

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF ARTS

HISTORY

Doctor of Philosophy

THE FLEMISH AND WALLOON COMMUNITIES
AT SANDWICH DURING THE REIGN OF
ELIZABETH I (1561 - 1603)

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by Marcel Floris Backhouse

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ABSTRACT

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THE FLEMISH AND WALLOON COMMUNITIES  
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This thesis deals with the demographic, ecclesiastical, socio-economic and political history of the Flemish and Walloon Stranger communities at Sandwich during the reign of Elizabeth I.

Chapter I considers the demographic evolution of the local and Stranger populations in the Cinque Port and the attitudes towards the increasing influx of refugees into Sandwich. Chapter II analyses the religious organisation and discipline of the exile communities, including their contacts with the other Stranger communities in England and their co-religionists on the Continent, the attitude towards Anabaptism, their education and organisation of their orphanage. After outlining the economic relations between England and Flanders in the late middle ages and early Tudor times and the role of Sandwich during that period, chapter III examines the important contribution the Strangers made to the Sandwich economy, the tension between the locals and the refugees in a national and international perspective, and the organisation of the exiles' 'New Draperies'. Chapter IV is devoted to an analysis of social stratification and living standards of the exiles, based on information about wages, prices and taxes. The final chapter discusses the involvement of the Stranger communities in the Troubles in Flanders, especially during the 1560s but continuing until 1603. Subjects covered in this chapter include the debates on the use of violence, the Iconoclastic Fury, the Wood and Sea Beggars, and support for Orange.

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organisation and gave me some very interesting topographical details of the town. Jean Tsushima, Hon. Edit. of the Huguenot and Walloon Gazette Research Association, allowed me the run of her personal library, Mary Bayliss, Hon. Sec. of the Huguenot Society, sent me with great expedition books as requested as well as a very important microfilm, and Mr. and Mrs. Charles and Valerie Fovargue provided me with photocopies of articles and donated a microfiche reader.

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ABBREVIATIONS

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<u>(N)AGN</u>	D.P. Blok <u>et.al.</u> (ed.). <u>(Nieuwe) Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden</u> (Haarlem, 1977 - 83).
<u>APC</u>	J.R. Dassen (ed.), <u>Acts of the Privy Council of England</u> , new series, viii - xxxii (1571 - 1604) (London, 1894 - 1974).
ARAB	Algemeen Rijksarchief, Brussels.
<u>ARG</u>	<u>Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte.</u>
<u>AS</u>	<u>Aan de Schreve.</u>
BL	British Library, Manuscript Room.
<u>BOGZV</u>	<u>Bidragten tot de oudheidkunde en geschiedenis, inzonderheid van Zeeuwsch-Vlaanderen.</u>
<u>BVGO</u>	<u>Bidragten tot de Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde.</u>
CCDC	Cathedral, City and Diocesan Record Office, Canterbury.
Coussemaker	<u>Troubles religieux du XVIe siècle dans la Flandre maritime. 1560 - 1570. Documents originaux</u> (Bruges, 1876).
<u>CSPD</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series.</u>
<u>CSPF</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series.</u>
<u>Ec.HR</u>	<u>Economic History Review.</u>
<u>EHR</u>	<u>English History Review.</u>
FCR	French Church Records, Canterbury.
Hessels	<u>Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum. Epistulae et Tractatus</u> (Cambridge, 1887 - 97).
<u>HGOKK</u>	<u>Handelingen van de Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Kring Kortrijk.</u>
<u>HKCG</u>	<u>Handelingen van de Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis.</u>

HL Huguenot Library.

KAO Kent Archives Office, Maidstone.

KCG Koninklijke Commissie voor  
Geschiedenis.

KHA Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague.

PCC Prerogative Court Canterbury Wills,  
Public Record Office, London.

PHS Publications of the Huguenot Society.

P&P Past and Present.

PRC Archdeaconry Court Account Papers, Kent  
Archives Office, Maidstone.

Pr.HS Proceedings of the Huguenot Society.

PRO Public Record Office, London.

RN Revue du Nord.

Sa/Ac Sandwich. Accounts, Kent Archives  
Office, Maidstone.

Sa/Lc Sandwich. Legal Records and Customals,  
Kent Archives Office, Maidstone.

Sa/ZB Sandwich. Miscellaneous, Kent Archives  
Office, Maidstone.

SP State Papers.

