and all the furniture that went with it) and pressing of the serges (he had two presses with their furniture 'for 12 s. of serges' [sic]).¹¹³ Poché would seem to have been primarily employed in finishing cloth, as he possessed more equipment for finishing cloth than manufacturing it. There is also evidence of cloth manufacturers sending their cloths to be finished outside their workshops. Clement Graunt left two pieces of serge at the dyers before he became ill in 1584; Rochefort left a piece of serge, worth £6, at the dyers.¹¹⁴

This division between cloth manufacture and the finishing of cloth can be clearly seen in the early seventeenth century. In October 1624 a deposition made by Judith de la Motte describes how cloth, which had been produced elsewhere, was finished on her premises:

[The cloths] which were woven in or neare Southampton aforesaid, and were dyed dressed and packed upp in this deponents dwelling house at Southampton aforesaid ... And the said John de la Motte and John Sledge doe depose and say that they dyed all the before mencioned serges within the said dwelling house of the said Judith de la Motte And the said Tobie Roberts and John Rawlings doe depose and say that they did sheare and dresse all the before mencioned serges within the said dwelling house of the said Judith de la Motte And the said Anthonie Roberts doth depose and say that hee with other his fellowes did measure ffold make upp in buckroms and presse all the foresaid serges within the said dwelling house of the said Judith de la Motte and did afterwards packe them upp in seaven ballets or trusses which were marked and numbred as is abovesaid.¹¹⁵

Another deposition was made by the merchant Daniel Hersent at the same time:

... the sayd Daniell Hersent doth depose and say that the Nineteene peeces of Hampton great serge and xxij peeces of hampton small serge numbred marked Coloured ... were woven dyed dressed and packed upp in or neare Southampton aforesaid And the said John Mingin doth depose and say that hee dyed all the said serges in the dwelling house of the said Daniell Hersent And the said James Paule doth depose and say that hee and other did sheare all the said Serges at the place abovesaid And the said Thomas wayte doth depose and say that hee pressed and packed upp all the sayd Serges at the place aforesaid into six balletts'.¹¹⁶

¹¹² HRO Wills 1606/B/46.

¹¹³ HRO Wills 1603/Ad/52.

¹¹⁴ HRO Wills 1584/Ad/25, 1606/B/46.

¹¹⁵ *Examinations and Depositions, 1622-1644*, I, p. 48.

¹¹⁶ *Examinations and Depositions, 1622-1644*, I, pp. 49-50.

The separation between cloth manufacture and cloth finishing was confirmed by the regulation of the trades into two separate companies in 1616.¹¹⁷

The finishing of cloth was a capital intensive and specialised business. The sizeable establishments operated by Judith de la Motte and Daniel Hersent meant that they had to purchase significant quantities of cloth for finishing. These entrepreneurs were able to combine cloth-finishing with their mercantile activities, exporting the cloths which they produced.¹¹⁸ Other merchants also purchased cloth from the local markets which was then finished by specialist craftsmen. In the following deposition made in 1593, cloth belonging to a merchant, Edward Barlow, was sent to be finished and each stage of the process was overseen by a master.

'John Lovell, shereman having received in his possession into his howse of the goods of Edward Barlowe, merchant, the number of xij pieces of sarges white to be trymed and dressed. They these deponents with the aide and helpe of the said master [Lovell] did dresse them and having so done did at severall tymes cary those xij peeces unto the house of Gland Mountayne [Claude Moutonnier] to be dyed and having so done they being died, the same xij peeces were brought by Gland's servaunte backe againe unto the said masters howse to be trimed, shorne and dried as they ought to be. And they saye that after they had so trymed, shorne, dressed and dried these pieces of Sarge they these deponents together with there said master at severall tymes as they were readie and drye did carry Tenn of these peeces of Sarge backe againe unto the howse of the said gland mountayne to be by him pressed and ordered as they ought to be. And this they do know of a verie certaine to be true for that these deponents at severall tymes did themselves carry them the said Tenn peeces backe unto the said glands his howse and delivered them to the servaunte by the name of the goods of Mr. Barlowe.¹¹⁹

Evidence of this entrepreneur/merchant form of industrial organisation can also be seen in the Southern Netherlands as well as in the manufacture of the 'new draperies' in England.¹²⁰

Two forms of organisation can be discerned in the production of the 'new draperies' in Southampton. Initially the 'new draperies' were manufactured by households, a group of workmen organised under their master. By the early seventeenth century, merchants as well as those involved in the finishing processes, bought cloth which was dyed and finished before being exported. This form of organisation of the cloth industry may have existed from the establishment of the community. Refugees such as le Clercq, Sohier and de Beaulieu were not only actively involved in the town's overseas trade, exporting the 'new draperies', but also manufactured these cloths.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ See below pp. 158-60.

¹¹⁸ See above pp. 133-34.

¹¹⁹ *Examinations and Depositions, 1570-1594*, p. 117. For Edward Barlow, see above p. 135.

¹²⁰ Coornaert, 'Draperie rurales, draperie urbaines', pp. 88-89; Clark, 'An Urban Study during the Revolt of the Netherlands', p. 35; Seward, 'The Devonshire Cloth Industry in the early seventeenth century', pp. 41-45.

¹²¹ PRO HCA 13/18, f. 264v; *Court Leet Records*, p. 106; see above pp. 86-105 *passim*.

In Valenciennes, from where these men had originated, the wealthier *marchands de saye* seem to have operated their own workshops as well as trading in the finished cloths.¹²² The entrepreneur/merchant system seems to have been well established by the early seventeenth century. Entrepreneurs such as Jean Rochefort and Robert le Page, were involved in the manufacture of the 'new draperies', as well playing a prominent role in the town's overseas trade.¹²³

The Regulation of the Cloth Production in Southampton.

There does not seem to have been any attempt made by the Corporation to regulate the cloth-industry in Southampton unlike at Norwich, where the city council intervened in a number of areas of cloth production. The Norwich Book of Orders were drawn up in 1571, six years after the establishment of the refugee community in the city. The book contained detailed regulations about the sale of cloth in several halls but also regulated the quality of the cloths that were produced in the city. Searchers were to examine every package before it was packed to ensure that it did not include anything unlawful. Englishmen seem to have been producing cloths akin to the 'new draperies' before the exiles' arrival. However the corporation stated that their cloths, in particular bays, 'hath not had ther full perfeccion, by reason they have nott passed vnder searche, nor the defawlters corrected orderlye'. As a result the Corporation required not only the strangers but also Englishmen to submit 'enye manner of baye or bayes, stammatt kersies, hownscott saies, carrelles, mockados, fustian of Naples, or suche lyke clothes' to be examined 'for the trewe makynge and trewe cowlleringe'. The examined cloths were then to be sealed.¹²⁴ The Norwich authorities also drew up other regulations from time to time, which detailed the production of particular types of cloth (*e.g.* for the production of mockadoes in 1577) or the size of the cloth that was to be produced.¹²⁵ The community at Sandwich also had detailed regulations concerning the production of the 'new draperies'.¹²⁶ The restrictions imposed upon the refugees in Southampton concerning the sale of cloths are examined elsewhere but even in this area, the refugee merchants

¹²² In 1559, Mathieu Sohier was described in the Antwerp notarial archives as a saye merchant. Stadsarchief Antwerpen, Certificatieboek 14, f. 3; Clark, 'An Urban Study during the Revolt of the Netherlands', p. 44.

¹²³ See above p. 135.

¹²⁴ 'Book of Orders for the Strangers at Norwich', in W.J.C. Moens, *The Walloons and their Church at Norwich: Their History and Registers, 1565-1832*, (HSP, I, 1887-88), pp. 257-58. On the production of the 'new draperies' before the establishment of the exile community, see below p. 166.

¹²⁵ Moens, *The Walloons and their Church at Norwich*, pp. 77-78.

¹²⁶ Kerridge, *Textile Manufactures*, p. 97.

do not seem to have been as restricted as in other communities.¹²⁷ The evidence for any restrictions concerning the production of cloth may not have survived. However Southampton lacked any tradition of cloth manufacture, unlike Norwich, which may have led the Corporation into being less inclined towards regulating the industry.

However by the early seventeenth century the Corporation became increasingly alarmed about the numbers of newcomers in Southampton. The beadles were ordered to make a list of all the clothiers and shearmen in the town and they were ordered to appear before the Town Assembly at the beginning of March 1609.¹²⁸ The clothiers were required to provide the Corporation with a list of all their workmen and journeymen. The Corporation complained 'that there comon entertaynment of all sorts of people aswell married as unmarried to worcke at there works hath allreddie greatly pestered [crowded] the Towne with inmates, and undertennaunts and licklye to be the occasion of the utter impoverishment of the state of this Towne'. The clothmakers and sergemarkers were ordered not to employ any newcomers as journeymen without the consent of the Mayor. A fine of £5 was imposed for breaches of these regulations. A similar order was made by the Assembly to the shearmen.¹²⁹ After 1609 a clear distinction was made by the Corporation in its attempts to regulate the serge industry between those who produced the cloth (clothiers, sergemarkers, woolcombers) and those employed in the finishing process (clothworkers).

The Corporation's ordinances were breached by a shearman, one Lionel Awsten, who had employed two journeymen without the Mayor's consent. Awsten was pardoned because he agreed to send away the one journeyman and act as bond to the other.¹³⁰ In July 1609, Awsten and other shearmen complained about the clothworkers who employed newcomers and provided the Town Assembly with the names of these men.¹³¹ As a result the clothworkers were ordered to draw up regulations for admittance to their trade which were approved by the Assembly although no record of them has survived.¹³² These regulations seem to have been altered in 1612 but again no record of these modifications has survived.¹³³

In May 1609 the Corporation attempted to regulate the employment of apprentices by the weavers, shearmen and woolcombers. All those who were taken on as apprentices had to have their

¹²⁷ See below pp. 255-57.

¹²⁸ *Assembly Book*, II, p. 19.

¹²⁹ *Assembly Book*, II, p. 20.

¹³⁰ *Assembly Book*, II, p. 33.

¹³¹ *Assembly Book*, II, p. 48.

¹³² *Assembly Books*, II, pp. 48, 54.

¹³³ *Assembly Book*, III, p. 42.

names enrolled by the Town Clerk at the cost of 12 *d*. Furthermore those who had not been apprenticed were not permitted to work as journeymen for any clothier. The Corporation appointed six sergemakers (Henry Ayres, Andrew Harris, William Martin, John le Plus,¹³⁴ Isaac Lamoureux and William Harding) as overseers to the trade to ensure that there was no abuse of these regulations.¹³⁵

The regulations which the Corporation approved in July 1609 for the sergemakers, sergeweavers and woolcombers established a trade company and provided regulations for the employment of apprentices and newcomers. Sergemakers were not permitted to take apprentices unless they had completed a seven year apprenticeship. No-one was permitted to become a sergemaker unless he had completed a seven year apprenticeship or had 'otherwise exercised therein for so long time' and had been enrolled by the Corporation. Two apprentices were not permitted to use a broad loom, unless one of them was in the final year of training, because there were many journeymen in the town who were seeking employment. Newcomers were not to be employed unless they were able to produce a certificate proving that they had completed a seven year apprenticeship.¹³⁶

There continued to be breaches of the regulations about the employment of newcomers. In 1612 a Richard White who had been married at Nursling had come to Southampton and was employed by M. le Gay (presumably Isaac le Gay) as a journeyman but he and his wife and family were ordered to leave the town.¹³⁷ A woolcomber, Robert Webber, who had been employed by Judith de la Motte was ordered to leave Southampton, within three weeks, in 1615.¹³⁸

In March 1616 the sergemakers, sergeweavers and woolcombers met at the Audit House and it was agreed that the orders of the trade should be revised.¹³⁹ The Mayor and Corporation approved these new regulations for the sergemakers, sergeweavers and woolcombers in December 1616 and at the same time approved new regulations for the clothworkers.

¹³⁴ Le Plus was the son of Gilles le Plus from Armentières. He was admitted to the French church in April 1580. He married firstly Louise le Maire of Lille in 1581 and in 1597 Jane Barbier of Darnetal. Their children were baptised in the French church. He initially lived in the ward of Holy Rood but by 1593 had moved to All Saints where he made a scavage payment of 8 *d*. He only made the poll contribution to the lay subsidy in 1599 and 1600. He died February 1614. PRO E179/174/446, E179/174/444; SRO SC5/17/3, SC6/1/18, SC6/1/19; *Registre*, pp. 15, 45, 46, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 88, 91, 104, 106, 107, 108, 111, 112.

¹³⁵ *Assembly Book*, II, pp. 36-37.

¹³⁶ *Assembly Book*, II, pp. 50-51.

¹³⁷ *Assembly Book*, III, p. 46.

¹³⁸ *Assembly Book*, IV, p. 1.

¹³⁹ *Assembly Book*, IV, p. 41.

The Company of sergeweavers, sergemakers and woolcombers was reorganised in 1616 and regulations were laid down regulations for the election by the Company of two officers 'for the better orderinge of the said Company and receaving disbursinge & disposinge of such money and duties as shall happen or growe due or paieable unto or by the said Company'. The Company's funds came from fines imposed for the failure to observe certain regulations, which were divided between the Company and the Corporation. The regulations reiterated earlier orders about the enrollment of new apprentices and the employment of newcomers in the town.¹⁴⁰ These ordinances were part of an attempt by the Corporation to reorganise the trade companies in Southampton and to attempt to overcome the irregularities of people setting themselves up in business. The Corporation was attempting to assert control over the craft guilds through the imposition of these regulations, a process which can be seen in other towns in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.¹⁴¹ As a result there was considerable similarity in the wording of the regulations of the different companies which were reorganised.

The Company of clothworkers was established for those who practised the 'Art or mistery within the said towne viz Rowinge burlinge fullinge dressinge and pressinge of Kerseys serges and other draperies'. The dyers would seem to have been excluded from this company. The regulations concerning the organisation of the Company, the conditions of apprenticeship and the employment of journeymen were similar to those for the Company of sergemakers, sergeweavers and woolcombers.¹⁴² The Company's regulations included several specific clauses such as prohibition from working on the sabbath; 'noe person of the said Companie shall sett or cause to be sett uppon Racke or Tenters any Serges Kerseys or other drapery uppon the saboth daie Nor shall at any tyme worcke any Cloth Kersey Serge or other like draperie with cardes'. This clause may have been inserted due to the complaint made before the Court Leet in 1613 about the abuse of the sabbath by clothworkers.¹⁴³ One further clause appears in the regulations for the Clothworkers but not in the Company for Sergemakers, concerned the position of widows of freeman should they marry again. It is possible that this clause may have been included as a concession towards Judith de la Motte who pursued the trade of a clothworker after her husband's death.¹⁴⁴

The regulation of the cloth industry was clearly part of a more wide-ranging attempt to overcome the problems of overcrowding in the town of Southampton and to clarify the town's

¹⁴⁰ *Assembly Book*, IV, pp. 74-79.

¹⁴¹ *Assembly Book*, IV, pp. xxii-xxx; V. Pearl, 'Change and Stability in seventeenth-century London', in J. Barry, (ed.), *The Tudor and Stuart Town. A Reader in English Urban History 1530-1688*, (London, 1990), p. 148.

¹⁴² *Assembly Book*, IV, pp. 79-84.

¹⁴³ *Assembly Book*, IV, p. p. 83; *Court Leet Records*, p. 456. See below p. 180.

¹⁴⁴ *Assembly Book*, IV, pp. 83-84.

regulations: it was not an attempt to keep the cloth industry in check or to regulate the cloth that was produced although the regulations concerning apprenticeship were reinforced.

The Success of the 'New Draperies'.

An important condition made during the negotiations for the establishment of the French community was that after the community had been established for a year, that they should 'teach and instruct in their sciences without frawde' two English-born apprentices and after seven years they should employ one Englishman for every two strangers.¹⁴⁵ The training by the refugees in the skills of the 'new draperies' can only be occasionally traced. The town does not seem to have kept a register of apprenticeship enrollments in the later sixteenth century and a register only seems to have been kept after 1609 due to the regulation of the serge industry because of the intrusion of untrained men.¹⁴⁶

Some evidence of the earlier apprentices may be gained from the register of the French community. Sometimes those admitted to the Lord's Supper were described as living at '*Chez Bourdel*', for example. This may be purely a domestic arrangement but in most cases these admitted seem likely to have been apprentices, for they were usually young men. Between 1578 and 1584 nine young men were admitted to the Lord's Supper at the home of the sergemaker, Adrien Bourdel. Twelve men were described as living at the Guillaume Hersent's home between 1577 and 1583.¹⁴⁷ There is only one example of anyone being described in the register as an *apprentis*; one Thomas, apprenticed to Jan le Maire, died of plague in 1604.¹⁴⁸

A partial record of apprenticeships does survive for the later sixteenth century in the town's books of instruments. These enrollments do provide some insight into the diffusion of the 'new draperies'. Peter Poché seems to have been particularly active in the training of apprentices; he instructed seven apprentices in sergemaking between 1577 and 1600.¹⁴⁹ Poché's apprentices came from a wide area; some came from around Southampton, from Fordingbridge, the Isle of Purbeck and Millbrook, while two apprentices came from Jersey and another from Silo in Normandy. It is interesting to note that only one of these apprentices seems to have been admitted to the Lord's Supper, although we would not expect English apprentices to have become members of the French

¹⁴⁵ PRO SP15/13/82.

¹⁴⁶ *A Calendar of Southampton Apprenticeship Registers*, pp. xi-xiv.

¹⁴⁷ *Registre*, pp. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

¹⁴⁸ *Registre*, p. 109.

¹⁴⁹ SRO SC2/6/5, f. 39, 40, 41, 42v, 112v, 136v; SC2/6/6, f. 45.

church.¹⁵⁰ The following refugees all undertook to train apprentices in the cloth industry: Jan de Bavais, Denis du Gard, Pierre le Gay, Etienne Latelais, Nicolas Ponthieu, the widow of Gilles Seulin and Ambrose le Vasseur.¹⁵¹

The growing importance of the clothmaking industry in Southampton can be seen in Table XIX which analyses the surviving apprenticeship enrollments and the apprenticeship registers. The figures for the period 1575 to 1604 were compiled and analysed by Dr. T.B. James and these have been combined with an analysis of the apprenticeships enrolled in the town's register between 1609 and 1620.¹⁵² In this table the term sergemaker has been used to embrace a range of occupations (such as clothier, clothmaker, sergemaker, sergeweaver, shearman, weaver, woolcomber) in the production and finishing of cloths. The distinction made between some of these trades was vague and in some cases boys were apprenticed to more than one area of this trade. For example in 1617 Edward Blanchard was apprenticed to the 'trade or mystery of weaver and comber'; Thomas Watkins was apprenticed 'in the trade of a clothier and weaving and clothing' and Matthew

¹⁵⁰ John Havie, who was apprenticed to the sergeweaver Ambroise le Vasseur in 1577, may have been the Jan Haruier who was admitted to the Lord's Supper in April 1586. SRO SC2/6/5, f. 40v; *Registre*, p. 20.

¹⁵¹ SRO SC2/6/5, f. 39, 40, 40v, 41, 42v, 43, 65v, 112v, 136v, 137, 141v, 142v, 160, 161, 167v; SC2/6/6, f. 45, 48.

¹⁵² *A Calendar of Southampton Apprenticeship Registers*, pp. 1-11; T.B. James, 'The Geographical Origins and Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton 1400-1600', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of St. Andrews 1977, p. 263.

Table XIX - Occupations entered by apprentices, 1575-1620

	1575-80	1581-85	1597-1604	1609-15	1616-20
<i>Mercantile Crafts</i>					
Draper, Linen	-	-	-	1	-
Draper, Woollen	-	-	1	1	1
Grocer	-	-	1	5	4
Mercer	2	-	-	5	2
Merchant	5	4	9	6	4
<i>Victualling Trades</i>					
Baker	-	-	1	-	-
Brewer	-	1	-	2	-
Butcher	-	-	-	-	1
Chandler	1	-	-	-	2
<i>Cloth-making</i>					
Sergemaker etc.	6	15	13	9	16
Silkweaver	2	-	-	-	-
<i>Crafts / Trades</i>					
Blacksmith	-	-	1	-	-
Cooper	1	-	1	-	-
Cutler	-	-	-	-	1
Feltmaker	-	-	4	-	1
Goldsmith	-	1	-	1	-
Lacemaker	-	1	-	-	-
Pewterer	3	-	-	-	-
Shoemaker	-	2	1	1	12
Tailor	1	1	1	4	22
<i>Maritime Trades</i>					
Fisherman	-	-	-	1	-
Mariner	2	-	-	-	-
Shipwright	-	-	1	-	-
<i>Services</i>					
Surgeon	-	-	-	1	1
TOTAL	23	25	34	37	67

Gage 'in the trade of combing, weaving and shearing'.¹⁵³

This analysis reveals that the serge industry rapidly came to employ large numbers of apprentices. In most years the number of apprentices in cloth-making appears to have been virtually equal to the number who entered the mercantile trades. While it should be remembered that the material for the period 1575-1604 is fragmentary, the material points to the rapid growth and significance of the industry which the refugees introduced.

It is clear by the early seventeenth century that the refugee community had ceased to be as prominent in Southampton's serge industry. The petition for the setting up of the Company of sergemakers, sergeweavers and woolcombers in 1616 was signed by thirty-eight sergeweavers and woolcombers on behalf of themselves and their colleagues in the town.¹⁵⁴ Although the list of names is not exhaustive, it does give a clear impression of who in Southampton were the main producers of serges in 1616. Men such as Isaac le Gay and Jan le Plus who had been appointed as overseers for the trade had died by 1616, but others such as Andrew Harris and Henry Ayres appear amongst the petitioners.¹⁵⁵ In examining these thirty-eight signatories, only six were linked with the French church. Four of these men, Jan Clungeon, Isaac Herevill, Daniel Hersant, Robert Prevost, were admitted to the Lord's Supper.¹⁵⁶ Isaac Lamoureux does not seem to have been admitted to the Lord's Supper but he frequently acted as a *parain* and his death was recorded in the church's register in 1626.¹⁵⁷ Only Mathieu Vibert's death was recorded by the French Church but he married Marie le Page, the widow of Robert le Page, in 1612.¹⁵⁸ One of the other signatories, Richard Allen, had been apprenticed to a member of the French community, Pierre le Gay.¹⁵⁹ The remaining signatories do not seem to have been associated with the French church, in fact some

¹⁵³ *A Calendar of Southampton Apprenticeship Registers*, pp. 6, 9.

¹⁵⁴ *Assembly Book*, IV, pp. 74-75. The Sergemakers who signed were: John Clungeon, Isaac Herrevill, Andrew Harris, Richard Goare, Roger Morse, Henry Ayres, Daniel Hersant, Richard Allen, Robert Toldervey, William Peare, Hugh New, Mathew Vibert, Clement Audley, Edward March, Edmond Hayes, Richard Readinge, Edward Tackney, Bartholomew Toldervey, Robert Provove and John Osman.
Sergeweavers and woolcombers: Thomas Nutley, John England, Isaac Lamoureux, Robert Waterman, Thomas White, George Levett, Joseph Prowse, Leonard Morris, John Dawes, Francis Hampton, Samuel Allen, Robert Edmondes, John West, Walter Barlinge, John Snowe, William Chaplin, Thomas Brown and William Brading.

¹⁵⁵ *Registre*, p. 111; *Assembly Book*, II, pp. 36-37.

¹⁵⁶ *Registre*, pp. 16, 17, 21, 29.

¹⁵⁷ Isaac may have been the son of Bastien Lamoureux, one of the founding members of the community. *Registre*, pp. 53, 54, 55, 56, 60, 113.

¹⁵⁸ HRO Wills 1612/A/58; *Registre*, p. 113.

¹⁵⁹ SRO SC3/5/1, f. 3v.

of these sergeweavers had only recently arrived in Southampton. Clement Audley had not completed all of his apprenticeship in the town and in 1610 Francis Hampton had been required to provide sureties upon his arrival in the town.¹⁶⁰ The absence of French names is even marked amongst the petitioners for the Company of clothworkers which does not include any members of the French community.¹⁶¹

The absence of refugees amongst the petitioners for these two companies may testify to the success of the diffusion of the technology of the 'new draperies' through apprenticeship. However as refugees migrated from the town or became increasingly integrated, it was inevitable that their domination of the industry would decline. It is unfortunate that the diffusion of the new techniques within the town can not be pursued more thoroughly.

Whereas earlier attempts to establish industries in Southampton seem to have been unsuccessful however the manufacture of the 'new draperies' did make a significant contribution to the town's economic life and its overseas trade. Contemporaries recognised that the industry seems to have provided significant employment. The Mayor and Corporation recognised the value of the 'new draperies' and wrote in 1601 'that divers straingers inhabiting in that towne doe use the trade of makeing of sarges and other stuffs, whose contynuaunce there by takeing of Englishe apprentices have sett up a trade in that towne not onely beneficyall to the common wealth but by setting the poorer sort on worke they doe relieve and maintaine a great number of people and their whole famelyes'.¹⁶² These do not seem to have been idle claims. In 1615 Judith de la Motte and other clothiers offered to employ 'dyvrs poore children of this Towne which use to begge for waunt of worcke'.¹⁶³ As we have already seen, Isaac le Gay claimed in 1609 to employ 140 spinners within the town of Southampton and in 1618 it was claimed that the decay of the cloth industry would cause distress for at least 3,000 poor people employed within the towns of Southampton and Winchester besides the large numbers employed in the immediate locality.¹⁶⁴

As has already been seen, the production of the 'new draperies' also clearly made an important contribution to the town's overseas trade. The refugee merchants were actively involved in exporting these cloths and by the early seventeenth century a particularly important market for

¹⁶⁰ SRO SC3/5/1, f. 2; *Assembly Books*, II, pp. 99, 100, 101.

¹⁶¹ *Assembly Book*, IV, p. 79. The signatories were: Lionel Awsten, William Suffield, John Appleton, Nicholas Wheate, George Fuckett, John Sares, William Wheat, Andrew Awsten, Aveye Toft, Edward Lake, Roger Searle, William Esraell and Stephen Mason. It should however be noted that by 1624, Nicholas Wheat was employed by Judith de la Motte, *Examinations and Depositions, 1622-1644*, I, pp. 47-49.

¹⁶² *Acts of the Privy Council, 1601*, p. 347.

¹⁶³ *Assembly Books*, IV, p. 3.

¹⁶⁴ PRO SP14/98/54; *Assembly Books*, II, p. 69.

these cloths had developed at La Rochelle.¹⁶⁵

While the cloth industry established by the refugees in Southampton was particularly important for the town's economy, in comparison with other refugee communities, the cloth production in Southampton was limited. Unfortunately there are no accurate records of the volume of cloths produced in Southampton, such as survive for Norwich where the collection of a petty custom duty called 'alnage' has meant that there are detailed records of the number of cloths sealed in the city's cloth halls.¹⁶⁶ The totals of 'new drapery' cloths exported from Southampton cannot be compared adequately with these alnage accounts. At Norwich it has been estimated that only one cloth in ten, and sometimes one cloth in eighteen, was exported through Yarmouth, the remainder being sold in Norwich and London.¹⁶⁷ Some of the cloths produced in Southampton were certainly sold in the town¹⁶⁸ (although there is no way of quantifying these totals) but it seems unlikely that the 'new draperies' were taken for sale to London. The brokage books do not survive for this period but Southampton's overland trade with London between 1550-1566 had been negligible. Furthermore the 'new draperies' do not seem to have featured in the town's coastal trade with the capital.¹⁶⁹ In fact cloths were sometimes sent to Southampton from London to be exported.¹⁷⁰ During the community's early years there was a clear incentive to export goods from Southampton rather than from London. The concession granted by Cecil concerning the level of customs duties to be paid by the refugees only applied to goods sent from the port.¹⁷¹

A list was compiled in June 1578 of the main centres where the strangers produced the 'new draperies'. These centres were ranked according to the volume of production: Norwich (with the greatest production), London, Sandwich, Canterbury, Rochester. Southampton was not included in this list although it did appear, with Hampshire, on a more general list of the places where the 'new draperies' were produced.¹⁷² However the refugee communities concentrated on producing different types of cloth. At Norwich the production of bays, mockadoes, carrels and velvets was important whereas the Southampton community concentrated on say production. During the 1580s

¹⁶⁵ See above p. 129.

¹⁶⁶ N.J. Williams, 'Two Documents concerning the New Draperies', *Ec.H.R.* Second Series, 4 (1951-52), pp. 356-58.

¹⁶⁷ Williams, *The Maritime Trade of the East Anglian Ports*, pp. 65-66.

¹⁶⁸ The Court Leet periodically complained about the retail selling of goods by the refugees. *Court Leet Records*, pp. 60, 106, 114, 257, 297, 413-14.

¹⁶⁹ Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 49-50, 132-34.

¹⁷⁰ See above pp. 110-11.

¹⁷¹ PRO SP12/43/29.

¹⁷² PRO E101/347/19.

there was a noticeable collapse in the production of bays and in 1581 Norwich seems to have begun to produce says.¹⁷³ In the absence of any accurate figures for the numbers of 'new draperies' produced, it is not possible to assess the significance of the production in Southampton.

Serge-making seems to have developed at Romsey, Dibden, Lymington, Newport and Winchester.¹⁷⁴ The extent to which the refugee community at Southampton, or the manufacture of serge in Southampton generally contributed to this development remains unclear. People were however attracted to Southampton from Hampshire and beyond to be apprenticed to sergemakers and in other related trades. Yet the diffusion of the new techniques may have been more to do with the problems facing the Hampshire textile industry than the arrival of refugees in Southampton. The Hampshire kersey and Winton kersey ceased to be able to compete in overseas markets with the cheaper and lighter fabrics. The consequent decline in exports is evident in the Southampton port books.¹⁷⁵ As a result the 'new draperies' did develop tentatively in the county before 1620.¹⁷⁶ The manufacture of 'frizadoes', after the manner of Haarlem, at Christchurch by an Englishman underlines the fact that the 'new draperies' were not the sole preserve of the refugees.¹⁷⁷ D.C. Coleman concluded that 'the really rapid diffusion of the new techniques into an industry such as textiles organized on a putting-out basis was probably dependent upon non-economic forces, such as war and religious persecution, to ensure movement of skills on a large enough scale'.¹⁷⁸ This may well have been the case in Southampton which lacked a textile industry before the arrival of the refugees. Elsewhere it would seem that the role of the refugees is debateable. The new techniques seem to have been known about in Norwich before the arrival of the refugees and cloths akin to the 'new draperies' were produced throughout the sixteenth century.¹⁷⁹ These new techniques were also able to spread to areas like Devon, which became important for serge production, without any immigrant community to act as a focus.

¹⁷³ The manufacture of bays seems to collapsed at Sandwich during the 1580s. At Norwich, the numbers of bays sealed seems to have fallen from a peak of 13, 652 in 1581-82, to a mere 2,813 in 1587-88. Backhouse, 'The Strangers at Work in Sandwich', p. 81; Williams, 'Two Documents concerning the New Draperies', pp. 356, 357.

¹⁷⁴ Kerridge, *Textile Manufactures*, p. 113; A. Rosen, 'Winchester in transition, 1580-1700', in P. Clark, (ed.), *Country towns in pre-industrial England*, (Leicester, 1981), p. 149.

¹⁷⁵ Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, pp. 37-38; Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 75-76.

¹⁷⁶ Rosen, 'Winchester in transition, 1580-1700', p. 149.

¹⁷⁷ V.C.H. *Hampshire*, V, pp. 486-87.

¹⁷⁸ Coleman, 'An Innovation and its Diffusion', p. 429.

¹⁷⁹ U. Priestley, *The Fabric of Stuffs. The Norwich textile industry from 1565*, (Norwich, 1990), pp. 8-9.

Occupations of Stranger Artisans

The preceding two sections have emphasised the role that the refugees played in the mercantile life of Southampton and their involvement in the production of the 'new draperies'. According to an analysis of the occupational structure of Southampton in the second half of the sixteenth century, these were probably the two most important areas of the town's commercial life. The analysis is based upon the reconstruction of the lives, where possible, of men named in the 1585 muster list. This reveals that the town was dominated by the merchants; in 1585, 47 merchants were recorded as living in the town and a further seven men were described as mercers. Other townsmen were employed in trades linked to mercantile activity such as mariners or shipmasters (8), porters (4), sailors (4), a carrier, a lighterman and a shipwright. The second largest group were those who were employed in the textile industry which had developed during the later sixteenth century. Six clothworkers were identified (including the trades of sergemaker, shearman, feltmaker, woolcomber and fuller); there were also five clothiers and three weavers. The third group which can be identified consisted of artisans: bakers (4), brewers (7), butchers (6), carpenters (4), coopers (4), glovers (7), shoemakers (15), smiths (4) and tailors (14). There were also several trades with apparently only one practitioner in 1585, including a cutler, a fletcher and a saddler. It should also be noted that there were also three men described as esquires, eleven described as gentlemen and eleven as yeomen.¹

While this analysis of employment structure within Southampton is informative, its utility for considering the occupational profile of the French-speaking community is limited. The refugees were, with the exception of Pierre Thieudet and Jean Rochefort, not included on the muster lists and so were not accounted for in this analysis of the town's occupational structure.

This chapter will focus on the third group of trades identified by this analysis of the town's occupational structure. The identification of strangers in these artisan trades is however particularly problematic. Although we have information concerning the 'new draperies' at Southampton and the refugees' mercantile interests, the nature of the local records make it impossible to obtain a clear or complete view of the occupational structure of the French-speaking community. Returns of aliens have assisted the occupational analysis of the stranger communities in London, but unfortunately no such returns for Southampton are known. Wills and probate inventories only survive for a small minority of the French community and generally these relate to either merchants or people involved in the 'new draperies'; there are only sporadic references to other occupations.

There are further difficulties in establishing the range of occupations of the refugees from the scattered sources. Although the trade of a refugee in his native country may be known, we

¹ These statistics are taken from a table which analyses the occupational structure of the town by ward. James, 'The Geographical Origins & Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton', p. 575.

should not suppose that he necessarily pursued the same trade in Southampton.² Some of the refugees also pursued several different trades. Pierre Thieudet was described as a goldsmith on several occasions and in August 1577 was indeed paid 5 s. 10 d. by the corporation for mending the town plate and at a later date, 5 s. for mending a flaggon.³ Yet the probate inventory of his goods drawn up after his death in 1611 records a number of pieces of cloth, quantities of wool and yarn as well as two looms and there is no mention of the necessary tools for being a goldsmith.⁴ Another refugee, Robert Cousin, was involved in the finishing of the 'new drapery' cloths but also bequeathed 'all the Instruments, Toolles and thinges servinge to the occupacion of beating of pewter as stones to beate uppon, hammers, mooles and also a myll which serveth for to make colors withall and a copper platt for to guilt uppon'.⁵ In the case of servants it is not always possible to distinguish between those who were domestic servants and those who were in fact apprentices. Nor can we be certain that those admitted to the Lord's Supper settled in Southampton. Migrants from the Channel Islands came to Southampton looking for work; while some of them may have been attended the church, it is not clear that they actually became members of the community.⁶ For example, Nicholas Renault who was admitted in 1580 came from Jersey but as there is no further evidence that he settled in Southampton, his craft - he made millstones - is probably of little significance for an occupational analysis of the resident refugee community.⁷ This is also the case with the mariners who used the French Church.⁸

² Research on the occupational structure of the refugee community in London and the extent to which refugees pursued different trades in exile is currently being undertaken by Lien Luu at the University of London.

³ SRO SC5/3/1, f. 166, 185v; SC6/1/9-12, SC6/1/19.

⁴ HRO Wills 1611/B/65.

⁵ PRO PCC Prob. 11/67 Robert Cousin.

⁶ A partial record survives of thirteen people sent to England from Guernsey between January and May 1606. None of these people were admitted to the Lord's Supper in that year. Greffe, Guernsey, 'Clameurs de Haro' I, f. 3v-11; D. Ogier, 'The Reformation and Society in Guernsey, c. 1500 - c. 1640', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Warwick, 1994, chapter 7. I am grateful to Dr. Ogier for providing me with this information and a transcript of this source.

⁷ *Registre*, p. 16.

⁸ The death of Thomas Mauger, a mariner from St. Peter Port, Guernsey was recorded in 1581; there is no other reference to him in the *Registre*. Another mariner, Jan Hakbec of Guernsey was admitted to the French church in April 1592. Two men, Jean Mesnier and Nicolas de Lisle, both from Guernsey were admitted to the Lord's Supper at Easter 1568 but had left before the service was held. They may have been mariners; there is no further reference to either of these men in Southampton. *Registre*, pp. 4, 24, 102, 106.

Town corporations were willing to admit refugees who were going to introduce new techniques and skills but they were reluctant to allow them to compete with the town's native inhabitants. At Norwich, article 10 of the Book of Orders stated 'ye shall nott occupie the trades of merchauntise, that is to saye, of Foreine comodities browght from beyonde the sea, here, to putt to sale, but by whole bolke, and in grosse'. Another article forbade any tailors, butchers, shoemakers and cobblers from displaying their wares and restricted them to selling their goods to members of the refugee community.⁹ Similar restrictions were placed on the Sandwich community and there were frequent presentments for breaches of these decrees. Some refugees were licensed by the corporation in Sandwich to pursue trades which were not permitted under the initial terms of the settlement. In 1582, 95 refugees were recorded as pursuing unauthorised trades in Sandwich.¹⁰ The practice of these unauthorised trades caused considerable hostility between the refugees and the town's inhabitants. The Privy Council became involved in the dispute and in 1582 it was ordered that:

'it is by their Lordships ordred that the said strangers which doe or hereafter shall reside in the towne of Sandwiche shall from henceforthe, according to the Letters Patentes, exercise the faculties of making sayes, bayes and such like clothe or tapistrie as hath not ben heretofore used to made in this Realme, or use the trade of fishing in the seas, and soche arts and misteries as appertein and are depending upon the said faculties, and not be retailours or shopkeepers, and especiallie not use the misteries of tailours, showmakers, cobblers, coopers, masons or bricklayers, bakers, blacksmiths, shipwrightes and cowkeepers; and nevertheless, uppon informacion that there be divers poore men at this present in the same towne living uppon the said trades which would be destitute of meanes to live unless some convenient time might be graunted unto them to provide for them selves, their Lordshippes have thought good to assigne unto them Whitsunday next ensuinge, by which time the said artificers, strangers, maie departe or provide for them selves otherwise'.¹¹

The controversy was not however settled and continued into the 1580s.¹²

At Southampton, the refugees in their initial petition requested that 'if it be not lawfull for Shoemakers, taylers and the like Artificers to occupie their Sciences within the liberties of your Towne our request it may be lawfull for them to compound and agree reasonable with your Worshippes for the obteyning of the same'.¹³ The corporation thought that this should not be permitted 'because there be many of that science alreadye'.¹⁴ This request was however modified

⁹ Moens, *The Walloons and their Church at Norwich*, pp. 257, 258.

¹⁰ Backhouse, 'The Strangers at Work in Sandwich', pp. 81-83.

¹¹ *Acts of the Privy Council 1581-82*, p. 372.

¹² Backhouse, 'The Strangers at Work in Sandwich', pp. 84-86.

¹³ BL, Cottonian MSS, Vesp. FIX, f. 230v.

¹⁴ PRO SP15/13/80. The Corporation's concern finds confirmation in the analysis of the occupational structure of the town in 1585 when there were fifteen shoemakers and fourteen

because in the letter sent by Edmund Grindal to Sir William Cecil, it was suggested that the refugees occupied in these trades should only serve their own community. The town seems to have been left to reach a decision on this matter although Cecil was concerned that there should not be an excessive number allowed to settle in the town.¹⁵

A few references do survive of refugees involved in these 'unauthorised trades'. A probate inventory of the goods of John Enough, a shoemaker, was drawn up in March 1613. This may be the same Jean Enouf who was admitted to the Lord's Supper the same month. There is not however any other reference to this name in the French Church.¹⁶ There were instances of people being described as brewers while another was a cooper.¹⁷ In 1575, Jan Blondel at that time living in Winchester, was admitted to the French Church at Southampton and was described as a cutler.¹⁸

Some of the refugees were engaged in the professions; we will examine elsewhere the role of ministers and schoolmasters.¹⁹ Between 1509 and 1820, as many as 470 refugees were recorded as being involved in the medical professions.²⁰ One of the initial settlers in Southampton, Henricus Lems was a doctor and several other settlers were also in the medical profession. Marc Clem, who was admitted to the Lord's Supper in 1571, was a doctor and his son, Jan was a surgeon.²¹ The Queen's Physician, John James, was also one of those admitted to the French church.²² It is unclear if Masse Blondel were a doctor or whether he had been appointed as a visitor of the sick by the consistory during the outbreak of plague in 1604. At the time of his death it was noted that he '*estant venu pour mediciner les malades*'.²³ The occupation of Guillaume Chambrelen is not recorded in the Southampton records but he is credited with the invention of forceps and with his

tailors. James, 'The Geographical Origins and Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton', p. 575.

¹⁵ PRO SP12/43/29.

¹⁶ HRO Wills 1613/Ad/32 John Enough; *Registre*, p. 32.

¹⁷ Two men were described as *brasseurs* in the *Registre*, Jan de Lotte and Michel le Grant. Jan le Clavier, who was admitted in July 1582, was described as '*demeurant chez Courtené, brasseur*'. The daughter of Guillaume du Moulin, a cooper, was baptised in May 1587. *Registre*, pp. 10, 15, 17, 47.

¹⁸ *Registre*, p. 11.

¹⁹ See below pp. 190-206, 227-28.

²⁰ W.R. le Fanu, 'Huguenot Refugee Doctors in England', *HS* 19 (1952-58), p. 113.

²¹ *Registre*, pp. 3, 6, 109.

²² *Registre*, p. 15. See above pp. 59-60.

²³ *Registre*, p. 109. See also below p. 191.

sons pursued a career in midwifery.²⁴

Rather more is known about the eight glassworkers who were admitted to the Lord's Supper between October 1576 and January 1579.²⁵ The glassworks were sited at Buckholt, about fifteen miles from Southampton on the Wiltshire border (see Map VI); Buckholt Forest provided fuel and ashes for the glasshouses.²⁶ Although they became members of the French Church, the glassmakers were in fact 'country' members of the French community in Southampton - their names do not appear in any of the local tax returns. It is unclear how frequently they attended the French church and the extent to which they were subject to the church's discipline.²⁷

²⁴ *Registre*, pp. 5, 40; J. Rushen, 'The Secret 'Iron Tongs' of Midwifery', *The Historian*, 30 (Spring 1991), pp. 12-14; *The Quiet Conquest: the Huguenots 1685 to 1985. Catalogue of exhibition at The Museum of London*, (1985), pp. 120, 121.

²⁵ *Registre*, pp. 12, 14. They were: Jan du Tisac, Pierre Vaillant, Glaude Potier, Monsieur de Hennezé & his wife, Louis de Hennezé, Arnoul Bisson, Jan Perné, Monsieur du Houx.

²⁶ E.S. Godfrey, *The Development of English Glassmaking 1560-1640*, (Oxford, 1975), p. 141.

²⁷ Special provisions for Reformed worship had been made for the workers at the Sussex glassworks. There was a minister and consistory at Fernfold Wood, while permission for a minister to serve the community at Wisborough Green was obtained in 1579. PRO PCC Prob. 11/54 John Carré; Godfrey, *Development of English Glassmaking*, p. 34.



Map VI - Buckholt Forest in relation to Southampton¹

¹ Taken from J. Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, (London, 1611).

Although the glassworkers lived at Buckholt they did visit Southampton. 'A Frenchman of Buckhole' was fined 12 *d.* by the town Corporation in 1576 'for throwing of his dagger at an Englishman in anger'.²⁸ There may have been a degree of tension between the glassworkers and the pre-1567 aliens in the town. Edward Barker, Peter Breme and Peter Fox were all glaziers and the latter two paid the Corporation 10 *s.* in 1577 to be the sole glaziers in the town.²⁹

The development of the glass industry in England has been studied in some depth by industrial historians who have credited Jean Carré with the re-establishment of the industry in early modern England. He fled from Antwerp, where he had come to the attention of the *Conseil des Troubles*, and in 1567 he obtained permission from Cecil to establish glass production in England. He recruited skilled glassmakers from Normandy and Lorraine to work for him.³⁰ The names of the Buckholt glassworkers were similar to those of some of the established Norman and Lorraine 'gentilhommes verriers': le Vaillant, du Tisac, du Houx.³¹ It is unclear whether the glassworkers migrated directly to Buckholt or whether they came there from the earlier Sussex glassworks.³²

There seem to have been two glasshouses at Buckholt, one was probably used for making window glass and the other for vessel glass.³³ Further light can be shed upon the glassworks at

²⁸ SRO SC5/3/1, f. 159.

²⁹ SRO SC5/3/1, f. 160. These three men were all recorded in the local taxation records as being aliens. Breme was the son of Peter Breme who had lived in Southampton from 1542 until his death in 1570. Peter Breme, senior, was described as an alien in the local taxation records until 1563 although his origins are unclear.

The origins of Edward Barker are also obscure but he was described in the local taxation returns as an alien. He lived in the ward of Holy Rood from 1563 until his death in 1576.