Toorenenbergen Acten van de Colloquia der  
Nederlandsche gemeenten in Engeland,  
1575 - 1609 (Werken der Marnix  
Vereeniging, 2nd series, i, Utrecht,  
1872).

WGJ Westhoek Genealogisch Jaarboek.

WMV Werken der Marnix Vereeniging.

PLACE-NAMES AND CURRENCY

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I have used the recognised English version of place-names in the Low Countries where they exist (e.g. Antwerp, Bruges, Ghent, Flushing), but otherwise I have used the presentday name (e.g. Ieper, Bailleul, Comines).

The main currency used in the registers of confiscation of goods in Flanders was livres parisis. When referring to this currency I have retained the original abbreviation lb. s. d. to distinguish it from the English currency.



## INTRODUCTION

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In the sixteenth century the Netherlands formed part of the Habsburg empire. Within the conglomerate of lands which owed allegiance to the Habsburgs the Seventeen Provinces occupied an important position because of their dense population and prosperity. The largest and most populous province was the county of Flanders which extended from the Scheldt to the River Aa. Within the county the Westkwartier with its 'new' and light draperies was of great economic and commercial importance. But the accelerating decline of the textile industry in the villages and small rural towns of the southern Westkwartier during the mid-sixteenth century caused unemployment on a large scale. The recurrent economic depressions made the textile workers an easy target for Anabaptist and Calvinist propaganda. They felt they were the victims of exploitation and they turned against the established Church in the expectation that their material circumstances would improve. Yet, it was religious persecution rather than their economic circumstances that caused them to flee to Germany, England and, in the late sixteenth century, to the United Provinces.

The sixteenth-century revolt in the Habsburg Netherlands has been the subject of extensive research. In 1939 Jan Romein, pupil of Pieter Blok and Johan Huizinga, rightly or wrongly regretted the loss of a generally accepted explanation for the Revolt as a result of specialised research, though he still believed in the possibility of an objective and impartial historiography. Certainly the Dutch and Belgian historians have put forward divergent explanations and have engaged in vehement polemics with one another.

The Dutch historian R.C. Bakhuizen van den Brink saw the Reformation and the desire for the liberty of conscience as the fundamental reasons behind the Revolt. The Belgian historian Henri Pirenne, however, found the main cause of

the Revolt in the conflict between Etat espagnol - Etat bourguignon, in other words in a national rather than religious conflict. According to Pirenne the Dutch Revolt only turned into a politico-religious conflict at a later stage as a result of aggressive Calvinism. The most important of Blok's pupils, Pieter Geyl, deplored the division of the Dutch-speaking region and separation of North and South and favoured a political reunification. In his opinion too the national element dominated the Revolt.

H.A. Enno van Gelder dismissed the bourgeois - national element and took an increasing interest in the role of the nobility in the Revolt. This Dutch historian drew a parallel between the French Wars of Religion and the Dutch Revolt: to him the Revolt was a war of parties. Although the semi-medieval structure of the state survived in the northern Netherlands, it was overlaid by Calvinism, modern tolerance and liberty of conscience. A polemic between Geyl and Enno van Gelder arose about this problem. Geyl charged Enno van Gelder with forgetting that the Calvinists only formed a small minority, and insisted that the Revolt was in essence a reaction against the modern state. Enno van Gelder saw in the Revolt the beginning of the modern state (1).

With the exception of N.W. Posthumus, the historian of the Leiden cloth industry, Pieter Geyl and A.A. van Schelven, to whom we will refer below, Dutch historians did not attach much significance to the huge influx of Southern Netherlanders into the United Provinces in the late sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century, although they were fully aware of the extent to which Protestantism had gained support in the South.

Robert van Roosbroeck has explained this neglect as follows: 'In the national historiography exiles are often forgotten, especially when the cause which they defended

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(1) M. Backhouse, 'Beeldenstorm en Bosgeuzen in het Westkwartier (1566 - 1568)', HGOKK, new series, xxxviii (Kortrijk, 1971), 11-2.

did not result in victory. This definitely applies to the exiles who fled the Netherlands because of their faith, and the Southern Netherlanders in particular...the little man - the dyer, the sheerman, the weaver- is lost' (2). More recently Johan Briels observed that the 'question of the emigration from the Southern Netherlands into the Republic at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century never enjoyed a particular interest on the part of historical science neither concerning its quantitative nor its qualitative aspects' (3).

Such neglect stemmed from the mood among Dutch intellectuals at the time. Contemporary anxieties about the future of the Dutch state led historians to insist that the creation of the Dutch state was the natural outcome of an inevitable historical process. Such was the view of leading scholars like Robert Fruin and Pieter Blok. Dutch historians had been little affected by romanticism and nationalism which influenced historiography in the West European countries in the early nineteenth century. But after the secession of Belgium in 1830 the Northern monarchy, once more limited to the borders of the former Republic, started to develop its own national identity. Robert Fruin was far and away the most influential Dutch historian of the nineteenth century. He it was who made the case for historians to be regarded as professional scientists (although history only became an academic discipline in the Netherlands in 1921). He believed in the possibility of impartiality and saw historical research as a critical assimilation of facts. He interpreted the history of the Dutch Republic from an Orangist-monarchical perspective and consequently criticised the particularism of the States. Since Fruin took the Dutch state for granted, he viewed the Revolt almost entirely in terms of

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(2) R. van Roosbroeck, Emigranten. Nederlandse vluchtelingen in Duitsland (1500 - 1600) (Leuven, 1968), p.7.

(3) J. Briels, Zuidnederlanders in de Republiek 1572 - 1630 (Sint-Niklaas, 1985), p.11.

the later liberation of the Northern Netherlands. He took little interest in the development of the South or in the contribution southern exiles made to the development of Dutch Calvinism.

Blok, like Fruin an Orangist, followed his tutor's footsteps, but paid more attention to social and economic history. He treated the Dutch history in the spirit of social history from a nationalistic perspective but, again, the Southern Provinces were neglected (4).

It was not until 1945 that Dutch historians began to give serious consideration to the emigration of Southern Netherlanders into their country. This coincided with the growing interest in quantitative data. In this respect Pieter Geyl and A.A. van Schelven were exceptional. In his Revolt of the Netherlands Geyl, who had extreme Flemish sympathies, acknowledged not only the numerical importance and economic influence of the Flemish immigrants for the Dutch Republic, but also their cultural influence and character. In his view their introduction of a more ostentatious way of life laid the foundations of the Dutch society of the seventeenth century. He further exclaimed that 'when one tries to estimate their influence outside ecclesiastical history, how varied do their contributions and stimuli appear to have been!' (5).

The Calvinist historian A.A. van Schelven not only emphasized the influence of the southern exiles; he also provisionally estimated the number of Flemish immigrants into the United Provinces at around 60,000. He made it clear, however, that he had not solved the problem: much further archive work would be necessary before the scale of

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(4) P.B.M. Blaas, 'The Touchiness of a Small Nation with a Great Past: the Approach of Fruin and Blok to the Writing of the History of the Netherlands', Historiography in Britain and the Netherlands, viii, ed. A.C. Duke & C.A. Tamse (Zutphen, 1985), 147.

(5) P. Geyl, The Revolt of the Netherlands (London, 1932), p.275.

the emigration could be properly assessed (6).

His successors did not heed his reservations and tended to take his estimate as an established fact. The debate was only reopened recently when the Dutch historian Johan Briels advanced a new estimate based on a wide variety of data. His controversial conclusion that 150,000 Southern Netherlanders in total migrated to the Republic has been widely criticised (7).

From the mid-sixteenth century foreign immigrants settled in England on a large scale. The majority settled in London and in the towns of south eastern England: Sandwich (1561), Norwich (1565), Maidstone (1567), Southampton (1567), Stamford (1567), Colchester (1571), Dover (1571), Canterbury (1575) and other localities. As with the United Provinces the majority of those 'Strangers' originated from the Southern Provinces of the Low Countries (Flanders, Brabant, French-Flanders, Hainaut).

Despite excellent publications on the immigration into England by eminent Dutch and German historians such as A.A. van Schelven, Jan Lindeboom, Beate Magen and Heinz Schilling, English historians have not given much consideration to the historical significance of these exiles in Tudor England. In the nineteenth century J.S. Burn, F.W. Cross, W.J.C. Moens and William Cunningham issued voluminous works on the subject. Though they tackled various aspects of the immigration of the sixteenth century, they were usually content to repeat the information they had found in the then known and newly discovered sources. Cunningham alone produced a view of the general significance of the immigration into England, and

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(6) A.A. van Schelven, Omvang en invloed der Zuid-Nederlandsche immigratie van het laatste kwart der 16e eeuw. Inaugural lecture (1918).