Peter Fox may have been related to John Foxe, a labourer who was described in 1522 as 'born under obesuance of French king'. Peter Fox appeared regularly in the taxation returns after 1580, in the ward of Holy Rood, where he was described as an alien. In 1614, Fox made a payment for poor relief and was recorded as making a lay subsidy payment in 1634. James, 'The Geographical Origins and Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton', pp. 340-41, 426, 431, 453; PRO E179/174/415, E179/174/432, E179/174/446, E179/174/444, E179/175/488, E179/175/517, E179/175/526; SRO SC5/17/10, SC5/17/21, SC5/17/22; SC6/1/15-17, SC6/1/19-24, SC6/1/27-28, SC6/1/3; SC10/1/13.

³⁰ See Godfrey, *The Development of English Glassmaking*, pp. 16-37; G. Marnef, 'Antwerpen in Reformatietijd. Ondergrondse protestantisme in een internationale handelsmetropool 1550 - 1577', unpublished thesis, Universit   de Leuven, 1991, Appendix V No. 132, 137.

³¹ Godfrey, *The Development of English Glassmaking*, p. 6; G.H. Kenyon, *The Glass Industry of the Weald*, (Leicester, 1967), pp. 124-31, 214, 215; E.G. Clark, 'Glassmaking in Lorraine', *Journal of the Society of Glass Technology*, 15 (1913), pp. 107-19.

³² Kenyon, *The Glass Industry of the Weald*, p. 215.

³³ One of these glasshouses was excavated in 1860. Godfrey, *The Development of English Glassmaking*, pp. 35, 141; E. Kell, 'On the Discovery of a Glass Factory at Buckholt', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 17 (1861), pp. 54-58.

Buckholt from a lease in the Southampton archives which has previously been overlooked. In 1578, the 'great glasse house with the store house and the dwelling house' at Buckholt, which had been recently in the tenure of one James Knollis, was leased to Pierre du Houx by Sir William West, Lord de la Warr³⁴ for five years at £20 *per annum*. The agreement was witnessed by two prominent members of the French Church, Gaspard Desert and Pierre Thieudet. There was a further agreement reached between the glassmaker and West on the same day. This agreement stated that de Houx was to 'receive and take of the saide Lorde de la Ware or his Assignes as much glasse as shall amounte unto the somme of x li lawfull monie of England and upon everye halfe yers daye ended to make payment unto the said Lord de la War or his Assignes the saide tenne poundes for the said glasse so by him received'.³⁵ This curious agreement suggests that de Houx was employed by de la Warr but this would seem to conflict with his lease of the glasshouse.

It has been assumed that the Buckholt glasshouses flourished between 1576 and 1579, an assumption apparently based on the dates of admission to the Lord's Supper in the French Church of Southampton.³⁶ One of the problems in using the *Registre* is that it only refers to the date of admission to the Lord's Supper and does not refer to attendance at the Church. The glasshouse at Buckholt could therefore have functioned for longer than has been supposed especially since the evidence for the migration of some of these glassmakers from Buckholt appears to be inconclusive.³⁷ In fact Jean du Houx was still living at Buckholt in September 1580 but the glassmakers had probably departed by 1586 because they do not appear in the lay subsidy return

³⁴ Sir William West, (c.1519 - 1595), first Baron de la Warr, may have held the East Bailey of Buckholt Forest; the possession of the bailiwick is obscure for the second half of the sixteenth century. The glasshouse was located in the East Bailey and this would explain West's involvement. Sir William was either the father or the grandfather of the Thomas West who petitioned the Privy Council on behalf of Jean le Mercier. See above p. 132; V.C.H. *Hampshire*, IV, p. 523; D.N.B., 20, p. 1255; Hasler, *The House of Commons*, III, pp. 602-4.

³⁵ SRO SC2/6/5, f. 64.

³⁶ Kenyon, *The Glass Industry of the Weald*, p. 215.

³⁷ According to Godfrey, 'Two of the Normans at Buckholt soon appeared on the estates of Knole House in Kent, where they were joined by an Italian and a glassmaker of uncertain origin, while one of the Lorrainers, Jan du Tisac, seems to have moved to Ewhurst, where he appears as John Tysac [*sic*] a few years later'. The evidence cited does not seem to support convincingly the migration of the Buckholt glassworkers. At Knole there were four glassworkers (Valyan, Ferris, Mr. Brussell/Bousell, Oneby) in 1587, only Valyan could be tentatively identified with Pierre Vaillant although there is no evidence to show that he came to Knole from Buckholt. In view of the similarity of the names of the glassworkers care needs to be taken in tracing their migration. Godfrey, *Development of English Glassmaking*, p. 35; T. Barrett Lennard, 'Glassmaking at Knole, Kent', *Antiquary*, 41 (1905) pp. 127-9; S.E. Winbolt, *Wealden Glass: The Surrey - Sussex Glass Industry, (A.D. 1226 - 1615)*, (Hove, 1933) p. 20.

for that year.³⁸

The glassworkers at Buckholt form an exceptional group in the context of the Southampton French-speaking community. The lack of information about other occupations in the Southampton community could either be the result of insufficient surviving evidence or could be because the community was predominantly composed of merchants and those involved in textile production. The pursuit of 'unauthorised trades' certainly does not seem to have been a serious issue in Southampton as it had been in Sandwich.³⁹

³⁸ SRO SC2/6/5, f. 83; *The Hampshire Lay Subsidy Rolls, 1586*, ed. C.R. Davey, (*Hampshire Records Series*, 4, 1981).

³⁹ See below pp. 257-58.



Figure II - St. Julien's Chapel (The French Church) in 1817

Introduction: The Reformation in Southampton

Religious issues were an important part of the negotiations for the establishment of the Southampton community. Robert Horne, Bishop of Winchester (1561-1579), had attempted in his appeal to Sir William Cecil for the establishment of that community to identify the faith of Cecil and himself with that of the refugees. He wrote: 'As the zelous care that hath bene hitherto in you [Cecil] to preserve emonge our countriemen in this realme both the truth in religion and the fauters therof, is well knowne to all and in thankfull wise acknowledged of the godlye, althoughe no lesse misliked of the others, yeven so I doubte not your charitable affection stretchethe forth yt selfe same cause towards all others beinge subiectes as we are to Christe in his kingdome, although by cyvill policyie they be strangiers to this kyngdome'.¹ Horne had been actively involved in attempting to establish the Religious Settlement in his diocese and was aware of the development of the Reformed churches of the Channel Islands which only became part of the diocese in 1568.² It is possible that Horne may have seen the establishment of the French church as providing a model for the reform of what remained a largely conservative county. The Edwardian church in London of John à Lasco had certainly aimed to serve as a model for further reform of the English Church but Elizabeth had not wanted the re-founded churches to perform such a role and so had curbed their independence.³ However in spite of this, the foreign churches had during the 1560s come to serve as an example for the English Puritans.⁴ Horne may have hoped that the French Church would exercise a similar role in his diocese.

It would be valuable to situate the French church in Southampton in the context of the local Reformation. Unfortunately, apart from two doctoral theses on the religious changes in Hampshire, where Southampton receives only cursory treatment, the history of Protestantism in the town has

¹ PRO SP12/43/16

² R.H. Fritze, 'The Role of Family and Religion in the Local Politics of Early Elizabethan England: The Case of Hampshire in the 1560s', *The Historical Journal*, 25 (1982), pp. 265-66, 271, 276-79; also see below, fn. 50.

³ F. Norwood, 'The Strangers' 'Model Churches' in Sixteenth-Century England', in F.H. Littell, (ed.), *Reformation Studies*, (Richmond, Va., 1962), pp. 186, 194-96; Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 67, 74-76, 136.

⁴ Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 272-75; P. Collinson, 'The Elizabethan Puritans and the Foreign Reformed Churches in London', in *ibid.*, *Godly People. Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism*, (London, 1983), pp. 262-63.

yet to be written.⁵ Apparently the Reformation only made halting progress in the town. In c. 1548 the protestant minister Thomas Hancock visited the town but was told by Sir Richard Lyster⁶ that 'yf I shold teache such doctrine as I tawght at Sarum the towne wold be divided, and soo sholde hytt be a way or a gapp for the enemy to enter in, and therfor he commawnded me that I shold not preache ther'. However Hancock heard another minister preach at St. Michael's church and attack Lyster for allowing 'the images in the church, the idol hanging in a string over the altar, candlesticks and tapes on them upon the altar, and the people honouring the idol'.⁷ There were other disturbances in the Southampton area at this time.⁸ Conservative piety continued to be expressed in the wills drawn up by some of the town's leading citizens and included bequests to the Franciscan friary which had apparently been re-established during Mary's reign.⁹

The prevailing conservatism within the town retreated only gradually during Elizabeth's reign. The churchwardens accounts only survive for one of the town's five parishes, for St. Lawrence's church. These reveal how slowly the church came to conform with the 1559 royal Injunctions.¹⁰ The *Paraphrases* of Erasmus were not purchased until May 1567, two years later the Book of Prayer and Homilies was bought and a copy of the Bishop's Bible was purchased in London in 1572. There were also structural changes in the church; 6 *d.* was paid in 1570 to 'take down ye p'tyction of ye quere'. There were further payments in 1572 for 'whytting and plastering the churche' and for the 'wrytinge of the great table' [Ten Commandments] and other suitable religious texts on the church walls.¹¹ Some of the plate belonging to the town churches dates from

⁵ W.H. Mildon, 'Puritanism in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight from the reign of Elizabeth to the Restoration', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London University, 1934. This thesis does not consider the existence of the stranger church and comments that 'our records furnish us with no evidence of any presbyterial organisation in Hampshire or of any sect activity during Elizabeth's reign', (p. 27). R.H. Fritze, 'Faith and Faction: Religious changes, National Politics and the Development of Local Factionalism in Hampshire, 1485-1570', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University, 1981. The latter thesis however does not consider all of Elizabeth's reign.

⁶ Lyster had been appointed the Chief Justice of the King's Bench in 1546, see *D.N.B.* entry.

⁷ J.G. Nichols, (ed.), *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation*, (Camden Society, 57, 1860), p. 76.

⁸ Fritze, 'Faith and faction: Religious Changes, National Politics and the Development of Local Factionalism in Hampshire', pp. 237-40.

⁹ Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, pp. 212-13; A.A. Ruddock, 'The Greyfriars in Southampton', *PHFC* 16 (1944-47), pp. 146-47. The only indication of the refounding of the Friary comes from testamentary evidence.

¹⁰ For the impact of the 1559 Injunctions on churches, see R. Hutton, 'The local impact of the Tudor Reformation', in C. Haigh, *The English Reformation Revised*, (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 133-36.

¹¹ SRO PR4/2/1 St. Lawrence's Churchwardens Accounts, f. 11, 14.

this period, although some Edwardian pieces have also survived.¹² Coincidentally Richard Etuer, a member of the French Church served as a churchwarden of St. Lawrence's church for part of this time of change.¹³

However the advance of Protestantism was far from smooth and there is substantial evidence for the persistence of conservative religious practices. The churchwardens of St. Lawrence's had sold the 'olde byble' to Andrew Studley,¹⁴ and also sold 'a painted clothe with the x comande'.¹⁵ There was a presentment to the Court Leet in 1576 concerning the continued use of wafers at communion by the ministers of All Saints, St. Lawrence and St. Michaels. This charge was repeated against the minister of All Saints in 1581.¹⁶ A sense of the frustration of the reformers and the tensions which existed in the town, found expression in an anonymous memorandum in 1582:

In religion we are cold, to god we be unthankfull, to his word we yeeld no obedience: which may well be proved hereby. First let everie man examine him selfe how much he hath profited and gone forward in religion for these xx^{ue} yeares last, what thankfulnes he hath yielded unto god for reverence we have receaved his word at the mouthes of his ministers: then consider what Atheist or Papist is kept from the best offices in the towne for want of relligion; (yf he could get ryches to mainteine a pompe) that hath not been accompted worthie and sufficient to beare the office of Queenes Majestys Lieutenant in this towne. And what accompt we make of the Ministerie doth well appeare by the provision wee make for their intertainment; have the Preachers anie other alloweance or maintenance in this towne, otherwise than popish priests or reading ministers should have in their places: nay, what kicking and pricking hath here been against the preachers; I will not say against their lyves but against their doctrine also. have they not been brought before the Mayor to render accompt of their doctrine, and to answeare unto certaine articles objected against them, by one which in such cawses is commonly used for the Maiors mouth: have the preachers not been belyed and rayled uppon behind their backes uppon credit of wicked and slanderous libells made and devised against some of them no doubt eyther by Atheists or papists. these and manie other things doe sufficiently proove our slacknes in relligion, which being grannted howe we can look that god should blesse and prosper our towne seeing we make so small accompt of him & his word.¹⁷

Richard Beiston who was the Mayor of Southampton in 1581-82 may have been the object of this attack. Beiston had become embroiled in a quarrel with the minister of Holy Rood, Henry

¹² Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, p. 212.

¹³ Etuer was elected as churchwarden for a year in July 1570 and again in May 1572. In August 1573 he was paid 3 s. 6 d. for 'a carpet for the table'. SRO PR4/2/1, St. Lawrence's Churchwardens Accounts, f. 12, 13, 15v.

¹⁴ He was the Mayor of Southampton in 1586-87 and 1587-88. For his biography, see *Assembly Books*, I p. 7.

¹⁵ SRO PR4/2/1, St. Lawrence's Churchwardens Accounts, f. 13.

¹⁶ *Court Leet Records*, pp. 139, 204.

¹⁷ PRO SP12/156/43

Hopkins.¹⁸ The minister complained that Beiston 'carpeth at everie sermon which I make, so that there is no good point in nature by grace to be reformed through the word of God'. 'At my Lord of Winton's table he fell to his accustomed rayling against mee, notwithstanding my lord had thrise requested him to hold his peace and was glad to rise from his table sooner than hee was accustomed.'¹⁹ Hopkins had also managed to antagonise other influential men in the town such as John Crooke,²⁰ twice Mayor and the town's M.P. in 1571, through alluding to a rumour that Crooke's son-in-law Edmund Caplin had carried a candle in a procession while overseas. The minister did however admit he had a 'plaine kynd of speach in teaching which God hath imparted to me mixed yet I hope with modestie as becometh such a one who laboureth for edification and not for destruction'.²¹

However in spite of these tensions evangelical protestantism began to emerge with some of the customary features of sabbatarianism, lecturers and alternative means of financing the ministers.²² From 1580 onwards presentments were made to the Court Leet concerning church attendance; one presentment complained about the large numbers of people who frequented the taverns and gambled during the sermon and at service time.²³ There were also complaints made about trading and gaming on Sundays, with fines being imposed for such offences. The clothiers and shearmen of the town were also accused of failing to observe the sabbath in 1613.²⁴ In 1604 there was a complaint that 'the notorious sinne of dronnkennes to be so Comon in this Towne as except some spedye reformacon be taken'.²⁵

About 1607 Thomas Hitchcock was appointed as the town lecturer and was confirmed in

¹⁸ PRO SP12/288/37. The document in which this quarrel is related, has in the past been overlooked but it is unfortunately undated. However the minister of Holy Rood was Henry Hopkins who had been presented to the benefice in 1574 by John Caplin. Since he had served the parish for nine years when this account had been written, it can be dated to 1583. HRO 21/M/65, A1/26 f. 100v.

¹⁹ PRO SP12/288/37.

²⁰ He was also the father-in-law of Richard Beiston. For his biography, see *The Third Book of Remembrance*, IV p. 93; Hasler, *The House of Commons, 1558-1603*, I p. 676.

²¹ PRO SP12/288/37.

²² P. Collinson, *The Religion of the Protestants. The Church in English Society 1559-1625*, (Oxford, 1982), pp. 170-77. For his essay on 'The Protestant Town' see, *ibid.*, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England. Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, (Basingstoke, 1988) pp. 28-59.

²³ *Court Leet Records*, pp. 189, 266, 282, 305, 358, 436, 454.

²⁴ *Court Leet Records*, pp. 370-71, 384, 401, 456.

²⁵ *Court Leet Records*, p. 408.

this position in 1611.²⁶ However after his death in 1612, the responsibility for the sermons fell to the town's ministers. The lectures were held at Holy Rood church and were financed through voluntary contributions.²⁷ There does not seem to have been any attempt by the town corporation to secure the finances of the ministers, one of the issues addressed in the anonymous memorandum in 1582. The Corporation did however occasionally provide some clerics with a livery or financial help.²⁸

The French Church and its organisation

Discussions during the negotiations for the establishment of the community had been largely taken up with the provision of a suitable place of worship for the strangers and upon the form of church government that they would adopt for their worship.²⁹

Bishop Horne appears to have assigned the refugees the chapel of St. Julien at God's House Hospital for their place of worship. The chapel was a part of God's House Hospital, which dated back to 1185 and was located in the southeastern corner of the parish of Holy Rood, close to the town walls. The owners of the Hospital, The Queen's College Oxford do not appear to have been consulted about the refugees' use of the chapel. There is no reference to the refugees having been granted permission to use the chapel, which resulted in several disputes between the College and the French church in the nineteenth century.³⁰ The College's acquiescence may have been a further sign of the relaxed administration of the College estates at this time. The 1560s was a decade of uncertainty for the Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, anxious about their future after the earlier dissolutions of religious houses and corporations.³¹ The proposal to strip God's House of its chaplain in order to provide the parish of Holy Rood with another minister must have enhanced

²⁶ *Assembly Books*, III pp. 25-26.

²⁷ HRO Wills 1612/Ad/51, Thomas Hitchcock; *Assembly Books*, III, p. 60; IV p. 17.

²⁸ *The Southampton Mayor's Book of 1606-1608*, ed. W.J. Connor, (SRS, 21, 1978), pp. 55, 99, 100, 107-8; *Assembly Books*, I, p. 101.

²⁹ See above pp. 77-78.

³⁰ There was a dispute with the College about the church's use of the chapel between 1825 and 1830. This resulted in an attempt to evict the French church from the chapel in 1830. A further dispute arose in 1863 about the replacement of pews for the French church after the chapel's restoration. This second dispute was concluded when the College formally granted permission for the French Protestants to worship in the chapel and paid part of the cost of the new pews. SRO D/FC 3/8; *The Minute Book of the French Church at Southampton, 1702-1939*, ed. E. Welch, (SRS, 23, 1979), pp. 3, 113-5.

³¹ *A God's House Miscellany*, ed. J.M. Kaye, (SRS, 27, 1984), pp. 35-38. The problems that had resulted in the poor state of the College houses were discussed in a letter written in 1599, *ibid.*, pp. 55-56 (L 10).

these fears.³² However during the vigilant stewardship of Francis Mylls³³ and the construction of almshouses between 1588-93³⁴, it is unlikely that the College could have remained unaware of the use made of the chapel by the refugees.

The Hospital was described by 1585 as being in a ruinous condition which may also have been the result of the lax administration of the 1560s.³⁵ Repairs to the chapel had to be undertaken in 1567-68 when the College paid for the reglazing of all the windows.³⁶ Stained or painted glass had been placed in the chapel in the fourteenth century which would have been offensive to the Calvinists as would the painting of the image of the Virgin Mary and the tabernacle placed there in the early sixteenth century. It is not clear whether these were removed with the arrival of the French community or at an earlier date by committed Protestants within the town.³⁷ It should also be noted that the refugees do not appear to have had exclusive use of the chapel as it seems to have still been used by the occupants of the almshouses. Small payments were regularly made by Queen's College for bread and wine to be used at the chapel.³⁸

The second area of discussion concerned the religious order of the community. The refugees, according to a letter sent by Bishop Grindal to Cecil, agreed that:

... for the ordre of theyr churche, they will agree in doctryne and rites withe the frenshe churche in London and geve a confession of theyr faythe to the bisshop of Winton [Horne].³⁹

Grindal clearly expected the refugees in Southampton to adopt the Discipline⁴⁰ of the French

³² Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, p. 212.

³³ Francis Mylls was involved in the new incorporation of The Queen's College and worked hard to improve the finances of the College's estate in Southampton. He attempted to recover past sources of income as well as making recommendations concerning the leasing of property. He was the steward from 1585 to 1618, although he probably had a deputy in Southampton. Mylls may have lived in the Warden's House for a time at the Hospital although he also seems to have sub-let the property. *A God's House Miscellany*, pp. 33, 35, 36, 39, 42-43, 52-53 (L4), 56 (L11); *The Cartulary of God's House, Southampton*, ed. J.M. Kaye, (SRS, 19-20, 1976), I p. lxxxv.

³⁴ *The Cartulary of God's House, Southampton*, I pp. lxxxi-lxxxii.

³⁵ *A God's House Miscellany*, p. 53 (L4).

³⁶ Queen's College Archives, Oxford, GHA Box 4 (7).

³⁷ *The Cartulary of God's House, Southampton*, I p. lxxviii.

³⁸ Queen's College Archives, Oxford, GHA Boxes 4 & 5.

³⁹ PRO SP12/43/29.

⁴⁰ In order to make a distinction between the two meanings of the word 'discipline' in the exile churches, the Discipline meaning a Church Order will be spelt with capital letter and the exercise of discipline using the lower case. See P. Denis, "Discipline" in the English

congregation in London. This had been devised by Nicholas des Gallars in 1561 drawing upon the earlier *Forma ac Ratio* of John à Lasco as well as the Genevan Church order.⁴¹ Although the London Church had assisted in the composition of the refugees' appeal to the Queen, it is not clear that the refugees did adopt des Gallars' church order. Within the Reformed Church in France variants of the 1559 Discipline had emerged, for example those which were adopted by the churches of St. Lô and Bayeux.⁴² There were different influences on the emerging church which may have led to a church order being adopted in Southampton which differed from that of Threadneedle Street. The exiles were predominantly Walloon and the initial settlers had, as we have seen, longstanding links with the Reformed movement. Guillaume Coppin and more significantly Jehan le Mesureur had been members of the consistory of the Valenciennes church.⁴³ Although little is known about the organisation of the Walloon churches, they do seem to have followed closely along similar lines to the French Reformed church although some aspects of the church structure were omitted as being inappropriate for the Low Countries.⁴⁴ The experience of this Walloon organisation may have influenced the form of church order adopted by the refugees in Southampton. This may have been furthered through the influence of Walerand Thevelin who had served as a minister in the Southern Netherlands but it should be noted that he does not seem to have arrived in Southampton before 1568.⁴⁵

Besides the London church order and the influence of the Walloon churches, there is a third potential source for the Discipline adopted by the community in Southampton, namely the church order used in the Channel Islands. On the 28 October 1567 the congregation gathered together with the Bishop of Winchester and the Mayor and Corporation of Southampton to hear Nicholas

Huguenot Churches of the Reformation: a Legacy or a Novelty?', *HS*, 23 (1977-82), pp. 166-172.

⁴¹ N. des Gallars, *Forma Politiae ecclesiasticae nuper institutae Londini in coetu Gallorum*, (London, 1561) STC No. 6774.5; N. des Gallars, *Forme de police ecclesiastique instituée à Londres en l'Eglise des François*, ([London], 1561); Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 163-4.

⁴² 'Discipline de l'Eglise de St. Lô (1563)' in M. Reulos, 'Les débuts des Communautés réformées dans l'actuel département de la Manche (Cotentin et Avranchin)', *Revue du département de la Manche*, 24 (1982) numéro special, fasc. 93-95, pp. 31-61; 'Police de l'Eglise Reformee de Bayeux, 1563' in R.M. Kingdon, 'Disciplines réformées du XVIe siècle français: une découverte faite aux Etats-Unis', *BSHPF* 130 (1984), pp. 69-86.

⁴³ See above pp. 27-28, 33, 34-36.

⁴⁴ F.R.J. Knetsch, 'Kerkordelijke bepalingen van de Nederlandse synoden "onder het kruis" (1563-66), vergeleken met die van de Franse (1559-1564)', in J. Fabius, A. Spaanse, J. Spaans, *Feestbundel uitgegeven ter gelegenheid van het 80 - jarig bestaan van het kerkhistorisch gezelschap S.S.S.*, (Leiden 1982), pp. 29-44.

⁴⁵ On Walerand Thevelin's arrival in Southampton, see below pp. 191-92.

Baudouin preach the community's first sermon.⁴⁶ Nicholas Baudouin had been responsible for bringing about the Reformation on Guernsey. Baudouin originated from Rouen and after staying in Geneva arrived on Guernsey with a letter from Calvin.⁴⁷ In August 1565 an order in Council had granted permission for the parishes of St. Peter Port on Guernsey and St. Helier on Jersey to adopt the Reformed manner of worship, following the order of the French Church at Threadneedle Street.⁴⁸ By this time however Baudouin had already established a Calvinist church on Guernsey and a consistory of elders and deacons had been elected by 1563.⁴⁹ The islands were technically within the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Coutances and were not transferred to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Winchester until 1568, although they had established links with Winchester before this date.⁵⁰ The churches do not appear to have accepted the Discipline of Threadneedle Street because the Colloquy objected when the Bishop suggested in 1569 that the religious practices on the islands should be in agreement with it.⁵¹ Baudouin's presence in Southampton in October 1567 can be explained by the fact that the Colloquy of the Channel Islands agreed at the end of September that someone should be sent to the Bishop of Winchester.⁵² It would seem likely that the candidate sent by the Colloquy was Nicholas Baudouin. However what is unclear is how Baudouin

⁴⁶ Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum*, III pp. 2555-56.

⁴⁷ A native of Rouen, he became a *habitant* of Geneva in April 1559. He was sent to Guernsey with a letter of introduction from Calvin and became the minister of St. Peter Port and served the church until 1584. He resisted a call in 1561 to serve the churches in France. After a dispute, he left Guernsey to become the minister of St. Pierre on Jersey. In 1599 he returned to St. Peter Port where he died in 1613. E. Haag & E. Haag, *La France Protestante*, (2nd edition Paris, 1877-88), 6 vols. (unfinished), I col. 1008; *Société Jersiaise. Bulletin Annuel*, 8 (1915-18), p. 21; P.-F. Geisendorf, *Le livre des habitants de Genève*, 2 vols. (Geneva, 1957-63), I p. 158; A. Maulvault, 'La Réforme à Guernsey', *BSHPF* 8 (1868), pp. 254-6; G. & J. Daval, *Histoire de la Réformation à Dieppe*, ed. E. Lesens, 2 vols. (Rouen 1878), I pp. 237-8; A.J. Eagleston, 'The Quarrel between the Ministers and the Civil Power, 1581-5', *La Société Guernésiaise. Reports and Transactions*, 12 (1933-36), pp. 480-90.

⁴⁸ De Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge*, II pp. 375-76.

⁴⁹ Northamptonshire Record Office, Finch-Hatton Papers FH312 p. 306. The whereabouts of this record of the Colloquies of the Guernsey Reformed Churches, part of a source known as 'Warburton', was discovered by Dr. D. Ogier and I am grateful to him for sharing his knowledge of its whereabouts. On its discovery see, D. Ogier, 'The Authorship of Warburton's Treatise', *La Société Guernésiaise. Reports and Transactions*, XXIII (1986-90), pp. 871-77.

⁵⁰ Northamptonshire Record Office, Finch-Hatton Papers FH 312, p. 310; De Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge*, II pp. 377-78. The Synod of the Channel Islands Churches had sent greetings to the Bishop from 1567.

⁵¹ Northamptonshire Record Office, Finch-Hatton Papers, FH 312, p. 312.

⁵² Northamptonshire Record Office, Finch-Hatton Papers, FH 312, p. 310.

came to preach the sermon to the church.⁵³ It could be simply because the community lacked a minister at the time, although this also raises the question as to who administered the first celebrations of the Lord's Supper in the community. Baudouin may have been directed by the Bishop of Winchester to Southampton and have played a role in establishing the community's Discipline.

The paucity of records for the Southampton congregation particularly relating to the consistory means that it is difficult to assess whether, and to what extent, the Southampton congregation differed from Threadneedle Street. By no means all of the stranger churches conformed to the des Gallars discipline. The consistory records for the Canterbury congregation reveal a difference in the appointment of elders from the London French church. Elections were held for elders in Canterbury until 1578 after which appointment was through co-option. A similar change in London had taken place at an indeterminate date before 1578.⁵⁴ In Sandwich the Walloons and their minister were told by the magistrates to conform to the order of the Flemish Church in 1569.⁵⁵ There may be parallels between Canterbury and Southampton as both were initially Walloon communities. One important new element that des Gallars included in his revision of the Discipline in 1561 was the introduction of monthly celebrations of the Lord's Supper. The Threadneedle Street church had begun to celebrate monthly communions in November 1560 according to their consistory records.⁵⁶ However in Southampton the Lord's Supper was celebrated quarterly but it is difficult to discover where this influence came from. According to the Discipline of 1576 the Channel Island churches celebrated the Lord's Supper quarterly on Easter Sunday, the Sunday after St. John, the first Sunday of October and the Sunday following the Nativity of Christ.⁵⁷ In Southampton the dates chosen were the first Sunday of January, the first Sunday of April (which occasionally coincided with Easter Sunday), the first Sunday of July and the first in October.⁵⁸ These dates appear to fit more closely with the 1563 Discipline of Bayeux.⁵⁹ In the

⁵³ Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivuum*, III pp. 2555-56.

⁵⁴ City and Diocesan Record Office, Canterbury, French Church Records, U47/A1 Actes du Consistoire p. 121; de Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge*, I pp. 167, 230.

⁵⁵ Kent Archives Office, Sa/Ac 5 The New Red Book, 1568-1581, f. 30. I am grateful to Dr. M. Backhouse for this reference.

⁵⁶ Des Gallars, *Forme de Police*, f. 18v; *Actes du Consistoire 1560-1565*, pp. 11, 15, 22, 28, 33, 38, 40, 42, 44.

⁵⁷ 'Iles de la Manche. Police et Discipline Ecclesiastique de 1576', in de Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge*, III p. 345.

⁵⁸ *Registre*, pp. 3-17. The celebration of the Lord's Supper only coincided with Easter Sunday in 1572, 1575, 1577, 1580. In 1568 the Lord's Supper was recorded as being celebrated on Easter Sunday, which was 18 April and so not the first Sunday of the month.

Netherlands the Walloon Synod decided in 1563 that the Lord's Supper should be celebrated six times per annum or at least four times but no specific dates for the celebration of the Lord's Supper were specified.⁶⁰ The Southampton congregation continued with their quarterly celebrations until 1583 when it was agreed at the Colloquy of the French churches in England that they should all celebrate the Lord's Supper monthly.⁶¹

From 1582 onwards the London Church pressed for the adoption of a single Discipline in all the French churches in England but their suggestion that the other churches should adopt the revised London Discipline of 1578⁶² was rejected. However in 1588 the French churches agreed in the Colloquy to accept a single Discipline. They discussed and accepted a modified version of the London Discipline of 1578.⁶³

But even after the supposed adoption of the same Discipline the churches do not appear to have been united. One slight variation from the Discipline can be seen to have continued in Southampton. In 1587 the Colloquy criticised these churches where *marreines* as well as *parreins* were not present at the baptism of children. The practice appeared in the 1588 discipline which was agreed by all the French churches. The records of baptisms were carefully kept in Southampton with the names of the child, father and later the mother being recorded together with the name of the *parein*. However the church was chastised in 1610 for failing to accept *marreines* and the practice only began to be adopted from November 1611.⁶⁴

The adoption of a single discipline by the churches established a degree of unity between them. This was further emphasised by a new section of the discipline concerning the holding of colloquies, '*a fin d'entretenir la pureté de vie et doctrine, et ensemble lordre et vnion des eglises, il se fera d'an en an ou autre temps conuenable vne assemblée des deputez de toutes les eglises de la langue francoyse qui seront en ce royaume*'.⁶⁵ Colloquies had only gradually emerged in

⁵⁹ 'Police de l'Eglise Reformee de Bayeux, 1563' in R.M. Kingdon, 'Disciplines réformées du XVIe siècle français: une découverte faite aux Etats-Unis', *BSHPP*, 130 (1984), p. 79.

⁶⁰ *Livre Synodal contenant les Articles résolues dans les Synodes des Eglises Wallonnes des Pays-Bas*, 2 vols., (The Hague, 1896), I p. 5.

⁶¹ *Registre*, p. 18; *Actes des Colloques*, p. 5.

⁶² French Protestant Church of London Archives, Soho Square, AC/MS 297 'Police et discipline Ecclesiastique observee en l'Eglise de langue Françoise à Londres', (1578). For a very general article on this, see W.J.C. Moens, 'Discipline of the French Church of London, 1578', *HS* 2 (1887-88), pp. 456-63.

⁶³ *Actes des Colloques*, pp. 3, 5, 9, 13, 14; 'Discipline of the French Churches in England, 1588', in W.J.C. Moens, *The Walloons and their Church at Norwich, their History and Register, 1565-1832*, (HSP, 1, 1887-88), pp. 286-305.

⁶⁴ 'Discipline of the French Churches in England, 1588', p. 296; *Actes des Colloques*, pp. 12, 14, 52; *Registre*, p. 56.

England, although the Synod of Emden had decreed in October 1571 that 'separate annual meetings shall be held each year for all the churches scattered through Germany and East Friesland, for all the churches in England and the churches 'under the Cross''.⁶⁶ The churches had appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Winchester and the Dean of Westminster, to be allowed to establish *classes* but the authorities refused permission for such meetings.⁶⁷ This decision was in spite of the fact that the Reformed churches of Guernsey, Jersey and Sark had met regularly for a Synod since 1564.⁶⁸ When the first Colloquy of all the French churches in England did meet in May 1581, it was proposed that they should meet annually and in 1587 it was suggested that they should convene in London each year.⁶⁹ The representatives of the French churches met annually until 1590, excluding 1585, and after that date less frequently but their meetings were not confined to London.⁷⁰

However some of the functions of the Colloquies had already been fulfilled by the Superintendents. The Superintendent of each community was the bishop in whose diocese the community was situated. According to des Gallars' *Forme de Police*, the Bishop or Superintendant was to confirm the appointment of a new minister to a particular church, but by 1588 the Bishop only had to be notified of the appointment.⁷¹ Des Gallars' *Discipline* gave the Bishop further powers which do not appear in the 1588 discipline:

Et quand ils ne pourront estre obeiz en faisant leur devoir, que le tout soit rapporte a l'Euesque pour y mettre ordre, & qu'ils soit prie que les rebelles apres auoir este chastiez, soient renuoyez au consistoire pour proceder contre eux, selon l'ordre Ecclesiastique'.⁷²

Excommunications in London were carried with the approval of the Superintendent, Edmund Grindal. A similar situation existed in Southampton where the Bishop of Winchester, Robert Horne,

⁶⁵ 'Discipline of the French Churches in England, 1588', p. 301.

⁶⁶ A.C. Duke *et al.*, *Calvinism in Europe 1540-1610. A collection of documents*, (Manchester, 1992), p. 158.

⁶⁷ Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 269; *Actes du Consistoire*, II p. 61, 69.

⁶⁸ An alliance between the churches of Guernsey and Jersey was formed in 1563 and the first Synod was held the following year. Northamptonshire Record Office, Finch-Hatton Papers, FH 312, pp. 306, 307.

⁶⁹ *Actes des Colloques*, pp. 2, 12.

⁷⁰ The cost of sending delegates to the Colloquies may have resulted in them being held less frequently. In 1598 it cost the Canterbury church £6 3 s. 7 d. to send their pastor and elder to the Colloquy in Southampton, F.W. Cross, *History of the Walloon and Huguenot Church at Canterbury*, (HSP, 15 1898), p. 82.

⁷¹ Des Gallars, *Forme de Police*, f. 7; 'Discipline of the French Churches in England, 1588', p. 287.

⁷² Des Gallars, *Forme de Police*, f. 15 v.

confirmed the excommunication of Henry le Sueur and Nicholas du Chemin.⁷³ In the Low Countries this power came to be held by the classis.⁷⁴ Grindal also appears to have taken a close interest in the London church, mediating in disputes for example, and it is possible that Horne may have had a similar interest in the affairs of the Southampton church.⁷⁵ In 1584 a delegation was sent from the French Church which included Walerand Thevelin, Mathieu Sohier, Guillaume Hersent and Pierre le Gay to congratulate Horne's successor Thomas Cooper (1580-84) on his appointment as Bishop of Winchester. They asked the Bishop to continue to look favourably on maintaining their church as his predecessor had done.⁷⁶

In London, another important part of the organisation of the French churches was the *coetus* at which the ministers and elders of the French, Italian and Dutch churches met regularly to discuss discipline and doctrine. The unity achieved by these meetings was furthered by the decision of the communities to celebrate fasts together.⁷⁷ Clearly there was no need for such a similar body in Southampton where there was only the one church. However on occasion when the church did need to seek advice on a particular issue of discipline they seem to have written to the Threadneedle Street church, such as in 1572 when they wrote concerning a quarrel between Roland Petit and Robert Cousin.⁷⁸ The exercise of discipline and admission to the Lord's Supper brought Southampton into contact with other consistories. The issue of Nicholas du Chemin was one dispute in which information was sought from Southampton.⁷⁹ In 1584, the Threadneedle Street church asked Walerand Thevelin to obtain testimonies from Gilles de Roy and Thomas Andrieu concerning Nicholas du Bury and the alleged pregnancy Adrienne Bouzy.⁸⁰ In another case the Southampton consistory failed to respond after a month to letters sent by the Canterbury Church concerning the repentance of the son of Guilbert Florin who wished to be admitted to the Lord's Supper there.⁸¹

The provincial churches therefore seem to have enjoyed a degree of independence before

⁷³ *Actes du Consistoire*, I, pp. xvi, 33, 108, 115; *Actes du Consistoire*, II, pp. 12, 49.

⁷⁴ *Livre Synodal*, pp. 55, 69, 81.

⁷⁵ For Grindal's involvement in the affairs of both the French and Dutch churches, see Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 150-1, 154, 157, 161-3, 171-2, 178, 245-9, 271.

⁷⁶ *Registre*, p. 133.

⁷⁷ *Actes du Consistoire*, II pp. 28, 118, 124, 139, 141, 169, 177, 189, 203, 205.

⁷⁸ *Actes du Consistoire*, II pp. 76-77.

⁷⁹ *Actes du Consistoire*, II p. 32.

⁸⁰ Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivuum*, III pp. 709-10.

⁸¹ City and Diocesan Record Office, Canterbury, French Church Records, U47/A1 *Actes du Consistoire* pp. 98, 107, 112.

the adoption of the single discipline and the regular meeting of colloquies. The churches occasionally sought advice from London or requests for assistance might be passed through London. The Colloquies however became more influential and the refugee churches came to be bound by their decisions. The brethren of Southampton were urged by the Colloquy in 1581 to visit Rye *pour corriger tels vices qu'ils rangent a la Discipline comme les autres Eglises*'. In 1610, the church was rebuked for failing to introduce *mereaux* (tokens) for those who were to be admitted to the Lord's Supper after this had been agreed upon by the Colloquy.⁸² The decline of the church's independence clearly coincided with the congregation's increasing financial dependence on the Threadneedle Street Church.⁸³

The exile churches had long standing links with the continental churches; these contacts seem to have been closer with the Walloon churches in the Netherlands than with the Reformed churches in France. Anthoine Lescaillet represented the Walloon churches at the Synod of Dordrecht in 1578 and at Middelburg in 1581.⁸⁴ There is no record of a minister being sent to the meetings of the French National Synods and contact with the exile churches was limited and generally confined to the French church in London.⁸⁵ This is significant in suggesting the priority of the Walloon churches in the foundation of the French-speaking provincial churches and provides a contrast with the London French church where the French influence was much stronger.⁸⁶ The Colloquies sought to establish their position *vis à vis* the continental churches, with appeals that these churches should not recognise those who returned to the continent without a testimony from

⁸² *Actes des Colloques*, pp. 1, 41.

⁸³ See below pp. 199, 203, 223.

⁸⁴ *Livre Synodal*, I p. 82; Cross, *History of the Walloon and Huguenot Church at Canterbury*, p. 71.

⁸⁵ In 1578 the National Synod responded positively to letters from the French Church in London 'that Messieurs de Villiers, Minister of the Church of Rouan and de la Fontayne Minister of the Church of Orleans might be given to them for their Pastors'. These appointments were however regarded by the Synod as being only temporary but in 1596, again in response to a request from London, de la Fontaine was 'yielded up unto the Walloon Church of London'. In 1598 the Synod wrote to the English Ambassador and also to de la Fontaine to urge them to attempt to prevent the publication of the writings of Sutcliffe and Saravia. J. Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata: or the Acts, Decisions, Decrees and canons of those Famous National Councils of the Reformed Churches in France*, 2 vols. (London, 1692), I pp. 124-5, 185, 203. On the links between the exile churches and the continental Reformed churches, see A. Spicer, '"A Faythful Pastor in the churches": ministers in the French and Walloon communities in England, 1560-1620' in A. Pettegree (ed.), *The Reformation of the Parishes. The ministry and the Reformation in town and country*, (Manchester, 1993), pp. 202-4.

⁸⁶ On the French influence in the exile churches see Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 161-2, 163-64, 265; Spicer, '"A Faythful Pastor in the Churches"', p. 204. Above fn. 85.

their churches. The Colloquy even wrote to the Synods of France and the Low Countries '*pour rafraîchir la memoire de l'union que nous avons avec eus en Doctrine et gouvernement de l'Eglise*'.⁸⁷

The Ministry

The ministers played an important role in any Calvinist community because of the services they performed and the guidance and leadership they provided for their congregations. The ministers in Southampton regularly conducted baptisms, marriages and presumably officiated at the burial of the refugees in the town cemetery. Initially the Lord's Supper was celebrated four times a year in the church but after 1583 these services were held monthly.⁸⁸ There are also occasional references to special sermons being preached to the congregation.⁸⁹ At the height of the plague in Southampton in 1583, the church decided to meet for prayers at five o'clock on every evening when there was not a sermon.⁹⁰ The church also observed a series of fasts to pray for matters of concern overseas or in the locality. These fasts were held on weekdays, often a Thursday, although no particular day seems to have been assigned for them.⁹¹ The celebration of fasts later came to be regulated by the Colloquy but the role of the Threadneedle Street Church in initiating these fasts was also emphasised.⁹² Furthermore there were also occasional services of thanksgiving held by the community for the dispersal of the Spanish Armada in 1588 and in 1605 for the end of the plague, for example.⁹³ Fasts could be organised and held without a minister, although clearly the celebration of the Lord's Supper could not take place without a minister.⁹⁴

Besides their liturgical responsibilities, there are a few surviving glimpses of the minister's pastoral role. The minister occasionally acted as a *parain* at a baptism; both Walerand Thevelin and

⁸⁷ *Actes des Colloques*, pp. 7-8, 35.

⁸⁸ *Registre*, p. 18. See above pp. 185-86.

⁸⁹ A sermon is referred to at the marriage of Jan le Vasseur and Peronne Jorre. The son of Louis Hebert was buried '*Apres la Lecture*'. *Registre*, p. 87, 104.

⁹⁰ *Registre*, p. 17.

⁹¹ *Registre*, pp. 125-32. On the events which led to fasts see below pp. 235-37, Appendix I.

⁹² *Actes des Colloques*, pp. 40, 52.

⁹³ *Registre*, pp. 128, 130.

⁹⁴ A fast was organised by the elders and deacons of the church after the death of Walerand Thevelin in October 1584. However it was not possible to celebrate the Lord's Supper and so there was no such service recorded in the year after Thevelin's death. *Registre*, pp. 19, 127.

Philippe de la Motte each did so on seven occasions.⁹⁵ The minister also clearly attended the dying and Thevelin certainly acted as the secretary for two wills and as a witness for two further wills.⁹⁶ Timothée Blier witnessed three wills while there is only one surviving will which was witnessed by Philippe de la Motte.⁹⁷ However it should be remembered that visiting the sick and dying was a concern which the ministers shared with the consistory. Attendance at the bedside of the dying was not always straightforward. The minister Philippe de la Motte and together with Estienne Latelais and John Hersant, who may both have been members of the consistory at the time, were called with two others to the bedside of Cecille Seulin, who died in June 1596. On that occasion the dying woman expressed her concern about her son Daniel Seulin and his debts. So she made a will in the presence of the witnesses, whom she made executors of her estate on behalf of her grandchildren, thereby excluding her son Daniel Seulin. When the will was subsequently challenged in the Court of Star Chamber by her stepson Peter Seulin, the witnesses were forced to defend their position.⁹⁸

The ministries of Walerand Thevelin, Philippe de la Motte and Timothée Blier and Elie d'Arande span the short years of the community's prosperity and its much longer but gradual terminal decline. Their careers exemplify the very different backgrounds of the Calvinist ministers as well as the problems faced by the ministers of the exiled communities.

Walerand Thevelin, (1567 - 1584)

The community's first minister was Walerand Thevelin, a Walloon who had experienced at first hand the Troubles of 1566-67. The son of John (presumably Jean) Thevelin, he was born at Frelinghien-sur-la-Lys near Armentières, although he is also sometimes referred to as a native

⁹⁵ Thevelin stood as *parain* for the children of Anthoine Hanneron, Louis de Callonne, Rolland Raignon, Bastien de la Met, Gilles Seulin, Arnoul le Clercq and Pierre le Gay *Registre*, pp. 40, 41, 43, 46.