(7) J. Briels, Zuidnederlanders, pp.218-21.

his book still remains the standard work on this aspect (8).

The historians of the early twentieth century - with the honourable exception of Irene Scouloudi - did not find it necessary to continue any further research. They tended to take the work of above named four English scholars for granted, especially in the matter of the economic significance of the exiles for England. Notwithstanding many articles in the Proceedings of the Huguenot Society, they seemed content to state that these skilled immigrants had made an important contribution to the development and revival of the economy at both national and local level without substantiating their statement.

It is therefore heartening to note that during the last ten to fifteen years or so English historians have shown an increasing interest in the exiles. The publications of Nigel Goose on Colchester, Graham Mayhew on Rye, Valerie Morant on Maidstone, D.L. Rickwood on Norwich, C.M. Vane on Norwich, Lionel Williams, and especially Andrew Pettegree on London, on the role of the immigrants in industry and society in sixteenth-century England, attest this revived interest (9).

The reason for this belated recognition is not far to seek. Research on foreign immigration into England was concentrated on the very large contingent of Huguenots - many of them were intellectuals or rich merchants - who settled in this country during the second half of the seventeenth century. Their powerful cultural heritage left an enduring mark on England. By contrast the sixteenth-century refugees from the Low Countries were not only fewer in number but the majority of them were poor artisans. They lacked wealth and humanist education and their radical creed had not yet attained respectability.

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(8) W. Cunningham, Alien Immigrants to England (London, 1897, 1969, 2nd edition).

(9) See the Bibliography in vol.III, pp.89, 92, 94, 97, 101-2.

If religious persecution was the most compelling reason it was not, however, the sole motive for immigration. It would be misleading to describe them simply as Protestant refugees. Many of them left Flanders in search of employment. Heinz Schilling establishes very clearly the division between historians on the Continent concerning the motives and character of this immigration. 'Judgements are influenced by religious, political and ideological preoccupations', he writes. 'Catholics, Belgian centralists and Marxists tend to emphasize the economic motives, Protestants and Flemish regionalists the religious motives of the emigration movement' (10).

This thesis is not a study of the motives and character of the immigration of exiles from the Low Countries into Sandwich, but an attempt to examine the religious experience and socio-economic activity of these Strangers during their stay in Sandwich during the reign of Elizabeth I, their impact on the host town and their role in the Revolt of the Netherlands. But why choose the town and Cinque Port of Sandwich?

When I prepared my licentiaatsverhandeling on the iconoclastic riots and the Wood Beggars in the Westkwartier of Flanders some twenty-two years ago, I observed that many of the archives and printed primary sources respectively referred to Zandwyck or Sandwiick, the sixteenth-century Flemish name for Sandwich. Apparently this unpretentious Kentish town had played a crucial role as a refugee centre for many exiles from the Flemish Westkwartier during the first phase of the Revolt. For nearly ten years I was consumed by the desire to discover what in fact happened in Sandwich at that time. Serendipity played a part. In 1980 I chanced upon three lists containing the names of Flemish

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(10) H. Schilling, 'Innovation through migration: the settlement of Calvinistic Netherlanders in sixteenth-century Central and Western Europe', Histoire Sociale, xvi (1983), 10.

refugees who resided at Sandwich in 1563 and 1573 (11). This find permitted me to embark on this dissertation.

The unpublished sources used for this thesis enabled me to gain a clearer insight into many aspects of the fate of the Sandwich Strangers. In time I found lists of names, tax and rate lists, 'cesse' lists, decrees by the local council, issued with or without the consent of the minister and elders of the consistory of the communities, as well as miscellaneous documents which threw light on the social and economic position of the exiles in the Cinque Port. Inevitably there are lacunae. Unfortunately I could find only a small number of wills. No less serious is the absence of the consistorial records which have enabled scholars working on other communities to reconstruct their religious life. Furthermore, documentary evidence for the Walloon community is virtually non-existent. It is of course true that the French-speaking congregation lasted less than ten years for by 1575 the Walloons had moved to Canterbury. Besides, the Walloon community was always subordinate to the Flemish community, which it was obliged to contact in all religious and sometimes other matters. But despite these obstacles the extant material, minutely studied, has enabled me to shed some fresh light on the number, origin, religious organisation, economic role of the Strangers in Sandwich, on their standard of living and not least on the influence they exerted on the Revolt in the Low Countries. I hope this thesis will contribute to an understanding of the significant part immigrant minorities played in Tudor England, as well as to the early history of the Revolt.