Philippe de la Motte acted as *parain* to the children of Pierre le Gay, Jan Mercier, Claude Moutonnier, Pierre Pouche, Timothée Mesnier, Isaac le Gay, William Cranige. It is not possible to discover whether there were any particular business or family links which may have led to these ministers being chosen as *parains*. *Registre*, pp. 47, 50, 51, 54.

⁹⁶ Thevelin wrote and witnessed the wills of Robert Cousin (PRO Prob 11/67) and Gilles Seulin (PRO Prob 11/68); he witnessed the wills of Jehanne de Caignoncle (HRO Wills 1569/B Sohier) and François Bourgayse (HRO Wills 1583/Ad/10). He was also appointed as one of the executors of the will of Anthoine Jurion (HRO Wills 1578/B/53).

⁹⁷ De la Motte witnessed the will of Isaac le Gay (PRO PCC Prob 11/122); Blier witnessed the wills of Peter Thieudet (HRO Wills 1611/B/65), John Rochefort (HRO Wills 1606/B/46) and John Hersent (PRO PCC Prob 11/125). They were both appointed as executors of the will of Martine des Maistres but both ministers were also her sons-in-law.

⁹⁸ *Registre*, p. 106; PRO STAC 5 83/3. The family relationships are explained in the will of Gilles Seulin, PRO PCC Prob. 11/88.

of Quesnoy-sur-le-Deûle.⁹⁹ In August 1566 he was appointed as the minister at Tourcoing and in the same month officiated at a communion service in the market place, attended by *en grand nombre et avecq armes*. Thevelin had fled by September 1567 and was subsequently banished by the Council of Troubles.¹⁰⁰

Since nothing is known of Thevelin's antecedents before 1566 we are inclined to regard him as one of the wave of lay reformed preachers who only came to prominence during the Troubles. Having studied 149 lay preachers active during 1566-67, Phyllis Crew concluded that these men were for the most part obscure priests or laymen mainly from the working class and of limited education.¹⁰¹ Thevelin certainly had some education for he acted as the scribe for two wills which were drawn up in Southampton, as well as recording entries in the community's register.¹⁰² The entries in the *Registre* written in his handwriting date from July 1568.

Thevelin's ministry in Southampton remains very shadowy. The precise date of his arrival in Southampton is not known for the *Registre* does not invariably record the admission of ministers to the Lord's Supper. He was married, his wife Elisabeth le Mahieu was admitted at the beginning of July 1568 but her name does not appear again in the *Registre*. He may have been related to the Gillemette Thevelin who was admitted in 1573. Thevelin served the Southampton congregation, carrying out his pastoral duties until his death in September 1584, although he was not a victim of the plague which then was afflicted the town.¹⁰³

Philippe de la Motte, (1585 - 1606)

The need for a new minister in Southampton was discussed at the meeting of the Walloon Synod in the Netherlands at Middelburg in April 1585, at which a M. du Forest was charged with the responsibility of taking up the position of minister on condition that he returned to the

⁹⁹ Frelinghien-sur-la-Lys and Quesnoy-sur-le-Deûle are neighbouring villages in the vicinity of Lille. Thevelin described himself as being a native of Frelinghien-sur-le-Lys but was described in Cuvillon's report on the Troubles as being from Quesnoy-sur-le-Deûle, *Registre*, p. 40; P. Beuzart, 'La Réforme dans les environs de Lille, spécialement à Armentières, en 1566 d'après un document inédit', *BSHPF*, 78 (1929), p. 58; HRO Wills 1578/B/53 Anthoine Jurion.

¹⁰⁰ AGR, Conseil des Troubles, 6, f. 229; Beuzart, 'La Réforme dans les environs de Lille', pp. 58-59. See above pp. 43-44.

¹⁰¹ Crew, *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands*, pp. 162-63. See also, Spicer, '"A Faithful Pastor in the Churches"', p. 198.

¹⁰² PRO PCC Prob. 11/67 Robert Cousin, Prob 11/68 Gilles Seulin; PRO RG4/4600. The signature on the will of Francois Bourgayse matches the handwriting of Thevelin, HRO Wills 1583/Ad/10.

¹⁰³ *Registre*, pp. 4, 8, 104.

Netherlands when he was recalled.¹⁰⁴ However the ministry in Southampton was assumed by Phillippe de la Motte. Slightly more is known about de la Motte's career than is known about Thevelin. He was born in Tournai, probably in 1556, which would have meant that he was only a child at the time of the Troubles.¹⁰⁵ An account written in 1743 provides a description of de la Motte's career before he came to Southampton.¹⁰⁶

Joseph [sic] Dela motte my great grandfather was born at Tourney of Roman Catholic parents about the year of our Saviour and was apprenticed to a silkman there who was a protestant as well as his family, which they not daring then to own by reason of the Duke of Alva's persecution had their minister (whom they called cousin) come privately to their house to assemble and worship God, at which time they contrived to send our ancestor out, or to employ him so that he might not mistrust them to discover what they were doing; which was so concealed till his apprenticeship expired, and then he became a hired servant always behaving himself soberly; and although his master and family called themselves Roman Catholics, yet seeing this gentleman they called cousin coming often, and they avoiding Mr Delamotte coming among them, he mistrusted they had some religious worship & took occasion to speak to his master about it; telling him there were several things in their religion which he did not like; and if he could be better informed he should be very glad. His master not daring to own it for fear of the violent persecution, put it off as well as he could for the present and told their minister of it; who, enquiring his character and hearing that his master gave him that of a sober honest young man and a faithful servant, he said he would venture to speak to him, which accordingly he did with good success; for it pleased God to convert him thereby from the Romish Church to the Protestant faith; and he became so true a convert that he desired them to let him go to the University of Geneva to be a student there, that he might be qualified to preach the Gospel; which he accordingly did, and continued there about 5 or 6 years, & was ordained. About which time their minister at Tourney died, and then they sent for him to come & dwell with them as the other did; where he continued in his master's house as a journeyman silkman sometime; but by accident was discovered; & an information given of him to the inquisition; who sent their officers in the night to apprehend him. They knocked at the door & told his master (who answered them) they wanted his man; he, finding who they were, called him; & he immediately got on his clothes and made his escape over the garden wall with his Bible, and travelled away directly into France to St. Malo. They believing him to be gone the nearest way to the seaside pursued him towards Ostend and missed him. From St. Malo he got over to Guernsey then in the possession of Queen Elizabeth, & from thence to Southampton; where, his money being all gone, he applied himself to the members of the French Church there, making his condition known to them; (whose minister was just dead). They desired he would preach to them the next Sabbath-day, which accordingly he did, & they chose him for their minister; & having a large congregation, he settled there; and married, and had fourteen children

¹⁰⁴ *Livre Synodal*, I p. 110.

¹⁰⁵ According to de la Motte's portrait he was 59 in 1615.

¹⁰⁶ The manuscript is in a private collection. However it was used in the nineteenth century by S. Smiles in his revised third edition of *The Huguenots, Their Settlements, Churches and Industries in England and Ireland*, (London, 1869), p. 361; *D.N.B.* entry on William de la Motte, (1775-1863). I am grateful to Jane le Cluse for sharing her knowledge of the whereabouts of this document.

There may be a grain of truth in this account for certain elements can be corroborated. But other details concerning de la Motte's career in the Netherlands were confused and the escape over the garden wall with a Bible sounds too good to be true. Philippe de la Motte certainly studied in Geneva where he matriculated as a student of Theology at the Academy in June 1581.¹⁰⁷ He was confirmed in his ministry by the Walloon Synod in the Netherlands at Ghent in 1583, where he was examined as to his doctrine and his life.¹⁰⁸ De la Motte presumably did not return to Tournai as the city had, in the meantime, been recaptured by Parma on 30 November 1581, but he was to have been initially directed by the Synod in April 1585, to serve temporarily the Walloon community in Oostende. If de la Motte took up his post at Oostende, he left it almost at once for he arrived in Southampton in May 1585.¹⁰⁹ Previously de la Motte had acted as the secretary for the classical meeting of the Walloon Churches of Holland and Zealand held at Leiden at the end of October 1584, and the following month he was an unsuccessful candidate in the disputed election for the post at Leiden.¹¹⁰ The moderator of the Classical Assembly at Leiden was Adrian Saravia, the former schoolmaster in Southampton and he may have been responsible for directing de la Motte's attention to the French church there.¹¹¹ At any rate, de la Motte arrived in Southampton in May 1585 accompanied or joined shortly afterwards by his wife Jeanne de Massis and her family.¹¹²

He usually signed his name in Latin with a note that he was the minister of the French church and the portrait completed shortly before his death perpetuates this learned image with de la Motte sitting working beside some books while the painting is adorned by several phrases in Hebrew.¹¹³ He also began what has come to be known as the Delamotte diary. This in fact was a

¹⁰⁷ *Registre*, p. 89; S. Stelling-Michaud (ed.), *Le Livre du Recteur de l'Académie de Genève (1559-1878)*, 6 vols., (Geneva, 1959-1981), IV p. 603.

¹⁰⁸ *Livre Synodal*, I p. 105.

¹⁰⁹ *Livre Synodal*, I pp. 110, 111; BL MSS Bibl. Egerton 868, 'Delamotte Yearbook' f. 8 '1585 John Crooke *Je vins à Hamptone ceste année au mois de May*' written in Philippe de la Motte's handwriting.

¹¹⁰ Nijenhuis, *Adrian Saravia*, p. 60.

¹¹¹ *Livre Synodal*, I pp. 108-109. On Saravia see below pp. 204-5.

¹¹² Jacques de Massis, father-in-law of Philippe de la Motte died a month after his daughter in March 1586. He had been admitted to the Lord's Supper in November 1585 with his wife and daughter, Heleine. There is no record of de la Motte's wife, Jeanne de Massis being admitted to the Lord's Supper, *Registre*, pp. 19, 104.

¹¹³ Two versions of this portrait are known. One states that de la Motte was painted in 1615 when the minister was 59 and adds that he died in 1617. This portrait also has several Hebrew phrases and motifs included on it. The second version lacks these phrases and the date of death. The former is in a private collection while the latter was sold at Christies on 25 November 1960, lot no. 59. I am grateful to the National Portrait Gallery and the owner of the former de la Motte portrait for their assistance.

list of the mayors of Southampton recorded from 1498 until his death in 1617 which formed the basis for a chronicle that de la Motte compiled on English history, interweaving events of national and local significance.¹¹⁴ It is only a short account which came to be used as a family diary. It is not a providential account after the sort written by ministers of the Dutch community in London.¹¹⁵ He also appears to have taken an interest in Puritanism. Peter Caplin bequeathed to de la Motte the works of the Puritan minister Richard Greenham which de la Motte had borrowed together with others of Caplin's books still in his possession.¹¹⁶

The Calvinist churches on the continent frequently sought new ministers from the exile churches. It is perhaps a reflection of de la Motte's reputation and abilities that he should be approached to serve the churches at Aachen and later at Delft. The Walloon Synod proposed that de la Motte should be sent to the church at Aachen in 1597.¹¹⁷ While the minister agreed to take up the charge at Aachen, the English Colloquy was unenthusiastic. They criticised the Walloon Synod of Holland for its lack of consideration and decided to delay de la Motte's departure for five months, until the 1 September so that they could find a replacement for him. Only then was the Colloquy prepared to provide de la Motte with a suitable testimony as to his religious doctrine and the conduct of his life. The Colloquy decided that the French church in London should assume responsibility if a suitable replacement could not be found.¹¹⁸ However by April 1598, de la Motte still had not taken up his post at Aachen and the Walloon Synod meeting at Zierikzee decided to write to Southampton to urge them not to delay de la Motte's departure.¹¹⁹ By September 1600, the church at Aachen was still awaiting the arrival of a minister.¹²⁰ A more peremptory resolution was agreed in May 1601 which advised the church in Southampton to find a replacement for de la Motte so that he could give effect to his call to Delft within two months.¹²¹ However de la Motte failed to return to the continent and so the Synod requested that he should write and inform the Synod

¹¹⁴ The entries range from Henry VIII's conquest of Tournai (which clearly would have been of interest to de la Motte) in 1513, to Henry's assumption of the title of Supreme Head of the Church in 1530 and the execution of Anne Boleyn, to plague in Southampton in 1562 and 1583, BL Egerton MSS 868, f. 3, 4, 6, 8.

¹¹⁵ See O.P. Grell, 'Merchants and Ministers: the Foundations of International Calvinism' in A. Pettegree, A. Duke & G. Lewis, *Calvinism in Europe 1540-1620*, (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 266-67.

¹¹⁶ HRO Wills 1609/A/15.

¹¹⁷ *Livre Synodal*, I p. 166

¹¹⁸ *Actes des Colloques*, pp. 37 - 38.

¹¹⁹ *Livre Synodal*, I p. 167.

¹²⁰ *Livre Synodal*, I p. 175.

¹²¹ *Livre Synodal*, I p. 178.

of his reasons.¹²² There is no record of his reply.

In 1603/4 Timothée Blier was appointed to serve as the minister in Southampton 'a cause de l'infirmité de Mons^r De La Motte'.¹²³ His arrival is confirmed by the change from de la Motte's handwriting after May 1605 in the entries in the *Registre*.¹²⁴ Although de la Motte's illness was presumably serious, he appears to have recovered; he did not die until 1617. In fact his youngest child, Mathieu was not baptised until April 1608.¹²⁵ Indeed it is possible that de la Motte may have resumed his ministry in Southampton because the entries in the *Registre* between June and November 1606 are once more in de la Motte's hand.¹²⁶

Although according to the family tradition, de la Motte was apprenticed as a silkman, there is no evidence as to when he became involved in the cloth industry in Southampton. The stall and art lists recorded the non-burgesses who traded within the town. Although one 'Philip lamote' was recorded in 1587 he made no payment. His name does not reappear in the lists until 1602, although the entry has been crossed through. De la Motte was however trading by 1602 because he was fined in that year for incorrect weights and measures.¹²⁷ From 1604 onwards his stall & art payments gradually increased: 1604, nil; 1611, 2 s; 1613, 2 s 6 d; 1615, 5 s.¹²⁸ De la Motte's name also began to appear in the Court Leet records: in 1604 he was presented for selling his goods retail and in 1615 because either he or his servants had thrown refuse over the town walls.¹²⁹ His wife, Judith de la Motte was actively involved in the trade and could have been his partner; they were both named in an apprenticeship agreement in 1611.¹³⁰ When Philip drew up his will in May 1615 he commented 'I desire my wiffe to keepe her trade'¹³¹ and it seems that by that date, Judith de la Motte was established as one of the clothiers in the town.¹³² She certainly continued

¹²² *Livre Synodal*, I p. 179.

¹²³ *Actes des Colloques*, p. 47.

¹²⁴ PRO RG4/4600, f. 19v, 42, 79, 92.

¹²⁵ *Registre*, pp. 55, 111-12.

¹²⁶ PRO RG4/4600 f. 19v, 42-42v, 79, 92.

¹²⁷ SRO SC6/1/26 (1602); SC6/1/27 (1603). Other weights and measures offences were recorded in the following years: SC6/1/30 (1611); SC6/1/31 (1613); SC6/1/32 (1615).

¹²⁸ SRO SC6/1/19 (1587); SC6/1/28 (1604); SC6/1/31 (1613); SC6/1/32 (1615).

¹²⁹ *Court Leet Records*, pp. 413-4, 480.

¹³⁰ *A Calendar of Southampton Apprenticeship Registers, 1609 - 1740*, compiled by A.J. Willis & ed. A.L. Merson, (SRS, 12, 1968), p. 2.

¹³¹ PRO PCC Prob. 11/130.

¹³² *Assembly Book*, IV pp. 1, 3, 37.

to dominate the trade after her husband's death.

The late date of the surviving evidence for de la Motte's business is intriguing. It could be that earlier references just have not survived. The only early link between de la Motte and the cloth trade is a letter written by the minister and the consistory over contributions in 1589, which does not necessarily imply that de la Motte himself was a clothier at that date. Most of the surviving evidence appears to date from the early seventeenth century and in particular from after the date at which de la Motte retired from the ministry due to ill-health. It is possible that de la Motte may have been forced to become involved in the cloth trade by the early seventeenth century, because he could no longer exist on his minister's salary. Certainly ministers in other refugee communities such as Canterbury were beginning to experience financial difficulties.¹³³ It is also interesting to note that one Southampton cleric, Simon Pett, was involved in the cloth trade as well as being the minister of Holy Rood and St. Michael's churches.¹³⁴

De la Motte appears to have become a respected member of the town and in 1608 became a denizen.¹³⁵ The family lived at West Hall, a substantial property in Southampton and obviously had the funds and self-esteem for a portrait to be painted of the minister. Some of the bequests made to de la Motte may be a reflection of the esteem in which he was held.¹³⁶ When he was buried on 8 May, 1617 the service was attended by the entire town Corporation.¹³⁷

Timothée Blier, (1604 - 1616)

The character of the community had become significantly more French than Walloon after 1572 and it was therefore only to be expected that the third minister to serve the Southampton congregation should have been a native Frenchman. Timothée Blier was a native of Rouen, although there is no reference to his baptism in the Protestant records which survive for Rouen for 1576-85.¹³⁸ He was the son of Jacob Blier, a merchant who was born in Rouen and may have been

¹³³ Spicer, "A Faythful Pastor in the Churches", pp. 204-5. Also see below pp. 222-23.

¹³⁴ On Simon Pett, see below p. 222.

¹³⁵ *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalisation, 1603-1700*, ed. W.A. Shaw (HSP, 18, 1911), p. 12.

¹³⁶ Bequests were made by Peter Caplin, Nicholas Caplin, John Cornish, Isaac le Gay, John Hersent, see below p. 221.

¹³⁷ *Registre*, pp. 111-12.

¹³⁸ Archives de la Seine-Maritime, 4/E/3394 Eglise de Quevilly ou de Rouen recueille à Quevilly.

an elder of the French church in London.¹³⁹ Timothée Blier was an executor and beneficiary of the will which he drew up in September 1603.¹⁴⁰

Blier matriculated as a pensioner at Emmanuel College, Cambridge on 21 October, 1599.¹⁴¹ The College had been established in 1585 with the purpose of training men for the ministry of the Church of England.¹⁴² Initially the costs of his education were borne by the Threadneedle Street Church but the London consistory only viewed this as being a temporary measure. Pledges of financial support for Blier and another student, Daniel Tuvel, were made in July 1601 by the communities at Norwich (£10), Canterbury (£12), Southampton (£7 11 s.) and £3 from Jacques Blier which were to be paid over two years.¹⁴³ The accounts have survived for the house to house collections which were made in Canterbury.¹⁴⁴ In 1603, the French Church in London resigned their rights to Timothée Blier and on condition that the three French churches of Norwich, Canterbury and Southampton should pay for the maintenance of this scholar until he was seen to be fit to serve a church. These three churches would then decide where he could be employed to the best advantage. The churches also pledged from time to time when they considered it right to

¹³⁹ The variations in the spelling of Blier and the presence of several people with the same name means that it is difficult to discover for how long Jacques Blier had been resident in London. A Jacques Blier was a member of the French Church in 1568 and came from the lands of Philip II. This Jacques Belier was probably the same man as Jeames Billied, a silkweaver who was recorded in 1593 and was born near Valenciennes. A schoolmaster called Jeames Byllet who had been born at 'Kaine' in France (possibly Caen); he had been in England for five years in 1583. Timothée Blier's father was probably the Jeames Blear who appeared in the 1599 lay subsidy return with his wife and daughters, Mary and Jane Blear (these names also appear in his will) who paid the poll contribution of 2 s. 8 d. Jacques Bellier, a native of Rouen, had been elected as an elder of the French Church in July 1598. French Protestant Church of London Archives, Soho Square, AD/MS4 Actes du Consistoire, p. 306; PRO PCC Prob. 11/102 Jacobi Billier; *Returns of Aliens dwelling in London*, I, p. 395, II p. 352, III p. 55; *Returns of Strangers in the Metropolis 1593, 1627, 1635, 1639. A Study of an Active Minority*, ed. I. Scouloudi, (HSP, 57, 1985), p. 151.

¹⁴⁰ PRO PCC Prob. 11/102 Jacobi Billier.

¹⁴¹ *Alumni Cantabrigiensis. A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and holders of Office at the University of Cambridge from the Earliest times to 1900. Part I. From the Earliest Times to 1751*, compiled by J. & J.A. Venn, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1922-27), I p. 167.

¹⁴² There was a demand by advanced protestants for the universities to produce a godly and learned ministry. The establishment of Emmanuel College in part satisfied this demand. C.M. Dent, *Protestant Reformers in Elizabethan Oxford*, (Oxford, 1983), pp. 152-54.

¹⁴³ French Protestant Church of London Archives, Soho Square, AD/M54 Actes du Consistoire, pp. 338, 344, 383.

¹⁴⁴ City and Diocesan Record Office, Canterbury, French Church Records, U47/D Amount of money received and spent for students, 1599-1601.

continue to fund a scholar for the service of the churches.¹⁴⁵

On the 24 May 1604, Timothée Blier was confirmed and installed as the minister of the community because of Philippe de la Motte's ill-health. The Colloquy agreed to allow this to continue temporarily until there was a greater need elsewhere. This did not however stop those gathered in London from sending a strongly worded letter to the community in Southampton. The church was criticised for encouraging Blier to abandon his studies; the representatives of the Canterbury church had wanted Blier to complete his training at Montauban. Besides their failure to consult the other churches who had financed Blier's education, the Southampton church was criticised not only for the precipitate promotion of the minister but also their failure to follow the correct procedures. Blier had been presented to his pulpit but he had not received the imposition of hands although the necessary fast had been held by the community in Southampton.¹⁴⁶ The Church was also attacked for conniving at Blier's marriage. However at this date, Blier had only expressed his intention to marry; when he did marry in July 1604 his spouse was Philippe de la Motte's sister-in-law.¹⁴⁷ The Colloquy which censured the Church in 1606 recognised the church's need for a minister and allowed Blier to continue at Southampton as a temporary measure and the church was attacked for failing to inform the other churches involved.¹⁴⁸ However there was little that the Colloquy could do and Blier even acted as the secretary for the 1606 Colloquy which censured the Southampton church, as well as at the subsequent Colloquy in 1610. All the churches could do was to repeat that the appointment was only a temporary measure, no doubt especially because Philippe de la Motte remained in Southampton until his death in 1617.¹⁴⁹ Eventually when it became clear that the arrangement was permanent, the Colloquy decided that the Southampton church should be responsible in the future for the maintenance of the minister's widow and children if Blier's ministry continued in the town until his death.¹⁵⁰

By 1610 the church was beginning to experience financial problems and protested their poverty to the Colloquy in 1615.¹⁵¹ It may have been these financial difficulties that led Timothée

¹⁴⁵ *Actes des Colloques*, p. 45.

¹⁴⁶ *Actes des Colloques*, pp. 47-48, 50.

¹⁴⁷ *Registre*, p. 92. Elisabeth des Maistres was the daughter of Balthasar des Maistres, as was Judith the wife of Phillippe de la Motte.

¹⁴⁸ *Actes des Colloques*, pp. 47-48.

¹⁴⁹ *Actes des Colloques*, pp. 47, 50; *Registre*, pp. 111-2.

¹⁵⁰ *Actes des Colloques*, p. 53.

¹⁵¹ See below p. 223.

Blier to take up the living of the parish of Titchfield near Southampton, in 1616.¹⁵² By this date the minister had a wife and four children to support.¹⁵³ Unfortunately there are no surviving records concerning Blier's appointment to the benefice,¹⁵⁴ so it is not possible to discover whether the appointment of a Calvinist minister to an Anglican benefice aroused controversy or any debate as to the validity of his ordination. Adrian Saravia had been presented to the rectory of Tatenhill, Staffordshire, by January 1588 and does not appear to have been reordained. In fact Saravia discussed the issue of reordination in *Defensio tractationis* and concluded that reordination within the 'established' churches, *i.e.* the Church of England and the Protestant churches of the continent, was not necessary. While Saravia would denounce the churches of the Channel Islands for behaving contrary to the Church of England, the refugee churches in which Blier was ordained, formed part of the continental Protestant churches on the Continent whose ordination was therefore valid in the Church of England.¹⁵⁵ In 1620 the minister of the Italian community in London, Cesar Calandrini was presented to the rectory of Stapleford Abbots, Essex, and there were calls made at the time for his reordination. However these calls were rejected by the pro-Calvinist Bishop of Lichfield, Thomas Morton who was prepared to accept the validity of ordination within the stranger churches.¹⁵⁶

In the same year as his appointment to Titchfield, Blier received his letters of denization¹⁵⁷ and went on to complete his studies at The Queen's College, Oxford (the owners of God's House, Southampton) where he received a Bachelor of Divinity degree in 1618 and became a Master of

¹⁵² Nicholas Munn, the Vicar of Titchfield was buried on 26 July 1616. HRO Titchfield Parish Registers 37M73A PRI f. 321.

¹⁵³ *Registre*, pp. 54, 56, 58.

¹⁵⁴ No Bishops' Registers survive for the episcopate of James Montague, 1616-18. Occasionally visitation records included details of ordination; this was the case in the 1633 visitation book of Walter Curle (HRO 21M65 B1/32). However the entry relating to Blier does not include any information about his ordination. The advowson of Titchfield church was held by the Earls of Southampton. Blier was presumably presented to the benefice by Henry, 3rd Earl of Southampton, who in spite of being brought up as a Catholic became a supporter of the Protestant cause in Europe, in particular of Elizabeth of Bohemia. The Earl died in 1624 in the Netherlands leading a force of English volunteers as a result of an alliance between England and the United Provinces, against the Emperor. *V.C.H. Hampshire*, III pp. 224, 232; *D.N.B.*, 63, pp. 144-45.

¹⁵⁵ W. Nijenhuis, *Adrianus Saravia (c. 1532 - 1613). Dutch Calvinist, first Reformed defender of the English episcopal church order on the basis of ius divinum*, (Leiden, 1980), pp. 110-14.

¹⁵⁶ O.P. Grell, *Dutch Calvinists in Early Stuart London. The Dutch Church in Austin Friars, 1603-1642*, (Leiden, 1989), pp. 63-66.

¹⁵⁷ *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalisation*, p. 23.

Arts by 1622.¹⁵⁸ Blier appears to have remained at Titchfield for the rest of his life. His name was recorded in the visitation records for the diocese of Winchester for 1617, 1622, 1633, 1636, 1641 and 1642, although he never attended in person.¹⁵⁹

Blier married Sara Tymberlake in 1624, his first wife having died in February 1623.¹⁶⁰ However he appears to have retained his links with the de la Mottes as one Mary de la Motte was married at Titchfield in 1623, as was 'Anne delamotte of Southampton by lysonne [licence]' in May 1627.¹⁶¹ Blier appears to have retained a house in Southampton for a short while, as he made a scavage payment in 1617.¹⁶² Nor did the French Church forget their former minister for his death in April 1649 was recorded in the *Registre*.¹⁶³

Elie d'Arande, (c. 1619-1633)

Blier was succeeded as minister in Southampton by Elie d'Arande. He was born in the canton of Lausanne and seems to have come from a family of ministers.¹⁶⁴ Certainly the Southampton minister in his will commented:

I Elias d'Arande borne accordinge to the cours of this life of a noble and honnorable lyne, but I doe esteme my selfe more noble (without comparision) in that itt hath pleased God to make me a faithfull member of Jesu Christe my saviour and to lett me inheritt from my father and grandfather to despise the luster of the world'.¹⁶⁵

By 1603 he was the minister at Claye, Ile de France according to a survey of all the French Reformed pastors, recorded at the Synod of Gap.¹⁶⁶ By 1607 had moved to Amiens and he served

¹⁵⁸ *Alumni Oxoniensis: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714: Their parentage, birthplace and year of birth with a record of their degrees*, ed. J. Foster, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1891), I p. 139; HRO 21M65 B1/31, 1622 Part of a visitation book.

¹⁵⁹ HRO 21M65 Visitation Books B1/27, B1/28, B1/31, B1/32, B1/33, B1/34.

¹⁶⁰ Elizabeth Blier was buried on 25 February, 1623. Blier married Sara Tymberlake on 16 April, 1624, HRO 37M73A PRI Titchfield pp. 413, 415.

¹⁶¹ HRO 37M73A PRI Titchfield, p. 451.

¹⁶² SRO SC5/17/26.

¹⁶³ *Registre*, p. 115.

¹⁶⁴ HRO Wills 1634/B/12.

¹⁶⁵ HRO Wills 1634/B/12.

¹⁶⁶ J. Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata: or the Acts, Decisions, Decrees and canons of those Famous National Councils of the Reformed Churches in France*, 2 vols. (London, 1692) I p. 251.

the church at Etaples from 1617.¹⁶⁷

While little is known about d'Arande's ministry in Southampton, it is clear that the church was divided by faction and dispute. The problems that were faced by the church were hinted at the Colloquy held at Norwich in 1619. D'Arande represented the Southampton church at the meeting and acted as the moderator. The Colloquy resolved that:

*Sur la proposition faite par les Freres de l'Eglise de Hamptone, quel moyen ils trouvoyent pour recouvrer les papiers savoir faire Le livre de la Discipline, Les Actes des Colloques, & partie des Actes du Consistoire appartenans a L'Eglise ? A été répondu qu'envers ceus qu'on pretend les avoir, s'ils sont sous la Discipline on agira par la Discipline, et s'ils n'en sont point on agira par l'autorité du Magistrat.*¹⁶⁸

Regretably there is little evidence about this dispute although the involvement of the town magistrates suggests that the discontents may have left the church. The clearest evidence of problems within the church comes from the will which d'Arande wrote in 1624. Although he did not die until 1633, he was excused from attending the Colloquy held in 1625 on health grounds.¹⁶⁹ The extent of the minister's frustrations and disillusionment evident in the will merits quotation in extenso from the preface to the will:

I doe alsoe protest in a good conscience and before god, that I have forced myselfe accordinge to my full power, to behave myselfe as a faythful pastor in the churches, where God hath binne pleased to be served by my ministry, as well by giveinge a pure and faythfull declaration of the Councell of God towards men for theire salvation as for the observinge of all the other dewties which doe binde those of our callinge to be faythfull laborers in the worde of the Lorde Our God. Itt is true that I have not seene soe much fruite of my ministry as I desired, nor such reste and advauncement of the said churches as I wished by the blessing of God uppon my faithfull labours, in regarde of the malignity of certaine personnes which perticularly in this ffrench church of Southampton have served as Instruments to the greate adversary to hinder the same. Itt is alsoe true that my imperfections may have binne in parte cause and perticularly in the defecte which I have allwaies perceaved in my selfe of sufficient science, ardur, prudence, constancy or wante of courage againste the difficultys and force of the malicious and vigilency and dexterity to breake the bad dessignes of the perverse.

And as for the Offences which many and dyvers personnes have committed against me either through ignorance or mallice particularly in this ffrench church of Sowthampton wherein many which doe boaste themselves to bee the cheefest and mostlie apparente to have pretexte and couver for their damnable Avarice, envy, hatred of piety, ingratitude and malignity have layd to my charge stronge impudente secrete affrontinge and perverse calumniations and have troubled me by falce and secrete practices and have offended God in divers waies moste cruelly in my personne, I doe alsoe proteste in a good conscience

¹⁶⁷ Haag, *La France Protestante*, Second edition, V col. 105.

¹⁶⁸ *Actes des Colloques*, p. 59.

¹⁶⁹ *Actes des Colloques*, p. 66.

that I doe forgive them.¹⁷⁰

The church was in a wretched state by the time of d'Arande's death in 1633, there even seems to have been some doubt as to whether or not a minister would be appointed to replace him.¹⁷¹ The influx of refugees from the Ile de Ré in 1628 does not appear to have restored the community's fortunes.¹⁷² In 1635 the church was investigated by Archbishop Laud's commissary, Sir Nathaniel Brent. He discovered that there were fifteen heads of families (an estimated 36 members) and only the heads of six of these families were born overseas. As a result the remaining families were ordered by Archbishop Laud to attend the parish churches. The Southampton church was too weak to resist for long and within four months had submitted to the Archbishop.¹⁷³ D'Arande's replacement, Daniel Sauvage, served the church until his death in 1655 but the church faced increasing financial problems and the minister made himself notorious on account of his drunkenness.¹⁷⁴ The church also regularly pleaded their poverty to the meetings of the Colloquies of the French churches.¹⁷⁵ The church continued to decline during the seventeenth century until the arrival of refugees from Louis XIV's France, from the 1660s onwards, revived in the church's fortunes.

Other Ministers.

With the outbreak of the Third Civil War in France in 1568, ministers were given fifteen days to leave the country. This resulted in 19 French ministers being recorded as exiles in London

¹⁷⁰ HRO Wills 1634/B/12.

¹⁷¹ HRO Wills 1637/B/13. The will of Thomasin de Lisle was written in June 1633 and stated: 'Item I give and bequeath towards the maintenance of a ffrench minister in the said Towne of Southampton Twentie pounds if there shalbee one such resident and settled in the said Towne within Twelve months next after my decease and in case there shalbee none such then my guift soe given to bee void'.

¹⁷² *Registre*, p. 35.

¹⁷³ PRO SP16/291/66. On the conflict between the exile churches and Archbishop Laud, see de Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge*, II pp. 3-63.

¹⁷⁴ Cambridge University Library, MSS Dd 3 64 ³⁷. Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury from Daniel Sauvage; *Registre*, p. 115; Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivuum*, III pp. 1986-88; *A Calendar of the Letter Books of the French Church of London from the Civil War to the Restoration, 1643-1659*, ed. R.D. Gwynn, (HSP, 54, 1979), pp. 44, 52.

¹⁷⁵ *Actes des Colloques*, pp. 72, 82, 96, 116; *Calendar of the Letter Books of the French Church of London*, pp. 43, 76, 79.

and a further 17 ministers had fled from Normandy to Jersey in 1568.¹⁷⁶ In the wake of the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's day no fewer than sixty-two ministers were recorded as having fled to the capital. Amongst these refugees were several more distinguished ministers who assumed a significant political role, including Pierre Loiseleur de Villiers who was able to represent the interests of the Huguenot nobility and later served as court chaplain to William of Orange.¹⁷⁷ The Huguenot ministers were again expelled after Henry III's reconciliation with the Catholic League in 1585.

A number of exiled ministers are recorded in Southampton. Some of these ministers just passed through the town; for example, five ministers were admitted to the Lord's Supper at Easter 1573, in the wake of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.¹⁷⁸ This was also true of some of the Channel Island clergy such as Dean John After, Pierre le Roy dit de Bouillon, and Jean de Monange and of course Nicholas Baudouin.¹⁷⁹ One Channel Island minister seems to have settled in Southampton; Oliver Mesnier presumably came after he had been deposed from the ministry of the church of St. John on Jersey for deserting the congregation.¹⁸⁰ The presence of other ministers in the town is only known from an occasional reference to the ministers having children baptised in the church or their deaths being recorded.¹⁸¹ There were however other ministers who joined the church and seem to have played some role within the French community and its church.

The best known of these was Adrian de Saravia. He came to Southampton either at the end of 1571 or in 1572 to become the headmaster of the town's Grammar School where he continued

¹⁷⁶ De Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge*, I pp. 148-49; II pp. 384-85.

¹⁷⁷ De Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge*, I pp. 198-200; Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 266-67.

¹⁷⁸ They were M. de la Porte, M. Boisel, M. Graffart, M. des Moulins and M. de la Vigne. See above pp. 51-52.

¹⁷⁹ Nicholas Baudouin delivered the community's first sermon in October 1567. Jean de Monange, the minister of St. Peter Port witnessed the will of Francois Bourgaize in 1580 and testified to the parental consent of one of the partners at a wedding in 1581. John After was entered in the *Registre* described as 'Monsieur le doien'. Le Roy dit de Bouillon stood as a *parein* in 1583. Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum*, III pp. 2555-56; HRO Wills 1583/Ad/10 Francois Bourgayse; *Registre*, pp. 5, 46, 87.

¹⁸⁰ De Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge*, II pp. 390, 436. Mesnier's name does not appear in the *Registre* but an inventory of his goods was made in April 1589. His widow, Magdalen Roche, died in 1589. HRO Wills 1589/Ad/41, 1589/B/39; *Registre*, p. 105.

¹⁸¹ Two children of Jacques Roulet, a French minister were baptised in 1574 and 1575. A Jacques Roullées, the minister of Ercé, was recorded on Guernsey after the expulsions of 1585 but was later appointed to the parish of St. André. The death of 'Louis Patry, seigneur de Piyeux, ministre de la parole de Dieu, ob. 18 Sept. [1589]'. *Registre*, pp. 42, 105; de Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge* II pp. 427, 428.

to serve until his departure to become a minister at Ghent in 1578. Saravia, a former Franciscan friar had played a prominent in the affairs of the churches 'under the cross' and the London exile communities. He probably had a hand in the composition of the Belgic Confession of Faith and had served with Orange in 1568-71 as an army chaplain before coming to Southampton.¹⁸² Saravia had been employed as the Headmaster of Elizabeth College on Guernsey and in spite of his continued links with the Netherlands and his teaching responsibilities, he appears to have played a prominent role in the island's religious affairs. Saravia was elected as a minister of St. Peter Port to assist Nicholas Baudouin not only with preaching but also with the administration of the sacraments, in October 1565.¹⁸³ It would be difficult to believe that Saravia was not similarly involved in the religious life of the community in Southampton, especially in view of the proximity of the Grammar School to the French Church, a material circumstance which has often been overlooked.¹⁸⁴ Even when later he became a canon at Canterbury, he preached occasionally in the Walloon church there.¹⁸⁵ However apart from an appeal for funds from the Prince of Orange and standing twice as a *parain*, no other evidence has survived linking Saravia with the French church.¹⁸⁶

There is evidence to suggest that at least two other ministers were involved in the affairs of the French church. Michel de la Forest came to the town as part of the entourage of the widow of the Comte de Montgommery, in whose household he had served as a pastor.¹⁸⁷ In his marriage contract de la Forest was described as '*de présent servant l'église françois de la ville de Hampton*'. Furthermore in 1577, the minister baptised his son in Southampton although there is no record of this in the *Registre*.¹⁸⁸ Like Saravia, de la Forest returned to the Netherlands where he served several churches; he died at the siege of Antwerp in 1585.¹⁸⁹ The other minister was Jan Baudart

¹⁸² Nijenhuis, *Adrianus Saravia*, pp. 3-34.

¹⁸³ Northamptonshire Record Office, Finch-Hatton Papers FH 312 p. 308.

¹⁸⁴ The Free Grammar School occupied a loft in Winkle Street opposite God's House from 1573 onwards. SRO SC4/2/365.

¹⁸⁵ City and Diocesan Records, Canterbury, French Church Records, U47/A3 Actes du Consistoire, pp. 26, 53.

¹⁸⁶ *Registre*, pp. 40, 43; Nijenhuis, *Adrianus Saravia*, p. 270.

¹⁸⁷ *Registre*, p. 11, see above p. 53.

¹⁸⁸ De Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge*, III pp. 371, 372. For information concerning his wife, see above p. 52.

¹⁸⁹ De la Forest had originated from Flanders but had initially served as a minister in France. On his return to the Netherlands he was appointed minister at Nivelles in 1580, at Tournai 1580-81, Bruges 1582, Mechlen 1583-85. *Livre Synodal*, pp. 41, 71, 73, 74, 75, 96, 99, 101, 102, 107-8; de Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge*, III pp. 370, 372-73; H.Q. Janssen,

from Bessin in Normandy. He was married in Southampton and his children were baptised there.¹⁹⁰ A testimonial sent to the Dutch church of London in 1573 by the minister and elders of Southampton was signed by Jan Baudart.¹⁹¹

Church Membership

As has already been seen, the French-speaking church attracted several diverse groups to its services: refugees from the continent, merchants from the Channel Islands who had either settled in Southampton or were visiting the town, as well as a few Englishmen all attended the church.¹⁹² The *Registre* records the names of those who were admitted to the Lord's Supper and therefore submitted themselves to the discipline enforced by the consistory. However a minority attended the services at St. Julien's who were not prepared to be admitted to the Lord's Supper. In 1593 the Corporation examined one Michael Collens as to 'wherfore he goeth not orderly to the french church as he ought to do'. Collens admitted that he only occasionally went to the French church but was prevented by his conscience from receiving communion. Collens was suspected of having mass celebrated in his house and had in his possession a 'french testament after the Papists translation'.¹⁹³ The case of Michael Collens and his wife is interesting because it shows that people attended the church's services but were not prepared to submit to its discipline. While a number of hangers-on, or *liefhebbers*, may be expected in London with its large foreign population, it would be surprising if there were many in a community as small as Southampton.¹⁹⁴ A few however do appear in the records. A widow who had lived in Southampton for more than 17 years was described in 1606 as being 'chiefly of the French church' but there is no reference to her being admitted to the Lord's Supper.¹⁹⁵ Paul Geruault dit M. de St. Martin was admitted to the Lord's Supper in 1577 with the comment '*cognut par longue experience*'.¹⁹⁶

Kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen, 2 vols. (Arnhem, 1868) I pp. 179, 297, 331; G. Marnef, *Het Calvinistisch Bewind te Mechelen 1580-1585*, (Kortrijk, 1985), pp. 251-52, 280.

¹⁹⁰ *Registre*, pp. 42, 43, 85.

¹⁹¹ Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivuum*, III pp. 300-1.

¹⁹² See above pp. 18-61.

¹⁹³ *Books of Examinations and Depositions, 1570-1594*, p. 97.

¹⁹⁴ Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 66-67, 78.

¹⁹⁵ *The Southampton Mayor's Book of 1606-1608*, p. 50.

¹⁹⁶ *Registre*, p. 12.

The Consistory

The establishment of a consistory to maintain discipline within the community was an essential prerequisite for Communion. The occasion of the first celebration of the Lord's Supper within St. Julien's Chapel, can therefore be taken as a sign that the consistory had already been set up. In fact the consistory may have been formed earlier because during the negotiations about the establishment of the community Robert Horne referred in a letter of 19 September 1567 to the 'minister and eldres of that churche'. Since it is uncertain when the community's minister arrived in Southampton, we do not know whether the bishop was referring to an already existing body or whether he prematurely described the leading men with whom he dealt with, as 'elders'.¹⁹⁷

Haphazard references to members of the congregation who were either deacons or elders enable us to build up some picture of the composition of the consistory in Southampton. The incomplete record of the membership of the consistory is shown in Table I. A number of these references come from wills as well as from the *Registre*, although in the cases of Marc le Blanc and Jacques Stequelin their official duties were recorded at the time of their death. The survival of two letters and other material for 1589 and 1598 allows us to reconstruct the composition of the consistory in these years.

Towards the end of 1589 a letter was sent by 'the Minister, Elders and Deacons of the French Church gathered in Southampton' to the Corporation, which they all signed.¹⁹⁸ The deacons were Jan Hersent and Vincent Nerin according to a will of the same year and Philip de la Motte added to his signature a note that he was the minister of the congregation. Therefore the congregation appears to have had five elders but in January 1589 Estienne Latelais was described as an elder but was not amongst the five signatories to the letter to the town authorities. His name does however appear on a letter sent in September 1598 by the minister and elders of the congregation to the Privy Council.¹⁹⁹ Again there are five elders who signed the 1598 letter. However these names do not include those of Claude Moutonnier and Jean Catelain who had been suspended from office, together with the deacon Vincent Nérin, a measure which had been confirmed by the Colloquy in May 1598.²⁰⁰ The existence of five elders is interesting because the Discipline stated that each elder should have particular oversight for a *quartier* of the town. We

¹⁹⁷ PRO SP12/44/8.

¹⁹⁸ SRO TC Box 1/40 Petition from the Minister and elders of the French Church to the Mayor & Corporation

¹⁹⁹ Hatfield House, Salisbury MSS, CP64/38.

²⁰⁰ *Actes des Colloques*, pp. 36, 37, 38-39.

can only speculate but Southampton was divided into five parishes.²⁰¹

The 1589 letter suggests that there were only two deacons in Southampton, but the will of Magdalene Roche referred to Vincent Nerin and John Hersent as being 'two *of the* deakens of the frenche church'.²⁰² By the early eighteenth century there were three deacons and four elders, who were both members of the consistory until the office of deacons was abolished in 1705/6.²⁰³

There is also one reference to a '*Lecteur*' in Southampton in 1618. The first reference to Nicholas Martrier who fulfilled this role in Southampton, is in September 1605.²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ 'Discipline of the French Churches in England, 1588', p. 289.

²⁰² HRO Wills 1589/B/39.

²⁰³ *The Minute Book of the French Church at Southampton*, pp. 15, 30-31.

²⁰⁴ *Registre*, pp. 55, 112.

Table XX - Members of the Consistory.