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(11) M. Backhouse, 'De Vlaamse vluchtelingenkerk in Sandwich in 1563. Twee manuscripten uit het British Museum', HKCG, cxlvii (Brussels, 1981); M. Backhouse, 'De Vlaamse vluchtelingenkerk in Sandwich in 1573. Een derde manuscript uit het British Museum', HKCG, cxlviii (Brussels, 1982).





give the names of men directly involved in the textile industry; a second 1571 (8) and a 1573 list (9) again only contain the names of adult men. And although the 1574 community list does include the names of women and even the number of children, maids and servants per household (10), it unfortunately does not cover the entire community: lists for only three of the twelve wards survive though the Flemings are known to have resided in all of the twelve wards.

Calculations are rendered yet more difficult on account of the volatile character of the Stranger communities which ebbed and flowed with the development of the events in Flanders. Throughout the reign of Elizabeth I exiles came and went. Some of these left Sandwich to return to the Low Countries, and yet others settled elsewhere in England.

Although it is less difficult to determine the origin of these refugees than to estimate their number, nevertheless various problems do still arise. The student has to contend with drastic variations in the spelling of patronymics, sometimes the consequence of English clerks unfamiliar with the Flemish names, and the confusion caused by Strangers who registered sometimes under the place of most recent abode, and sometimes under the name of their native town. The difficulties are compounded by inadvertent errors made by earlier scholars not conversant with Dutch or contemporary English usage. In many cases the sources omit to mention the Strangers' origins. Moreover, the same person might be variously known by his patronymic, by his trade name or by his native town (11).

Nevertheless, despite these difficulties, we can be reasonably confident that the available data allow us to

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(8) PRO, SP12/78/29, ff.180-212.

(9) M. Backhouse, 'Sandwich 1573', 229-67.

(10) BL, Additional 33,511, ff.323-9-vo.

(11) Some examples of the way Flemish names were distorted by English scribes are:

determine the origin and to estimate the evolution of the size of the Stranger communities at Sandwich during the course of the second half of the sixteenth century.

## 2. Their origin.

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In the wake of Elizabeth's succession and the restoration of Protestantism in England, the exile community of the Dutch refugee church in London increased markedly. Fears about overcrowding in the City as a result of this influx from the Continent led to a search for other localities. Already a small number of Flemish emigrant families had settled in Sandwich. The London Dutch church decided to give priority to Sandwich on account of its proximity to the Flemish coast. In May 1561 the small Flemish colony there asked for official recognition from the local authorities. A few days later it was rumoured in London that two hundred houses had been allocated to the foreign community in the Cinque Port (12).

The process of authorization for settlement occurred in three stages: preliminary discussions about the possible

(a) ALBRECHT, Gillan (vol.II, no.17, p.13):

Albright, Albryght, Obryth;

(b) BOLY, Pieter (ibid., no.219, p.43):

Ballew, Ballewe, Ballwes, Ballys, Boelly, Bouly, Bouilly;

(c) KESGHIETER, Jan de (ibid., no.949, p.148):

Caesghieter, Heersgieter, Carsosiger;

(d) TUEWELEN, Maerten (ibid., no.1682, p.253):

Tewle, Tewley, Tewly, Tiewele, Toewelen;

(e) VIERENDEEL, Jacob (ibid., no.1755, p.265):

Virdall, Vyrundell.

(12) A.A. van Schelven, Kerkeraads-protocollen der Nederduitsche vluchtelingen-kerk te Londen, 1560-1563 (Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht, 3rd series, xliii, Utrecht, 1921), pp.192-3.

locality, then detailed discussions and finally the governmental consent to a settlement of exact size (13). Sandwich Town Council approached the Privy Council about the exiles' request and soon negotiations were taking place between the authorities and the London Dutch church. On 29 June 1561 Sandwich Council decreed that John Tysar and John Gilbert, Jurats (14), would join their main negotiator, Roger Manwood (15), in London with the authority 'to drawe certen articles thereupon to conclude with certen Strangers that be mynded to come and inhabit within this towne of Sandwich' (16). The ministers of the Dutch church in the capital attended this conference and an agreement was reached. On 6 July 1561 Elizabeth I signed the Letters Patent (17).

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- (13) L. Williams, 'The Crown and the Provincial Immigrant Communities in Elizabethan England', British Government and Administration, ed. H. Hearer & H. Loyn (1975), 121.
- (14) John Tysar was Mayor of Sandwich in 1567-68, John Gilbert in 1572-73 (W. Boys, Sandwich, p.419).
- (15) Roger Manwood (1525-92), a Judge, friend of Archbishop Parker, was Solicitor of the Cinque Ports and Recorder of Sandwich. He held the latter office until 1566. In 1555 he became MP for Hastings, but in 1557-58 he exchanged this for Sandwich. He was a very generous benefactor for Sandwich and for Kent in general. In 1563 he founded the Manwood grammar school in Sandwich. He further built a house of correction near the Westgate and seven almshouses near the St. Stephen's church in Canterbury (J. Neale, The Elizabethan House of Commons (London, 1976, revised edition), p.207; P.W. Hasler (ed.). History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1558 - 1603 (London, 1981), iii, pp.15-7.
- (16) KAO, Sa/Ac4, fo.180-vo.
- (17) A. Pettegree, Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London (Oxford, 1986), p.142.

Of the 1,950 Flemish and Dutch-speaking exiles in Sandwich, listed in vol.II, we can establish the origin of 575, i.e. 29%. With very few exceptions (18) they were all natives from East and West Flanders or Brabant, or at least resided in these provinces before they fled to England. They came from localities such as Antwerp, Axel, Béthune, Bruges, Deinze, Ghent, Hulst, Izegem, Kortrijk, Moorsele, Ostend, Oudenaarde, Pamel, Roeselare, Ronse, Turnhout, Wervik, the Westkwartier of Flanders and its neighbouring Pays de l'Alleu (19). Four were born in Sandwich (20). It is most striking that 506, i.e. 88% of 575 or 26% of 1,950, are known to have come from the Westkwartier and the Pays de l'Alleu. A detailed breakdown for these two regions is shown in the table below:

(18) Jacob de Backer (Flushing), Isbrand Balk (Friesland), Frans Caneel (Mons), Claerkin Hendrickx, the wife of minister Willem Damman, and Barnard Lente (the Land of Cleves), Adriaen Obri (Den Briel), Carle Olivier (Tournai), Anthonis Roose (Tournai), Jan de Smet (Maastricht), Johan Vinchant (Tournai), Christiaen van (de) Wauwere (Breda), Godfried van Wingen (the principality of Liège).

(19) The Westkwartier geographically is to be circumscribed as the western and south-western area of presentday West Flanders and the extreme north of the French Département du Nord. Administratively it consisted of seven districts: the kasselrijen of Veurne, Ieper and Waasten (Warneton), Cassel-ambacht, Belle-ambacht (Bailleul), Bergen-ambacht (Bergues) and Broekburg-ambacht (Bourbourg).

The Pays de l'Alleu in the sixteenth century was a small territory situated at the south of the Westkwartier and encircled by Flanders and Artois; it contained places such as La Gorgue, Saily, Fleurbaix, Laventie and Richebourg.

(20) Lydia Bavieren, Gerson de Buyzere, Jacob Casier the Younger and Pieter de Ruddere.

| | | | |
|-----------------------|----|---------------------|----|
| Alveringem | 1 | Merville | 1 |
| Bailleul | 94 | Mesen | 25 |
| Belle-ambacht (s.l.) | 1 | Méteren | 18 |
| Bergues-Saint-Winoc | 11 | Morbecque | 2 |
| Berthen | 4 | Nieppe | 2 |
| Boeschepe | 3 | Nieuwkerke | 63 |
| Buysscheure | 2 | Nieuwpoort | 4 |
| Caëstre | 6 | Oost-Cappel | 1 |
| Cassel | 6 | Poperinge | 21 |
| Cassel-ambacht (s.l.) | 1 | Proven | 1 |
| Dranouter | 8 | Quaëdypre | 1 |
| Eecke | 4 | Reningelst | 20 |
| Elverdinge | 5 | Roesbrugge | 1 |
| Esquelbecq | 1 | Rubrouck | 1 |
| Estaires | 3 | Sailly | 1 |
| Flêtre | 3 | St.Jans-Cappel | 2 |
| Haringe | 1 | St.Omer | 1 |
| Hazebrouck | 4 | Steenvoorde | 14 |
| Herzeele | 2 | Steenwerck | 18 |
| Hondeghem | 1 | Strazeele | 1 |
| Hondschoote | 46 | Veurne | 15 |
| Houtem | 2 | Warhem | 1 |
| Houtkerque | 3 | Warneton | 9 |
| Ieper | 29 | Watou | 2 |
| Kemmel | 11 | Westkwartier (s.l.) | 11 |
| Leisele | 1 | Westouter | 2 |
| Loker | 7 | Winnezeele | 3 |
| Lo | 1 | Wulvergem | 1 |
| Merris | 2 | | |