Date	Name	Office	Source
1568	Jan Mesureur	Ancien	<i>Registre</i> , p. 39
1569	Anthoine Joryon	Elder	HRO Wills 1569/B/181-84 Jane Sohier
1571	Anthoine Jorion	Ancien	<i>Registre</i> , p. 40
1572	Arnoux le Clercq Mathieu Sohier	Ancien Ancien	<i>Registre</i> , p. 84; <i>Actes de Consistoire</i> , II, p. 76
1573	Jasepart Desert	Ancien	<i>Registre</i> , p. 85
1573	Eloj Bacquelier	Ancien	<i>Registre</i> , p. 101
1573	Gillame Hersem	Ancien	<i>Registre</i> , p. 9
1579	Anthoine Jorion	Ancien	<i>Registre</i> , p. 102
1580	Marc le Blanc Guillaume Hersent	Diacre Ancien	<i>Registre</i> , p. 102 HRO Wills 1583/Ad/10 Francoys Bourgaie
1584	Pierre le Gay Guillaume Hersen Mathieu Sohier	Represent the Consistory	<i>Registre</i> , p. 133
1585	Jacques Stequelin	Diacre	<i>Registre</i> , p. 104
1589	Jan Catelain Pierre le Gay Jan Hersent Jn ^e Merchier Elder Claude Moutonier Vincent Nerin Dominique Sicard	Elders & deacons	SRO TC 1/40
1589	Etienne Latelais	Ancien	<i>Actes des Colloques</i> , p. 18
1589	John Hersent Vincent Nerin	Diacre Diacre	HRO Wills 1589/B/39 Magdalene Roche alias Mesnier
1595	Jean Mercier	Ancien	<i>Actes des Colloques</i> , p. 29
1595	Esaye Bernj	Ancien	<i>Registre</i> , p. 106
1598	Jean Catelain Jean Herçant Claude Moutonnier Vincent Nérin	Ancien Ancien Ancien Diacre	<i>Actes des Colloques</i> , p. 36
1598	John Carneh Piter le Gay Isac Harivell Jean Hersem Stephanus Latelais	Elders	Salisbury MSS, CP64/38
1601	Jean Cornish	Ancien	<i>Actes des Colloques</i> , p. 40
1603	M. Hersen	Ancien	<i>Actes des Colloques</i> , p. 43
1606	Isaac Harivel	Ancien	<i>Actes des Colloques</i> , p. 48
1606	Jean Hersant	Elder	HRO Wills 1606/B/46 John Rochefort
1610	Jean Herçan	Ancien	<i>Actes des Colloques</i> , p. 51
1615	S ^r Jean Clungeon	Ancien	<i>Actes des Colloques</i> , p. 55
1615	Daniell Hersant John Hersant	Elder Deacon	HRO Wills 1615/A/24 Martine des Maistres

Table XX reveals a remarkable degree of consistency in the composition of the consistory; for example, Guillaume Hersent is recorded as being a member of the consistory in 1573, 1580, 1584 and his son Jan Hersent was recorded as a member in 1589, 1598, 1606, 1610 and 1615. The initial members of the consistory were predominantly Walloon: Jan le Mesureur (who had been an member of the Valenciennes proto-consistory in 1561), Arnoul le Clercq, Mathieu Sohier all originated from Valenciennes and were in fact all cousins. Furthermore Guillaume Hersent and Marc le Blanc also originated from Valenciennes and Anthoine Jurion from Hainaut.²⁰⁵ Although the departure of le Clercq and Sohier from Southampton in c. 1583 undoubtedly resulted in some changes in the composition of the consistory, the Walloon influence continued. Guillaume Hersent continued to be an elder and by 1589 his son Jan and also Vincent Nérin of Valenciennes had become a members of the consistory.²⁰⁶ Although the Walloon character of the consistory was retained through figures such as the Hersents and Pierre le Gay, French refugees did become members of the consistory. The earliest being Gaspard Desert of Dieppe who was recorded as an elder in 1573; Estien Latelais and Claude Moutonnier are two further examples.

Besides revealing a remarkable degree of consistency Table XX also shows that the consistory was composed of the most prominent members of the community. At different times the leading refugee merchants (Arnoul le Clercq, Mathieu Sohier, Jean le Mercier, Pierre le Gay and Jean Hersent) were all members of the consistory. They had the wealth and status to provide the community with the necessary leadership through the consistory.²⁰⁷ However this fairly oligarchical composition should perhaps be expected in such a small community.

Exercise of Discipline

Any study about the work of the consistory is seriously impaired by the loss of the church's consistory book. Initially there may only have been a single book which contained the consistory minutes as well as the record of admissions to the Lord's Supper, baptisms, etc. But certainly by April 1573 there appears to have been a second book which recorded acknowledgements of guilt such as attendance at Mass.²⁰⁸ Although there is a page within the *Registre* with the heading '*Livre po' Les aferres suruena'tes en Ceste eglise*' written in a sixteenth century hand, the only

²⁰⁵ See above pp. 19, 22-36.

²⁰⁶ Nérin had in fact married Catherine des Plus, the neice of Mathieu Sohier and the widow of Anthoine Jurion's son Abraham. *Registre*, pp. 85, 88.

²⁰⁷ See above pp. 81-84, 113, 133-34.

²⁰⁸ *Registre*, p. 12. On the disappearance of these records, see above p. 13-14.

contemporary entries relate to events on the 13 July and 19 July, 1584.²⁰⁹ By 1619 the church's papers, as we have heard, included '*le livre de la Discipline, les Actes des Colloques, & partie des Actes du Consistoire*' although they had by then passed out of the hands of the consistory.²¹⁰ As a result any examination of the problems that confronted the consistory has to be pieced together from a number of sources. Certainly the early entries relating to discipline and those debarred from participating in the Lord's Supper in the *Registre* provide a valuable insight into their activities.

The purpose of the consistory was '*entretenir bon ordre es saintes assemblées, faire les admonitions et corrections ecclesiastiques*'. Those who failed to observe the censures of the consistory and acknowledge their errors were barred from attending the Lord's Supper.²¹¹ The *Registre* includes several references to such offenders. Jan Pora was barred from two consecutive celebrations for drunkenness, having also been suspended earlier for his *legierté et mauuais propos contre Dieu*. Robert Cousin was barred for failing to acknowledge that he had deceived Cornille Poingdextre by selling him a horse with poor eyesight while attendance at the Lord's Supper was withheld from Martin Lietart for beating and hurting his wife.²¹² Those who still refused to conform to the discipline of the church could be excommunicated, a process which involved the church's Superintendent, the Bishop of Winchester.²¹³

However the censures of the consistory were not always accepted by the members of the congregation and some cases were discussed by the Colloquy. Nicolas Provost's²¹⁴ case was discussed before the Colloquy. He had been summoned to appear before the consistory but he refused to recognise his fault publicly before the church. His attack upon the consistory led to charges of rebellion. Provost was to be formally denounced before the church, and if he persevered in his rebellion he was to be suspended from the Lord's Supper and ultimately if he continued the affair was to be placed before the town authorities.²¹⁵ In another case the schoolmaster Nicholas du Chemin was suspended from the Lord's Supper on three occasions after his admission in October 1568, and by 1571 he had been excommunicated by the church.²¹⁶

Disputes also appear to have arisen within the consistory itself. Two of the elders, Claude Moutonnier and Jean Catelain, the deacon Vincent Nerin, together with one Richard Robert, were

²⁰⁹ PRO RG4/4600, f. 108.

²¹⁰ *Actes des Colloques*, p. 59.

²¹¹ 'Discipline of the French Churches in England, 1588', p. 289.

²¹² *Registre*, pp. 4, 5, 6.

²¹³ See above pp. 187-88; *Actes du Consistoire*, II, p. 11, 49.

²¹⁴ Probably Nicholas Prevost who was admitted on 3 January, 1574, *Registre*, p. 9.

²¹⁵ *Actes des Colloques*, p. 11.

²¹⁶ *Registre*, pp. 4, 5; *Actes du Consistoire*, II, pp. 11-12.

suspended from their offices and prevented from participating in the Lord's Supper. They appealed to the Colloquy in 1598 against this punishment, although Claude Moutonnier had already left with his wife to join the church at Caen. The men were accused of giving an account of the state of the church, against the advice of the Magistrates and the Minister and Consistory. The person to whom this account was given is unclear.²¹⁷

The Colloquy of the French churches ruled in 1584 that quarrels should be disciplined within the consistory, if there was no bloodshed, scandal and the parties were prepared to be reconciled.²¹⁸ However it was not always possible for these petty disputes to be dealt with by the consistory. In the stranger communities established in Norwich and Canterbury another element of church government emerged, the *Hommes Politiques*. In Norwich, they were intended to handle petty disputes within the community and also assumed responsibility for the care of orphans, and often their concerns overlapped with those of the consistory.²¹⁹ There does not seem to be any similar institution to deal with secular affairs in Southampton. This may be a reflection of the limited numbers of refugees in Southampton whose community never reached the size of those in Norwich and Canterbury. The town authorities were able to deal with the problems that arose between the members of the community as well as those with the natives of Southampton. For example, in July 1574 20 s was received from 'a ffrenchman that lay with a ffrench woman', while in June 1577 three Frenchman were fined 5 s. for fighting and drawing blood.²²⁰

The consistory was concerned about people who had attended mass before their flight to Southampton. Calvin himself had raged against the so-called Nicodemites, those who clandestinely pursued the Reformed faith. His pamphlet the *Petit Traité montrant que c'est que doit faire un homme fidèle connoissant la vérité de l'Evangile quand il estre entre les papistes* had been sent to the Netherlands in 1543 causing confusion in the evangelical communities in Tournai and Valenciennes.²²¹ Even after the establishment of the Reformed churches, people abjured their faith in the face of persecution, either formally or by attempting to establish their Catholic orthodoxy

²¹⁷ *Actes des Colloques*, pp. 36, 37, 38-39.

²¹⁸ *Actes des Colloques*, p. 8.

²¹⁹ R. Esser, 'Social Concern and Calvinistic Duty: The Norwich Strangers' Community' in *Het Beloofde Land. Acht opstellen over werken, Geloven en Vluchten tijdens de XVI^e en XVII^e eeuw*, (Dikkebus-Ieper, 1992), pp. 173-84; A.M. Oakley, 'The Canterbury Walloon Congregation from Elizabeth I to Laud', *Huguenots in Britain and their French Background, 1550-1800. Contributions to the Historical Conference of the Huguenot Society of London, 24-25 September 1985*, pp. 60-61.

²²⁰ SRO SC5/3/1, f. 143v, 161.

²²¹ Moreau, *Histoire du Protestantisme*, pp. 90-91.

through making donations to the Catholic parish churches or rebaptising their children.²²² The Reformed church however took a strict view towards such abjurations. The 1559 French discipline stated that 'those who abjured their under persecution should not be admitted to the church until they have made an act of public repentance'. This view was repeated by the Walloon Synod in 1564 and elaborated further in 1578.²²³ The London churches had had to face the problem of those who had conformed during Mary's reign when they were re-established in 1559.²²⁴ The issue of attendance at Catholic services was later debated by the Colloquies and resulted in changes being made to the Discipline.²²⁵

In Southampton those who had attended mass before their arrival were noted in the *Registre* and were required to recognise their fault publicly before they were admitted to the Lord's Supper.²²⁶ The numbers involved and the period over which this occurred is shown in Figure III.

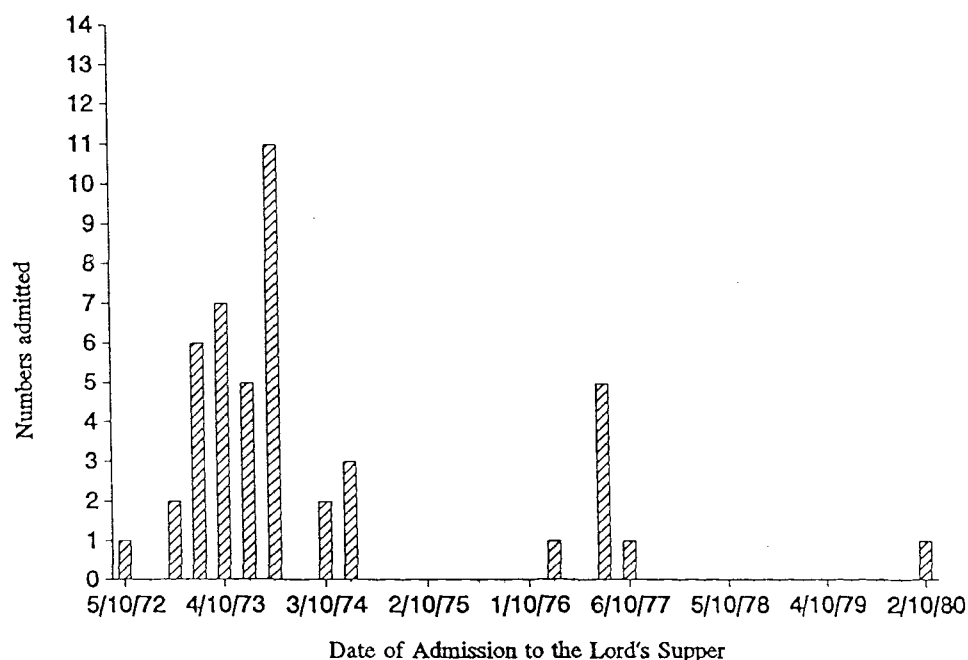


Figure III - Attendance at Mass, 1572 - 1580.

²²² A.C. Duke, *Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries*, (London, 1990), p.117; P. Benedict, *Rouen during the French Wars of Religion*, (Cambridge, 1981), p. 130; E. Anquetil (ed.), *Abjurations de Protestants faites à Bayeux; Guerre de religion, 1570-1573*, (Bayeux, n.d.).

²²³ Duke et al., *Calvinism in Europe*, p. 75; *Livre Synodal*, I, pp. 9, 61.

²²⁴ Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 127, 131-32.

²²⁵ *Actes des Colloques*, pp. 6-7, 10.

²²⁶ *Registre*, pp. 8, 9, 16.

The first such entry was a Frenchman, Salomon Godin who was admitted on the 5 October, 1572. In total forty five people had 'messe' noted by their name, the figure may in fact be higher as in some cases it is possible that the spouse who was admitted with them may have also attended mass. As [Figure III](#) shows the majority of those who confessed to having attended mass were admitted in the wake of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre. They presumably attempted through their attendance to conceal their Protestant sympathies, until they were able to flee the country. The numbers increase again at the end of 1576 and in 1577 although the reasons for this are not quite so clear. The generous terms of the Peace of Monsieur which brought to an end the Fifth Civil War in 1576, had resulted in the formation of the Catholic League in order to destroy heresy. Protestantism had been outlawed in February 1577 with the outbreak of the Sixth Civil War but Henry III undermined this by ordering local officials to protect the Huguenots within their jurisdictions. 'During this civil war Rouen's Protestants do not seem to have been molested, burdened with special taxes, or otherwise harassed as they had been during earlier periods of conflict'.²²⁷ The origins of only one of these refugees can be identified, Nicholas Bouton from the Pays de Caux, Normandy.²²⁸ Perhaps Protestants in the rural areas were less fortunate.

The procedures for the betrothal, the reading of the banns and the wedding were all carefully defined by des Gallars' discipline and later by the Synod of Emden in 1571. In particular the need for obedience to one's parents and the need for their consent in the case of minors was emphasised. Marriages contracted without permission were declared void.²²⁹

The *Registre* contains detailed records about parental consent until 1587, after that date the information is recorded in less detail and more erratically; such information ceased to be recorded after 1594. The need for parental consent caused particular difficulties in exile communities where the parents had not also fled. In some cases permission for a marriage had been granted to a close relation or a letter of approval was sent.²³⁰ Occasionally the Dutch church in London was prepared to waive the need for parental consent due to the difficulties in communication with the continent but this was only after serious efforts had been made to obtain the necessary consent.²³¹ The granting of permission to marry was recorded for the 95 marriages which were celebrated between 1567 and 1587. In six cases the marriage partners were described as being at liberty to marry and another 42 partners were widowed and so did not need parental consent. Twenty-three grooms and twelve brides claimed that they were orphaned and in another two cases it was noted that it was

²²⁷ Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion*, pp. 132-33.

²²⁸ *Registre*, pp. 13, 87.

²²⁹ Des Gallars, *Forme de Police*, f. 20-20v; *Livre Synodal*, I, p. 18.

²³⁰ *Registre*, pp. 83, 84.

²³¹ Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 226.

not known if the mother was alive. On yet another occasion *la mere d'iceluy ne consentoit en mariage en haine de la religion*.²³²

In 1585 a couple married in the English church, and in 1588 another couple were also married outside the French church.²³³ This may have prompted the advice sought by the Southampton consistory from the Colloquy in 1589. The Colloquy responded that where a couple had married outside the church, without the consent of their parents, they should be required to provide proof of their marriage and recognise their faults before the consistory. However if the couple failed to recognise their error they were to be suspended from the Lord's Supper.²³⁴ The consistory in Canterbury was particularly troubled by one couple who refused to recognise their error.²³⁵

The early marriage entries in the *Registre* further reveal something of the church's involvement and the procedures which had to be followed. In 1580 Jan le Vasseur and Perronne Jorre were betrothed in the house of the Mayor Bernard Courtmill in the company of the Archbishop's Lieutenant, Mathieu Sohier, Richard Etuer and Jan Ric. The couple made their promises of marriage after the invocation of the name of God by Walerand Thevelin, then their banns were to be read on three Sundays, following the established custom. The marriage which took place three months later seems to have run into problems as the entry comments '*et deuant que le presche fut acheué s'en fuit hors le temple, et la Ville, et le pais, Abandonnant sa femme. Mariage fet par Justice et force du costé de Jan*'.²³⁶ The whole procedure of the betrothal and the reading of banns on three occasions before the marriage ceremony resulted in a number of difficulties. Nicholas du Chemin had been involved in a dispute over his betrothal to the daughter of Henry le Sueur. Du Chemin had made his promises of betrothal without either the minister, an elder or deacon of the church being present.²³⁷ The Southampton church was also clearly exercised by the problem of a young man who wanted to marry a woman already betrothed to another. He had boasted about impugning her honour and the representatives of Southampton asked the Colloquy for their advice in 1584 about how to discipline the man.²³⁸ There were probably other marital disputes dealt with by the consistory for which no evidence has survived.

In some cases the betrothal and reading of banns occurred in a different church from the

²³² *Registre*, p. 88.

²³³ *Registre*, pp. 88, 89. In the second marriage, Jan Christmus was described as *Anglois*.

²³⁴ *Actes des Colloques*, p. 17.

²³⁵ City and Diocesan Record Office, Canterbury, French Church Records, U47/A2 Actes du Consistoire f. 9v-10, 11v-12.

²³⁶ *Registre*, pp. 86-87.

²³⁷ *Actes du Consistoire*, II p. 11.

²³⁸ *Actes des Colloques*, p. 8.

marriage. Pierre Bourgesse and Marie du Beffroy were betrothed and their banns were read once in Southampton but they intended to be married in France, while in 1568 Anthoine de Hanneron and Marie Haucquart were married in Southampton after being betrothed in Sandwich. There is also the case of one couple who had been betrothed at Fécamp, Normandy from which they had been forced to flee because of the Massacre of 1572.²³⁹

Members of the consistory were also involved in marriage contracts. In May 1572 two elders, Mathieu Sohier and Arnoul le Clercq, and the minister Walerand Thevelin witnessed a further agreement at the time of the betrothal of Peronne Bino and Mathieu Face. Peronne Bino was the widow of Anthoine Flaiel and was estimated to have moveable goods worth about £40. The agreement, made with the consent of Mathieu Face, granted £20 to each of her two children by Anthoine Flaiel on the day of their marriage.²⁴⁰

The consistory was not solely concerned with religious matters, they also represented the refugees by acting as a spokesman for their interests.²⁴¹ The two surviving letters written by the consistory relate to secular issues. At the end of 1589 the consistory wrote to the town authorities emphasising the poverty of the community and therefore its inability to meet the financial demands made by the corporation.²⁴² On another occasion in 1598 the consistory protested to Robert Cecil about the claims made by Rachel Terrie, a member of the stranger church, to have the monopoly in the pressing of serges produced in Southampton. The consistory protested about the unsuitability of Rachel Terrie for several specific reasons but the consistory was also very critical of the woman herself.²⁴³ These are only isolated examples of the consistory acting on behalf of the French community in secular affairs, but this was probably quite common. Relations between the French community and the English authorities are discussed below in more detail.²⁴⁴

Financial Affairs.

The fragmentary nature of the sources and in particular the lack of any surviving accounts mean that it is difficult to gain a clear understanding of the Church's financial situation. Funds were needed to maintain the community's minister and secondly to fulfil the Church's obligations to the

²³⁹ *Registre*, pp. 84-85.

²⁴⁰ *Registre*, pp. 83, 84.

²⁴¹ For relations between the community and the local authorities, see below pp. 253-61.

²⁴² SRO TC Box 1/40 Petition from the minister and elders of the French Church to the Mayor and Corporation.

²⁴³ Hatfield House, Salisbury MSS, CP64/37, CP64/38. Also see above pp. 149-50.

²⁴⁴ See below pp. 251-65, *passim*.

poor and needy within the congregation. There were probably two separate funds, one for the minister's salary and the other for poor relief, in Southampton as in other stranger communities.²⁴⁵ The financial organisation of the Southampton church is interesting and is illustrated by some bequests made by Chrestienne de Preseau:

Item I doe geve and bequeth to the poore of the French Church gathered in the towne of Southampton the some of two poundes sterlinge to be distributed by the handes and at the discretion of the deacons of the same church.

Item I doe geve and bequeth towards the entertemment [*sic.*] of the mynister and gods service. in the same Church the some of twenty shillings starlinge to be distributed by the handes and advice of the elders of the same Church accordinge to the order therin ordeined.²⁴⁶

The distribution of poor relief by the deacons is confirmed by several wills but the elders' responsibility for the ministers' fund is unusual.²⁴⁷ According to the Discipline of the French churches the deacons were responsible for all the church's finances.²⁴⁸ There seems to have been a similar arrangement at Canterbury where the surviving records of the ministers salary is entitled the Elders Accounts.²⁴⁹

Some impression of the potential sources of revenue can be obtained from the fragmentary survival of several of financial records. The two most important such documents are the deacons accounts for the French church of Threadneedle Street, London and for the Walloon community in Sandwich, 1568-1572.²⁵⁰ In these communities regular collections at the services were an important source of money while further funds were raised from house to house collections in Sandwich. Wealthy members of the community may also have loaned sums to the church, Anthoine Jurion was owed 18 s by the church when he died in 1578.²⁵¹ Further revenue was raised in Norwich from a third of the fines imposed on cloth that was not sold in the market halls; a similar

²⁴⁵ *Actes du Consistoire*, I p. 14; 'Discipline of the French Churches, 1588', p. 293; Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 202.

²⁴⁶ Guildhall Library, London, Commissary Court of London, Christiana de Preseau 1593 Reg. 18 f. 60.

²⁴⁷ PRO PCC Prob. 11/88 Gilles Seulin, Prob. 11/67 Robert Cousin. The will of Philippe de la Motte referred to money being given to the poor being 'distributed amongst them by the elders of the same Church at the daye or tyne of my funerall'. PRO PCC Prob. 11/130.

²⁴⁸ 'Discipline of the French Churches in England, 1588', p. 293.

²⁴⁹ City and Diocesan Record Office, Canterbury, French Church Records, U47/B1; B. Magen, *Die Wallonengemeinde in Canterbury von ihrer Gründung bis zum Jahre 1635*, (Frankfurt, 1973), p. 88.

²⁵⁰ Huguenot Library MSS/J27 Sandwich (Kent), French Church: Poor Relief Accounts 1568-1572; French Protestant Church of London Archives, Soho Square, DL/MS 194 Nov. 1572 - Dec. 1573; W.J.C. Moens, 'The Relief of the Poor Members of the French Churches in England', *HS*, 5 (1894-96), pp. 321-42.

²⁵¹ HRO Wills 1578/B/53.

system may have operated in Sandwich.²⁵² The London community benefited from a levy imposed on cloth bought by foreign merchants at Blackwell Hall.²⁵³

Gifts and legacies provided another important source of revenue; sixty per cent of the 250 wills drawn up by members of the London community between 1550 and 1580 included some sort of bequest to the poor.²⁵⁴ Some references to this form of revenue have survived for the French church in Southampton. Approximately twenty wills were drawn up by members of the church while living in Southampton during the period 1567-1620.²⁵⁵ In view of the comparatively small size of the Southampton community, this is a not inconsiderable number. In addition wills were drawn up by people who had been members of the Southampton and had later migrated to London, such as Chrestienne de Preseau who wrote fondly in her will about the time she had spent in the town.²⁵⁶ Richard Etuer remembered not only the Southampton Corporation in his will but made a generous bequest to the French community.²⁵⁷ Etuer was not a refugee but probably of Channel Island descent; other Channel Islanders such as Thomas de Lecq also made bequests to the church.²⁵⁸ Besides these bequests there were a small number made by natives of Southampton, such as the Caplins who appear to have taken a close interest in the church²⁵⁹ and by some who are not known to have had any connection with the community.²⁶⁰

²⁵² Huguenot Library MSS/J27 f. 2v 'S'ensuisant les receptes des baies quy penny a la baie done au pouvre de l'eglise de Sandewye franchoise'; 'Norwich Booke of Orders for the Straunders'[sic.], in W.J.C. Moens, *The Walloons and their Church at Norwich, their History and Register, 1565-1832*, (HSP, 1, 1887-88), Part II, p. 260.

²⁵³ Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 209

²⁵⁴ Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 198, 201.

²⁵⁵ Wills: Esay Bernay (PRO PCC Prob. 11/87); Francois Bourgayse (HRO Wills 1583/Ad/10); Robert Cousin (PRO PCC Prob. 11/67); Isaac le Gay (PRO PCC Prob. 11/122); Peter le Gay (PRO PCC Prob. 11/106); John Hersent (PRO PCC Prob. 11/125); Anthonye Jorion (HRO Wills 1578/B/53); Georgette Loys (HRO Wills 1583/B/13); Martine des Maistres (HRO Wills 1615/A/24); Magdalen Mesnier (HRO Wills 1589/B/39); Philippe de la Motte (PRO PCC Prob. 11/130); Robert le Page (HRO Wills 1612/A/58); John Rocheforte (HRO Wills 1606/B/46); Gilles Seulin (PRO PCC Prob. 11/88); Jane Sohier (HRO Wills 1569/B/181-84); Elizabeth Thieudett (HRO Wills 1611/A/99); Peter Thieudett (HRO Wills 1611/B/65); Lawrence Williams (HRO Wills 1574/B/184).

²⁵⁶ Christiana de Preseau, Commissary Court of London 1593 Reg. 18, f. 60-62v.

²⁵⁷ PRO PCC Prob. 11/102.

²⁵⁸ HRO Wills 1578/B/31.

²⁵⁹ Nicholas Caplin (HRO Wills 1611/A/19); Peter Caplin (HRO Wills 1609/A/15); John Cornish (HRO 1611/A/28 and PRO PCC Prob. 11/118); Hugh Dervall (PRO PCC Prob. 11/72).

²⁶⁰ Robert Bulbeck (PRO PCC Prob. 11/72); William Linche (PRO PCC Prob. 11/129); Susanne Cotten (HRO Wills 1618/A/18). I am grateful to Dr. T.B. James for allowing me to consult his transcripts of Southampton wills which enabled me to discover them.

The bequests in these wills can be divided into three main groups. The first are bequests which were specifically made to the poor of the community. These are detailed in Table XXII. The second type of legacy took the form of a bequest to the church as a whole and is shown in Table XXI. In London there was no separate fund for such sums; they were kept with poor relief money.²⁶¹ The final category of bequest is more complicated as they were legacies left to the ministers of the French church. These bequests are shown in Table XXIII. It is not always possible to distinguish between personal bequests and those for the maintenance of the ministry, although in some cases where the minister is not actually named the latter may be the case. There is also the added complication in a community as small and endogamous as that in Southampton that the minister could actually be related to the testator as was the case with Martine des Maistres who was the grandmother of the children of Philippe de la Motte and Timothée Blier, who were the main beneficiaries of the will.²⁶²

Table XXI - Bequests to the French Church in Southampton.

Date	Name	Bequests to the Church	Reference
1584	Robert Cousin	'towards the the mainteyninge of the Churche I bequeathe the somme of ffourtie shillings sterlinge ...'	PRO PCC Prob.11/67
1587	Hugh Dervall	'Item I give to the ffrenche churche sixe shillings eight pence'	PRO PCC Prob.11/72
1590?	Gilles Seulin	'I doe ordeyne Tenne shillings sterlinge for the maintenannce of the Churche of the stranngers which is in this towne, ...'	PRO PCC Prob.11/88
1593	Christiana de Preseau	'Item I doe geve and bequeth towards the enterntenment of the mynister and gods service in the same Church the some of Twenty shillings sterlinge to be distributed by the handes and advice of the elders of the same Church accordinge to the order therin ordeined'.	London Commissary Court 1593
1596?	Esay Bernay	'there should be distributed to the Churche of the ffrenche congregation in Southampton aforesaid, twelve French Crowns'.	PRO PCC Prob.11/87
1603?	Richard Eture	'I give unto the ffrench in Hampton in ffortie shillings'.	PRO PCC Prob.11/102
1605	Pierre le Gay	'I geve tenne poundes to the Churche that is to saye fyve for the mynister and fyve for the poor'.	PRO PCC Prob.11/106

²⁶¹ Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 202.

²⁶² HRO Wills 1615/A/24.

Table XXII - Bequests to the Poor of the French Church.

Date	Name	Bequests to Poor	Reference
1574	Lawrence Williams	6 s. 8 d.	HRO Wills 1574/B/184
1576	Michel Heroult	£20 ¹	PRO PCC Prob.11/58
1578	Thomas de Lecq	15 s. ²	HRO Wills 1578/B/31
1583	Francois Bourgayse	3 s. ³	HRO Wills 1583/Ad/10
1583	Georgette Loys	10 s.	HRO Wills 1583/B/13
1584	Robert Cousin	20 Crowns of gold	PRO PCC Prob.11/67
1587	Robert Bolbecke	40 s. ⁴	PRO PCC Prob.11/72
1589	Magdalene Mesnier	Whole estate ⁵	HRO Wills 1589/B/39
1590?	Gilles Seulin	10 s.	PRO PCC Prob.11/88
1593	Chrestienne de Preseau	£ 2 ⁶	London Commissary Court, 1593
1605	Pierre le Gay	£ 5	PRO PCC Prob.11/106
1606	John Rochefort	20 s.	HRO Wills 1606/B/46
1611	Pierre Theuditt	5 s.	HRO Wills 1611/B/65
1611	Nicholas Caplin	10 s.	HRO Wills 1611/A/19
1611	John Cornish	£ 6	HRO Wills 1611/A/28
1612	Robert le Page	40 s.	HRO Wills 1612/A/58
1613	Isaac le Gay	£ 5	PRO PCC Prob.11/122
1615	John Hersent	£ 5	PRO PCC Prob.11/125
1615	Martine des Maistres	40 s.	HRO Wills 1615/A/24
1617	Philippe de la Motte	£ 5	PRO PCC Prob.11/130
1618	Susanne Cotten	50 s. ⁷	HRO Wills 1618/A/18

¹ 'I geve unto the poore strangers afflicted for the worde of gode now remayninge in England Twentie poundes'.

² Thomas de Lecq bequeathed 30 s. 'to be equally devided betwixt the poore straingers of the Reformyd Church of this towne of hampton & the poore Inglishe people of the same towne to be equally devided, by havlfe'.

³ François de Bourgayse presumably bequeathed this money to the poor of the French church: 'Item ie donne aux pouvres de lieu ...'

⁴ To be distributed at the discretion of the elders.

⁵ Magdalene Mesnier placed her estate in the hands of the deacons for the maintenance of her orphans and their inheritance.

⁶ Further bequests were dependent on the death of another legatee.

⁷ The widows and fatherless of the French church.

Table XXIII - Bequests to the Ministers of the French Church.

Date	Name	Minister	Bequests	Reference
1584	Robert Cousin	Thevelin	40 s.	PRO PCC Prob.11/67
1587	Robert Bolbecke	Minister	20 s.	PRO PCC Prob.11/72
1605	Pierre le Gay	Minister	£ 5	PRO PCC Prob.11/106
1606	John Rochefort	Blier	30 s.	HRO Wills 1606/B/46
1609	Peter Caplin	De la Motte Blier	Books 10 s.	HRO Wills 1609/A/15
1611	Nicholas Caplin	De la Motte Blier	20 s. 20 s.	HRO Wills 1611/A/19
1611	John Cornish	De la Motte Blier	40 s. 40 s.	HRO Wills 1611/A/28 / PRO PCC Prob.11/118
1612	Robert le Page	Blier	£ 4 ¹	HRO Wills 1612/A/58
1613	Isaac le Gay	De la Motte Blier	£ 3 £ 5	PRO PCC Prob.11/122
1614	William Linche	Blier	20 s.	PRO PCC Prob.11/129
1615	John Hersent	De la Motte Blier	50 s. £ 5	PRO PCC Prob.11/125
1615	Martine des Maistres	De la Motte Blier	Their children were the main bene- ficiaries of the estate. ²	HRO Wills 1615/A/24
1617	Philippe de la Motte	Blier	Cloth	PRO PCC Prob.11/130
1618	Susanne Cotten	Minister	10 s.	HRO Wills 1618/A/18

¹ Blier was the brother-in-law of Robert le Page.

² Both Blier and de la Motte were the sons-in-law of Martine des Maistres.

It is more difficult to identify gifts, distinct from legacies, that were given to the church. The accounts of the Marian exile Robert Nowell reveal that he donated £10 to the French church in 1569.²⁶³ It is possible that the church could have also benefited from the money that was sent by the Kirk of Scotland.²⁶⁴ A gift of 6 *d.* from the Southampton Corporation was recorded in

²⁶³ *The Spending of the Money of Robert Nowell of Reade Hall, Lancashire: Brother of Dean Alexander Nowell*, ed. A.B. Grosart (Manchester, 1877), p. 103.

²⁶⁴ The French Church wrote to the Kirk of Scotland in 1576, 'bewailing their sorrowfull estate and condition, and desiring the almes collected be the brethren to be sent to them: The whole Assembly, after reading of the said writing, with the procurator of the said exiled brethren direct for receiving of the said contribution, being inwardly touched with the sorrow of their brethren greivously borne at under the dart of necessity, willing, with all heartie and tender affection, to utter their brotherly care toward them, has ordained the summes already collected to be delivered and sent away to them'. The French Church in

Salaries

Unfortunately there is no evidence about the salaries paid to the ministers of the French Church. However it seems that the ministers in the provincial churches earned less than their counterparts in London. At Canterbury, the minister Anthoine Lescaillet was granted a salary of £24 *per annum* and by 1596 the minister's salary had increased to £48.²⁶⁶ The minister in Southampton may have earned less than this, for the community there was much smaller than that in Canterbury, and the ministers income was raised through contributions from church members.²⁶⁷ The exile ministers seem to have been in a better position than their English counterparts. The benefice of Holy Rood was worth only £24 *per annum* in c. 1583,²⁶⁸ which seems to have been sufficient for Henry Hopkins although his successor Simon Pett seems to have experienced serious financial difficulties. A comparison of the estates of Hopkins and the town's lecturer Thomas Hitchcock with that of Philippe de la Motte reveals his relative prosperity. Hopkins left moveable goods worth £90 17 s. 8 d. when he died in 1600, while Hitchcock's goods were valued at £83 6 s. 6 d. in 1612. De la Motte's will included bequests to the value of £163. De la Motte had been involved in the cloth trade before his death, but this trade does not seem to have resulted in prosperity for Simon Pett.²⁶⁹

Canterbury was one of the beneficiaries of this collection. A further collection for the exiled French churches was made in 1587. *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland from the year MDLX*, (Edinburgh 1839) pp. 356, 379-80; City and Diocesan Record Office, Canterbury, French Church Records, U47/A1 Actes du Consistoire, p. 49; *Register of the Minister Elders and Deacons of the Christian Congregation of St. Andrews ... 1559-1600*, ed. D. Hay Fleming (Edinburgh, 1890), p. 610.

²⁶⁵ SRO SC5/3/1 - The Mayors' Account Book: Richard Biston 1581-1582, f. 182.

²⁶⁶ Spicer, "'A Faythful Pastor in the Churches'", pp. 204-5.

²⁶⁷ Des Gallars, *Forme de Police*, f. 17v-18. The accounts for the end of the sixteenth century survive from the Canterbury church recording the house to house collection to pay for the ministry. City and Diocesan Record Office, Canterbury, French Church Records, U47/B1 Elders Accounts 1594-1604.

²⁶⁸ PRO SP12/288/37. For the dating of this document, see above p. 180

²⁶⁹ Simon Pett succeeded Henry Hopkins at Holy Rood church in 1586-87 and from either 1588 or 1591 was also the minister of St. Michaels. He received a loan of £25 under Sir Thomas White's Charity in 1607 to help him in his trade as a clothier. He was provided with the money for a livery by the town in the same year. After his death in 1611 his wife and son experienced financial difficulties and were forced to sell his books. He became a burgess in 1603. HRO 21M65 A1/26 f. 8v., A1/27 f. 13v, 20v; SRO SC3/1/1 f. 143v; *The Southampton Mayor's Book of 1606-1608*, ed. W.J. Connor, (SRS, 21, 1978), pp. 99, 100, 107-8; *Assembly Books*, III pp. xxi, 25, 56, 65, IV pp. xvii-xviii.

By the early seventeenth century the community had begun to experience severe financial difficulties which were no doubt in large part related to the decline in the size of the community itself. As early as 1589 the church had protested to the Southampton authorities that they were too poor to meet the dues demanded by the corporation, especially as they had recently provided aid for the relief of Geneva.²⁷⁰ It is unclear whether this appeal was the result of genuine hardship or whether it was merely an attempt to avoid paying further taxes. These financial difficulties may have resulted in de la Motte's involvement in the cloth trade and Blier's move to Titchfield.²⁷¹ However by 1610 the church complained to the Colloquy that they were unable to sustain the ministry in Southampton and repeated their plea in 1615 and 1619.²⁷² The church at Rye had requested assistance from the other churches in 1583 and 1584.²⁷³ As on this occasion, in 1610 the other French churches were urged to assist the church. By the meeting of the Colloquy in 1623 the Southampton congregation appeared to be dependent upon the other French churches for voluntary contributions.²⁷⁴

Poor Relief.

The only evidence of church expenditure in Southampton concerns poor relief. In the beginning the community was not short of funds; it was in a position to make contributions for the care of the poor in other communities. The church sent £2 to the Walloon congregation in Sandwich in December 1568 and a further gift of £1 10s. in November 1569.²⁷⁵ In 1577 the community enquired about the state of the French church in Canterbury as they were considering a donation to the poor there.²⁷⁶

However provision for the poor became a pressing matter in Southampton in the second half of the sixteenth century. Like other urban centres Southampton became a magnet for the impoverished from the surrounding area; there were frequent complaints made to the Court Leet about the increasing number of undertenants which resulted in overcrowding and created 'great

²⁷⁰ SRO TC Box 1/40 Petition from the ministers and elders of the French Church to the Mayor & Corporation.

²⁷¹ See above p. 199.

²⁷² *Actes des Colloques*, pp. 52-53, 56, 58.

²⁷³ *Actes des Colloques*, pp. 5, 7. There seems to have been a collection at Canterbury to help the church at Rye, City and Diocesan Record Office, Canterbury, French Church Records, U47/A2 Actes du Consistoire, f. 29v.

²⁷⁴ *Actes des Colloques*, p. 65.

²⁷⁵ Huguenot Library MSS/J27, pp. 8, 49.

²⁷⁶ City and Diocesan Record Office, Canterbury, French Church Records, U47/A1 Actes du Consistoire, p. 81.

danger of infection and damage by fire'. There were orders issued for newcomers to leave the town and in 1574 the Court Leet records first separated stall & art payments from undertenants.²⁷⁷ This problem was no doubt compounded by the policy of the Royal Court of Guernsey which sent youths to England who could not be employed on the island. In view the close links between Southampton and the islands, a number probably came to the port.²⁷⁸ Regular collections for the relief of the poor in the town began after 1550. Some members of the community are known to have contributed to the relief of the English poor, such as Adrian Saravia and Arnoul le Clercq in 1575.²⁷⁹ However the French church operated its own completely separate system of poor relief and this is confirmed by the absence of members of the community in the accounts of money that was distributed to the poor by the authorities.

The beneficiaries of poor relief are on the whole unknown, although it would probably be correct to assume that they were similar to those in both London and Sandwich. There the indigent could be divided between those who had fallen temporarily into difficulties and those who required long-term assistance such as the seriously ill or widows. Money was provided to allow the refugees

²⁷⁷ SRO SC6/1/10; *Court Leet Records*, pp. 236, 284, 298, 306, 369, 386, 402, 439, 455, 498, 519, 533. On poverty in Southampton: *The Southampton Mayor's of 1606-1608*, ed. W.J. Connor (SRS, 21, 1978), pp. 25-30; E.A. Rothery, 'Poverty in Southampton, 1540 to 1560', unpublished dissertation, Portsmouth Polytechnic, 1989. On migrant poor in Southampton, see *The Third Book of Remembrance*, IV pp. xxii-xxiii. On urban migration generally and the impact on towns, see P. Clark, 'The migrant in Kentish towns, 1580-1640', in P. Clark & P. Slack, *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700*, (London, 1972), pp. 117-63.

²⁷⁸ D. Ogier, 'The Reformation and Society in Guernsey c. 1500 - 1640', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Warwick University 1993, Ch. 7. There was certainly a complaint in the Court Leet in 1582 protesting that the strangers should be made to 'take towne borne childeren & other Englishe childeren, whereas now they take french & guarnezey childeren' as apprentices. However none of the names given in a list of people sent to England in 1606 appear in the *Registre*. Greffe Archives, Guernsey, 'Clameurs de Haro' vol. I - People sent to England, January and May 1606; *Court Leet Records*, p. 228. I am grateful to Dr. Ogier for a copy of the former reference.

²⁷⁹ SRO SC5/17/1 Holy Rood 1575 Scavage Book/Poor Relief Collections and Disbursements, payments were received from Mr. Adrien [Saravia], Arnold Clerke but no recipients were recorded.

The payments made for poor relief in other years are as follows:

SRO SC13/2/10 1589/90 Muster Book, payments were recorded from William Hersante, Peter Teder [Thieudet], John Cattelyn but the latter two names were erased.

SC10/1/3 Holy Rood (1593-94) - Peter Tither [Thieudet], John Mercier, John Hersant, The French Preacher, Peter Legaye.

SC10/1/4 All Saints, Bagrow & East Street (1593-94) - Estien Latelas, Widow Shulling [Seulin], Peter Shulling [Seulin].

SC10/1/6 St. Lawrence (1595-96) - Peter Thither [Thieudet].

SC10/1/7 SS. Micheal & John (1595-96) - Peter Push, Balthasar Demastre, Claude Moutonnier.

SC10/1/8 Holy Rood (1595-96) - Peter Tither [Thieudet but entry erased], John Hersant, M. le Mote [de la Motte], Peter legay.

SC10/1/9 All Saints, Bagrow, East St. (1595-96) - Estien Latelas, Widow Shewling [Seulin], Peter Shewling [Seulin].

travel to other communities, to buy essentials etc. The deacons at Sandwich organised the baking of bread to support the poor and even had a store of mattresses, beds etc. which could be lent out.²⁸⁰ There is only limited evidence about poor relief in the Southampton congregation. Rachel Terrie was helped by the church for one and a half years as her husband was indebted and living in La Rochelle. Relations were not easy between Terrie and the church. The consistory criticised Terrie commenting that she was 'a woman aloane, idle, and of noe abilitie', they also wrote about 'a grate oathe which she hath made that she will plucke up by the rootes the said Church'.²⁸¹ By the end of the century the situation had changed dramatically. The Corporation paid for the burial of a stranger, surely a cost which would have ordinarily in the early years have been met by the community.²⁸²

There are two further references to people being cared for through the community's funds. In 1570 Jerome Dentiere died after being cared for *long tamps et au grand despens des pources*. Jacob Dixt from Antwerp left a ship returning from Spain and was only passing through the town. However he fell ill and was cared for by the community for between eight and nine weeks before he died.²⁸³ These are probably just isolated examples of the relief that the community provided. There were probably heavy demands upon the deacons' funds during the plagues of 1583-84 and 1604. The separate arrangements of the English citizens of the town continued then and there is no reference to members of the French community amongst the beneficiaries of a special collection made for the relief of plague.²⁸⁴ The first person who seems to have benefited from the town's charity was Paul Latelais who in 1607 was loaned £25 by Sir Thomas White's Charity.²⁸⁵

Children who were orphaned or whose parents were too poor to care for them posed a serious problem for the town authorities. The Corporation attempted to lodge the orphans with other citizens or to apprentice them at an early age.²⁸⁶ Another solution was reached by entering

²⁸⁰ For example, 3 s. was paid to the wife of Gilles le Plus of Armentières so that she could travel from Sandwich to Southampton in June 1571. In December 1572 the London deacons gave the wife of Guillaume Coppin 2 s. to buy a blanket. Huguenot Library MSS/J27, pp. 7, 122, 174; French Protestant Church of London Archives, DL/MS 194 f. 23.

²⁸¹ Hatfield House, Salisbury MSS, CP64/37. For Rachel Terrie, see above pp. 149-50.

²⁸² SRO SC5/3/1 f. 234v - 'It'm paid the 21 of March for the winding sheet & buriall of a stranger w^{ch} lay in the Chapell from whence he was removed to Allines house where he dyed --- ij s. vj d. Presumably this man was a member of the French community in Southampton if he were taken to an alien's house.

²⁸³ *Registre*, pp. 100-1.

²⁸⁴ SRO SC5/3/1, f. 189-90, Payments for the relief of plague.

²⁸⁵ Paul Latelais was the son of Estienne Latelais, born in Southampton in 1580. *The Southampton Mayor's Book*, pp. 99, 100; *Assembly Books*, II p. 85; *Registre*, p. 44. On Sir Thomas White's Charity, see Davies, *A History of Southampton*, p. 300.

²⁸⁶ E.A. Rothery, 'Poverty in Southampton, 1540 to 1640', pp. 25-27.

into agreements with newcomers to the town, permitting them to stay in the town if they cared for a particular child at their own expense.²⁸⁷ The responsibility for such children within the French community fell upon the church's system of poor relief, unlike Norwich where orphans were one of the responsibilities of the *Hommes Politiques*.²⁸⁸ Georgette Loys gave the poor of the church 10 s. *desirant le Consistoire de ladite Eglise d'avoir le soing de mes enfans filz Vincent apres moy*.²⁸⁹ More specific arrangements were made by Magdalen Mesnier for the provision of her six children. She bequeathed her whole estate into the hands of the church's two deacons, John Hersant and Vincent Nérin in order to care for the children until they had all come of age when the remaining estate was to be divided between the children. Mesnier wrote her will in 1589 and the deacons finally discharged their responsibilities in 1613!²⁹⁰

Apprenticeship provided another means for the care of children who were either orphaned or of impoverished parents and in the early seventeenth century a Poor Child Register was kept by the Southampton corporation.²⁹¹ The French community had, because of the terms governing its establishment, an obligation to take English apprentices. Even so in 1615 Judith de la Motte and other clothiers in the town offered to set the English poor to work.²⁹² Certainly almost 40 per cent of the poor boys were recorded in the Poor Child Register as being apprenticed in the cloth industry, although this may be because it was the largest trade in the town.²⁹³ Vincent Nérin, a deacon of the French church took John Cordin as his apprentice until 1591 who appears to have been an orphan although he was certainly not impoverished.²⁹⁴ As has already been noted the

²⁸⁷ E.g. Charles Poyntdexter and his wife were allowed to remain in Southampton in 1577 on condition that they cared for one Elizabeth Darvall at 6 d. per week for a year, then to maintain her at their own expense until she was apprenticed to them for twelve years. *Book of Examination and Depositions 1570-1594*, ed. G.H. Hamilton & E.R. Aubrey, (PSRS, 16, 1914), p. 51.

²⁸⁸ R.Esser, 'Social Concern and Calvinistic Duty: The Norwich Strangers' Community', in *Het Beloofde Land*, (Dikkebus-Ieper, 1992), p. 177.

²⁸⁹ HRO Wills 1583/B/13.

²⁹⁰ HRO 1589/B/39, 1613/A/81.

²⁹¹ *A Calendar of Southampton Apprenticeship Registers, 1609-1740*, Compiled by A.J. Willis & ed. A.L. Merson, (SRS, 12, 1968) pp. xlii-l. The Poor Child Register appears on pp. 61-108.

²⁹² *Assembly Books*, IV p. 3.

²⁹³ Of the 100 boys for whom a trade was recorded, in the period 1609-1645, 36 were apprenticed in the cloth industry. The next largest group were handicrafts with 35 apprentices. *Calendar of Southampton Apprenticeship Registers, 1609-1740*, p. liv.

²⁹⁴ Cordin does not appear to have been a member of the French community, as his name does not appear in the *Registre*, SRO SC2/6/5, f. 167v; *The Third Book of Remembrance*, III, p. 46, IV p. 8.

Education

Education was an important concern for the stranger churches but whether the community financed and developed any formalised system of education, is far from clear. It is possible that the congregation did not employ a schoolmaster. In London the members of the Dutch congregation preferred to send their children to the local English schools or independent schoolmasters in the community, until the 1570s.²⁹⁶ There are occasional references to French schoolmasters. In some cases this may be a reference to their professions before they migrated but it may also indicate some provision for education, in what was a very young community.

The first such reference was to Anthoine Hanneron the '*mestre descolle des petit enfans*' who was admitted to the Lord's Supper in 1568. A refugee from Illie in the pays d'Allee he may have migrated to Southampton, via Sandwich where he was betrothed. He was still living in Southampton in August 1572 but there is no reference to him after that date.²⁹⁷

In 1574 two men were described as being an '*alient skoole m*' in the stall and art lists. There are apparently no further references to either Monsieur du Ffouet or one 'Goblot', although one of them was probably '*The French Scholmaister*' recorded the following year.²⁹⁸ The latter could have been Nicolas Gobelot possibly an elder of the church in Rouen.²⁹⁹ In October 1576, Anthoine Ylot alias M. du Plantin was admitted with seven of his students!³⁰⁰ Another *mestre descolle*, Pierre de la Motte was admitted in 1577 and the following year made a 4 d. contribution to the lay subsidy payments.³⁰¹ Even as late as 1620 the Court Leet complained about the schoolmaster, presumably employed by the Corporation, who neglected his duties and referred his students to 'the teachinge of a Stranger vnexamined and vnripe of yeres'. However the definition of 'Stranger' in this context is unclear.³⁰²

²⁹⁵ See above p. 224.

²⁹⁶ O.P. Grell, *Dutch Calvinists in Early Stuart London. The Dutch Church in Austin Friars, 1603 - 1642*, (Leiden, 1989), pp. 106-8.

²⁹⁷ *Registre*, pp. 4, 39, 40, 41, 83.

²⁹⁸ SRO SC6/1/10; SC5/17/1.

²⁹⁹ *Registre*, pp. 7, 8, 9. Gobelot had provided an attestation on behalf of the M. Lieutenant Criminel de Rouen and was there described as '*son ancien*'.

³⁰⁰ *Registre*, p. 12. The students were Jan Cheualery, Cesar Berny, Jan Godart, Pierre d'Anogot, Renay d'Anogot, Jan Cheualery (*sic*), Renay Chauuain.

³⁰¹ *Registre*, p. 12; SRO SC14/2/6.

³⁰² *Court Leet Records*, p. 582.

There is a little more certainty concerning a certain Nicholas du Chemin who was admitted in October 1568.³⁰³ In 1571 he was described in the consistory records of the French church in London as having been *mestre descolle a Hampton*, suggesting that he had actually taught in the town although he was subsequently excommunicated by the Southampton consistory.³⁰⁴

Certainly the most prominent schoolmaster in Southampton in this period was Adrian Saravia. He was employed by the Southampton Corporation as the Headmaster of the King Edward VI's school, then known as the Free Grammar School. Nijenhuis has speculated about Saravia having some sort of educational role in the town before he was appointed to the Free School.³⁰⁵ The two pupils Nichollas Effard and Nichollas Carryé admitted to the Lord's Supper were probably Saravia's students in Guernsey and not in Southampton. Nicholas Effard matriculated at Cambridge University, Easter 1569.³⁰⁶

Besides the provision of education for children of their own communities there were also steps undertaken to provide funds for the training of future ministers.³⁰⁷ The Walloon Synods had appealed in 1579 to Southampton and the other exiled churches in England as well as those in Germany, for funds for the entertainment of scholars.³⁰⁸ The Colloquy in May 1584 also appealed for money for a similar purpose from the French churches.³⁰⁹ It may have been this latter decision which led to arrangements being made in July 1584 for the collection of money for scholars in Southampton. Every three months, the church's elders and deacons were to hold a house to house collection for funds.³¹⁰ It is unclear for how long these collections continued or continued to follow this format. The records for Canterbury show that in 1599-1601 there were monthly collections to raise money for students.³¹¹ The Southampton church clearly had sufficient funds in 1603 when they agreed to share the cost of preparing Timothée Blier for the ministry, with the churches of Norwich

³⁰³ *Registre*, p. 4.

³⁰⁴ *Actes du Consistoire*, II, pp. 11, 12, 31.

³⁰⁵ Nijenhuis, *Adrianus Saravia*, p. 32. On Saravia in Southampton, see above pp. 204-5.

³⁰⁶ *Registre*, p. 7; *Alumni Cantabridgiensis*, II, p. 90; *Alumni Oxoniensis*, II p. 452.

³⁰⁷ On the education of ministers for the exile churches, see Spicer, "A Faithful Pastor in the Churches", pp. 198-202.

³⁰⁸ *Livre Synodal*, p. 69.

³⁰⁹ *Actes des Colloques*, p. 7.

³¹⁰ *Registre*, p. 133.

³¹¹ City and Diocesan Record Office, Canterbury, French Church Records, U47/D Amount of money received and spent for students 1599-1601.

Beliefs

While it is possible to analyse the organisation of the church in Southampton, it is difficult to gain much of an impression about the beliefs or degree of commitment of the refugees. There are several areas in which indications of religious belief can be gained.

The first such insight can be gained by studying wills. In the preamble to wills the testator occasionally expressed something of his religious beliefs or at least the arrangements for burial. The use of testamentary evidence as an indicator of religious belief is fraught with difficulties and considerable doubt has been expressed about the value of such evidence. The testators as the dying and often wealthy members of society are not necessarily a representative sample of a community. Wills were often drawn up by scribes rather than the testator and so may reflect either the scribes' view or something copied from a precedent book, rather than the views of the testator.³¹³ There were certainly two wills which were written on the testator's behalf by Walerand Thevelin, the minister in Southampton.³¹⁴ The idea of an oft-repeated formula is noticeable in several of the stranger wills in which the following phrase is repeated in various forms: There is nothing more certain in this world than death, and nothing more uncertain than the hour of the same.³¹⁵ It should also be noted that Protestant formulae came to be used increasingly during Elizabeth's reign and some similarity can be seen between the hopes expressed by members of the community and some other Southampton testators.³¹⁶

In spite of these caveats, it is perhaps useful to consider several of these preambles although the extent to which they can be used to assess the religious attitudes of members of the community is limited. Perhaps one of the fullest expressions of religious belief that appears is in the will of

³¹² See above pp. 198-99; French Protestant Church of London Archives, Soho Square, AD/MS4 Actes du Consistoire, p. 383; *Actes des Colloques*, p. 45.

³¹³ C. Haigh, *English Reformations. Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors*, (Oxford, 1993), pp. 199-202.

³¹⁴ PRO PCC Prob. 11/67 Robert Cousin, Prob. 11/88 Gilles Seulin.

³¹⁵ Esay Bernay (PRO PCC Prob. 11/87); Francois Bourgayse (HRO Wills 1583/Ad/10); Robert Cousin (PRO PCC Prob. 11/67); Peter le Gay (PRO PCC Prob. 11/106); Anthonye Jorion (HRO Wills 1578/B/53); Gilles Seulin (PRO PCC Prob. 11/88). The same phrase was also used in the wills of Chrestienne de Preseau and Louis de Callonne, both of whom only stayed in Southampton for a short period and whose wills were drawn up in London. Guildhall Library, London, Commissary Court of London: Christaina de Preseau 1593 Reg. 18 f. 60, Lewis de Callonne 1614 Reg. 22 f. 319.

³¹⁶ Haigh, *English Reformations*, p. 200. The will of Nicholas Caplin, written in 1611, stated that: 'I geve and comende my soule into the handes of my Lorde and saviour Jesus Christe by whose pretious deathe and Resurrection I hope to be saved amongst his elected children and my bodie to the earthe to be buried ...' HRO Wills 1611/A/19.

Anthoine Jurion in 1578 who carefully noted that he had written his will himself. He wrote:

That is first p'sentlye & untill the ower of my death I Recommend my soulle unto god in the name of his sonne Jesus christ deseringe hym to Reseve me to his mercye in exceptinge the death of his sonne for payment Recompence of all my sines & offences the which hym maye reserve me in his Blessed Realme. Secondlye I ordaine that when it shall please hym to call me oute of this lyffe that my bodye maye be buried honestlye accordinge to the order of the Reformed church wher unto it hath pleased god to call me of his good grace worde of Idolatorye & superstition to the ende that beinge so laide in to the earthe from whence I came I maye Rest and staye in hope of this hapeye & Blessed Resurrection the which shalt come in the Last daye in the which daye I beleve to rise in soulle & bodye to be Resevid unto lyfe everlastinge when I hope throughrewe faithe to in habite & lyve for ever with our lorde & saviour Jesus Christe.³¹⁷

Such expressions were not unique as these further examples will demonstrate. Gilles Seulin's will was written in 1583 with Walerand Thevelin acting as the scribe. He commented:

ffirst I commende my soule unto god beseechinge his Ma^{tie} that when it shall please hym to call me out of this worlde , to receave it to his mercie in the name of Jhesus Christ his sonne Secondlie I doe ordeyne yf when my Bodye shalbe past liefte yt maie be honestlie buried Accordinge to the order of the ffrench reformed Church, Of the which I have made profession.³¹⁸

The will of Esay Bernay, an elder of the church stated in 1595:

... prepare and dispose our selves to this ende the whole cause of our liefte submitinge hym selfe to the good will and pleasure of his good God Creator and redeemer Recomendinge hym selfe into his handes, well persuaded of his grace and mercie which he hath done unto hym for the love of his onelie Sonne our Lord who is the agreamente for our synnes and his bodye to the earth to the last resurreccion Of the which he is assured to take yt againe clothed with immortalyte and glory by vertue of the tryumphante resurreccion of Jhesus Christe our Sauyor.³¹⁹

The demand and popularity of books grew during Elizabeth's reign and by the 1590s books, usually the Bible, were mentioned in a third of the wills from the Kentish towns. In Southampton an inventory of the library of a cleric, John Hurlock, which was drawn up in 1574 showed he had owned a number of theological works, including three works by Calvin, two of Foxe's books and a life of Martin Bucer. Peter Caplin referred to his library in his will in 1609 which included some Puritan works.³²⁰ As a result it would not be surprising to find books among the probate inventories of members of the French community and a number of Bibles, Testaments and books of Psalms are recorded.³²¹ The most informative collection of books belonged to Anthoine Jorion:

³¹⁷ HRO Wills 1578/B/53.

³¹⁸ PRO PCC Prob. 11/88.

³¹⁹ PRO PCC Prob. 11/87.

³²⁰ Haigh, *English Reformations*, pp. 276-77; E. Roberts & K. Parker, (ed.), *Southampton Probate Inventories 1447-1575*, (SRS, 34-35, 1992), II pp. 435-41; HRO Wills 1609/A/15 Peter Caplin, amongst the books mentioned were the works of William Perkins, Richard Greenham, Richard Rogers and Calvin's *Institutes*.

³²¹ Oliver Mynere (Mesnier) owned a Bible, 'brod boock', 'on french salm book and boock of christian religion', 9 other French and Latin books.(HRO Wills 1589/Ad/41).

Itm one Bible _____	viiij ^s viiiij ^d
Calvin upon the 4 Evangelists _____	v ^s vj ^d
Itm one of Eledeus bookes _____	vj ^s vj ^d
The Estate of the Church _____	ij ^s j ^d
Calvins institutions _____	v ^s
Lessons upon Esey the Prophet _____	xviiij ^d
Calvins sermons upon Job _____	vj ^s viiiij ^d
Itm one white paper booke _____	xij ^d
Itm one testamnt & a book of psalmes _____	iiiij ^s ij ^d 322

These clearly reveal an interest in Calvin and that theoretically Jorion's interests were not solely confined to reading the Bible, although of course ownership did not necessarily mean that he read these works.

It is possible to obtain a clearer insight into the religious conviction of members of the community, than can be gained through examining the preambles of wills and the ownership of books. The names chosen at baptism do provide such an insight into the commitment of the refugees to the Reformed faith. There was a clear attempt to avoid names which smacked of superstition, so that in Geneva the name Claude which had been the third most popular name in Geneva for boys and girls disappeared after the Reformation because of its association with the nearby shrine of St. Claude.³²³ In France the choice of obscure Old Testament names at baptism was also in part an expression of Huguenot identity although this enthusiasm was affected by persecution. This was particularly noticeable after 1572 when Protestants in Rouen attempted to be less conspicuous and a slight decline in the use of Old Testament names at the Huguenot stronghold of La Rochelle may reflect a decline in zeal.³²⁴ The French Discipline of St. Lô, 1563 and the

Gilles Seulin left 'an olde french byble', (HRO Wills 1590/Ad/42).

John Rochefort left a Bible, psalms and other books together with a desk for the Bible, (HRO Wills 1606/B/46).

Robert le Page left 'One French Bible with silver hasps', 3 other French Bibles, an English Bible, another French book, 2 French Testaments and an English one, 8 psalm books, (HRO Wills 1612/A/58).

Martine des Maistres owned a Bible and a 'Book of Martirs', (HRO Wills 1615/A/24).

³²² HRO Wills 1578/B/53. It is possible to identify some of these books:

J. Calvin, *Institution de la religion chrestienne, ... composée en Latin par Jean Calvin et translattée par luy mesme*, (Geneva, 1541). There were numerous other editions.

J. Calvin, *Commentaires sur le prophete Isaïe. Avec la table, tant des passages que des sentences*. (Traduit Nicholas des Gallars), (Geneva, 1552).

J. Calvin, *Commentaires de Jean Calvin sur la Concordance ou Harmonie, composée des trois Eva'gelistes, assavoir saint matthieu, saint Marc, et saint Luc. Item, sur l'evangile saint Jean, et sur le second livre de saint Luc, dit, Les Actes des Apostres*, (Geneva, 1563).

J. Calvin, *Sermons de M. Jean Calvin sur le livre de Job*, (Geneva, 1569).

³²³ E.W. Monter, 'Historical Demography and Religious History in Sixteenth-Century Geneva', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 9, p. 142. I am grateful to Dr. W. Naphy for drawing this article to my attention.

³²⁴ P. Benedict, *Rouen during the French Wars of Religion*, (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 104-6, 149-50, 256-60.

Channel Islands Discipline of 1576 rejected pagan names, names of idols, names attributed to God in Scripture, names of offices (eg. Baptiste) and fathers and sponsors were urged to adopt names approved by Scripture.³²⁵ The choice of these names was not restricted in the Discipline of the exiled French Churches of 1561 or 1588, although a decision was made in 1584 by the Colloquy about the types of names that were acceptable.³²⁶ The choice of Biblical names at baptism is particularly marked in the Sandwich community where 88 per cent of the 108 people born in Sandwich, according to a list drawn up in 1622, bore Old and New Testament names.³²⁷

The baptismal records of the French Church are sufficiently to allow a complete analysis of the baptismal names. Of the Southampton parishes, only the baptismal records for the parish of St. Michael survive for the later sixteenth century. Unfortunately these records are very patchy with 1561-70 and 1591-1610 being the only complete years for comparison.³²⁸ The parish of St. Michael's was one of the largest parishes in the town, the combined population of St. Michael's with St. John's in 1596 was 1409, compared with only 297 aliens.³²⁹ There were 763 baptisms in the French Church between 1567-1620 compared with 843 recorded baptisms at St. Michael's in the period 1561-1620. There is a comparison of the different choice of baptismal names made, in Appendix II.

This comparison shows that although there were some names which were popular amongst the French community and within the parish of St. Michael's, such as Anne, Jane, John, Mary or their variants, it is clear that there were significant differences in the choice of baptismal names made by members of the exile community. They appear to have heeded the advice of the Reformed Church and in particular chose Biblical names for their children. The popularity of Old Testament names is particularly marked with the choice of Abraham, Daniel, Isaac, Judith and Susanne being particularly common. The more unusual Old Testament names such as Jahel, Jepthe, Joel, Lea, Lydie and Zacherie were also found support in the community's earlier years. New Testament names such as Elizabeth, Jacques, Jehan and Pierre were popular throughout the period. The popularity of Elizabeth probably owed much to the Queen who had granted the community permission to settle in the town, and a similar trend can be seen in the English community. One

³²⁵ 'Discipline de l'Eglise de St. Lô (1563)' in M. Reulos, 'Les débuts des Communautés reformées dans l'actuel département de la Manche (Cotentin et Avranchin)', *Revue du département de la Manche*, 24 (1982) numéro special, fasc. 93-95, p. 49; 'Iles de la Manche. Police et Discipline Ecclésiastique de 1576', in de Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge*, III p. 345.

³²⁶ *Actes des Colloques*, p. 8.

³²⁷ M.F. Backhouse, 'The Flemish and Walloon Communities at Sandwich during the reign of Elizabeth I (1561-1603)', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Southampton, 1992, pp. 118-20.

³²⁸ SRO PR7/1/1 St. Michaels Church Registers, 1552-1651.

³²⁹ SRO SC3/1/1, f. 254v.

child was baptised Debora on 24 November, 1588 less than a week after the defeat of the Spanish Armada.³³⁰ On two occasions, 1570 and 1577, a saint's name was accepted at baptism, Helier, revealing a clear link with the Channel Islands. There is however a noticeable change in the choice of baptismal names as the community became more integrated. The only instances of children being baptised Guillaume, Richard or Robert, the most popular names in the English community, appear after 1600.

Conclusion - The French Church in Southampton

It is difficult to assess the extent to which the French church exerted any influence upon the town's religious life or even served as a model for reform. Links were forged between the parish clergy and the French ministers, largely through necessity. The churches all shared the town's cemetery for example. After Walerand Thevelin's death in 1584, the elders and deacons of the church could continue to organise fasts and the celebration of the Lord's Supper fell into abeyance.³³¹ However the necessary services of baptism, marriage and burial still needed to be conducted. The community seems to have relied upon the minister of Holy Rood, Henry Hopkins to baptise several infants and to conduct the marriage of a couple who were married outside the French church in January, 1585.³³² Hopkins appears to have held Reformed or Puritan ideas and so may have been sympathetic towards the French church. This sympathy does not appear to have extended as far as being admitted to the Lord's Supper or even making a bequest to the poor of the church. This was also the case with the town preacher, Thomas Hitchcock.³³³

As we have seen a very few Englishmen became members of the French church³³⁴, although it is virtually impossible to identify those who may have attended services without becoming members of the church. Some of these people may have been amongst those who made bequests to the French church; there are certainly several bequests from people whose association with the church is unclear.³³⁵ Similar links between the churches and people of Reformed opinions had developed in London, although the government did attempt to prohibit the admission of English

³³⁰ *Registre*, p. 48. On the popularity of the name Elizabeth in the Protestant community at Rouen, see Benedict, *Rouen during the French Wars of Religion*, pp. 256, 259.

³³¹ *Registre*, pp. 19, 127.

³³² *Registre*, pp. 46, 88.

³³³ See above pp. 179-81; HRO Wills 1600 B 26 Henry Hopkins, 1612/Ad/51 Thomas Hitchcock.

³³⁴ See above pp. 59-60.

³³⁵ PRO PCC Prob. 11/72 Robert Bulbeck, Prob. 11/129 William Linche; HRO Wills 1618/A/18 Susanne Cotten. On bequests to the French Church in Southampton, including from Englishmen, see above pp. 218-21.

dissidents to membership of these churches.³³⁶ The influence of the Southampton church was however inevitably linked with the character and abilities of the minister, the fractious d'Arande and drunken Sauvage were unlikely to command the same influence as the respected Philippe de la Motte.

As the refugees became integrated into their host community, the church increasingly became an anachronism. It ceased to serve the needs of a refugee community distinct from their hosts through their religion, language and the experience of exile. However the church survived to serve the needs of French Protestants in the late seventeenth century and eighteenth century.

³³⁶ See above p. 59; Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 274-76.

The Southampton congregation and events on the continent.

The refugees who settled in Southampton did not ignore the continuing struggle of the Calvinist churches on the continent. As has been seen some of the original settlers had been actively involved in the Troubles of 1566 and so their continued interest is not surprising.¹ Furthermore the continual arrival of new refugees, especially during the early years of the community, served as a constant reminder of the difficulties faced by the Reformed church on the continent. The community's concern was expressed through the fasts and collections held by the French church but also through the activities of some of the community's members.

Probably the clearest demonstration of the community's concern was in the regular celebration of fasts.² As we have seen these fasts gradually became more organised by the Threadneedle Street Church and increasingly were celebrated by all of the French-speaking exile churches.³ The initial fasts which were held in Southampton were the result of local concerns and initiatives and did not coincide with the fasts held in Threadneedle Street.⁴ Fasts generally seem to have been celebrated by all of the French churches from 1584 onwards.⁵ It was however recognised that churches could hold fasts relating to local concerns, such as outbreaks of plague; in 1580 and 1581 fasts were held because of an earthquake and the sighting of a comet.⁶ In the early years of the community fasts were usually held twice each year (four fasts were held in 1574) but this

¹ See above pp. 33-37, 38-39, 43-45.

² An impression of what a fast entailed can be gleaned from the Discipline of the French Churches. 'Le Jeusne semblablement sera celebré aux necessitez extremes de l'église, lequel ne sera souuent publié mais quant il en sera besoing sera avec toute solemnité denoncé le jour du dimanche precedent; puis le jour prochain deuant la celebration du jeusne le peuple y sera préparé et disposé, avec exhortation et prieres, et sera chacun aduertie soigneusement de laisser son oeuvre et assister aux exercices de pieté qui seront qui seront établis par les consistoires'. 'Discipline of the French Churches in England, 1588', p. 294.

³ See above p. 190.

⁴ Fasts were held in Threadneedle Street on: 28 October, 1571; 28 May, 1573; 21 September, 1573; 29 June, 1574; 15 or 22 May, 1575; 25 February, 1576; 18 November, 1576; 2 February, 1577; 29 June, 1577; 3 October, 1577. These fasts were usually celebrated by all of the three foreign churches in London often being decided on by the Coetus. The fast held in November 1576 '*estre adverties les autres eglises estrangeres par ce pais*' and some similarity in the dates of the 1577 fasts can be seen. *Actes du Consistoire*, II pp. 28, 118, 124, 139, 141, 169, 177, 184, 189, 203, 205.

⁵ An increasing number of fasts in Southampton were recorded as being held by all of the exile churches in England. See Appendix I, Fast No. 12, 13, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 32, 33, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57.

⁶ *Actes des Colloques*, p. 52; *Registre*, pp. 127, 130. See below, Appendix I, Fast No. 18, 19, 22, 48, 49, 50.

gradually declined to annual fasts. In the seventeenth century there was a marked decline in the frequency of fasts: no fast was celebrated in 1602 and 1603, nor between 1606 and 1614. This decline may be seen as part of the gradual integration of the stranger communities and a decline in their interest in overseas affairs. The Colloquy decided in 1610 that '*des jûnes lesquels seront a celebrer apres longue intermission, et sans aucune necessité fort pressante*'.⁷

The reasons for holding fasts were carefully recorded in the community's register. The first few fasts were recorded at a later date but from February 1575 individual entries were made for each fast which was held. For example, a fast was held on 25 September 1572 to commemorate events both in the Netherlands and in France. The refugees celebrated Orange's invasion of the Netherlands from Germany which it was hoped would deliver the country and its churches from the cruel tyrant, the Duke of Alva. Orange had crossed the Maas on 27 August 1572 and invaded Brabant. However the success of the Reformed cause in the Netherlands was overshadowed by the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's day in France. The community prayed for deliverance for the Reformed of France after the massacre of 'between twelve and thirteen thousand nobles and faithful', the pillaging of their goods and the suppression of preaching.⁸ The daily arrival of refugees from France no doubt made the exile communities even more keenly aware of the plight of their co-religionists.

Though the *Registre* occasionally does not specify why a fast had been appointed, the reasons were usually given in some detail. An analysis of the different fasts with the reasons why they had been declared appears in Appendix I and this enables us to establish certain broad rhythmns in the practice of the community.

While events in France were not ignored, the reasons given for celebrating fasts in the period before 1589 were primarily concerned with events in the Netherlands. For example in January 1582, the church prayed as Parma launched his campaign on Flanders and Brabant after having taken Tournai. The eventual fall of Dunkirk, Nieuwpoort, Veurne, Diksmuide and Bergues in July and August 1583, and then Antwerp in August 1585, also prompted the community to pray and fast. The community had also prayed in August 1576 for an improvement in relations between the Queen and Orange, which at that time had reached a lowpoint due to the disruption of English trade by Zeeland privateers.⁹

Between 1589 and 1599 the community's attention was held by events in Northern France. The assassination of Henry III and the diversion of Parma's forces from the Netherlands had focussed attention on this area. This concern was no doubt increased by English involvement in the conflict between Navarre and the Catholic League. In November 1591, the community fasted and

⁷ *Actes des Colloques*, p. 52.

⁸ Appendix I, Fast No. 3.

⁹ Appendix I, Fast No. 11, 20, 22, 25.

prayed at the start of the siege of Rouen; they prayed again in April 1592 for God's help as the siege was raised due to '*les adversaires de Eglise et de l'estat de France*'.¹⁰

The focus for the fasts reverted to the Low Countries after 1599. The community fasted in July 1601 when Ostend was besieged by the Archduke; when the siege was raised in May 1604, the Southampton community fasted again.¹¹ The refugee community was also aware of the religious disputes in the United Provinces and the community fasted in 1617 and 1618 over these difficulties and again in 1620 with the meeting of the Synod of Dort.¹²

Fasts were not solely concerned with events overseas, the community was prompted to fast and pray concerning English interests. In 1579 they fasted about the confusion caused by the arrival of the Duc d'Alençon and the negotiations concerning his marriage to the Queen. In 1589 they prayed for God's blessing on the expedition sent to Portugal. English intervention in Ireland also moved the community to fast and pray in 1597 and 1599.¹³

Issues of much more local concern also led the community to fast. The community fasted in February 1604 because of the outbreak of plague; although the first deaths due to plague in the French community do not seem to have been until June. A further fast was held in July 1604. Other outbreaks of plague in Southampton but also in London led the community to fast.¹⁴ The community was also prompted to fast '*pour prier dieu Nous Garder Contre les effects des signes de son ire de quoy avons esté menaché en la Commette*'. The comet was first observed by the community on 8 October 1580 and was seen until 12 December; detailed observations of the comet were made by the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe from 10 October. It is therefore surprising that the fast was not held until 6 April 1581.¹⁵

Besides these fasts the refugees on three occasions held services of thanksgiving; these were recorded with the fasts held by the community but they have been excluded from Appendix I. The first such service was held on 3 December 1587 and celebrated the victory of Henry of Navarre at the battle of Coutras in which the King's forces were destroyed and the royalist commander the Duc de Joyeuse killed. Apparently only 20 of Navarre's men were lost. The battle brought to an

¹⁰ Appendix I, Fast No. 35, 36.

¹¹ Appendix I, Fast No. 47, 49.

¹² Appendix I, Fast No. 55, 56, 57.

¹³ Appendix I, Fast No. 17, 31, 42, 44.

¹⁴ Appendix I, Fast No. 48, 49, 50, 52; *Registre*, p. 107.

¹⁵ Appendix I, Fast No. 19; D.K. Yeomans, *Comets. A Chronological History of Observation, Science, Myth and Folklore*, (New York, 1991), p. 415.

end the War of the Three Henries.¹⁶ The second service of thanksgiving, in November 1588, celebrated the defeat of the Spanish Armada and therefore the overthrow of the plan '*pour conquer le dit royaume et le remettre sous la tyrannie du Pape*'. The final service, relating to foreign affairs, was held on 20 March, 1590 when the community celebrated the rout of the League forces by Navarre at the battle of Ivry.¹⁷

Besides these public manifestations of their concern for events overseas, the French Church also responded to appeals from the continental Walloon churches. These churches appealed for funds for the maintenance of the ministry, for the training of new ministers and some churches even attempted to secure the services of refugee ministers, such as Philippe de la Motte.¹⁸ The Southampton community may have received appeals which were sent direct to all the exile churches or were routed through the Threadneedle Street Church. Certainly the Southampton church as well as other exile churches in August 1579, received a request for contributions towards the maintenance of students for the ministry.¹⁹ It is unclear whether the community responded to this appeal. The church did however respond to an appeal directed through Threadneedle Street for the relief of the poor refugees at Wesel in November 1571 by contributing £3.²⁰

Appeals to the exile churches were not however confined to raising money for the continental churches. The refugee churches found themselves subject to repeated demands for assistance for the rebel cause in the Low Countries. Orange called on all the exile churches, French as well as Dutch, for money and assistance for the rebel cause.²¹ In the Spring of 1573 Orange sent the minister Lieven Calwaert to raise money for the Prince's military operations. Probably Calwaert was in touch with Orange's former army chaplain, Adrian Saravia, in Southampton for the Prince subsequently wrote to Saravia thanking him for his assistance and urging Saravia to continue to further the rebel cause. He also expressed disappointment that an earlier collection at Southampton and Rye had only raised £10.²² This is only one chance survival, it is unclear the extent to which

¹⁶ *Registre*, p. 128; J.H.M. Salmon, *Society in Crisis. France in the Sixteenth Century*, (London, 1975), p. 241.

¹⁷ *Registre*, p. 128; Salmon, *Society in Crisis*, pp. 259, 260.

¹⁸ See above pp. 195-96; Spicer, '"A Faythful Pastor in the Churches"', pp. 202-3.

¹⁹ *Livre Synodal*, p. 69.

²⁰ *Actes du Consistoire*, II, pp. 36, 57.

²¹ For example: 8 June, 1572: William, Prince of Orange to the Foreign Churches in England. Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum*, II pp. 412-19.

²² Nijenhuis, *Adrianus Saravia*, pp. 38, 270. In Orange's letter to Saravia, he refers to 'Santone' which Nijenhuis has identified as Sandown. This is in fact a corruption of Southampton or S. Hampton, which appears frequently in the French archives of this time as 'anthone' or 'antone'.

the refugees continued to provide money for the rebel cause in the Netherlands.

The community also responded to appeals for assistance made from Geneva. In 1582 and 1589 agents were sent from Geneva to raise money for the defence of that city. The Southampton community does not appear to have contributed to the money raised during 1582-83.²³ In 1589 the seizure of Gex by Savoy and the coalition of Catholic powers prompted the city authorities to send another agent to raise money.²⁴ The collections from the foreign churches made an important contribution to Genevan finances during these war years.²⁵ On this occasion the Southampton congregation appears to have contributed because the consistory in a letter written late in 1589 claimed that 'having of late exhibited for the state of the Church of Geneva wherby we be quit soked of all substance'.²⁶

Southampton was not well situated for operations on the continent such as the prison-breaking raids organised by some of the other exile churches.²⁷ Leading figures within the Sandwich community helped to plan the public Reformed service held at Boeschepe in July 1562 and in 1567-68, the Sandwich, Norwich and London congregations co-ordinated and financed the activities of the Wood Beggars in the Westkwartier of Flanders.²⁸ Evidence of assistance from the Southampton community is fragmentary. In July 1568 Philip II's ambassador Guzman de Silva noted that 'many persons with arms were still being allowed to leave Many of these rebels are now making ready in London, Norwich, Sandwich and Southampton, and other places'.²⁹ In 1572 with the seizure of Den Briel and Flushing appeals for men and funds were made to the exile communities. The Orangist commissioner sent to Veere by the Governor of Walcheren, travelled to Norwich where the Dutch community contributed 125 soldiers who were despatched to Veere. The London church raised £1,400 to equip 200 soldiers while some richer members of the

²³ *Registres de la Compagnie des Pasteurs de Genève*, ed. J.-F. Bergier *et al.*, (Geneva, 1964-), IV, P. 214; V, p. 259.

²⁴ *Registres de la Compagnie des Pasteurs*, VI, pp. 155-57.

²⁵ E.W. Monter, *Studies in Genevan Government, 1536-1605*, (Geneva, 1964), pp. 40, 46.

²⁶ SRO TC Box 1/40. The letter is undated but it was written to the Mayor Peter Stoner who was only appointed at Michaelmas 1589 and had died by January 1590.

²⁷ Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 239-41.

²⁸ See M.F. Backhouse, 'The Official Start of Armed Resistance in the Low Countries: Boeschepe, 12 July 1562', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 71 (1980) pp. 198-226; *ibid.* 'Guerilla War and Banditry in the Sixteenth Century: the Wood Beggars in the Westkwartier of Flanders (1567-1568)', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 74 (1983) pp. 232-56.

²⁹ *Calendar of Letters and State Papers Relating to English Affairs, ... in the Archives of Simancas, Vol. II Elizabeth 1568-1579*, ed. M.A.S. Hume, (London, 1864), p. 53.

congregation equipped further soldiers or provided money for ammunition to be sent to Flushing.³⁰ There is no evidence of appeals being directed to Southampton from Flushing but one of Alva's spies reported on 30 August 1572 that 4 ships with supplies left the Isle of Wight and Southampton area, implying that they were heading for the Low Countries.³¹ Furthermore Adrian Saravia appears to have briefly served as a minister at Flushing in 1572, in spite of being employed as the Headmaster of Southampton Grammar School, and appealed for payment for his services. Could Saravia be one of the four ministers whom 'Casimbrot' recruited to preach in Holland? Saravia had been Orange's army chaplain and later spoke well of Leonard de Casembroot whom the Prince had appointed as Councillor in the Court of Holland.³²

While evidence about the contacts between the Southampton community and the rebels in the Low Countries is sparse rather more information can be gleaned from the links between the community and the privateers operating off the Hampshire coast. The Huguenot privateers sailed with letters of marque from the Queen of Navarre while the Sea Beggars were nominally under the authority of William the Silent, in his capacity as sovereign Prince of Orange. A survey of the state of shipping on the South coast made in 1570 reveals that at Meadhole on the Isle of Wight there were 'x sayle of shippes well trymed in warlicke order and aborde them as I can lerne CCC of their nations as well Marriners as others' and that the French captains were serving under the Queen of Navarre. At Portsmouth there were six ships from Emden and one from Zeeland; the majority of the Sea Beggar captains came from the coastal provinces of Holland, Friesland, Zeeland and Groningen.³³ Portsmouth became an important base for Sea Beggar operations in the Channel.³⁴ Meadhole had, since the Middle Ages, been a centre for piracy and in the sixteenth century people were attracted from a wide area to buy prize goods there. In 1570 the cargo of the *Flying Dragon* attracted merchants from London, Bristol and Southampton as well as people from the smaller towns of Hampshire, Sussex and Kent.³⁵

Privateering flourished in this area because of the connivance of the local officeholders.

³⁰ P. Bor, *Oorspronck, begin en verolgh der Nederlandsche oorlogen*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam, 1679-84) I p. 371; Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 254.

³¹ *Letters and Papers ... in the Archives of Simancas*, p. 407.

³² *Actes du Consistoire de l'Eglise de Threadneedle Street, ... 1571-1577*, p. 96; Nijenhuis, *Adrianus Saravia*, pp. 32-33, 127.

³³ PRO SP12/71/54, SP12/71/57.

³⁴ M.J. French, 'Privateering and the Revolt of the Netherlands: The *Watergeuzen* or Sea Beggars in Portsmouth, Gosport and the Isle of Wight 1570-71', *PHFC* 47 (1991), pp. 171-80.

³⁵ O.G.S. Crawford, 'Meadhole and Shoesflete', *PHFC*, 17 (1952), pp. 112-15; B. Dietz, 'Privateering in North-West European Waters 1568-1572', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1959, p. 328. On the *Flying Dragon*, see below p. 244.

This was most clearly demonstrated in 1568 when the Spanish treasure ships sailing to the Netherlands were forced to seek protection in English waters from Huguenot privateers. One of these ships sought protection at Calshot Castle but after being attacked possibly by pirates in league with the Captain of the Castle, James Parkinson, it moved on to Southampton where the ship's captain suggested that his cargo of bullion should be unloaded for its better protection.³⁶ It has been suggested that both Sir Anthony Champernowne, the Vice-Admiral of Devon and Sir Edward Horsey, the Captain of the Isle of Wight, were prepared to assist in the Huguenot seizure of bullion with a proportion of the prize going to the crown, rather than allow it to continue to the Netherlands.³⁷ While Horsey later denied helping the Huguenot privateers and the Sea Beggar fleet, he was to be employed in France and the Low Countries in support of the Protestant cause.³⁸ Besides Horsey and Champernowne there were other important supporters of the Huguenot cause in the area. Robert Horne, the Bishop of Winchester together with the Bishop of London petitioned the Queen in 1573 to help Orange and Montgomery and raised money for their cause. In fact the Queen 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.³⁹

At the more local level, Southampton merchants such as Peter Stoner, Michael Knight and Arthur Pitt were involved in the purchase of prize goods at Meadhole.⁴⁰ Pitt was the owner and captain of the *Ash of Southampton*, a ship licensed by the Huguenots, which with another ship took wines from the *Bien Allant* in 1569 subsequently landed in Southampton.⁴¹ The 'inhabitants of Newporte greatly favor, receyve, maynetayne, and succour the sea Rovers, whiche then laye in Mede Hole' and the captains daily came to the town. Some of the Sea Beggars also went to Southampton. In fact a certain Sneek, one of de Lumbres' captains, stayed in the town when he was sick and there are other instances of privateers coming to the town.⁴²

³⁶ C. Read, 'Queen Elizabeth's seizure of the Duke of Alva's Pay-Ships', *Journal of Modern History*, 5 (1933), p. 445; Ramsay, *The Queen's Merchants and the Revolt of the Netherlands*, p. 93; *Book of Examinations and Depositions 1570-1594*, pp. 7-8.

³⁷ Ramsay, *The Queen's Merchants*, p. 94.

³⁸ M.J. French, 'Privateering and the Revolt of the Netherlands', p. 177; P.W. Hasler (ed.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1558-1603*, 3 vols. (London, 1981) II, p. 339.

³⁹ *Letters and State Papers ... in the Archives of Simancas*, pp. 446, 468.

⁴⁰ PRO HCA 13/18, f. 281v-285.

⁴¹ PRO HCA 13/17 f. 1-2; Dietz, 'Privateering in North-West European Waters', pp. 402, 438.

⁴² PRO HCA 13/18, f. 269, 378. Also see below p. 244. It is possible that Sneek may have been one Claes Snick of Amsterdam. J.C.A. de Meij, *De Watergeuzen en de Nederlanden 1568-1572*, (Amsterdam, 1972), p. 326.

Several prominent Huguenots such as the Comte de Montgomery passed through Southampton. Montgomery, a leading Huguenot noble, had fled to the Channel Islands after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day. Although Montgomery failed to obtain support from the Queen, in April 1573 he organised a fleet for the relief of La Rochelle and in March 1574 used Jersey as a base for his attack upon Normandy. During this campaign, Montgomery was captured by the royalist forces after the fall of Domfront and he was executed in Paris on 26 June, 1574.⁴³ In December 1573 Montgomery had been in London and he seems to have travelled there via the Isle of Wight.⁴⁴ He may have passed through Southampton because there is a reference in the Mayor's Account Book about the provision of wine for the 'Counte Montagomerie'.⁴⁵ Montgomery's widow and her entourage were admitted to the Lord's Supper with her entourage in 1575.⁴⁶

In October 1570 Odet de Coligny, the Cardinal de Châtillon and the brother of Gaspard de Coligny, stayed briefly in Southampton, intending to sail from there to La Rochelle. He was one of the leading Huguenots and actively lobbied on their behalf at the English court. He was also responsible for the operations of the Huguenot privateers in the Channel as well as equipping ships and collecting the prize dues from the captains.⁴⁷ There is no evidence in the *Registre* of any direct contact between the Cardinal and the French church in the town but then his stay did not coincide with a celebration of the Lord's Supper.⁴⁸ The town authorities did however take the opportunity of granting him the freedom of the town.⁴⁹ In a letter written from the town the Cardinal expressed his gratitude for the assistance of the Marian exile, Henry Kingsmill who had served him in the

⁴³ E. Haag & E. Haag, (ed.), *La France Protestante*, 10 vols. (First edition, Paris, 1846-56), VII, pp. 471-80; A. Landurant, *Montgomery le régicide*, (Paris, 1988), pp. 200-27; de Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge*, II pp. 386-88; W.T. MacCaffrey, *Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy, 1572-1588*, (Princeton, 1981), pp. 177, 180, 188; M. Cauvin, 'Dernière Expédition de Montgomery dans le Cotentin (1574)', *BSHPF*, 104 (1958), pp. 201-207.

⁴⁴ Landurant, *Montgomery le régicide*, p. 215.

⁴⁵ Item the iiijth daye of Aprill to the Counte Montagomerie
j pottell of secke and j pottell of Claret wine ----- ij s.

SRO SC5/3/1, f. 144.

⁴⁶ *Registre*, p. 11.

⁴⁷ Dietz, 'Privateering in North-West European waters, 1568 to 1572', pp. 57-58.

⁴⁸ Châtillon seems to have arrived in Southampton about 9 October, 1570 and the Lord's Supper had been celebrated by the church on 1 October. E.G. Atkinson, 'The Cardinal de Châtillon in England, 1568-1571', *HS*, 3 (1889-91), pp. 244-45; *Registre*, p. 6.