The preponderance of exiles from the Westkwartier and the Pays de l'Alleu coincides with the findings of Johan Decavele. He identified 2,793 inhabitants of Flanders who between 1520 and 1565 were either suspected of or had been condemned for heretic activities and sympathies for the new religion in the Southern Netherlands. Of them a staggering 1,203, i.e. 43%, originated from or resided in the Flemish Westkwartier. We have been able to establish the names of

at least 470 Strangers who arrived at Sandwich between 1561 and 1566. Of them no fewer than 225, i.e. 48%, were natives of the Westkwartier. Of these 143 had been condemned for heretic activities (21).

According to A.L.E. Verheyden between 1567 and 1573 the Council of Troubles condemned a total of 12,203 inhabitants of the Low Countries to death or lifelong banishment with confiscation of their goods. Of them 1,889 were born or resided in the Westkwartier of Flanders (22). We should of course bear in mind that Verheyden's figures are not entirely reliable. The many double entries and the lack of precise details in his book have led him to inflate the numbers indicted by the Council of Troubles. His figures can therefore only be used as a fairly rough guide. On the other hand Verheyden's book does not provide anything like a complete picture of the exodus from the Low Countries in and after 1567. Of the 1,480 Flemish/Dutch exiles who presumably arrived in Sandwich during or after the 'Hunger' or 'Wonder Year' of 1566, at least some 168 who came from the Westkwartier had been banished by the 'Blood Council', but we have no evidence in the case of a further 115. The latter figure must surely have been much higher as many came to England without attracting the notice of the Council of Troubles or the civil authorities.

Nonetheless, we may conclude without hesitation that the vast majority of the Strangers who came to Sandwich between 1561 and 1603 were in fact true Flemings - from the Westkwartier in particular. For that reason the Strangers' church in Sandwich became known as the Flemish church rather than the Nederduitse.

But why were the exiles from the Flemish Westkwartier so numerous at Sandwich? In order to answer this intriguing

(21) J. Decavele, De dageraad van de reformatie in Vlaanderen (1520-1565) (Brussels, 1975), ii, pp.62-207; see vol.III, graph II, pp.15-6.

(22) A.L.E. Verheyden, Le Conseil des Troubles. Liste des condamnés 1567 - 1573 (Brussels, 1961), pp.24-475.

question one has to bear in mind the following considerations.

In the first instance one must remember the explicit wording of the Queen's Letters Patent:

'...by planting in the same men of knowliche in sondrie handy craftes, as also for the relief of certen Straungers now residing in our citie of London, being very skilfull therein, belonging to the church of Strangers in our said citie of London...to inhabite within our said towne and porte of Sandwiche for therxercyse therof the the facultie of making says, bay and other clothe which hathe not been usyd to be made in this our realme of Englande...' (23).

The 'New Draperies' had been established in the countryside of the Westkwartier as long ago as the fourteenth century and by the mid-sixteenth century the reputation of the cloth industry in this region was international. William Cecil recognised the economic advantage that the refugees from the Low Countries could confer on their host communities in England, and above all he prized their skill in the manufacture of the 'New Draperies' (24). Without doubt the Westkwartier natives, many of whom had been adherents or at least sympathisers of the new religion

(23) PRO, SP12/18/9. The complete transcript of this manuscript is to be found in M. Backhouse, 'De Vlaamse vluchtelingen in Sandwich (1561 - 1603). Voorlopige bevindingen', WGJ, iv (1987), 155.

(24) W. Brulez, 'De handelsbalans der Nederlanden in het midden van de 16de eeuw', Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis van de Nederlanden (1966-7), xxi, 300; E. Coornaert, Un centre industriel d'autrefois. Le draperie-sayerterie d'Hondschoote (XIVe-XVIIIe siècles) (Paris, 1930), p.493.

since the early 1560s (25), were the best qualified to meet the requirements of Cecil.