⁴⁹ SRO SC3/1/1, f. 85.

form of a diplomatic attaché.⁵⁰ Châtillon retained contact with the privateers through English and French agents, one of these was Jean Ferey. A merchant from Le Havre who was commissioned by Châtillon to collect prize revenues, Jean Ferey can be tentatively identified with the 'Jean Feré' admitted to the Lord's Supper in July 1570.⁵¹

The leading Huguenot privateer Jacques de Sores was also admitted to the Lord's Supper in Southampton in October 1573. Jacques de Sores had fled with his family and servants to England in October 1568, arriving at Rye. Châtillon requested that de Sores be provided with ships and this resulted in de Sores being backed by the Champernowne-Hawkins interest. He was appointed by the Prince of Navarre as the *Lieutenant-général en mer*, heading the *armée marine* operating from La Rochelle in July 1569. He was active in the Channel and in the Atlantic during the third of the French Wars of Religion. He fled to England after the St. Bartholomew's day Massacre and on his return to La Rochelle was appointed the commander of Montgomery's fleet. At the end of September 1572 with another privateer he 'brought into the Isle of Wight four prizes, two hulks, one loaded with salt, and the other with tar, one Portuguese ship with fish ... and another little French boat with Brazil-wood'.⁵² His connections with the Southampton church have previously been overlooked. De Sores' wife was admitted to the Lord's Supper in January 1573, but she died in the same month. The privateer does not appear to have been in Southampton at that time, because although he was the *parein* of Jacqueline de Coumont, he provided a testimony. When he was admitted in October 1573 he was accompanied by his daughter and his servant.⁵³

It is difficult to discover the attitude of the French church in Southampton towards the Huguenot privateers. As a rule the changeable attitude of the Queen towards the Huguenot

⁵⁰ Henry Kingsmill was a member of the family favoured by Bishop Horne as he developed a Protestant faction in Hampshire. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*, p. 208; R.H. Fritze, 'The role of Family and religion in the local politics of Early Elizabethan England: The case of Hampshire in the 1560s', *The Historical Journal*, 25 (1982), pp. 267-87.

⁵¹ Dietz, 'Privateering in North Western Europe', pp. 58-9; Atkinson, 'Cardinal de Châtillon in England', p. 288; *Registre*, p. 6.
A Jan Feré was admitted with his wife Marguerite Renoart were admitted to the Lord's Supper on 5 April 1573. Their children were baptised in September 1573 and February 1576. Margerite Renoart died in March 1576. *Registre*, pp. 8, 11, 41, 42, 101.

⁵² Hardy, 'Foreign Refugees at Rye', p. 414; Dietz, 'Privateering in North-West European Waters', pp. 432-33; B. Dietz, 'The Huguenot and English Corsairs during the Third Civil War in France 1568 to 1570', *HS*, 19 (1952-58), pp. 283, 289-93; *Letters and State Papers ... in the Archives of Simancas*, p. 422.

⁵³ *Registre*, pp. 7, 9, 41, 101. Another possible privateer was Capitaine Jacques Maillart who fled to Southampton after the Massacres of 1572 with his fiancé Anne Berot. They were married in March 1573. He could be tentatively identified with the Captain Maillard who had been detained in the Channel in 1570. A 'Monsr. le Cap. de Caré' who was admitted at the same time as de Sores may also have been another Huguenot privateer. *Registre*, pp. 8, 9, 85; Dietz, 'Privateering in North-West European Waters', p. 400.

privateers and the Sea Beggars meant that the exile churches had to tread carefully. The lack of consistory records for Southampton makes it difficult to assess how the church viewed the privateers. It may however be significant that Jacques de Sores was admitted to Communion in Southampton whereas at Canterbury a certain Pierre du Brusle was suspended from the Lord's Supper for an action in the Netherlands 'akin to brigandage'. Certainly the church at Emden excluded from communion members of the congregation who were associated with the lawless Sea Beggars operating from bases in East Friesland.⁵⁴

By its very nature, information concerning privateering is scarce but the protracted dispute involving Jean de Beaulieu, which began before the High Court of Admiralty in 1571 sheds some light on the links between the Sea Beggars and the refugee community in Southampton. De Beaulieu originated from Valenciennes but had been identified as a suspected Calvinist by government spies in Antwerp before 1566. He was probably the wealthiest of the refugees who settled in Southampton.⁵⁵ The dispute before the High Court concerned four barrels of cochineal, belonging to the Spinolas, which had been loaded in Cadiz on a ship bound for Antwerp. The *Flying Dragon* was, however, intercepted by the Sea Beggars and taken by de Lumbres to Meadhole for the sale of its cargo. The Privy Council granted a commission to Philip van Asselier to purchase the goods from the *Flying Dragon*. Asselier had 'full power and auctoritie from the owners of certain spices and merchaundizes that of late was taken in a Flemishe shippe by one Lumbrey'.⁵⁶ The goods from this ship were to remain at Meadhole until Asselier arrived. De Beaulieu claimed to have been acting as an agent for Asselier and had bought 730 bags of 'smake'[match?] which bore a friend's mark. It was alleged that the missing four barrels of cochineal later valued at £360, were taken from the *Flying Dragon* by Jean de Beaulieu in a boat during the night and were sold in Southampton.⁵⁷

The depositions in the case throw light on de Beaulieu's links with the privateers. De Beaulieu had become acquainted with several of the captains both at Meadhole and in Southampton. This had included contacts with a Captain Jolye (possibly Clément Jolly), Jacques Hennebert and

⁵⁴ Cross, *A History of the Walloon & Huguenot Church at Canterbury*, p. 67; A. Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt. Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism*, (Oxford, 1992), pp. 163-64.

⁵⁵ See above pp. 31, 82, 83.

⁵⁶ *Acts of the Privy Council, 1571-75*, pp. 17-18. In 1574, a Philippe d'Asselier was in charge of the Dutch ordnance on behalf of the States General at the siege of Leiden. This may be the same person. *The Works of Sir Roger Williams*, ed. J.X. Evans, (Oxford, 1972), p. 231.

⁵⁷ PRO HCA 13/18, f. 265v, 266v; 13/19, f. 32v-34, 58-74v; *Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty, II (A.D. 1547-1602)*, ed. R.G. Marsden, (London, 1897), p. 148.

Captain Landay.⁵⁸ De Beaulieu seems to have had particularly close links with the commander of the Sea Beggars, Admiral de Lumbres. De Beaulieu and de Lumbres appear to have met frequently on board ship, off the Isle of Wight, and de Lumbres visited de Beaulieu's lodgings in Southampton. The two of them 'both made merry' on several occasions.⁵⁹

De Beaulieu was reputed to have supplied the Sea Beggar ships. According to one testimony, which was however disputed, de Beaulieu had provided de Lumbres with '12 tonnes of beer, 2 tonnes of flesh and certen bread' which was distributed between the *Flying Dragon* and de Lumbres' ship *The Raven*. Another witness whose testimony was also challenged, claimed that de Beaulieu had provided money for members of de Lumbres' company in Southampton on several occasions. Nor was de Beaulieu the only member of the French congregation to assist the Sea Beggars, for de Lumbres employed Roland Petit from Tournai to purchase clothing and necessities for members of the company.⁶⁰

The good relations enjoyed between de Beaulieu and the Sea Beggar captains probably enabled him to act as an intermediary between the privateers and the owners of the seized cargoes. It was a profitable enterprise. On one occasion de Beaulieu and another man advanced the 1700 thalers required by three shipowners to redeem their vessels from Jacques Hennebert. He then held the ships as security until the capital sum was repaid over a two month period, the interest in the first month being charged at 20% and 10% in the second month.⁶¹

Contacts between the Sea Beggars and de Beaulieu continued after the autumn of 1571 when Lumey van der Marck replaced de Lumbres as Admiral. De Beaulieu appears to have provided substantial financial support to the Sea Beggars. In 24 October 1571 de Beaulieu received a promissory note for £100 which was signed by Lumey and eleven other leading Sea Beggar captains.⁶² Since £150 to £300 was sufficient to keep a ship of between 100 and 300 tons at sea for

⁵⁸ PRO HCA 13/18, f. 265; 13/19, f. 62. Clément Jolly was a prominent member of the Huguenot fleet at the Isle of Wight. Jacques Hennebert of Tournai, and Arnaud de Landres jhr., sieur de Fiennes, of Hainault were both recorded as Sea Beggar captains between 1571 & April 1572, Dietz, 'Privateering in North-West European Waters', pp. 399, 418, 419, 428; J.C.A. de Meij, *De Watergeuzen en de Nederlanden 1568-1572*, (Amsterdam-London, 1972), p. 315.

⁵⁹ PRO HCA 13/18, f. 265.

⁶⁰ PRO HCA 13/18, f. 265v, 266v; 13/19, f. 68-68v, 73.

⁶¹ Dietz, 'Privateering in North-West European Waters', p. 331.

⁶² The promissory note was signed by Willem van der Marck (Lumey), Bartholt Enkens van Mentheda, Joriaen Wybrantss., Egbert Wybrantss., Hans Lodewycx, Jan Claess. Spiegel, Willem van Treslong Bloys, Gorddert van Wilts, Peter van Greycken, Scholt van Sparendam, kapitein Meynert Friess., Adries van Nieukercken. Stadsarchief Antwerpen, Verzameling 'Autographes', nr. 18 fo. 67. I am grateful to Dr. G. Marnef of Antwerp University for supplying me with a photocopy of the original document.

three months with a crew of fifty to ninety men, the amount lent by de Beaulieu was significant.⁶³

Furthermore when Charles de Beaulieu, the brother of Jean and himself an active supporter and agent of Orange in the Netherlands, attempted to recover the money which his brother had lent, from the States of Zeeland, he claimed that it was the money loaned by Jean de Beaulieu which had made possible the seizure of Den Briel.⁶⁴ There may have been some truth in this. In the autumn of 1571 Lumey was apparently preparing a descent on Den Briel and was at that time absent from the Sea Beggar fleet possibly in London and later on the continent, where he apparently began recruiting soldiers. The bill of October 1571 could have been drawn up in London, where de Beaulieu had lodgings and six of the signatories were known to have been just off the English coast at that time.⁶⁵ The pillaging of coastal ships greatly annoyed the Queen and in March 1572 she expelled the privateers from the realm. Lumey and sixteen ships sold prizes and obtained supplies from the Isle of Wight.⁶⁶ Then on 1 April 1572 the Sea Beggars raided Den Briel and seized the town.

The dispute between Benedict Spinola and de Beaulieu over the disappearance of the cochineal from the *Flying Dragon* resulted in a judgment being made against de Beaulieu in the High Court of Admiralty in 1572. He was ordered to return the four barrels if they still existed, if not to pay £360.⁶⁷ However the dispute between them continued in the Court of Star Chamber. De Beaulieu alleged that the witnesses that had been paid by Spinola's agents to swear in the Admiralty Court that de Beaulieu removed the cochineal from the *Flying Dragon* while it was off the Isle of Wight at St. Helen's Point. Some of the witnesses had not even been on board the ship at the time of the taking of the *Flying Dragon*. These agents even persuaded Anthony Agache, de Lumbres' secretary to testify against de Beaulieu, and he in his turn seems to have suborned some witnesses.⁶⁸ In April 1572, two witnesses declared that they feared for their lives if they should return to the Low Countries though they had been offered letters of safe-conduct which could be procured by 'the Italians' - presumably Benedict Spinola and his associates - from François de

⁶³ K.R. Andrews, 'The Economic Aspects of Elizabethan Privateering', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1951, p. 16.

⁶⁴ F. Prims, *Beelden uit den cultuurstrijd der jaren 1577-1585 (Antwerpensia, 15e reeks)*, (Antwerp, 1942), p. 202.

⁶⁵ PRO HCA 13/18 f. 317v; J.C.A. Meij, *De Watergeuzen en de Nederlanden 1568-1572*, (Amsterdam-London, 1972), pp. 83-84.

⁶⁶ J.B. Black, 'Queen Elizabeth, the Sea Beggars, and the Capture of Brille, 1572', *English Historical Review*, 46 (1931), p. 42.

⁶⁷ *Select pleas in the Court of Admiralty, II (A.D. 1547-1602)*, ed. R.G. Marsden, (London, 1897), pp. 147-48.

⁶⁸ PRO HCA 13/19, f.162v-163, 171-171v, 178v, 226v; STAC 5/B102/18.

Halewyn, Seigneur de Sweveghem.⁶⁹ This Flemish noble performed a number of services for the Brussels government and was at that time in London acting as Alva's envoy to England in the negotiations with Elizabeth concerning the seizure of the Spanish treasure ships in 1568.⁷⁰

After four years in the Admiralty Court the dispute remained unresolved. Jean de Beaulieu appealed against the sentence of the High Court of Admiralty, having proved the false testimonies of the witnesses in the Admiralty Court and also before the Court of Star Chamber.⁷¹ The Privy Council decided on the 11 March 1574 to submit the dispute between de Beaulieu and Spinola to arbitration under the Earl of Bedford, Francis Walsingham and Sir Walter Mildmay.⁷² On 31 March William of Orange wrote to the Queen about the dispute between Spinola and de Beaulieu and requested that the judgment concerning the cochineal be reversed. Spinola evidently refused to submit to arbitration in the dispute and so de Beaulieu appealed directly to the Queen.⁷³ The matter had still not been resolved by July 1576 when an appeal for justice to be done in this dispute was included in a list of four requests submitted to Elizabeth by Orange and the Estates of the Low Countries.⁷⁴ It seems that eventually de Beaulieu was forced to reach a settlement in which he paid 200 crowns but the dispute had caused 'great loss of poverty and time'. De Beaulieu's brother Charles requested that Jean be recompensed when he agreed to serve the Queen in deciphering Spanish correspondence.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ PRO STAC 5/B102/18.

⁷⁰ Ramsay, *The Queen's Merchants*, pp. 158, 162.

⁷¹ PRO SP12/90/41.

⁷² *Acts of the Privy Council, 1574*, p. 353

⁷³ PRO SP12/90/41. The document is undated but in the Calendar of State Papers it is assigned to 1572. This would seem to be too early because the document refers to Bedford, Walsingham and Mildmay as arbitrators and they were appointed in March 1574.

⁷⁴ PRO SP70/130/828; SP70/139/740.

⁷⁵ In 1570 Orange asked Charles de Beaulieu for 60,000 crowns and although he could not meet this request he provided a number of other services for the Prince during the Troubles. He was involved in privateering and the disposal of prize goods taken by the men of Flushing. He carried letters for Orange to the towns which had rebelled in Holland and Zealand. He deciphered letters from Philip II for Orange and seems to have performed a similar service on occasion for Elizabeth having broken the complex cipher at the beginning of the Troubles. He was also employed by Orange in raising money through selling passes to shipping at Calais in 1575. In March 1577 he was sent to negotiate with Henry III of France, on the latter occasion to request that he withdraw letters of marque issued against the shipping of Holland and Zeeland. On 8 April 1578 de Beaulieu became the collector-general of tolls at Antwerp and in 1591 he was appointed *superintendant over de convoyen en licenten gevallen binnen Brabant*. PRO SP70/133/3, SP83/12/34-35; *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, ed. A.J. van der Aa, 12 vols. (Haarlem, 1852-78), II, p.214; J.H. Kernkamp, *De Handel op de vijand, 1572-1609*, 2 vols. (Utrecht, 1913, 1934), I, pp. 19, 29, 64, 90, 97, II, pp. 94, 96; J. Wagenaar, *Vaderlandsche Historie, vervattende*

While the dispute between de Beaulieu and Spinola was being resolved, de Beaulieu continued to be actively involved with the Sea Beggars. The seizure of Flushing and the island of Walcheren by the Beggars had given them control of the Scheldt and so access to Antwerp. English merchants who sent cargoes to Antwerp were obliged to stop at Flushing where they had to pay customs duties and other dues at a higher rate than elsewhere in Zeeland. Cargoes could be seriously delayed at Flushing or even impounded on occasions. Privateers operated from Zeeland and intercepted shipping.⁷⁶ Orange was prepared to sell licences granting safe passage to English merchants trading with the Netherlands. The proceeds from these licences were collected by a certain Robert Leeman and possibly by Jean de Beaulieu. De Beaulieu had been appointed 'Controleur' by Orange and the councillors and governors of Zeeland.⁷⁷ It is unclear whether or not de Beaulieu was resident in London or Zeeland at this time. His brother, Charles de Beaulieu, seems to have been based at Calais where he also sold licenses. In September 1575 he was appointed by Orange and the Governors of Zeeland to provide passports for goods imported or exported to Flanders from Calais and other French ports.⁷⁸

Privateering persisted in the Southampton area into the 1590s, attracting on occasion merchants or members of the local gentry, such as Sir Henry Ughtred, and became an important element of the town's commercial life.⁷⁹ There are however few references to the continuing links between the refugee community and privateering. A certain Sohier of Rye, perhaps the brother of Mathieu Sohier, combined trading with La Rochelle and the Spanish peninsula with spying and privateering. He was given letters permitting him 'to goe to the coast of Spaine to discover there the preparacon by sea which we thought a thinge verie necessarie for manie respects'. Sohier had however abused his letters of safe-passage by attacking several French ships and to have used the letters to avoid arrest.⁸⁰ In 1577 a dispute arose concerning Machhuel Massicot who was described as being a Southampton merchant stranger, who had redeemed a ship together with its cargo which

de geschiedenissen der nu Vereenigde Nederlanden, inzonderheid die van Holland, van de vroegste tyden af ..., 21 vols., (Amsterdam, 1749-59), VI, pp. 384, 400.

⁷⁶ Ramsay, *The Queen's merchants and the revolt of the Netherlands*, pp. 174-76, 180-81.

⁷⁷ H.J. Smit, *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Handel met Engeland, Schotland en Ierland*, 2 vols, (The Hague, 1928-1950), II pp. 1134-38.

⁷⁸ J.H. Kernkamp, *De handel op de vijand 1572-1609*, 2 vols. (Utrecht, 1931, 1934), I, p. 64.

⁷⁹ On privateering in the Southampton area and the related dispute over Southampton's Admiralty jurisdiction, see Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 143-65, 189-93; *The Third Book of Remembrance*, III pp. 89-102 and above pp. 115-17.

⁸⁰ PRO SP12/45/33.

had been taken by privateers to St. Helen's Point off the Isle of Wight.⁸¹ Generally the refugee merchants, in particular Jean le Mercier, were more actively involved in the purchase of prize goods and also smuggling goods from Northern France.⁸²

The migration of some of the most substantial refugee merchants away from Southampton probably reduced the community's capacity to continue to be actively involved in overseas affairs. True the outbreak of hostilities between England and Spain and later English intervention in Northern France had a direct impact upon Southampton. The Mayor and Corporation of Southampton found themselves pressed by central government to contribute towards expeditions and the country's defence. These expeditions were however mounted by the English government unlike the clandestine operations of the Sea Beggars. Some expeditions even started from Southampton. In 1589 troops embarked from Southampton for the ill-fated Portuguese expedition and also Willoughby's expedition to Normandy.⁸³ The corporation were obliged to provide food and supplies for the troops before they sailed to Portugal and were eventually compensated from some of the prize ships which were taken.⁸⁴ The exile community was also involved in these expeditions, the merchant Esay Bernay being, for example, licensed to transport supplies to the expeditionary force at Dieppe in 1589.⁸⁵

In April 1588 the government requested that Southampton should contribute two ships and a pinnace in order to meet the threat of the Spanish Armada.⁸⁶ The Mayor and Corporation complained that they were unable to provide these ships due to the decayed state of Southampton and they alleged that 'some few strangers of foreign countries are come to inhabit here, and they (God knoweth) but very poor, living with the labour of their hands'.⁸⁷ This letter seems to have been part of an attempt by the Corporation to avoid the exactions of central government rather than

⁸¹ SRO SC2/6/5, f. 51. There is no reference to this man as a member of the French church but he was recorded as an alien living in the parish of All Saints Without in 1577 and made a stall & art payment of 18 *d.* in 1577: SRO SC6/1/3.

⁸² See above pp. 115-18.

⁸³ W.T. MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I. War and Politics, 1588-1603*, (Princeton, 1992), p. 39; R.B. Wernham (ed.), *The Expeditions of Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake to Spain and Portugal, 1589*, (Naval Records Society, 127, 1988), pp. 344-45.

⁸⁴ See above p. 116.

⁸⁵ *Acts of the Privy Council, 1589*, p. 172.

⁸⁶ *The Third Book of Remembrance*, III, p. 113.

⁸⁷ J.K. Laughton (ed.), *State papers relating to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada. Anno 1588*, (Navy Records Society, I&II 1894-95), I, pp. 155-59.

evidence of the decay of the town, as has been previously assumed.⁸⁸ In the event, the town provided and equipped a ship called the *Angel* to meet the threat of the Armada. The Corporation also supplied ten barrels of powder, twenty hundred weight of shot and one hundred weight of 'match' to the *Ark Royal* from the town's stores.⁸⁹ In spite of the claims made by the Corporation, the French community did assist in meeting the demands placed on the town by the Armada. According to a list drawn up in 1590, in an attempt to gain recompense for the munitions supplied by the town, the French church supplied four barrels of powder and four and a half barrels of 'match'.⁹⁰

The French community also contributed to a request made of the town by the Privy Council in 1595-96. Initially the town was to provide two ships but they again pleaded their poverty and it was agreed that the merchants of the Isle of Wight should also contribute to the costs of these ships.⁹¹ The town seems to have supplied just one ship, the *Elizabeth of Hampton* which was financed by voluntary contributions. Eleven members of the French community were recorded as making donations, ranging from £6 given by Jean le Mercier to a mere 5 s. provided by Widow Seulin.⁹² The *Elizabeth of Hampton* was one of the ships which sailed in the expedition to Cadiz in 1596.⁹³

The decline in the frequency of fasts and the contributions made to the town's obligations, reflects the growing integration and increasing poverty of the French-speaking community in Southampton. However this impression should not be allowed to overshadow the role that the community played in the early stages of the Dutch Revolt. The community as a whole contributed to the Reformed cause and to the appeals of William of Orange. However it was the contribution of Jean de Beaulieu which is particularly striking. His involvement with the Sea Beggars and financial support may have contributed to the seizure of Den Briel in 1572, an event which proved to be a turning point in the Dutch Revolt.

⁸⁸ Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', pp. 12-13; *The Third Book of Remembrance*, III, p. 113.

⁸⁹ *The Third Book of Remembrance*, III, pp. 54, 113-14.

⁹⁰ SRO SC5/2/1, p. 129 B; *The Third Book of Remembrance*, III, p. 113, fn. 3.

⁹¹ *Acts of the Privy Council, 1595-96*, p. 162.

⁹² SRO SC5/2/2, pp. 19-21.

⁹³ W. Slyngisbie, *Relation of the Voyage to Cadiz, 1596*, ed. J.S. Corbett, in *The Naval Miscellany, Volume I*, (Naval Records Society, 20, 1902), p. 46.

The Exile community and their Hosts.

Legally the refugees who settled in Southampton were aliens because they had been born overseas and owed allegiance to a foreign prince. As aliens they were subject to a wide range of restrictions under Statute Law, Common Law as well as other local regulations. As such the Southampton refugees were strictly speaking subject to the same restrictions as were imposed upon other aliens who had come to England for whatever reason. During the sixteenth century the position of the alien who had been recognised, in the interests of trade, as being a 'friend' was gradually clarified so that by the end of the century strangers were permitted to bring personal actions in the courts, take leases and in some cases purchase property. They were however obliged to pay higher taxes and dues than their English counterparts. There were also restrictions on the activities of merchant strangers and on the ability of aliens to pursue certain law suits and to bequeath real property. The children of strangers were also subject to restrictions; even though those born in England, were still considered to be foreign and therefore liable to the higher rates of taxation. Attempts in 1580/81 and 1594 respectively, attempts to define the children of strangers born in England as English or as 'denizens' failed to be enacted.¹

The restrictions upon aliens could be diminished, though not eliminated, through obtaining either patents of denization or more rarely through Acts of Naturalisation. 1,962 patents were issued during Elizabeth's reign, of which 1,669 were granted during the first twenty years of her reign. Letters of denization gave aliens a degree of economic protection from restrictive pieces of legislation affecting alien craftsmen, in particular those limiting their right to take leases and the number of aliens in their employ, although it is unclear how many of the Henrician statutes were still operative in Elizabeth's reign. After denization, denizens were also able to bequeath real property to children born in England. Patents of denization often took several months to be granted and could be expensive. Although the cost of a patent varied, the price of one issued in 1582 amounted to £2 12 s. 4 d.²

Only a few members of the Southampton community bought letters of denization. Adrian de Saravia received his letters in 1568 before he came to Southampton.³ Henry le Sure (1573) and Bonus Raparlye (1576) both spent a short time in Southampton and later became denizens.⁴ Three

¹ Based on: *Returns of Strangers in the Metropolis 1593, 1627, 1635, 1639. A Study of an Active Minority*, ed. I. Scouloudi, (HSP, 57, 1985), pp. 1-3.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 3-8.

³ Saravia in 1568 was on Guernsey but he returned to the Netherlands later that year. *Letters of Denization & Acts of Naturalisation for Aliens in England, 1509-1603*, ed. W. Page, (HSP, 8, 1893) p. 77; Nijenhuis, *Adrianus Saravia*, p. 26.

⁴ Bon Rapareille was banished from Valenciennes and was admitted with his wife to the first celebration of the Lord's Supper in Southampton. One son, Jeude, died in October 1567

men who received letters of denization remained in Southampton - Pierre Thieudet (1572), Guillaume Hersent (1572) and Gaspard Desert (1576).⁵

It is however difficult to understand why these individuals went to the trouble of obtaining letters of denization. During the negotiations for the establishment of the Southampton community, the refugees had been able to obtain privileges which had exempted them from some of the restrictions on aliens. In particular it was agreed that the Southampton community should enjoy the same privileges as those which had been granted by letters patent to the Sandwich community in 1561.⁶ The Sandwich community was established by letters patent for 'the exercising only of trades of making says, bays and such other cloth or tapestry as has not been accustomed to be made in England ... notwithstanding stat. I Rich. III or stat. 32 Hen. VIII'.⁷ The 1483 Act forbade alien artisans from taking strangers as apprentices and from the retail sale of goods; according to the act only permitted denizens might establish themselves as craftsmen. The 1540 statute allowed artisan denizens to lease property but aliens were not permitted to employ more than four alien servants.⁸ The Southampton community was therefore, like the Sandwich community, not bound by this legislation although of course other less limiting restrictions were accepted by the refugees during the negotiations. Furthermore the Southampton refugees had been able to negotiate a lower rate of customs duties, so that they did not pay the usual strangers double rate, for a seven year period on

and another, David was baptised in 1568. He seems to have migrated to London shortly afterwards because he was recorded as living in the parish of St. Botolph without Bishopsgate in 1568 with his wife Jane and children Anne and David. He was a silkweaver and by 1583 he was living in the Halliwell district of London. He received his patent of denization on 11 February, 1576. *Registre*, pp. 3, 39, 100; *Returns of Aliens dwelling in London*, II, p. 365, III, pp. 17, 41, 100, 416; *Letters of Denization & Acts of Naturalisation*, p. 202.

A Frenchman, Henry le Sueur was admitted with his wife Janne Coppeau to the Lord's Supper in Southampton in January 1569. He was probably the father of Rachel le Sueur who was admitted in July 1570. He seems to have been excommunicated from the Southampton church and appears to have migrated to London by 1571. He was involved in a dispute which came before the consistory of the Threadneedle Street Church over the marriage of his daughter to Nicholas du Chemin. He received his letter of denization on 4 November, 1573. *Registre*, pp. 4, 6; *Actes du Consistoire*, pp. 11-12, 31-32, 38, 40-41, 49, 127; *Letters of Denization & Acts of Naturalisations*, p. 153.

⁵ *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalisation*, pp. 80, 123, 231. On Thieudet, Hersent and Desert, see above pp. 84, 93.

⁶ PRO SP15/13/82

⁷ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Elizabeth*, II, p. 336.

⁸ Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 14-15. Dr. Pettegree also considers here how the patents of denization were used by the government as a means of controlling aliens.

goods which were produced by the new techniques.⁹ As a result of this negotiated settlement, the community as a whole enjoyed a number of the benefits of being a denizen. The denizens and non-denizens were still liable to pay and did pay double the lay subsidy payment of the native inhabitants as well as a higher rate of local dues. Furthermore Pierre Thieudet does not appear to have benefited from the denizen's right to bequeath real property, as neither his will nor the inventory of his goods makes any reference to bequests of land or real property.¹⁰ The only noticeable consequence was that Thieudet together with the two other denizens, Gaspard Desert and Guillaume Hersent, were included in the town's muster list in 1583, unlike other members of the French community. The servants of Peter Poché who was described as being an alien and was a member of the French church were included, but not Poché himself.¹¹

While the Southampton community clearly enjoyed a privileged status, they were restricted at a more local level by the town ordinances. Southampton society was divided into three main groups. The burgesses constituted a small élite - there were only an estimated fifty resident burgesses in 1596. The burgesses' political and commercial privileges were outlined in the town's ordinances. The largest group in the town were the freemen and commoners who were allowed to follow their trades within the town, subject to the annual payment of 'stall & art' dues, and had various civic responsibilities but they were not involved in town government. In 1596, 413 people paid their annual 'stall & art' dues for licence to pursue their trade in the town. The strangers constituted the third community in the town: they were excluded from town politics and were commercially restricted.¹² The term 'stranger' was employed to describe anyone who did not come from the liberties of Southampton, regardless of whether they were English or foreign.

Non-burgesses were liable to a number of local dues. They were obliged to pay petty customs and ships which did not come from Southampton or any of the 'free' towns, paid anchorage and keelage dues when they entered Southampton's waters and wharfage and crantage when they unloaded goods at the town quay. Brokage also had to be paid on goods which entered the town or left it through the Bargate. 'Strangers' were also required to pay 'hallage' for the use of either the Cloth Hall or the Linen Hall.¹³ Certain groups were however granted concessions

⁹ See above pp. 75-76.

¹⁰ HRO Wills 1611/B/65.

¹¹ SRO SC13/2/7.

¹² *The Oak Book of Southampton*, ed. P. Studer, (PSRS, 10-11, 1910-11), I pp. 116-50 *passim*.; *Assembly Book*, I pp. vii-xii; A.L. Merson, 'The History of Southampton: Southampton in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *A Survey of Southampton and Its Region*, ed. F.J. Monkhouse, (Southampton, 1964), p. 224; Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, pp. 17-20.

¹³ Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton', p. 28.

which reduced the level of petty customs that they paid, for example the merchants of Salisbury were liable to a lower rate under an ancient agreement whereas a concession was made to the 'Northern men' as recently as 1554.¹⁴ The burgesses' privileges, of which these are only an example, therefore clearly placed all non-burgesses as well as the refugees at a disadvantage in relation to trade in Southampton. There were also a number of restrictions imposed upon 'strangers' in the town. For example, only burgesses were allowed to buy from and sell goods to 'strangers'.¹⁵ This was usually referred to as the 'foreign bought and sold'. Brokers acted as intermediaries between the burgesses and merchants, to ensure that burgesses had the right of first refusal on goods.¹⁶ On one occasion the Mayor confiscated a pipe of wine from a French merchant, Estienne Michellet, under the 'foreign bought and foreign sold' rule.¹⁷

However one section of the French-speaking community was more fortunate, the Channel Islanders. They enjoyed certain commercial privileges in Southampton: in particular they had been granted in 1515 permission to pay a lower rate of petty customs duties. The privilege was temporarily revoked in 1553. Furthermore the Channel Islanders had the right to sell linen cloth to non-burgesses on two weekly market days although this concession was withdrawn in 1572. There had been protests in the Court Leet that the Channel Islanders only sold their cloth on these days, 'so that the Inhabytants of the towne cane not sell in manner any thing at all to ther great hinderance'. Both of these privileges, however, were restored in 1574 after arbitration by Lord Burghley and Sir Walter Mildmay.¹⁸

The refugee community did attempt to circumvent or evade the local dues which they were liable to pay. One subterfuge was the 'colouring' of goods, whereby a non-burgess avoided the extra dues which he was obliged to pay, by passing these off as goods belonging to a burgess. This practice was however prohibited by the town's ordinances. Peter Janverain, who later came to attend the French church, was stripped of his privilege of being a burgess for 'colouring' the goods of a non-burgess in 1565.¹⁹ Henry Giles was ceremonially disenfranchised and then restored to

¹⁴ *The Third Book of Remembrance*, II, pp. 51, 102n.

¹⁵ *The Oak Book*, I, pp. 123-24; *The Third Book of Remembrance*, II, p. 90.

¹⁶ *The Oak Book*, I p. 135-36, 139-40.

¹⁷ Michellet attempted to outwit the Corporation by tampering with the confiscated cask. *The Third Book of Remembrance*, IV, pp. 18-19.

¹⁸ *The Third Book of Remembrance*, I, pp. 27-28; II, pp. 39, 138-39; *Court Leet Records*, pp. 59, 69.

¹⁹ Janverain was later summoned to appear before the Privy Council, with one Thomas Berrye, to answer charges of being 'comon collorers of strangers goods'. The case concerning goods belonging to inhabitants of St. Malo came to be heard before the High Court of Admiralty. *The Oak Book*, I, p. 122; *The Third Book of Remembrance*, II, pp. 96-97; *Acts of the Privy Council, 1577-78*, pp. 249, 273, 278; see below p. 259.

being a burgesse as well as being fined 10 s, for 'colouring' half a tun of Gascon wine belonging to Guillaume Hersent in 1589. Hersent was also obliged to pay a fine of 10 s.²⁰ By the early seventeenth century the evasion appears to have become more blatant. There were complaints between 1612 and 1614 that Jean Hersent and other Frenchmen failed to pay the necessary petty customs on wool which was brought into the town through the Bargate.²¹

It is unclear whether the sale of the 'new draperies' was regulated by the Corporation as it was in Sandwich and Norwich. The refugees at Sandwich were permitted by the mayor and corporation to sell their products at a market hall on Wednesdays to freemen of the town and on Saturdays to freemen and strangers. Cloths which had not been sold on market days could be sent to another market provided that they were not sent to London either by the maker or buyer.²² The Book of Orders for the strangers at Norwich included specific orders to regulate the quality of the cloth produced and its sale. The strangers were permitted to 'sell the commodities of ther owne makynge (in the citie of Norwiche) to enie parson or parsons, Englyshe or straunger, withowte lett or interruption, so that they do it in the salehawle onelye: and that everi daie in the weke, at the after none, from one of the clocke tyll fyve savinge the sonddies and holie daies, which be kepte in the churche of Englande'.²³

The arrangements for the sale of the cloth made by the refugees in Southampton are unclear, though they seem to have used neither the Cloth Hall nor the Linen Hall. From the partial records of the Linen Hall it is clear that this was not the market hall for the sale of the 'new draperies'. The payments for hallage made by the refugees are limited and were only made for small quantities of cloth. This was probably canvas which they had imported: according to an ordinance from the Corporation in 1553 strangers were obliged to sell canvas in that hall.²⁴ The refugees may have been required to sell their cloth in some other hall for in 1574 the Court Leet complained that Mathieu Sohier, Arnoul le Clercq and 'others that make serge and estamell not to

²⁰ *The Third Book of Remembrance*, III, pp. 60-61.

²¹ *Assembly Books*, III pp. 40-41, 43, 81; see above pp. 144-45.

²² M.F. Backhouse, 'The Strangers at Work in Sandwich: Native Envy of an Industrious Minority', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 10 (1991) p. 76.

²³ It was however recognised that the refugees might require fewer sale days and, if necessary, that the laws could be modified. Moens, *The Walloons and their Church at Norwich*, p. 257.

²⁴ After 1553 strangers in the town were obliged to use the Linen Hall for the sale of canvas and non-burgesses were forbidden to 'recyve into there howsses eny maner of canvas nor of merchandyse, or suffer anye to be solde or retayled within their sayde howsses, but to be brought to the towne halle and ther to be solde'. *The Third Book of Remembrance*, II, pp. 41-42.

sell the same by Retaile for we are informed that they doo sell many & dyvers tymes by retaile.²⁵ The allegation was repeated in 1575. The complaints may relate to some unidentified regulations concerning the sale of the 'new draperies' or may simply reflect the more general hostility about the retail sale of goods by 'strangers'.

There were frequent presentments made to the Court Leet about 'strangers' who breached the town ordinances through the retail sale of their goods and merchandise. It is interesting to note that the retail sale of goods was specifically prohibited in the letters patent which were granted to the Maidstone community in 1567. These stated that 'they may sell the wares made by them in gross only and not by retail'.²⁶ The following presentment made at Southampton in 1569 seems to have been generally directed against the French-speaking community:

Item we present that ye Straungers Inhabittinge in this towne are more freer within this towne then any other englishemen, for they doo retayle all things in theare housses which no other englishe men may doo onles they doo agree with ye towne and also with them of ye Corporation, also they have set vp in ye towne a dyenge house, wevinge & fullinge which is a discomodytye & hinderaunce to ye welthe of ye same towne whearfor we desseyer your worships to see yt redressid'.²⁷

Besides such general complaints being made about trading by non-burgesses, specific accusations were made against members of the French community, concerning the retail sale of goods. In 1574 the Court Leet protested about the 'hinderance & domadge of such as kepe Retaylinge shoppes within this towne'. Anthoine Jurion was engaged in the retail selling of silk and ribbon lace and Robert Cousin 'hathe lately solde canvas & hollands to forreners that come out of the contery'. The presentment was repeated in 1575 but in spite of this there was a further complaint in 1579 that 'the frentche men sells silke lace by retayle'.²⁸ Fines were imposed for breaches of the town ordinances by the refugees. Jean le Mercier was fined 40 s. in 1587 because he 'vsually cary his wares & merchandyse home to his howsse, warehowses & sellers & doth sell the same ffreely as a ffree burges of the towne, who being of him selfe a very great dealer ys besids supposid to have the dealyng of many other straungers which is a great hinderance to the burgesses ...' Fines were levied for similar offences in 1589 on Esay Bernay and Guillaume Hersent but these appear to have had no effect because the presentments were repeated the

²⁵ *Court Leet Records*, pp. 106, 114.

²⁶ *Calendar of Letters Patent, Elizabeth, IV*, p. 40.

²⁷ *Court Leet Records*, p. 60.

²⁸ *Court Leet Records*, pp. 106, 114, 180.

following year, with a heavier fine being imposed upon Hersent.²⁹ Such complaints continued to be made even into the seventeenth century. The Court Leet's proposal in 1594 that a storehouse be set up for strangers in the town, was presumably an attempt to curb the retail selling of goods.³⁰

In 1604 the minister Philippe de la Motte was accused with several leading members of the French community (Peter le Gay, Estienne Latelais, Jean Hersent, Balthasar des Maistres and Robert le Page) of the sale from their homes, both retail and wholesale, of linen, woollen cloth and groceries to burgesses and non-burgesses of Southampton. They acted 'as freelie as anie free Burgesse amongst us tendinge to the great damage and hindraunce of the Burgesses and Comoners free of those trades, and expressly against the auntient ordinaunces privilegs and free customes of this Towne'. They were each to be fined 20 s. for every time that they failed to use the Linen Hall.³¹

However even when the refugees did use the Linen Hall problems still arose. A presentment made to the Court Leet in 1581, and repeated in 1582, complained about the operation of the Linen Hall, in particular that 'the inhabitants of Sarx & of the Islands often tymes have the Keys to shewe theire wares & sell the same as well unto fforenners as unto free burgesses'. The free use made of the Linen Hall by strangers was criticised in 1587.³² The apparent disorder in the Linen Hall may have been responsible for the theft of goods belonging to Esay Bernay and merchants for whom he was the factor in 1591. On that occasion Bernay was obliged to exonerate the Mayor and Corporation from any claim relating to these thefts.³³

The concern of the Court Leet about these breaches of the burgesses' privileges may have been the result of jealousy and a degree of officious legalism. In London, the authorities also heard cases concerning breaches of the city ordinances while seeking to exploit the skills of the newcomers. The Sandwich community was seriously harassed by the town council which enforced a series of measures which restricted and discriminated against the strangers.³⁴ However in Southampton, presentments about breaches of the town ordinances were not confined to members of the French community.³⁵ The measures reflect the importance of the petty customs duties for the

²⁹ *Court Leet Records*, pp. 257, 276, 278, 288. For a biography of Bernay, see *The Third Book of Remembrance*, IV, p. 71.

³⁰ *Court Leet Records*, pp. 292, 297.

³¹ *Court Leet Records*, pp. 413-14.

³² *Court Leet Records*, pp. 217, 235, 262.

³³ *The Third Book of Remembrance*, IV, p. 9.

³⁴ Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 278; Backhouse, 'The Strangers at Work in Sandwich', pp. 81-86.

³⁵ For example, *Court Leet Records*, pp. 292, 333, 488.

town's finances by the early seventeenth century and a wish to maintain the exclusive position of the burgesses.³⁶ The concern to prevent the erosion of the town's privileges led the Corporation to pursue a legal action against a London merchant and in 1607 to obtain an Act of Parliament which confirmed a charter of Henry VI, in particular 'restrayninge all Marchants not beinge free of the Liberties of the said Towne, to buy or to sell any manner of Merchandize within the same Liberties therof'.³⁷ It is noteworthy that none of the French community made a contribution towards the legal costs for obtaining this statute.³⁸

The Corporation was however prepared to sell licences to members of the French community to allow them to pursue trades from which they were excluded under the terms of the original settlement.³⁹ Furthermore licenses were sold that permitted the refugees to breach the town ordinances. Mathieu Sohier paid 40 s. in 1582/83 'for licence to sell certaine myllstonnes' whereas in 1571/72 10 s. was 'Re. of a frentche man for lysens to sell three tonns of ffrentche wynns which he could not sell in the Towne'. Pierre Thieudet paid 40 s. in 1572/73 'for lycencinge him to open his shoppe windowes'.⁴⁰ Probably the most significant concession was granted to Jean le Mercier who was fined in July 1587 'for that he had solde certaine canvais and raisons & browne paper beinge forraine bought and solde to Bartholomew yatt of newberrye and to divers other & for leaue to sell freelye tyll michelmas by the consent of the whole magestratts'. Mercier was fined £6 13 s. 4 d.; during the following mayoralty, £6 13 s. 4 d. was received from Mercier 'for a fine'. These fines seem to have, in effect, acted as a license to trade although the payments are not recorded in every year. This compounding is confirmed in 1588-89, when it was noted that le Mercier payment gave him leave to buy and sell his commodities as in Mr. Studley's time.⁴¹

The failure to enfranchise some of the most prosperous members of the French community may be responsible for their more flagrant breaches of the town ordinances by the early seventeenth century. In the fifteenth century, Italian merchants who had been prepared to settle in the town became burgesses and some of them had been elected to municipal office, several even becoming

³⁶ *The Southampton Mayor's Book of 1606-1608*, ed. W.J. Connor, (SRS, 21, 1978), pp. 20-21.

³⁷ *Assembly Books*, I, pp. xxv-xxvi; *Statutes of the Realm*, 4 James I c. 10.

³⁸ SRO SC5/2/2, f. 119. Contributions were made by the Mayor, six aldermen and of the other names associated with the French community, the Channel Islanders Isaac Herevill and John Clungeon were both by 1607 burgesses of Southampton.

³⁹ See above pp. 167-70.

⁴⁰ SRO SC5/3/1, f. 138v, 147v, 184.

⁴¹ SRO SC5/3/1, f. 203, 210v, 217, 224.

Mayor of Southampton.⁴² In spite of a presentment in 1550 that forbade men from Guernsey or Jersey from becoming burgesses because 'their occupinge & crafte will be the decaye of our occupinge', a handful of Channel Islanders became burgesses in the later sixteenth century. These included men who had connections with the French Church such as Peter Janverain,⁴³ Richard Etuer,⁴⁴ Denis le Roux,⁴⁵ Guillaume Marrinel,⁴⁶ Isaac Herevill,⁴⁷ John Clungeon,⁴⁸ and Pierre Priaulx.⁴⁹ Some refugees reached positions of minor importance in the town. James Desert, from Dieppe, was, for example, appointed as a beadle for St. Michael's in 1613.⁵⁰ But no person of

⁴² A.A. Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton 1270-1600*, (SRS I, 1951), pp. 159-61, 183-5; James, 'The Geographical Origins & Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton', pp. 68, 303-8. Antonio Guidotti is a good example of an alien burgess from the early sixteenth century, although he did not hold municipal office. See A.A. Ruddock, 'Antonio Guidotti', *PHFC*, 15 (1941-43), pp. 34-42.

⁴³ Admitted to the first celebration of the Lord's Supper in 1567 and was described being 'Anglois'. He became a burgess in 1564. *Registre*, p. 3; SRO SC3/1/1, f. 81v; *The Third Book of Remembrance*, II, p. 96.

⁴⁴ Admitted to the Lord's Supper on Easter Sunday 1568 and was described as an 'Anglois'. He became a burgess in 1566/67. *Registre*, p. 3; SRO SC3/1/1, f. 83. For a biography, see above p. 57; *The Third Book of Remembrance*, III, pp. 111-12.

⁴⁵ Admitted to the Lord's Supper of the French Church in April 1569, with those from either Jersey or Guernsey. A Denis le Roux was also admitted with his wife in October, 1576; this may be the same person. He became a burgess in 1598. His name was anglicised to as Denis Rowse. *Registre*, pp. 5, 12; SC3/1/1, f. 129v. For a biography, see *Assembly Books I*, p. 9 fn. 3.

⁴⁶ William Marrinel, the son-in-law of Alderman Richard Beeston to whom he had been apprenticed became a Burgess in 1592. Probably to be identified with Guillaume Marrinelle who was admitted to the Lord's Supper with his wife Elizabeth Pitou in 1606 and was an elder of the French Church when he died in 1619-20. Another Marinelle from Jersey was admitted to the Lord's Supper in November 1599. *Registre*, pp. 27, 30, 112; SRO SC3/1/1, f. 111v.

⁴⁷ From Jersey, he was admitted to the Lord's Supper in July 1581. He became a burgess in 1605. *Registre*, pp. 16, 87; SRO SC3/1/1, f. 157v. For a biography, see *Assembly Book I*, p. 15n.

⁴⁸ From Guernsey, he was admitted to the Lord's Supper in January 1583. He became a burgess in 1607. *Registre*, pp. 17, 89; SRO SC3/1/1, f. 164. For a biography, see *Assembly Book*, I, p. 15n.

⁴⁹ Probably related to Pierre Priaulx who died in 1592 and was probably from Guernsey. The children of Pierre Priaulx and Jane Mercier were baptised in the French Church between 1607 and 1612. He became a burgess in 1608. *Registre*, pp. 21, 105; *ibid.* pp. 55, 56, 57; SRO SC3/1/1, f. 164; *The Third Book of Remembrance*, III p. 5; *The Southampton Mayor's Book of 1606-1608*, pp. 97-98, 99. For a biography, see *Assembly Books*, I, p. 5n.

⁵⁰ In fact Desert protested at this appointment as the beadle and asked to be relieved of the office, which was agreed to upon payment of a fine of 40s. *Assembly Books III*, p. 70.

refugee stock became a burgess in Southampton until 1630 when Peter le Gay was sworn in, to be followed in 1634 by Joseph de la Motte.⁵¹

These men were well established in the town. Peter le Gay's grandfather and namesake had originated from Armentières and had become a member of the French Church in April 1569. His son Isaac le Gay had been born in Southampton and was baptised in 1573. Isaac le Gay's son Pierre was baptised in Southampton in 1602 and was admitted to the Lord's Supper in December 1618.⁵² Joseph de la Motte was also born in Southampton but was only a second generation refugee, being the son of the minister of the French Church, Philippe de la Motte.⁵³ Both men went on to become Mayors of Southampton, le Gay in 1647 and de la Motte in 1651.⁵⁴ There had been discussions in September 1615 about admitting Jean Hersent as a burgess.⁵⁵ Although Hersent had been proposed as a burgess by a former Mayor William Nevey, the Assembly was not quorate and so he was not sworn as a burgess. His name does not seem to have been subsequently enrolled as a burgess.⁵⁶

The failure of refugees to enter the ranks of the Southampton burgesses before the early seventeenth century is perhaps surprising when compared with the admissions of Italians in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. However it should be remembered that the Italians had settled in Southampton for a long time; they had first arrived in c. 1270. The Italian merchants developed close links with their host community, often becoming denizens, and marrying into local families. Although they worshipped as 'national' groups, they did so in the same churches as the townspeople.⁵⁷ In the sixteenth century, Antonio Guidotti, for example, married in the 1520s the

⁵¹ SRO SC3/1/1, f. 192, 198v.

⁵² See above pp. 41, 42; *Registre*, pp. 5, 33, 41, 54; PRO PCC Prob. 11/106 Peter le Gay, Prob. 11/122 Isaac le Gay.

⁵³ Joseph de la Motte was baptised in April 1602 and was admitted to the Lord's Supper at the same time as Pierre le Gay in April 1618. *Registre*, pp. 33, 54; SRO SC3/1/1, f. 198v.

⁵⁴ Davies, *History of Southampton*, p. 178.

⁵⁵ Jean Hersant may not have been born in England. His grandfather, Guillaume Hersent, was admitted to the Lord's Supper in Southampton in 1569. Guillaume's son Jean appears to have been married before he came to Southampton, originating from Sotteville sur la Mer, in the Pays de Caux. Jean Hersent had four children by his first wife, only one of whom (Marie) was baptised in Southampton in 1582. His first wife died in 1593 but he remarried and had several children by his second marriage. He was admitted to the Lord's Supper in July 1570 but his wife Suzanne le Macon was not admitted until 1579. Jean Hersent's son was the result of the first marriage and may be the Jean Hersent admitted to the Lord's Supper in November 1601. Jean Hersent the elder died in 1614. *Registre*, pp. 6, 14, 28, 41, 45, 91, 105; PRO PCC Prob. 11/125 Johannes Hersent. For a biography of Guillaume Hersent, see *The Third Book of Remembrance* III, pp. 60-61n, on both Jean Hersents see *Assembly Books* IV, p. 26n.

⁵⁶ *Assembly Books*, IV, pp. 26-27; SRO SC3/1/1, f. 177v.

⁵⁷ Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping*, pp. 121-22, 128, 131-33, 159-61.

daughter of Henry Huttoft, a prominent figure in Henrician Southampton.⁵⁸

Although there were some wealthy members of the French church such as Jean de Beaulieu, Mathieu Sohier and Arnoul le Clercq but they do not appear to have forged links with the burgesses beyond their business contacts. However these merchants only remained in Southampton until the early 1580s.⁵⁹ The consistorial disapproval of marriages outside the French community clearly deterred integration and therefore the establishment of such familial ties.⁶⁰ By the early seventeenth century however such restraints had lost much of their force and several prominent figures in the town's government developed links with the French community. John Mayior (Mayor, 1600-1), William Nevey (Sheriff, 1602-3; Mayor, 1604-5, 1612-13), John Cornish (Sheriff, 1604-5; Mayor, 1606-7) all acted as godparents for children baptised in the French church between 1598 and 1610.⁶¹ Mayior and Nevey both had connections with the Channel Islands and the latter only became a burgess in 1591.⁶² Family links also seem to have developed between these men and the French community: John Cornish's brother William may have been the same William Cornish of the Isle of Wight who married Esther Pontus in 1596.⁶³ A Nevey married Daniel Hersent, the half-brother of Jean Hersent.⁶⁴ William Nevey was appointed an overseer of the will of Isaac le Gay in 1613 (while he was still Mayor!) and Jean Hersent in 1614.⁶⁵ With the development of such links between members of the community and leading members of Southampton society, it became possible for some of those with refugee origins to consider becoming burgesses.

It is clear that while the town and corporation of Southampton were prepared to exploit the commercial benefits of the refugee community, they were no less concerned to uphold the town's ordinances and the privileges of the burgesses. The penetration of the refugees into this élite was inevitably a slow process. However while that élite sought to exclude the refugees, as will be seen

⁵⁸ James, 'Geographical Origins and Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton', pp. 307-8; Ruddock, 'Antonio Guidotti', p. 35.

⁵⁹ See above pp. 109-10.

⁶⁰ See pp. 215, 268-71.

⁶¹ *Registre*, pp. 52, 53, 54, 55, 56. Some of the children of Isaac le Gay, Philippe de la Motte and Jean Hersent were amongst those sponsored.

⁶² *The Third Book of Remembrance*, III, pp. 74, 85; SRO SC3/1/1, f. 108v.

⁶³ Esther Pontus (Ponthieu, Potieu) was a widow when she married in 1596 and described herself as being of Hampton, although she was baptised in the French church in 1570. Guillaume Cornishe was admitted to the Lord's Supper in 1596. Their four children and Esther died from plague in 1604. *Registre*, pp. 26, 40, 52, 53, 54, 90, 91, 106, 108; HRO Wills 1611/A/28.

⁶⁴ *Registre*, p. 113; PRO PCC Prob. 11/125 Johannes Hersent (1614).

⁶⁵ PRO PCC Prob. 11/122 (1613) Isaac le Gay; Prob. 11/125 (1614) Johannes Hersent.

below, there does not seem to be any evidence of serious unrest or hostility towards the exile community.

Relations between the exile community and their hosts.

There does not appear to have been any serious attempt made by the Corporation to monitor the numbers of refugees entering the town. Although no returns of aliens in Southampton survive for the period 1567-1620, it would be surprising if such returns were not made. A general survey appears to have been conducted in 1571 for which returns survive for Harwich, Colchester, Great Yarmouth, Lynn, Dover and Sandwich.⁶⁶ Furthermore in 1572 Robert Horne, Bishop of Winchester, and a promoter of the refugee community, wrote to the authorities in Portsmouth on the 29 October 1572 to enquire after the number of refugees. Horne was responding to a request from the Privy Council that the Bishop write to 'all the offices of suche townes and portes adioyning unto us where any such stranngiers doe make their abode', so that they could report on the number of strangers who arrived since 1 September 1572 and the numbers who had moved on and to where. There was clearly concern about the number of refugees who were entering the country in the wake of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day. The Bishop or Council however doubted the sincerity of the refugees' motives commenting that 'many stranngers are repaired in to this Realme under pretence of the libertie of their co'science and for safetie of their lives ffor that under the coulour thereof besides many resorte which have not like honeste meaninge towards the preservac'on of the state and quiet of our countrey'.⁶⁷

Though no such letter or return of aliens has survived for Southampton it would clearly be surprising in such circumstances if a similar letter had not been sent to the Corporation in Southampton. The town authorities did take steps in July 1573 to monitor those who joined the community, requiring them to produce a testimony that they were members of the Reformed faith, in order to exclude false brethren who might have come under the shadow of religion to spy.⁶⁸ The situation was fluid with refugees arriving and moving on, some of whom left Southampton after being admitted to the Lord's Supper but without receiving the sacrament. The Corporation clearly expected any Frenchman in the town to attend the services at God's House even if they did not become members of the church and be admitted to the Lord's Supper. As the examination of Michael Collens suggests, the town authorities viewed membership or attendance at the French

⁶⁶ PRO SP12/78/8, 9, 10, 13, 19, 29.

⁶⁷ BL, Cottonian MSS, Vespasian FXII, f. 191.

⁶⁸ *Registre*, p. 8.

church as a kind of litmus test for foreigners.⁶⁹

Besides the complaints about breaches of the town ordinances, there does not seem to have been the same degree of hostility towards the French-speaking community as occurred in other towns where the exiles had settled. Only two presentments made before the Court Leet appear to have been inspired by xenophobia. In 1569 it was decided that the conduit heads to be covered and locked for fear that some of the many strangers in the town might poison the water supply. It was in fact agreed that they should be covered and locked. In 1575 a presentment was made complaining 'that the streats & lanes ar very fylthye by reasen of the french people & others that defyle the same by night contrary to the good orders of this towne'. The latter presentment may in fact simply be a complaint about the way in which the clothiers disposed of their refuse, in particular from dyeing and the cloth industry. This became a frequent cause for complaint in the Court Leet.⁷⁰

There were occasional brawls between the strangers and their hosts: in 1569-70 Walter Hawkins paid 15 *d.* because of causing bloodshed to a Frenchman; a dispute between Andrew Peale and a Frenchman led to bloodshed in 1575-76 and a fine of 2 *s.* 6 *d.* In fact there seem to be more fights amongst Frenchmen than between English and Frenchmen, although it is possible that the fines payable by Englishmen may have been entered separately.⁷¹ However these seem to have been relatively petty matters. There is no evidence in Southampton of major disturbances such as those which occurred or were threatened in London for example on Evil May Day in 1517, in 1563 and 1593. Relations between the Italians and the townsfolk of Southampton had been on the whole similarly cordial in the fifteenth century.⁷²

This apparent lack of tension between the refugees and their host community was no doubt in part due to the very small size of the community. In Sandwich it has been estimated that in 1574 the Flemish and Walloon communities made up more than half of the town's population.⁷³ Southampton was a much larger town than Sandwich and its stranger population much smaller. A population census held in the town in 1596 classed 297 people as being aliens, a mere seven per

⁶⁹ See above p. 206.

⁷⁰ *Court Leet Records*, I, pp. 57, 119. For examples of these other complaints, see above p. 148.

⁷¹ SRO SC5/3/1, f. 129v, 135v, 143v, 154v, 159, 159v, 160, 161v, 161, 168v, 170, 170v, 192, 210, 211v.

⁷² Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 14, 282-94; Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton*, pp. 149-53.

⁷³ Backhouse, 'The Strangers at Work in Sandwich', pp. 77-78. In 1571 the Flemish population in Sandwich was 1,900 and in addition there were 300 Walloons. The town's native population was about 1,600.

cent of the town's total population of 4,200, though the size of the French Reformed community had certainly been diminished as a result of migration and integration.⁷⁴ This alien population probably also included a few aliens in the town who were not members of the exile community. An earlier indication of the relative strength of the alien population in Southampton can be gleaned from the lay subsidy returns for 1571. These record payments from 51 aliens, including some who were established in the town before 1567, compared with 141 payments from members of the English community.⁷⁵ However Englishmen with goods worth less than £3 were exempt from contributing to the lay subsidy unlike the aliens who were obliged to pay a poll tax. The refugee population inevitably increased in the wake of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, although the scale of this influx cannot be determined.⁷⁶ In August 1584, there were 186 members of the church's congregation; this was after the 1583-84 plague epidemic in which about seventy members of the community had died.⁷⁷

The exiles in Norwich and London were criticised for causing overcrowding and so causing rents to rise as well as increasing the risk of plague.⁷⁸ There were certainly complaints in Southampton about the growing number of undertenants in the town but this does not seem to have been directly related to the French-speaking community.⁷⁹ The regular lists of undertenants record both English and alien undertenants. In fact the list for 1579, the first detailed list of undertenants, show that there were only 69 aliens out of a total of 189 undertenants.⁸⁰

Although the refugees tended to cluster in the southern parishes of the town, no ghetto developed. The 'Count of Heads' which was carried out in 1596 and revealed that there were 121 aliens living in the ward of Holy Rood and 88 in the ward of SS. Michael & John. The remaining 88 aliens were spread throughout the remaining wards.⁸¹ The majority of these aliens would have been members of the French-speaking community. The lay subsidy returns provide a clearer impression of the distribution of the refugees. In 1571 the wealthiest refugees were scattered around the town: Jean de Beaulieu and Robert Cousin lived in the ward of Holy Rood; Amery Durant and

⁷⁴ SRO SC3/1/1, f. 254v.

⁷⁵ *Central Hampshire Lay Subsidy Assessments, 1558-1603*, ed. D.F. Vick (1987), pp. 32, 35, 36, 38.

⁷⁶ For an indication of the size of this influx, see *Registre*, pp. 7-9.

⁷⁷ *Registre*, pp. 19, 102-4.

⁷⁸ Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 283, 284, 285; C.M. Vane, 'The Walloon community in Norwich: the first hundred years', *HS*, 24 (1983-88), p. 132.

⁷⁹ *Court Leet Records*, pp. 236, 284, 298, 306.

⁸⁰ SRO SC6/1/14.

⁸¹ SRO SC3/1/1, f. 254v.

John de Bavy in the ward of St. Lawrence and Gilles Seulin in the ward of All Saints. The wealthier members of the community seem to have lived amongst the wealthier native inhabitants, although there were exceptions: Mathieu Sohier and Arnoul le Clercq both resided in the ward of SS. Michael & John where some of the poorest members of the community lived. Twenty-seven aliens were recorded in this ward as merely paying a poll contribution in the lay subsidy. The ward of SS. Michael & John also contained the highest number of undertenants and so presumably the cheapest accommodation.⁸² There were also more substantial properties within this ward including the West Hall, which Mathieu Sohier leased at £12 *per annum* from 1570.⁸³ In fact, Mathieu Sohier was recorded as having six undertenants in this ward in 1578 and 1579.⁸⁴ By 1599 the wealthier members of the community were similarly scattered around the town but the poorer members of the community had also come to live in the ward of Holy Rood (24 aliens were recorded as making only poll contributions) as well as the ward of SS. Michael & John (15 poll contributions).

Relations between the refugee community and their hosts therefore seem to have been relatively cordial. However it is interesting to note that when the Queen visited Southampton for several days in 1591, the refugees were for reasons unknown not able to gain access to the Queen in order to thank her for the protection which she had afforded the community and were obliged to express their thanks outside the town. The Queen '*respondit fort humainement louant Dieu de ce qu'il luy donnoit puissance de recueillir et faire bien aux poures estrangers, et disant qu'elle scauoit bien que les prieres desdits seruoyent beaucoup sa Conseruation*'.⁸⁵

Integration

The stranger communities, in spite of the persecution which had driven many members of their community to seek exile, retained close links with the continent. The churches, although theoretically under the superintendence of an English bishop, looked to the Walloon Synods in the Netherlands for ministers to serve in their churches. The communities as a whole provided money for the training of ministers and the poor of the churches, as well as giving financial support to the

⁸² *Court Leet Records*, p. 184. In 1579 71 undertenants were recorded as living in the ward of SS. Michael & John, compared with 46 in the ward of Holy Rood, 11 in St. Lawrence's, 15 All Saints within the Bar, 16 in All Saints without the Bar and 11 in Bag Row and East Street.

⁸³ SRO SC4/3/58. Also see above pp. 83-84.

⁸⁴ SRO SC6/1/13, SC6/1/14.

⁸⁵ *Registre*, p. 131.

activities of Orange and the Reformed cause.⁸⁶ Links with the Netherlands were also maintained at a more personal level. Initially these contacts could be expected to be relatively strong as the exiles left family and property overseas, and expected to return. In her will in 1569 Jehanne de Caignoncle expressed the wish to be buried in Valenciennes.⁸⁷ It is known that exiles at Sandwich occasionally returned to the continent to purchase yarn etc. but unfortunately no such evidence survives for the Southampton community.⁸⁸ However there are a few references to this continued contact between Southampton refugees and their family on the continent. In this context the chance survival of personal correspondence is particularly valuable. A letter sent to Louis du Bois by his wife expressed the wish to join him which appears to have been realised shortly afterwards.⁸⁹ Other letters concerned the property which had been left behind on the continent and its disposal, for example the property of Eloy Bacler which had been passed on to his children.⁹⁰ Such letters also included news about relatives who had remained behind.⁹¹

Exiles also remembered their relatives and property overseas when it came to drawing up their wills. Robert Cousin bequeathed to his sister living in Tournai £200 together with 'my bedd furnished, and the moictie of all the lynnyn that serveth for to be used in my howse'.⁹² Other refugees claimed property that they had left overseas and so continued to bequeath it in their wills, although their estates may well have been confiscated by the *Conseil des Troubles*. Gilles Seulin referred in his will to a farm in Hainault and further references to property overseas were made by Guillaume Coppin and Mathieu Sohier in will drawn up after they had migrated from

⁸⁶ See Spicer, '"A Faythful Pastor in the Churches"', pp. 202-4; see above pp. 235-39.

⁸⁷ HRO Wills 1569/B/81-84.

⁸⁸ See above p. 143.

⁸⁹ In 1569, a Louis du Bois was recorded as being a member of the French Church in London and as being a native of the lands of King Philip. This may be the same Louis du Bois who was condemned by the *Conseil des Troubles* at Tournai in October 1570 despite '*une requête en grace*' introduced by his wife Barbe Detelus. In 1570, she wrote expressing her wish to join her husband and on 7 January 1571 she was admitted to the Lord's Supper in Southampton. Their daughter Anne was baptised in June 1571. *Registre*, pp. 6, 40; *Returns of Aliens*, I, p. 397; A.L.E. Verheyden, 'Une correspondance inédite adressée par des familles protestantes à leur religionnaires d'Angleterre (11 novembre 1569 - 25 février 1570)', *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'histoire*, 120 (1955), p. 209; A.L.E. Verheyden, *Le Conseil des Troubles. Liste des condamnés, (1567-1573)*, (Brussels, 1961), No. 4127.

⁹⁰ Verheyden, 'Une correspondance inédite', pp. 194-95.

⁹¹ This was the case in a letter sent to Thibault du Beffroy in Southampton, from his brother in February 1570. Verheyden, 'Une correspondance inédite', pp. 180-82.

⁹² PRO PCC Pob 11/67 Robert Cousin.

Southampton.⁹³ In fact Jane Seneschal gave her son power of attorney to recover property at Armentières in 1576.⁹⁴

These bequests of property and personal links represent, to an extent, a belief that the refugees would eventually return to the Low Countries or France. For as long as the refugees believed that their exile was only temporary, they were unlikely to become integrated into the host society. The pace of integration only quickened once the strangers lost hope of returning to their native lands.

The French community acted to an extent as a separate entity within the town. The church maintained discipline amongst its members, as well as providing a system of poor relief and welfare. The regular celebrations of the Lord's Supper, which became monthly after 1583, reinforced their belonging to a particular community since members of the host community were only exceptionally admitted to membership. This distinction would initially have been particularly pronounced because the Protestant Reformation only gradually found acceptance in Southampton.⁹⁵ For these reasons the French church hindered the process of integration with the host community and this process was further discouraged because the refugees in Southampton developed institutional and personal links with other stranger communities in South East England.

A degree of unity existed with the establishment of regular colloquies in the French-speaking churches after 1581, although less institutionalised contacts had existed before that date. Less formal contacts were retained with members of the exile communities. Augustin de Beaulieu and Erasmus de la Fontaine dit Wicart though resident in London acted on several occasions as *parain* at baptisms in Southampton.⁹⁶ In 1602, Judith de la Motte acted as *marain* in London.⁹⁷ In

⁹³ PRO PCC Prob. 11/55 Guillaume Coppin, 11/88 Gilles Seulin, 11/106 Mathieu Sohier

⁹⁴ Her hopes about recovering the property may have been raised by the Pacification of Ghent, article 10 of which permitted people 'to take possession of all their seignories, estates, perogatives, shares, credits which have not been sold or alienated, in the condition in which these possessions are at present'. SRO SC2/6/5, f. 36; E.H. Kossman & A.F. Mellink, *Texts concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, (Cambridge, 1974), pp. 129-30.

⁹⁵ See above pp. 177-81.

⁹⁶ Both of these men had contacts with Southampton, de Beaulieu had been a founder member of the community. Erasmus de la Fontaine dit Wicart was a substantial London merchant, with goods worth £30 in 1600 who seems to have regularly loaned money to the Crown and so was exempted from lay subsidy payments. His sister Anne de la Fontaine married Pierre Sohier, Mathieu's brother. Pierre Sohier's daughter married Daniel Seulin, the son of Gilles Seulin. PRO PCC Prob. 11/88 Gilles Seulin, 11/119 Erasmus de la Fontaine dit Wicart; *Returns of Aliens dwelling in London*, II, 215, 223, 303, 389, 402, 428, 440, III, pp. 85, 109, 124, 125, 128, 129, 130, 133, 442; *Registre*, pp. 45, 47, 50. On de Beaulieu, see above p. 107.

⁹⁷ *Registers of the French Church of Threadneedle Street, London, Part I (1600-1639)*, ed. W.J.C. Moens, (HSP, 9, 1896), p. 46.

other cases family members migrated from Southampton to other communities. Gilles Cousin, the brother of Robert, initially lived in Southampton where three of his children were baptised but by 1584 he had moved to Norwich.⁹⁸ Sometimes marriages led to refugees migrating to other communities or occasionally the ceremonies took place in other churches. Members of other communities occasionally passed through Southampton and where they might be admitted to the Lord's Supper.⁹⁹

It is difficult to measure the process of integration into and assimilation with their host community. Steady intermarriage between members of the exile community and the host community may however be regarded as a useful index of the pace of integration. However while a degree of intermarriage between members of an exile community might be expected, the French Church actively discouraged marriages between refugees and members of the host community.¹⁰⁰ An analysis of the marriage registers of the church allows us to follow not only the slow process of intermarriage into the host community but also other interesting marriage patterns within the community. Although the community was French-speaking, it was clearly divided between refugees from the Southern Netherlands, France and the Channel Islands and these divisions are also reflected in the patterns of marriages within the church. Indeed the process of integration between these groups was almost as gradual as the integration into their host community. This process of assimilation is can be seen in Table XXIV. The refugees from the Low Countries clearly married amongst themselves and the same was also true of the refugees from France, though some of them were betrothed on the continent but had to flee before their marriage was agreed. The first marriage between a French exile and a refugee from the Low Countries did not take place until 1570 and there were only eleven such marriages between 1567 and 1606, compared with 27 marriages between refugees from the Low Countries and 51 marriages between refugees from France. The first marriage of an exile to a Channel Islander did not take place until 1578 but there were only

⁹⁸ From Tournai he was admitted to the Lord's Supper with his wife in January 1574. His children Pierre, Jacques and Paul were baptised between 1575 and 1580. An undertenant to Widow Slatt in the ward of St. Lawrence, he was recorded as paying 'stall & art' dues of between 2 *d.* and 4 *d.* between 1579 and 1582. SRO SC6/1/14, SC6/1/15, SC6/1/17; PRO PCC Prob. 11/67 Robert Cousin; *Registre*, pp. 9, 42, 43, 45.

⁹⁹ For example, Pierre Bauters who was a member of the Dutch community in London. He fled from Ghent in 1567 and was condemned by the *Conseil des Troubles*. He became a member of the Dutch church in London but was admitted to the Lord's Supper in Southampton in July 1569. He was described in 1584 as having 'lived for some years as a faithful member of their church, to the edification of many, without any crime or accusation'. *Registre*, p. 5; Verheyden, *Le Conseil des Troubles. Liste des condamnés*, No. 458; Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, No. 298, 1317; J.H. Hessels, (ed.), *Register of the Attestations or Certificates of Membership, Confessions of Guilt, Certificates of Marriages, Betrothals, Publications of Banns, &c, preserved in the Dutch Reformed Church, Austin Friars, London, 1568 to 1872*, (Amsterdam-London, 1892), p. 2.

¹⁰⁰ See pp. 215, 271.

16 such marriages before 1606.

During the early years the community was remarkably homogenous with a large population from the French-speaking Southern Netherlands, in particular from Valenciennes. This was gradually diluted with the influx of refugees from France, particularly in the wake of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre. If, as Table XXIV shows the integration between the different groups of French-speaking refugees was in itself gradual, we should not be surprised that links between the strangers and their host community developed still more slowly.

Table XXIV - KEY

- 1 Where both partners were natives of the Low Countries.
- 2 Where both partners were natives of France.
- 3 Where both partners were natives of the Channel Islands.
- 4 Where a native of the Low Countries married a native of France.
- 5 Where a native of the Channel Islands married an exile from the Low Countries or France.
- 6 Where the marriage took place outside the church or one of the partners was not a member of the church.
- 7 Where at least one of the partners was described as being a native of Southampton but was the off-spring of a first generation exile.
- 8 Where there is insufficient information about both partners. Under this heading I have included marriages contracted outside Southampton and those where the refugee comes from another community.

Table XXIV - Marriage Patterns within the French Church

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	TOTAL
1567	1								1
1568	1							1	2
1569									0
1570	1			1				1	3
1571	6							1	7
1572	2			1					3
1573		2							2
1574	1	1		1					3
1575	1	1		1					3
1576		1		1				2	4
1577		5		1		1		3	10
1578		3			1				4
1579	3	2							5
1580	2	5			1			1	9
1581	2	3	2		1				8
1582	1	2			1				4
1583	2	1			1			1	5
1584	1	2		1					4
1585	1					2			3
1586	1			1	1			1	4
1587		3	1		2	2	1	1	10
1588		4	1						5
1589		4				1	1		6
1590		1			1				2
1591		2		1			1	2	6
1592		1	1	1	2			1	6
1593		1						2	3
1594		5					2	1	8
1595			2				1		3
1596			1			1	1		3
1597				1			1	1	3
1598		1					1	2	4
1599							2		2
1600					2	1	2	1	6
1601		1				1	2	1	5
1602					1		2	2	5
1603			1		1	1	1		4
1604							1	2	3
1605					1		2	4	7
1606	1		1				1	1	4
TOTAL	27	51	10	11	16	10	22	32	179

Marriages outside the community were exceptional. The first such marriage took place in 1577 when Catherine Midy from Artois married Thomas le Grand of Southampton. However Thomas le Grand, like Thomas Renet of the Isle of Wight, Guillaume Formoyle of Hampton and William Cornish of the Isle of Wight were all admitted to the Lord's Supper.¹⁰¹ Although Marguerite Schepman of Roomsé (Romsey) was not admitted to the Lord's Supper, her children were baptised in the French church between 1586 and 1600.¹⁰² It is however important to distinguish between English partners and those who were second generation refugees who were born in Southampton and so described themselves as being natives of the town.

Five marriages were recorded as having taken place in the parish churches.¹⁰³ The first such marriage took place in 1585 and may be attributed to the community's temporary lack of a minister. The children from this marriage were baptised in the French church between 1588 and 1596.¹⁰⁴ The baptisms of the sons of another couple married outside the French Church were recorded in Church's register, suggesting that the couple were reconciled with the Church.¹⁰⁵ However of the three other such marriages, there is no further reference in the *Registre*. Pierre Thieudet obtained a marriage license in order to marry Elizabeth Clement of Dibden in 1609, but there is no reference to the marriage in the records of the French church.¹⁰⁶

Language provided perhaps the main barrier between the townspeople and the refugees. T.B. James has suggested that the language used in wills drawn up by members of the community may throw some light on the gradual process of integration.¹⁰⁷ The evidence of wills is however problematic because it is not always clear that the will was actually written by the testator. It is known, for example, that Walerand Thevelin occasionally acted as a scribe. The wills of Jane Sohier (1569), Francois Bourgayse (1583) and Georgette Loys (1583) were all written in French.¹⁰⁸ The will of Anthoine Jurion (1578) was translated from French by John Vovert in Southampton

¹⁰¹ *Registre*, pp. 13, 21, 22, 26, 86, 89, 90, 91.

¹⁰² *Registre*, pp. 47, 48, 53.

¹⁰³ *Registre*, pp. 88, 89, 91, 92.

¹⁰⁴ See above p. 192. Samuel Hersent and Susanne Sellier were married on 25 January, 1585. Hersent had been admitted to the Lord's Supper in April 1579. Their four children were baptised in the French church. *Registre*, pp. 15, 47, 49, 50, 52, 88.

¹⁰⁵ Timothée Mesnier of Jersey married Marguerite Markes of Winchester in 1601. He had been admitted to the Lord's Supper in 1592. Their children Timothée and Philippe were baptised in the French church. *Registre*, pp. 24, 54, 92.

¹⁰⁶ *Hampshire Marriage Licences, 1607-1640*, ed. A.J. Willis, (London, 1957), p. 12.

¹⁰⁷ James, 'The Geographical Origins & Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton', p. 353.

¹⁰⁸ HRO Wills 1569/B/81-84 Jane Sohier, 1583/B/12 Francois Bourgayse, 1583/B/13, Georgette Loys.

while Dionysius le Blanq translated into English the will of Robert Cousin in 1584. It is interesting to note that the will of Gilles Seulin for which Walerand Thevelin had acted as the amanuensis in 1583 survives in the records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury in English without any note that it had been translated.¹⁰⁹ Later wills tended to be written in English, although the wills of Jean Rocheforte (1606) and Robert le Page (1612) were both written in French. Rocheforte had only joined the French Church in December 1594. The will of Mathieu Sohier, one of the initial settlers in Southampton was also written in French in 1593 after he had migrated to London.¹¹⁰ Perhaps the use of French was more common in a large community such as existed at London, than in Southampton.

There is no sure standard by which the gradual integration of the French community can be measured. Intermarriage with the host community and the continued use of the French language can provide at best only rough indications of the process. The refugees did forge links with their host community partly through their obligation to train apprentices in the skills of the 'new draperies' as well as through developing business contacts. Integration was however an inevitably slow and uncertain process while the refugees were perceived as a distinct group in the town and in turn viewed their exile as being temporary and nursed the hope that they might return to the continent. As the influx of newcomers gradually declined and the number of the first generation exiles dwindled, attitudes changed. It became inevitable that they would become integrated into their host community and the entry of men of refugee stock into the burgess ranks of the town is perhaps the clearest sense of their arrival. The burial of Judith de la Motte, a first generation exile and the widow of a minister, in the parish church of St. John is indicative of this gradual integration.¹¹¹ By the 1630s the process of integration had proceeded so far that when the French Church was visited in 1635, only six of the sixteen fathers of families who attended the church were considered to be aliens. The community had become by that stage too small and weak to resist the demands of Archbishop Laud.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ PRO PCC Prob. 11/67, Robert Cousin, 11/88 Gilles Seulin; HRO Wills 1578/B/53, Anthoine Jurion.

¹¹⁰ PRO PCC Prob. 11/106, Mathieu Sohier; HRO Wills 1606/B/46 Jean Rocheforte, 1612/A/58 Robert le Page; *Registre*, p. 25.

¹¹¹ *Regsitre*, p. 114.

¹¹² PRO SP16/291/66. See above p. 203.

Conclusion

In March 1604, the first Synod of all the French-speaking and Dutch churches in England was held in London. The Synod met:

Pource que les Freres des Eglises étrangères des deus langues avisé de presenter requête a sa Majesté, pour confirmation de la liberté de laquelle ils ont joui jusques a present, en ont été déconseillez et détourné par ceus sans lesquels ils n'eussent rien sceu obtenir, Atendu que les dites Eglises sont en possession de leurs libertez sans molestes ni empêchement quelconque, Pourtant ont les dits Freres resolu par commun avis de requerir ce qu'on conoitra d'Amis Bourgeois et ayans vois en Parlement de vieller pour le bien de nos Eglises, et nous donner avis de ce qui se metroit en avant a leur prejudice, pour chercher remede au contraire.

The meeting was attended by ministers and elders from the London churches, the Norwich churches, Canterbury, Colchester and Sandwich. The interests of the Southampton and Maidstone churches were represented by an elder from Sandwich.¹ While the delegates looked forward expectantly to the new reign and a presbyterian King, the conditions in Europe, which had led many of them to seek exile, had changed markedly. Philip II was dead and the newly formed United Provinces was emerging in the Northern Netherlands; in France, the religious wars had come to an end with the Edict of Nantes and the grant of religious freedom to the Huguenots. The dislocation of the Thirty Years War and the policies of Louis XIII and Richelieu, which were to cause more exiles to seek refuge in England, as well as the creation of new communities associated with the draining of the Fens, still lay in the future. The Synod therefore provides a convenient point from which to survey the exile churches in England and to consider the significance of the Southampton church.

With the exception of London, all of the exile churches in England had been established during Elizabeth's reign and even the London churches were refounded on her accession.² A number of these churches are however conspicuous by their absence from the Synod: Rye (founded c. 1562), Stamford (1567), Kings Lynn (1570), Dover (c. 1571), Winchelsea (c. 1572), Ipswich (c. 1573), Thetford (c. 1573) and Halstead (1577).³ For the most part these churches had ceased

¹ *Les Actes des Colloques des Eglises Françaises et des Synodes des Eglises Etrangères réfugiées en Angleterre 1581-1654*, ed. A.C. Chamier, (HSP, 2, 1890), p. 46.

² For recent general surveys of the exile churches, see R.D. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage. The history and contribution of the Huguenots in Britain*, (London, 1985); B. Cottret, *The Huguenots in England. Immigration and Settlement, c. 1550-1700*, (Cambridge, 1991); M. Greengrass, 'Protestant Exiles and their Assimilation in Early Modern England', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 4 (1985), pp. 68-81.

³ De Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge*, p. 279. On Rye, see Hardy, 'Foreign Refugees at Rye', pp. 406-27, 567-87; G. Mayhew, *Tudor Rye*, (Hove, 1987), pp. 81-90. On Stamford, see Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 142, 264. On Dover, see G.H. Overend, 'Strangers at Dover', *HS*, 3 (1888-91), pp. 91-171, 286-330.

to exist by 1604. They disappeared as the refugees gradually returned to the continent as the European situation improved. The churches at Yarmouth and Dover were on the point of collapse by 1576 and even the communities at Norwich and Maidstone were experiencing difficulties.⁴

The communities established during Elizabeth's reign differed markedly in their character for a number of different reasons. The size of the community and the social composition and degree of coherence of the original settlers all had an important effect upon them. The host community could also influence their character. The size of the host population, the attitudes of the authorities as well as local inhabitants towards the strangers (which could of course change over time), and the economic conditions and opportunities which existed for the refugees were all important factors. The stability of the communities was a further determinant.

An interesting distinction can be made between the churches which were represented in 1604 and these more transitory communities. The surviving communities were essentially 'planted' settlements. They were established with the consent and support of the municipal authorities and central government, with specific terms governing the size of the community, their relations with the local inhabitants and the skills or new techniques that they were expected to introduce.⁵ A similar pattern can be seen in the Empire where settlements were established in small territorial towns under the control of a feudal lord or in cities such as Frankfurt or Hamburg. However there were no *Exulantenstädte*, newly-founded refugee towns, established in England during Elizabeth's reign; the Glastonbury community set up by Protector Somerset may have been equivalent to this type of community.⁶ These English 'planted' communities can be contrasted with those, such as Dover and Rye, which developed rapidly as a result of their geographical proximity to the continent, as refugees fled from war and persecution. The authorities far from encouraging these

On Winchelsea, see de Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge*, I, pp. 302-3.

On Ipswich, see V.B. Redstone, 'The Dutch and Huguenot Settlements at Ipswich', *HS*, 12 (1919-24), pp. 183-204.

On Halstead, see W.J. Hardy, 'Foreign Settlers at Colchester and Halstead', *HS*, 2 (1887-88), pp. 182-204.

⁴ Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 256-57.

⁵ See above pp. 63-78; *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, II, p. 236, III, pp. 209-10, IV, pp. 39-40; Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 263; Backhouse, 'The Strangers at Work in Sandwich', p. 74-75; F.W. Cross, *History of the Walloon & Huguenot Church at Canterbury*, (*HSP*, 15, 1898), pp. 14-16; N. Goose, 'The "Dutch" in Colchester: the economic influence of an Immigrant Community in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 1 (1981), p. 266; Moens, *The Walloons and their Church at Norwich*, pp. 17-18; V. Morant, 'The Settlement of Protestant Refugees in Maidstone during the Sixteenth Century', *Ec.H.R.* Second Series, 4 (1951-52), pp. 210-14.

⁶ H. Schilling, 'Innovation through Migration: The Settlements of Calvinistic Netherlanders in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth- Century Central and Western Europe', *Social History* 16 (1983), pp. 16-19, 20-25; Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 43.

communities were often anxious about the large numbers of settlers.⁷

It should not however be considered that official approval and encouragement was in fact any guarantee of success, as Schilling has pointed out 'good political and religious conditions could not outweigh disadvantageous economic, transportation and financial facilities'.⁸ Permission was given in 1576 for a substantial community to be established under the Queen's licence at Halstead which initially flourished but collapsed in less than four years due to the opposition of the local inhabitants.⁹

In a sense, such broad distinctions are artificial because most of the 'planted' communities also attracted refugees from the continent. The Sandwich community was created by letters patent in 1561, with the members of the community being carefully selected by the Dutch church in London, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London and the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. However exiles from the Southern Netherlands had earlier settled in the town and the geographical proximity of Sandwich to the continent meant that many fled there in the wake of the Troubles.¹⁰ A similar pattern can be seen at Norwich and Colchester, where a formally established community expanded due to its geographical proximity to the continent. A sizeable alien community had already developed in London for commercial reasons, many years before letters patent were granted to John à Lasco for the establishment of the exile churches. Some of these aliens were attracted to the exile churches, as were other later refugees.¹¹ The Southampton community was established by Walloon refugees but besides attracting refugees from the persecution in France, Channel Islanders who had settled in the town or visited for commercial reasons, also worshipped at the church.¹²

Although these communities included a number of diverse groups, in some settlements there was an influential core of refugees. At Southampton, the founder members of the community formed a particularly cohesive group. The refugees originated from Valenciennes and had established familial and business ties between themselves, as well as with some Tournai and Antwerp Calvinists, before the group migrated to the town. A smaller, distinct but less cohesive group migrated from Armentières. The later settlers in Southampton from the Pays de Caux did not form such a closely-knit group. This pattern of migration from particular towns can be seen in other exile communities. Refugees from Valenciennes were also prominent at Frankfurt and at

⁷ Hardy, 'Foreign Refugees at Rye', pp. 575-76; Overend, 'Strangers at Dover', pp. 116-17.

⁸ Schilling, 'Innovation through Migration', p. 18.

⁹ Hardy, 'Foreign Settlers at Colchester and Halstead', p. 9.

¹⁰ Backhouse, 'The Strangers at Work in Sandwich', pp. 74-75.

¹¹ Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 9-17, 77-79.

¹² See above pp. 18-61.

Canterbury. A number of those who settled at Norwich had originated from Ypres; the Maastricht church moved *en bloc* to Aachen in 1567. Many of those who were recorded in Rye in 1572 had fled from Dieppe, a slightly smaller number from Rouen.¹³ A more regional migration can be seen in the exiles from the Pays de Caux who settled in Southampton and those from the Westkwartier at Sandwich.¹⁴

These regional influences endured in these exile communities. While the attentions of the Flemish or Dutch churches and their communities were inevitably directed towards the Netherlands, many of the French-speaking communities also tended to look in the same direction. They supported the Reformed churches in the Netherlands with funds and ministers and later they looked to these churches for advice and ministers for their own churches.¹⁵ This is certainly the case with the Southampton church, in spite of its relative proximity to France and the more frequent commercial links that the refugees had with France than the Netherlands. The reason for this seems to have been the dominant influence of the original settlers in Southampton from the Walloon areas and the fact that until the early seventeenth century the church was served exclusively by Walloon ministers. A similar pattern can be seen at Canterbury. The dominance of refugees from France at Rye inclined that community to look predominantly towards France; the London French church seems to have had a more mixed aspect but it too was served by French ministers during this period.¹⁶ These Walloon and French distinctions clearly endured in Southampton for a long time and can be identified in the community's marriage patterns.¹⁷

The Southampton community was potentially one of the largest 'planted' communities to be established in England. Initially it was expected to be similar in size to the Sandwich settlement but during the negotiations, it was agreed that up to forty households would be permitted to settle in the town. In this context the term household referred to a working-unit in which a master employed a certain number of workmen and thereby does not include women and children. In Southampton permission was given for up to twelve per household. Cecil was therefore granting

¹³ H. Meinert (ed.), *Das Protokolbuch der Niederlandischen Reformierten Gemeinde zu Frankfurt am Main (1570-1581)*, (Frankfurt, 1977), p. 15; Cross, *History of the Walloon & Huguenot Church at Canterbury*, pp. 24-25; A. Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt. Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism*, (Oxford, 1992), p. 246; Hardy, 'Foreign Refugees at Rye', pp. 568-75.

¹⁴ See above pp. 48, 49; Backhouse, 'The Strangers at Work in Sandwich', p. 75.

¹⁵ See above pp. 195-96; Spicer, '"A Faythful Pastor in the Churches"', pp. 202-4.

¹⁶ Spicer, '"A Faythful Pastor in the Churches"', pp. 197, 203.

¹⁷ See above p. 270.

permission for up to 360 *adult men* to settle in Southampton with their families.¹⁸ Permission had only been granted for no more than twenty-five households to settle at Sandwich, thirty at Norwich and thirty at Maidstone.¹⁹ The Southampton community never seems to have fulfilled this potential. Unfortunately accurate figures do not survive for the size of the Southampton community before 1596 but an impression of its size, compared with other exile communities, can be gleaned from Table XXV. The Southampton community seems to have been smaller than communities such as Rye and Dover which grew rapidly with the sudden influx of refugees.

¹⁸ See above pp. 74-75, 151.

¹⁹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, II p. 361, III pp. 209-10, IV pp. 39-40.

Table XXV - The Size of Exile Communities in England.

Founded	Community	Size
1550	London	1568 6,704 strangers 1571 4,269 strangers 1571 4,631 strangers 1573 7,143 strangers 1593 7,113 strangers
1561	Sandwich	1561 406 strangers 1571 1,900 Flemings & 300 Walloons 1574 2,400 Flemings & 500 Walloons
c. 1562	Rye	1569 83 men 1572 641 strangers
1565	Norwich	1568 339 Walloons & 1,132 Flemings 1569 2,866 strangers 1571 3,925 strangers 1583 4,679 strangers
1565	Colchester	1565 11 households, 55 people 1571 185 strangers (177 Dutch) 1573 431 'Dutchmen' 1586 1,297 (incl. 500+ born in realm).
1567	Southampton	1584 186 Communicants 1596 297 aliens
1567	Stamford	-
1568	Gt. Yarmouth	1571 390 strangers
1570	Kings Lynn	1571 67 men & 159 women, children & servants
c. 1571	Dover	1571 64 men, 76 women & 137 children
c. 1572	Winchelsea	-
c. 1573	Ipswich	1568 31 male 'aliens' 1576 39 male 'aliens'
c. 1573	Thetford	-
1575	Canterbury	1582 1,679 in congregation 1591 2,760 in congregation 1593 3,013 in congregation
1576	Halstead	-

Sources: PRO SP12/78/9-10, 13, 19; SRO SC3/1/1, f. 254v; *Registre*, p. 19; *Returns of Strangers in the Metropolis 1593, 1627, 1635, 1639*, ed. I. Scouloudi, (HSP, 57, 1985), pp. 73-76; P. Denis, 'Bibliographie de l'Histoire démographique des réfugiés flamands et wallons en Angleterre (1558-1625)', *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire du Protestantisme Belge*, 6 (1974), pp. 98-110; Backhouse, 'The Flemish and Walloon Communities at Sandwich', pp. 40-41, 50; Hardy, 'Foreign Refugees at Rye', pp. 567-74; Goose, 'The "Dutch" in Colchester', p. 263; Redstone, 'The Dutch and Huguenot Settlements of Ipswich', pp. 184-85, 200-1; A.M. Oakley, 'The Canterbury Walloon Congregation from Elizabeth I to Laud', in I. Scouloudi (ed.), *Huguenots in Britain and their French Background, 1550-1800*, (London, 1987), pp. 62-63.

Some communities were too small to be viable. The cost of maintaining a minister as well as looking after the welfare of the sick and poor placed a heavy burden upon the exile communities. The Winchelsea community probably grew rapidly with the arrival of French refugees but as they returned to the continent, the community seems to have ceased to be viable. This may explain the migration from Winchelsea to Canterbury in 1574.²⁰ The small size of the Rye community was given as the reason for the financial difficulties that they were experiencing in 1583. All of the communities were affected by the exodus of refugees to the continent but 'planted' settlements such as Norwich and Southampton do not appear to have begun to experience financial difficulties until the early seventeenth century.²¹ The Southampton community although small when compared with communities such as Norwich and Canterbury remained viable until the early seventeenth century; the church did not request assistance from the Colloquy until 1610. In fact, the community in its early years was sufficiently wealthy to contribute to the poor relief of Sandwich and Canterbury.²² We can only speculate but it would seem that the wealth of several key members, the refugee merchants, sufficed to sustain the church.

The limited size of the Southampton community also seems to have been a positive advantage when compared with the size of the London and Sandwich communities for example. The settlement did not overwhelm its host community as was the case in some communities; at Sandwich, the strangers accounted for about half of the town's total population and at Canterbury it seems to have been at least a third.²³ The limited size of the community may partly explain why Southampton seems to have been relatively free of the petty jealousies, complaints, xenophobic self-interest and even violence which afflicted certain other communities. It was the hostility of the native population which apparently resulted in the collapse of the Halstead community.²⁴ The refugees there were accused of increasing the rents, causing overcrowding and food shortages. In Norwich, the overcrowding by refugees and their dirty habits were blamed as being the cause of the outbreak of plague in 1578-79. There were disturbances in London directed against strangers

²⁰ De Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge*, I, p. 302; Cross, *History of the Walloon and Huguenot Church at Canterbury*, pp.17-18.

²¹ Spicer, '"A Faythful Pastor in the Churches"', pp. 206-7.

²² See above p. 223.

²³ The population of Canterbury was about 9,000 between 1591 and 1600, at this time the size of the Canterbury *congregation* was between 1656 and 3312 people. Backhouse, 'The Strangers at Work in Sandwich', p. 78; Oakley, 'The Canterbury Walloon Congregation', pp. 62-63.

²⁴ Hardy, 'Foreign Settlers at Colchester and Halstead', pp. 195-96.

in 1563 and 1595.²⁵ In Sandwich the hostility towards the stranger community took the form of vigorous social and economic discrimination, with draconian measures being introduced and enforced by the municipal authorities. However the hostility at Sandwich was not solely due to the size of the stranger community, it was linked with the town's declining economic prosperity.²⁶ Although the commercial activities of the Southampton community were also restrained by civic regulations, the Corporation does not seem have been as harsh as the Sandwich authorities. The Southampton refugees were privileged in the temporary restriction of customs duties, elsewhere they remained subject to the laws of the land which restricted the freedoms of the refugees and charged them higher rates of taxation.²⁷

These settlements were expected to be innovative and to make an impact.²⁸ Writing about the stranger communities in the Empire, Schilling commented that the innovative impact of the refugees was greater than that of other migrant groups because of the confessional differentiation between the exiles and their predominantly Lutheran hosts. This caused the refugees to form isolated and distinctive communities which encouraged innovation.²⁹ A similar confessional differentiation can be seen initially in a town as religiously conservative as Southampton.³⁰ However generally this differentiation does not seem to have been as strong in England during the 1560s and 1570s. Some Englishmen attended services in the exile churches and there were some similarities between the churches and Puritan practices.³¹ Therefore it would seem that it was language and culture which initially set the exile communities in England apart from their hosts rather than religion.

The English exile communities were encouraged by the government for economic motives. While the skills of the 'new draperies' may not have been unknown before the Calvinist diaspora, the refugees were actively involved in the production and development of these textiles.³² The

²⁵ Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 283, 284-86, 294-95; Backhouse, 'Strangers at Work in Sandwich', p. 87.

²⁶ Backhouse, 'The Strangers at Work in Sandwich', pp. 81-86.

²⁷ See above pp. 251-60.

²⁸ See above pp. 1-7.

²⁹ Schilling, 'Innovation through Migration', pp. 32-33.

³⁰ See above pp. 177-80.

³¹ See above p. 59; P. Collinson, 'England and International Calvinism, 1558-1640', in M. Prestwich (ed.), *International Calvinism, 1541-1715*, (Oxford, 1985), pp. 204-5; P. Collinson, 'The Elizabethan Puritans and the Foreign Reformed Churches in London', in *ibid*, *Godly People. Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism*, (Oxford, 1983), pp. 245-72 *passim*.

³² See above p. 166.

economic contribution made by the communities was recognised by contemporaries. The inhabitants of Halstead petitioned the Privy Council in 1589 for the re-establishment of the Dutch community because of the increase in poverty after their departure. The benefits of the refugees were also recognised by the authorities in London, Norwich and Colchester, as well as by central government.³³ The refugees at Southampton may not have been as dynamic as in the textile centres of East Anglia, but they certainly contributed to the well being of the urban economy through their mercantile activities and in the establishment of a textile industry in the town.

1604 marks a turning-point for the Southampton community. The exiles had played an active role in the town's commercial life although by the early seventeenth century, they no longer dominated the 'new draperies'. As in other communities, the process of assimilation and the return of exiles to the continent, served steadily to weaken the community. This decline seems to have accelerated after 1604, probably in part due to the impact of the plague epidemic of 1604 which resulted in more than 150 deaths.³⁴ In spite of the influx of refugees from the Ile de Ré in 1628, by 1635 there were only an estimated thirty-six members of the congregation.³⁵ The church had been experiencing financial difficulties since about 1610 and during the first half of the seventeenth century became increasingly dependent on the Threadneedle Street church for financial support. The weakness of the Southampton church was revealed by their response to the attacks made by Laud upon the privileges of the foreign churches. Whereas other churches resisted Laud's pressure, the Southampton church immediately submitted and the English-born members of the congregation were ordered to attend the parish churches.³⁶ Although the status quo was restored after Laud's fall and the community struggled on, Southampton had become the poor relation amongst the exile communities. The community was only saved from extinction by the arrival of large numbers of French Protestants who were seeking refuge abroad from the persecution of Louis XIV.

³³ Goose, 'The "Dutch" in Colchester', pp. 269-70; Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 295.

³⁴ *Registre*, pp. 107-10.

³⁵ PRO SP16/291/66; *Registre*, p. 35.

³⁶ See above p. 203; PRO SP16/291/66; *A Calendar of the Letter Books of the French Church of London from the Civil War to the Restoration, 1643-1659*, ed. R.D. Gwynn, (HSP, 54, 1979), p. 24.

Appendix I

Les Jeunes Publicques qui se sont fectes en Ceste eglise contre les tamps
dafliction selon la Coustume des eglises de Dieu.*

No.	Date	Reason for Fast	Explanation
1	3/ix/1568	'locasion estoit que Monsr. le Prince d'Orengue descendoit d'Allemagne Aux païs bas pour Assaié avec laide de Dieu de delivrer les Pours eglises d'affliction or pour prier plus ardamment le Sieur a la delivrance de son peuple'.	Orange planned a 4-prong attack in 1568. An attack from Germany led by Louis of Nassau into Groningen was defeated after initial success in July 1568 at Jemmingen. Orange invaded through Brabant in October but had little success and retreated to France in November. ¹
2	6/v/1570	'locasion estoit que Monsr. le Prince de Condé et aultres Princes de la france estants en guerre pour maintenir la vraie Religion, que le Roj vouloit abolir, perdirent vne grosse bataille. Dequoi toutes les eglises se voioient fort Desolées et prochaines de Calamité extreme'.	Condé had been killed at Jarnac in March 1569 but his son continued to serve with Coligny. The Huguenots were heavily defeated at Moncontour in October 1569, and Coligny was forced to withdraw to SE France. ²
3	25/ix/1572	'... Monsr. le Prince d'Orengue estoit Receu Au païs bas avec Nouvelle Armee d'Allemagne pour assaier A delivrer le païs et les pourses eglises hors de la main du Duc d'Albe, Ce cruel tiran, et Ausi principalement pour Ce que les eglises de la France estoient en Vne Merueilleuse et Horible Calamité extreme. Par ce que vng horrible Masacre, et sacre a auoit esté fet a Paris le 24 daoust passe ou grand Nombre de Nobles et de fidelles, furent tues en Jour en Jour [sic] et Nuit, enuiron de 12 ou 13 Milles. la presche deffendue par tout le Roiaume et tout les biens de fidelles pillés par tout le Roiaume; or pour la consollation deux, et du païs bas, et pour prier le Sieur a leur delivrance ...'	In July 1572 Orange invaded the Netherlands & captured Geldern, Roermond, Straelen & Wachtendonck. He crossed the Maas on 27 August intent on relieving Mons. Initially the towns welcomed Orange but he failed to relieve Mons. Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day. ³

4	1574	'deux pour prier dieu a donner assistance au fidelles qui tant en paiis de Flandres Comme France estoient en Campaigne en armes pour Maintenir la Verite de leuangille Contre les ennemis desdicts lieux. les deux dernieres furent Celebres pour prier Dieu Nous asister preseruer et garder contre la peste qui Nous Menacoit fort en Ceste Ville et Ausj pour prier le Sieur a asister au fidelles de la France, qui estoient sur le train dauoir un Nouveau Roy par leur mort, a Ce que Dieu en donna un bon par sa grace. Ausi pour prier dieu qui preserva Messieurs les pources fidelles de la Flandres, du Roj dEspaigne, qui se disposait a grand flotte et armee de Mer pour les venir destruire en Hollande et Zelandre'.	<p>Plague in Southampton.</p> <p>Charles IX died on 30 May, 1574. The Huguenots following the Massacre began to develop a separate government in Southern France.</p> <p>The royal fleet had been crushingly defeated in October 1573 on the Zuider Zee & the commander Count Bossu was taken prisoner. The fleet was defeated again on the Scheldt in January 1574. Middelburg, the last royal fortress on Walcheren fell to the rebels in February. March 1574, Louis of Nassau was killed & the rebel forces defeated at the battle of Mook. In October, Leiden was relieved and in November Spanish mutineers abandoned their garrisons in Holland.⁴</p>
8	17/ii/1575	'... pour prier Dieu Auoir pite de ses pources eglises qui, tant en Flandres qu'en France, estoient en Afflictions, et toutefois estoit bruit D'apointement tant a vn Costé qu'a lautre ...'	A Huguenot-Politique alliance was formed in February 1575. ⁵
9	25/iii/1575	'... pour la deliurance des pources eglises de Flandres et de la France, d'autant que pour lors on estoit ensamble pour Asaier a traicter de la paix des paiis de Flandres et des eglises'.	Peace talks began at Breda from 3 March 1575 between Requesens & Orange. ⁶
10	11/x/1575	'... priant Dieu Auoir pitie des afferres de ses pources eglises de Holande et Zelande, quj alloient en Mal, et pour lauancement des Afferres de la France, qui Comenchoient aller en bien.'	The peace talks at Breda broke down on 13 July 1575 and a new offensive was launched against the rebels. Zierikzee was besieged and believed by both sides to be crucial to the Revolt. In France, Alençon was in revolt and in September a mercenary army was led for the Huguenot cause by John Casimir. ⁷
11	21/viii/1576	'...priant dieu de maintenir La maiesté de la Roine en bonne Amitie et acord avec M. le prince d'Orenge, a la gloire de dieu et au salut et Conseruation des eglises'.	A dispute had emerged between Orange & Elizabeth due to the mutual seizure of ships in England & Zeeland, which caused concern in the stranger churches. ⁸

12	22/xi/1576	'...prient dieu pour la Conseruation des eglises de France, quy se voioient menachees, et pour la deliurance plainiere de Celles des pais de Flandres et pour la consolation des pources fidelles quy ont Recu grand affliction a la destruction de la ville d'Anuers, que l'espagnol a destruite le 4e du present; et pour prier le Sieur leur tenir la bride afin quy n'aillent point plus outre afligant le peuple'.	In France, the Catholic League had been formed and they dominated the States-General at Blois because the Huguenots refused to attend. In the Low Countries, the Spanish troops mutinied resulting in the 'Spanish Fury' at Antwerp. ⁹
13	4/ii/1577	'.. priant dieu por les eglises quy sont en la France et Flandres, a ce quelles fusent gardees contre les menees qu'on entendoit que l'ennemy faisoit pour les greuer en Rompant la paix'.	A cease-fire was agreed between the States & the Spaniards. Don John accepted signed the Perpetual Edict in February 1577 thereby agreeing to accept the Pacification of Ghent. ¹⁰
14	4/x/1577	'... priant dieu pour les pources eglises de la Flandres, qu'on voit estre en grand dangier par la guerre Apprestee par don Jan, frere bastard du Roy d'Espaine et pour luy prier de deliurer ses eglises d'affliction, et les mettre en liberte, et aussy que le prince d'Orenge, venu aux estas des paiis bas pour les assiter contre le susdict don Jan, ne soit trahy ou trompé, par quelque ennemy'.	Don John withdrew to Namur and then attacked Antwerp. Orange was summoned by the States General to Brussels. He entered the city on 23 October, 1577 and was warmly welcomed. ¹¹
15	15/vii/1578	'...pour cause que dom Jan d'Austriche Auoit une grosse armee au paiis de Brabant, et que les estas du paiis auoient d'autre Costé aussy grosse armee, et Comme prestz a s'entrebatre surquoy le Sieur a esté prié quil eust pitie de ses eglises quy sont au paiis, pour nestre donnees es mains de dom Jan, ennemy d'icelles, pour les destruire'.	31 January, 1578 Don John defeated the States' forces at Gembloux & in February took Leuven. This forced Orange, Archduke Matthias and the States General to retire from Brussels to Antwerp. ¹²

16	31/iii/1579	<p>'... priant dieu pour les eglises publiques quy sont en la Flandres, Brabant et autres lieux, pour ce que les ennemis Comme l'Esagnol gouuerné par le prince de Parme, puis les Contrees d'Artois et Hinaut, s'estoient desioincte de Flandres et brabant en haine de la Religion publique, et s'estoient donnees aux espagnols puis force Wallons Mutines estans a Menin et lieux voisins, gouvernez par M. de Montigny, brusloient, pilloient et faisoient force tous autres maux sur la flandres. Mesme M. de la Motte gouuerneur de Graueline s'estoit mis hors Auec 3 ou 4000 hommes, et tenoit de loing assiegees les Villes de Dunkerque, Bourbourg, et autres, en se dreschant un camp baptisée Catolique l'opposant au vrais fidelles et veuillant Aller Ruiner la Flandres, pour Cause des eglises publiques y estans Recues, et quelle auoient Ruiné lidolatrie, et chassé prebres et Moines pour la deusieme fois'.</p>	<p>Parma succeeded on the death of Don John on 1 October, 1578. The assertiveness of the calvinist resulted in a backlash in the Walloon provinces which rejected the <i>Religionsvrede</i>. De la Motte had defected to Don John on 8 April 1578. On 1 October Walloon commanders and the mutinying unpaid Spanish troops attacked Menen. The Malcontents made approaches to the Walloon states and to the Duke of Anjou to discuss a Catholic union.¹³</p>
17	23/vii/1579	<p>'...Après la prinse de Mastrik par les espagnolz, priant Dieu auoir pitie de son eglise des Paiis Bas, ou les aferres sont A present en horrible confusion, et aussy priant que dieu, que ses eglises en ce paiis, ne soient troublees par la venue du duc d'Alencon, de laquelle on parle beaucoup'.</p>	<p>Maastricht was taken by the Spanish forces on 29 June 1579.</p> <p>Though Francis, Duc d'Alençon only arrived in England on 17 August 1579, his envoy had conducted negotiations concerning his marriage to Elizabeth since the Spring.¹⁴</p>
18	28/iv/1580	<p>'...pour prier dieu nous Garder Contre son Ire quy le 6 de ce mois nous avoit esté monsté par vn grant tremblement de terre, quy a esté non seullement en tout ce Roiaume, mes aussy Picardie, et les pais bas de la Flandres. Comme pour Garder de Guerre, de peste, et pour preserver les poures eglises de Flandres et France, des efforts de leurs ennemis, quy Requilloient leurs forces, avec une Grant armée d'Espagne pour les venir assaillir'.</p>	<p>An earthquake shook southern England on 6 April, 1580 and was also felt in the Netherlands.¹⁵</p>

19	6/iv/1581	'...pour prier dieu Nous Garder Contre les effects des signes de son ire de quoy avons esté menaché en La Commette quy sest Commencee a Monstrer le 8 d'Octobre et a duré Jusques au 12 Decembre, puis aussy Contre de Grands changemens et Reuolutions Aparentes es pais de Flandres, et par deca; afin que de sa Grace Il luy pleust tout tourner a bien pour le profit de son Eglise'.	The comet was discovered on the 2 October 1580 and detailed observations of it were made by the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe from 10 October to 12 December 1580. ¹⁶
20	25/i/1582	'...pour prier pour les Eglises de Flandres que L'on voioit aller en grant Confusion et affliction Car le prince de Parme aiant prins tournay, se Jettoit par la Flandres sommant Ipre, Furne, Dissemude, Loo et autres villes a se Rendre avec amiables Composition, ou en default, le feu et l'Espee. Suppliant le Sr. avoir pitié des Eglises quy estoient par toute les Villes de Flandres et Brabant, afin quy les Gardast de Retomber es mains de l'ennemy espagnol'.	Tournai surrendered to Parma in November 1581. The other towns did not submit to Parma until 1583-84. ¹⁷
21	28/ii/1583	'...pour prier dieu d'avoir pitie de ses eglises qui sont en la Flandres, qui estoient en pitieux estat par lespagnol, qui prenoit villes sur villes, et d'autre Costé elles quy Auoient prins M. frere du Roj pour estre leur protecteur, avoit essayé a surprendre anuers et ailleurs autres villes, sans toutes Celles qui sestoit aussy saisy par menees secretes bref pour ce que s'estant Monstré ennemy, au lieu de protecteur, se trouuoient en grant Confusion, Car elles auoient deux ennemys pour un'.	Parma's reconquest continued. On 15 January 1583 French troops under Anjou seized Aalst, Dendermonde, Diksmuide, Dunkirk, Ostend, Vilvoorde. An attack on Antwerp on 17 January, 1583 was defeated. ¹⁸

22	12/ix/1583	'... priant dieu pour ses pources eglises premierement pour celles en la France quy sont en grande Menace d'affliction par guerres. Celles de Flandres fort affligee par les espagnolz et Malcontents, quy gattent la flandres, et Remettent la papaute et Idolatrie par toute les Villes qui prennent; et en troisieme lieu pour ceste eglise Ici, et Ceste ville qui passé 5 ou 6 mois a esté affligée de peste; deisa en est mort en Ceste eglise enuiron 50 personnes et de Ceste Ville enuiron 400, et Continue encore l'affliction le Sieur la veuille ferre cesser bien tost, et Ici et ailleurs aussi'.	In France there was unrest at the French Court due to Henry III's behaviour. In the Netherlands advances were made by the Spaniards and Malcontents. Bergues, Diksmuide Dunkirk, Nieuwpoort and Veurne, surrendered to Spain in July & August 1583. In October 1583 the towns along the Scheldt were attacked. The first deaths as a result of the plague were recorded by the French church in April 1583 and they continued to be recorded until September, 1584. ¹⁹
23	16/iv/1584	'...prient dieu pour les pources de Flandres, en grande et extreme affliction et desolation par les horribles guerres des espagnols et mal contents, priant dieu les en deliurer'.	Parma's reconquest continued, Aalst fell in February and on 7 April Ypres fell. ²⁰
24	25/x/1584	'... pour cause que toutes les eglises estrangeres le celebroyent'.	
25	15/viii/1585	'...à cause des nouueaux troubles de France et du siege extreme de la ville d'Anuers par le Prince de Parme et les Espagnols'.	In France, Henry III submitted to the Catholic League in July 1585 in the Treaty of Nemours. The siege of Antwerp had begun in the winter and finally surrendered on 17 August, 1585. ²¹
26	26/vi/1586	'... à cause de la guerre par laquelle les Eglises de France et de Flandre estoient affligées et dissipées'.	
27	26/iii/1587	'... à cause des troubles et grands remuemens par tout le monde notamment en France et en Hollande'.	The League had purged the eastern France of Huguenots. Henri de Guise invaded the territories of Duc de Bouillon. Deventer & Zutphen were betrayed to Spain by Leicester's commanders. ²²
28	5/v/1587	'... pour la cause que dessus'	
29	21/iii/1588	'... ce pour la continuation des troubles en la France, et autres euenementz, desquels L'Eglise de Dieu estoit menacée'.	

30	5/xii/1588	'... prier le Seigneur quil luy plaise donner aux Eglises de France et de Flandres semblable deliuerance comme de celle laquele il est ci dessus fait mention'.	The community prayed that the churches in France and the Netherlands should be delivered in the same way as England had been delivered from the Spanish Armada. ²³
31	19/v/1589	'... pour le celebrer le 22 du mesme mois, Pour prier le Seigneur qu'il luy plaise benir l'armée nauale de la Serenissime Elizabeth, reine d'Angleterre, etc. qui auoit fait voile contre l'Espagnol. Item pour supplier qu'il luy plaise aussi donner paix heureuse aux Eglises de France et de Flandres'.	Elizabeth launched a counter-Armada, the ill-fated Portugal campaign of 1589 which resulted in attacks on Corunna & Cadiz. In the Netherlands, Parma continued to fight but with little success. A truce was agreed between Henry III and Henry of Navarre on 26 April 1589. ²⁴
32	21/viii/1589	'... pour les troubles et remuements de la France et alterations à cause du transport de la Couronne en la maison de Bourbon et les maux desquels l'Eglise estoit menacée. A celle fin que l'ire de Dieu estant appaisée il se monstre fauorable à son Eglise'.	Henry III was assassinated in July 1589 resulting in the succession of the Bourbons. Cardinal de Bourbon was declared Charles X by the League. ²⁵
33	15/vii/1590	'... pour la extremité en laquele estoyent les affaires de France tendans ou à vne nouuelle et cruelle bataille, ou à la reddition de Paris, l'vne et l'autre desqueles choses n'estoyent point sans grandes difficultez. Pour laquele consideration mesmes le Roy de France et de Navarre auoit fait celebrer vn Jusne public en son camp entre ceux de la religion reformée'.	There had been victories against the League at Arques on 21 September 1589 and at Ivry on 14 March, 1590. Paris, held by the League, was besieged by Navarre's forces. ²⁶
34	13/v/1591	'... ce afin d'inuocquer tant plus ardamment le Seigneur à ce qu'il luy plaise benir les armes des Rois et Princes Chrestiens, quj s'employoyent pour la conseruation et propagation de l'Eglise'.	English forces landed in Normandy to assist Henry of Navarre. ²⁷

35	30/xi/1591	'... à celle fin d'implorer tant plus ardemment la misericorde du Seigneur et son aide contre tant de remuements et troubles tant du Royaume de France qu'en toutes les Eglises du Seigneur. Les nouuelles estoyent alors que le Roy de France et de Nauarre auoit inuesty Rouen et mis le siege deuant'.	The siege of Rouen began in October 1591 and Navarre's forces were assisted by the English army. ²⁸
36	19/iv/1592	'... pour implorer le secours du Seigneur contre les aduersaires de l'Eglise et de l'estat de France lesquels estoyent venus pour faire leuer le siege du Roy de France de deuant Rouen'.	Early in 1592 Rouen was relieved through Parma's invasion of Normandy. The siege was abandoned in March 1592. ²⁹
37	6/ix/1592	'... à raison de la continuation des troubles de la France des nouueaux appareils de Duc de Parme contre le Roy; que pour les diuerses maladies estranges et contagieuses qui courroyent'.	Continued difficulties in France but there were indecisive military campaigns. Parma died on his third expedition into France in December 1592. ³⁰
38	30/v/1593	'... pour la continuation des troubles de France, de la guerre de Flandres que pour la peste dont freres de Londres estoyent presséz'.	The Leaguer States General met in January 1593. Talks with Navarre began in April and on the 17 May he converted to Catholicism. In the Netherlands the Spanish campaign was chaotic after the death of Parma. The plague raged in London from autumn 1592 until November 1593. ³¹
39	5/v/1594	'... pour et à celle fin qu'il plaise au Seignuer d'appaiser son ire de plus en plus, et benir le restablissement de ses Eglises'.	
40	11/ix/1595	'... mesme raison que dessus'.	
41	12/i/1597	'... à raison de la chereté vniuerselle par tout ce royaume de bleds par la longue continuation des pluyes qui gasté la moisson et la semaille'.	There was a dearth of corn due to a winter of rain and storms. ³²
42	25/vii/1597	'... pour prier le Seigneur qu'il luy pleust donner bons succes à l'armee de la Roine, et nous octroyer saisons commodes et appaiser son ire enuers ses Eglises'.	This may refer to the troops sent to Ireland under Lord Burgh. ³³

43	14/ix/1597 or 1598	'... pour tant plus ardamment inuocquer le Seigneur à ce qu'il luy pleust benir les conseils de Princes'.	
44	29/iii/1599	'... pour inuocquer ardamment l'Eternal qu'il luy plaise benir les armes de la Roine en Irlande contre les rebelles fomentez par l'Espagnol; Item celles des Princes protestans d'Allemagne contre les attentats injustes et Tyranniques des Espagnols en la Duché de Cleues et en Westphale; Item celles des Estatz de Hollande et Zelande et du Comte Maurice'.	The Spanish had fermented trouble in Ireland and the Queen had been defeated in August 1598. Essex was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and departed with an army in April. Spanish troops invaded the Duchy of Cleves and captured several towns on the Rhine. Philip III wanted to make a mark on his accession (Sept. 1598) and so sent a fleet to Ireland & planned an invasion of the island of Bommel. ³⁴
45	15/viii/1599	'...pour les bruits de guerres et apprehension à une flotte d'Espagne et autres remuements qui paroissoient alors, afin d'induire le peuple à serieuse conuersion au Seigneur'.	Panic about an approaching Armada resulted in large-scale mobilisation in July 1599. The reports of the Armada proved to be unfounded. ³⁵
46	17/vii/1600	'...sur les occurrences de la descente de l'armée des Estats de Hollande et Zelande en Flandre, ou s'estoit donnée bataille fort furieuse entre le Comte Maurice et l'Archiduc, lequel se preparoit derechef à vne nouvelle bataille'.	The battle of Nieuwpoort took place on 30 June 1600. Maurice of Nassau was attacked by the forces of Archduke Albert but they were unable to destroy Maurice's army in spite of inflicting heavy losses. ³⁶
47	23/vii/1601	'...ce a raison des difficultez que le Comte Maurice, experimentoit au seige de Berck: comme pour le siege d'Ostende par l'Archiduc d'Austriche, lequel la battoit fort furieusement, et à raison aussi de l'estat present de ce pays'.	Ostend was a Dutch enclave in the South and a protracted siege was started by the Archduke on 15 July 1601. Maurice of Nassau beseiged Rheinberg, as a diversionary tactic, and the town was recaptured by Maurice on 30 July, 1601. ³⁷
48	8/ii/1604	'...à raison de la maladie contagieuse de laquelle nous estions menaçez, Dieu ayant visité quelques deux et trois familles en ceste ville de contagion'.	Deaths from the plague in Southampton were recorded the beginning of June 1604 until the end of December. ³⁸

49	24/v/1604	'...à raison de l'Estat de Flandres, le Conte Maurice assiegant l'Escluse, et s'efforçant de faire leuer le siege de deuant Ostende, assiegée par l'Archiduc d'Austriche: que pour l'Estat de ce pays, le Parlement se tenant en iceluy. Item pour les verges de son chastiment de peste, que Dieu monstroït à Londres et autres endroits du royaume. Et outre tout cela pour ce qu'en nostre Eglise nous estions apres la Confirmation et installation du frere Timothée Blier au saint ministere de l'Euangile'.	In May 1604 the Dutch invaded Flanders to raise the siege of Ostende. Parliament met in the Spring of 1604. Plague had raged in London from March 1603 but seems to have virtually ended by 1604. There was also outbreaks of plague in several provincial towns including Winchester. Fast to celebrate the installation of a new minister. ³⁹
50	11/vii/1604	'...à raison de la maladie contagieuse, laquelle estoit bien aspre au milieu de ceste Republicque et de nostre Eglise'.	Continuance of the plague. ⁴⁰
51	30/v/1605	'...pour Inuocquer plus ardemment le Seigneur pour la prosperité de cest Estat, et pour les Estats de Hollande, Zelande, et autres prouinces vnies, qu'il plaise à Dieu benir leurs armes à sa gloire et au bien de toute son Eglise'.	The States General withstood the Spanish advance during 1605 which followed the fall of Ostend in September 1604. Several important fortresses were recaptured during Spinola's successful campaign of 1605. ⁴¹
52	22/x/1606	'...prier le Seigneur à ce qu'il appaisast son ire embrazée contre les freres de Londres lesquels il visitoit de son fleau de peste, et semblablement pour le supplier d'accompagner les armées de Messeigneurs des Estats des Prouinces unies de ses faueurs accoustumées, reprimant les gloires et triomphez profannes des ennemis de sa verité'.	Plague broke out again in London. ⁴² Spinola recaptured Groenlo in August 1606 and Rheinberg in October. ⁴³
53	14/ix/1614	'...pour prier le Seigneur de dissiper les entreprises de l'Empereur et du Pape et leurs confederez de ruiner les Esglises de l'Allemagne, et benir au contraire les armes de ceux qui suscitoit pour la conservation de son Esglise'.	The result of the second Cleves-Jülich crisis was seen to surrender Protestant interests. ⁴⁴

54	16/xi/1615	'...a cause des troubles de la France, et pour prier le Seigneur d'y conserver son Eglise a l'encontre de tous les attentats des ennemis de sa verité'.	Henry II, Prince of Condé rebelled in alliance with the Huguenots who were agitated about the failure to implement the terms of the Edict of Nantes, the failure of the Crown to consider their grievances and the claims of the Church that the Edict was only a temporary concession. ⁴⁵
55	13/xi/1617	'...en consideration des difficultez qui troublent les Eglises des Prouinces Unies'.	Divisions began to emerge between the Remonstrants and the Contra-Remonstrants. Maurice of Nassau had sided openly with the Contra-Remonstrants in July 1617. ⁴⁶
56	12/xi/1618	'...en consideration des troubles qui incommode les Eglises des Prouinces unies'.	August 1618, Maurice of Nassau directed the States General to move against the Remonstrants & began to purge the Holland towns. ⁴⁷
57	28/ix/1620	'...en consideration du Synode de diuers pays, qui estoit assemblé en Holland pour appaiser les troubles qui incommode Les Eglises des Prouinces Vnies'.	Synod of Dort.

Endnotes

- * This table of fasts celebrated by the French community has been compiled from the church's register. The first column gives the number of each fast coinciding with the number given for each fast in the register. In the second column the reasons given for holding each fast are transcribed; in this transcription, there has been some capitalisation and abbreviations have been extended. In most cases it is possible to identify the events which prompted the community to fast and an explanation or clarification of the relevant event is provided in the third column. In a few cases however the reasons for holding a fast are too vague to identify clearly. It should also be noted that the record of the few services of thanksgiving which are discussed above are interspersed with the record of fasts and are not numbered. PRO RG4/4600, f. 103-106v.
- 1 G. Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, (London, 1977), pp. 108-11.
- 2 J.H.M. Salmon, *Society in Crisis. France in the Sixteenth Century*, (London, 1975), p. 174.
- 3 Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, pp. 137-40; Salmon, *Society in Crisis*, pp. 186-87.
- 4 Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, pp. 162, 164; Salmon, *Society in Crisis*, p. 191, 193.
- 5 Salmon, *Society in Crisis*, p. 192.
- 6 Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, pp. 166.
- 7 Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, pp. 167-68.
- 8 C. Wilson, *Queen Elizabeth and the Revolt of the Netherlands*, (The Hague, 1979), pp. 39-40; A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London*, (Oxford, 1986), pp. 268-69.
- 9 Salmon, *Society in Crisis*, pp. 201-2; Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 178.
- 10 Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 181.
- 11 Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 183.
- 12 Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 186.
- 13 Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, pp. 190-91, 192.
- 14 Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 195; W.T. MacCaffrey, *Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy, 1572-1588*, (Princeton, 1981), pp. 250-51.
- 15 'Let it not seem beside the purpose to mention the earthquakes which happened in these days, seeing they are things that happen very rarely in England, and those that do, are rather to be called Tremblings of the Earth then violent Shakings. The sixth day of Aprill at 6 of the clock in the evening, the Air being clear and calm, England on this side York, and the Netherlands almost as high as Cologne, in amoment as it were fell a trembling in such a manner, that in some places Stones fell down from Buildings, the Bels in Steeples struck against the Clappers, and the very Sea, which as then was very calm, was vehemently tost and moved to and fro. The Night following the Ground in Kent trembled two or three times; and like again on the first of May, in the dead of the night. Whether this happened by means of Winds gotten into

the hollow places of the earth, or of the Waters flowing under the Earth, or from what other Cause, let the natural Philosophers determine. But immediately upon it there ensued some Trouble to the Papists in England' W. Camden, *The History of the most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth, Late Queen of England*, (Third Edition, London, 1675), p. 244.

16 D.K. Yeomans, *Comets. A Chronological History of Observation, Science, Myth and Folklore*, (New York, 1991), p. 415. I am grateful for the assistance of Mr. F. O'Reilly in obtaining this reference.

17 Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, pp. 209, 213.

18 Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 206.

19 Salmon, *Society in Crisis*, p. 206; Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 213; *Registre*, pp. 102-4.

20 Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 214.

21 Salmon, *Society in Crisis*, p. 238; Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, pp. 214-15.

22 Salmon, *Society in Crisis*, p. 240; Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, pp. 220-21.

23 This fast was held three weeks after a service of thanksgiving for the dispersal of the Spanish Armada. See above pp. 237-38.

24 W.T. MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I. War and Politics, 1588-1603*, (Princeton, 1992), pp. 73-96; Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 222; Salmon, *Society in Crisis*, p. 257.

25 Salmon, *Society in Crisis*, pp. 257, 259.

26 Salmon, *Society in Crisis*, p. 259.

27 Salmon, *Society in Crisis*, p. 261.

28 Salmon, *Society in Crisis*, p. 262.

29 Salmon, *Society in Crisis*, pp. 262, 341.

30 Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 228.

31 Salmon, *Society in Crisis*, pp. 267, 268, 269; Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 230; C. Creighton, *A History of Epidemics in Britain*, 2 vols. (Second Edition, London, 1965), I pp. 351-53.

32 P. Clark, 'A Crisis Contained? The Condition of English Towns in the 1590s', in P. Clark (ed.), *The European Crisis of the 1590s*, (London, 1985), p. 45.

33 MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I. War and Politics*, pp. 405-6.

34 MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I. War and Politics*, pp. 501-2; Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 233.

35 MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I. War and Politics*, p. 133.

36

Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 234.

37

Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 235.

38

Registre, pp. 107-10.

39

See above p. 199; Creighton, *History of Epidemics in Britain*, I pp. 474-99; C. Russell, *The Crisis of Parliaments. English History, 1509-1660*, (Oxford, 1971), pp. 266-71.

40

See above, fast number 48.

41

Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, pp. 236-37.

42

Creighton, *History of Epidemic in Britain*, I pp. 493-94.

43

Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 237.

44

G. Parker, *The Thirty Years War*, (London, 1984), pp. 35-36.

45

D. Parker, *The Making of French Absolutism*, (London, 1983), p. 49.

46

Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 252.

47

Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, pp. 252-53.

Appendix II

Baptismal Names given in the French Church and in St. Michael's Parish Church, c. 1561-1620.

Baptisms in the French Church

	1567-1570	1571-1580	1581-1590	1591-1600	1601-1610	1611-1620	TOTAL
Aaron	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Abraham	1	6	3	8	3	1	22
Adam	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Alexander	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Andrew/Andre	-	1	1	-	1	-	3
Anthony	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Arthur	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Augustine	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Austen	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Benjamin	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Bennatt	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Charles	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Christopher	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Baptisms in St. Michael's Church

	1561-1570	1589-1590	1591-1600	1601-1604	1618-1620	TOTAL
	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-	-	2	1	2	5
	-	-	1	2	-	3
	-	-	1	-	-	1
	1	-	1	-	-	2
	-	-	2	-	-	2
	1	-	1	1	-	3
	-	-	1	-	-	1
	-	-	1	-	-	1
	-	-	-	-	-	0
	-	-	1	-	-	1
	-	-	-	1	-	1
	-	-	2	-	-	2

Daniel	4	7	4	3	2	4	24
Davy	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
David	2	5	2	2	2	-	13
Denis	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Edward	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Elerey	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Elie	-	-	-	-	1	1	2
Emery	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Ernstrom	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Esaie	-	2	3	3	-	-	8
Esdras	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Estienne / Steven	-	1	2	1	-	-	4
Flasatt	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Francois / Francis	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Gauthier	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Gedeon	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
George	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Grace	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

-	2	2	2	-	6
-	-	1	-	-	1
-	-	-	-	1	1
-	1	-	-	-	1
3	1	9	1	1	15
-	-	1	-	-	1
-	-	-	-	-	0
-	1	-	-	-	1
-	-	-	1	-	1
-	-	-	-	-	0
-	-	-	-	-	0
2	-	-	-	1	3
-	-	1	-	-	1
-	1	2	-	1	4
-	-	-	-	-	0
-	-	-	-	-	0
2	1	10	3	1	17
-	-	1	-	-	1

Guillaume / William	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Harry	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Helier	1	1	-	-	-	-	2
Hendry	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Henry	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Hierom	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Hugh	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Isaac	1	5	5	10	4	2	27
Israel	-	2	-	1	-	-	3
Jacob	2	3	3	6	1	2	17
Jacques/James	1	12	10	7	9	5	44
Janne	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Jahel	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Jehan/John/ Johannes	3	17	13	20	13	8	74
Jepthe	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Jeremie	-	2	1	1	-	-	4
Joel	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Jonas	1	3	1	-	-	-	5

13	-	24	7	2	46
1	-	-	-	-	1
-	-	-	-	-	0
-	-	8	2	-	10
-	-	-	-	3	3
-	-	-	-	1	1
1	-	1	-	1	3
-	-	1	-	-	1
-	-	-	-	-	0
-	-	1	-	-	1
6	-	7	-	2	15
-	-	1	-	-	1
-	-	-	-	-	0
20	6	46	12	9	93
-	-	-	-	-	0
-	-	-	-	-	0
-	-	-	-	-	0
-	-	2	-	-	2

Jonathan	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Joseph	1	1	-	-	1	-	3
Josias	-	-	-	1	1	1	3
Josue	-	-	3	-	2	-	5
Julian	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Lawrence	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Lewis	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Lyony / Lyon	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Marc / Mark	1	1	-	1	-	-	3
Mathieu / Matthew	-	4	1	4	1	-	10
Michel/Micheal	-	1	2	-	-	1	4
Moyse	1	1	-	1	-	-	3
Nichodemus	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Nicholas	-	-	-	-	1	1	2
Noel	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Olyver	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Onese mus	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Owen	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Oyne	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

-	-	-	-	-	0
-	-	-	-	1	1
-	-	1	-	-	1
-	-	-	-	-	0
2	-	-	-	-	2
1	-	-	-	-	1
1	-	-	-	-	1
-	-	3	-	-	3
-	-	1	-	-	1
1	-	1	1	-	3
-	-	2	1	-	3
-	-	-	-	-	0
-	-	-	-	1	1
3	3	9	2	-	17
1	-	-	-	-	1
-	1	-	-	-	1
-	-	1	-	-	1
-	1	-	-	-	1
-	-	-	-	1	1

Paul	-	4	1	4	1	-	10
Perygren	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Philippe / Philip	-	-	2	4	3	3	12
Pierre / Peter	-	12	16	17	8	5	58
Rafe / Ralph	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Raynold	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Richard	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Robert	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Roger	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Salomon	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Samuel	3	2	1	5	-	1	12
Simeon	-	1	-	-	2	-	3
Simon	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Siperin	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Sylvester	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Thomas	-	-	-	2	3	1	6
Timothee	-	1	-	1	5	-	7
Tobias	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Walter	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

-	-	-	-	-	0
-	1	-	-	-	1
-	-	-	2	-	2
1	1	3	1	1	7
2	2	2	-	-	6
-	-	2	-	-	2
8	-	22	4	2	36
7	3	10	-	-	20
-	-	2	1	-	3
-	-	-	-	-	0
-	-	-	-	-	0
1	-	-	-	-	1
-	-	1	-	-	1
-	-	2	-	-	2
-	-	1	-	-	1
12	2	27	4	4	49
-	-	-	-	-	0
-	-	1	-	-	1
-	-	1	-	-	1

Zacherie	-	2	1	-	-	-	3
TOTAL	23	103	76	102	66	41	411

-	-	-	-	-	0
90	27	223	49	35	424

Baptisms in the French Church

	1567-1570	1571-1580	1581-1590	1591-1600	1601-1610	1611-1620	TOTAL
Abigail	-	-	-	1	1	1	3
Agnes	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Alice	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Alicea	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Amy	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Anne	-	3	2	6	4	3	18
Anstance	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Anns	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Averyn	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Avyse	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Barbara	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Brigatt	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Chrestienne	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Colat	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Debora	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Dorothy	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Baptisms in St. Michael's Church

1561-1570	1589-1590	1591-1600	1601-1604	1618-1620	TOTAL
-	-	2	1	-	3
3	2	11	3	1	20
6	1	12	3	-	22
-	-	-	-	1	1
-	-	-	-	1	1
2	-	12	3	3	20
-	-	-	-	1	1
6	-	-	-	-	6
3	1	3	-	-	7
1	-	1	-	-	2
-	-	-	1	1	2
-	-	1	-	-	1
-	-	-	-	-	0
1	-	-	-	-	1
-	-	-	-	-	0
-	-	2	-	-	2

Dowcyabel	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Edith	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Elisabeth	4	5	11	10	8	5	43
Elisee	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Ellnar	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Elsie (Eylsey)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Elyen	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Esther	-	-	3	5	4	1	13
Eve	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Felyce	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Frances	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Garthridge	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Hester/Exter	3	5	2	-	-	-	10
Jacqueline	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Jehanne/Janne	-	6	19	9	10	6	50
Jane/Jean/ Johanne/Joan	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Joyes	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Judith	1	11	7	8	2	1	30
Katherine	-	-	-	-	1	-	1

3	-	-	1	-	4
1	-	3	-	-	4
17	4	49	8	5	83
-	-	-	-	-	0
-	-	3	1	1	5
-	1	1	-	-	2
-	-	5	-	-	5
1	-	1	-	-	2
-	-	-	-	-	0
1	-	-	-	-	1
3	-	4	1	1	9
-	-	1	-	-	1
-	-	-	-	-	0
-	-	-	-	-	0
-	-	10	4	-	14
14	6	17	9	2	48
-	-	2	-	-	2
-	1	2	1	-	4
5	1	15	1	-	22

Lea	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Lydie	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Madaleigne	-	2	2	6	1	1	12
Marguerite/ Margaret	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Margery	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Marie / Mary	1	17	20	17	10	10	75
Marthe	-	1	3	1	-	1	6
Nykeld	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Olyfe	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Olyver	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Phebe	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Priscille	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Rachel	2	5	3	3	2	4	19
Rebecca	-	4	1	1	-	-	6
Rose	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Ruth	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Sara/Sarah	3	8	6	2	3	-	22
Susanne / Susan	-	6	12	5	6	3	32
Sybyll	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

-	-	-	-	-	0
-	-	-	-	1	1
1	-	-	-	1	2
5	1	5	4	-	15
2	1	4	2	-	9
7	1	32	8	4	52
-	-	3	-	-	3
-	-	1	-	-	1
-	-	1	1	-	2
-	-	1	-	-	1
-	-	-	-	-	0
-	-	-	-	-	0
-	-	-	1	1	2
2	-	1	-	-	3
-	-	-	-	1	1
-	-	-	-	-	0
-	1	7	3	3	14
3	-	6	-	2	11
1	-	-	-	-	1

Thomson	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Tussin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Ursula	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Usseley	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Welthaan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Winyfrait	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
TOTAL	16	77	93	75	53	38	352		

-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1
90	21	220	57	31	419		

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