The original Sandwich Strangers had to be recruited in London. And the capital housed many inhabitants from the Westkwartier. We know for certain that between 1561 and 1566 at least 150 persons, having first resided in London, moved to Sandwich (26). It is of some interest at this stage to note that many refugees from the Westkwartier who left London or were recommended by the consistory of the London Dutch church for Sandwich were in fact Reformed and Calvinist militants. In all, at least thirty-two were staunch radicals who did not hesitate to cross the English Channel to challenge the authorities in the Westkwartier (27). Are we therefore justified in concluding that the London Dutch church wanted to distance itself from the radicals? Perhaps, though it must be remembered that in the years 1561-63 the Dutch congregation in London went through a period of continuing controversy. The 'van Haemstede' dispute revealed deep divisions within the Dutch community during 1560-62 (28), whilst in 1561-62 fierce ideological differences surfaced in its midst concerning the use of violence against the authorities in the Low Countries (29). In the London Dutch church the moderate view prevailed. In conclusion we can only state that it is not certain whether the Stranger community in London deliberately rid itself of 'turbulent spirits', or whether militants, frustrated by the restrictions and the moderation of the London Dutch church, left for Sandwich when the opportunity arose. Other reasons of course for refugees from the Westkwartier

(25) See Ch.V below pp.289-90.

(26) For details see vol.II.

(27) The term 'militant' or 'radical' refers to those who actively took part in violent activities against the authorities in Flanders (see Ch.V below pp.294).

(28) See A. Pettegree, Foreign Communities, pp.150, 163-81, 192, 244, 297.

(29) See Ch.V below pp.295-7.

choosing Sandwich were the proximity of Flanders, where they could buy yarn in local markets, and the hospitality of the local magistrates of the Cinque Port, concerned to improve the economy of the town. Some Strangers may have been unemployed textile workers in the Westkwartier who decided to migrate to England in search of work.

3. Their numbers.

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#### a. The demographic fluctuation of the native population.

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Before examining the number of Strangers in the Kentish town and comparing them with the number of local inhabitants it is of course essential to establish the demographic situation of the latter.

For this purpose we have used the parish registers of the three Sandwich churches St.Peter, St.Clement and St. Mary (30), a survey of the number of houses/households of the town dated 24 December 1565 (31), the muster books of 1572, 1584 and 1599 (32), a 'cesse' for shipping to be paid by the English inhabitants of the town dated 1584 (33) and the 'fforren' money lists of 1570, 1571, 1572 and 1585 (34).

#### -) the parish registers.

It must immediately be emphasized that the parish

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(30) KAO, Sa/Ac10, ff.1-19, 125-35, 199-vo-206-vo, 272-vo-80-vo, 314-vo-9, 353-6-vo, 383-94-vo, 418-30, 463-6.

(31) KAO, Sa/ZB3/24.

(32) BL, Additional 33,511, ff.150-7, 172-84; PRO, SP15/21/115.

(33) BL, Additional 33,511, ff.92-8-vo.

(34) Ibid., ff.70-2-vo; KAO, Sa/Ac5, ff.51-vo-3, 80-2-vo, 109-10-vo.

registers do not include any Strangers, although the one of St. Peter just sporadically contains the names of Strangers who had been buried in the church, under a separate heading. For the period 1568-99 only a total number of seventy-four Stranger burials are registered and can be found in vol. II of this dissertation.

The first step in this labyrinth of figures is to discover the average number of children per family. The table below demonstrates the combined number of marriages and baptisms of the three parish churches between 1564 and 1600 (35):

Year	Baptisms	Marriages	Year	Baptisms	Marriages
1564	51	31	1584	102	39
1565	67	21	1585	188	37
1566	-	18	1586	124	38
1567	71	20	1587	98	29
1568	68	22	1588	188	22
1569	50	10	1589	106	42
1570	64	23	1590	122	22
1571	47	28	1591	68	24
1572	54	22	1592	101	17
1573	58	29	1593	106	24
1574	72	31	1594	110	36
1575	112	32	1595	116	37
1576	121	43	1596	108	39
1577	105	19	1597	110	39
1578	100	-	1598	91	49
1581	105	29	1599	141	45
1582	112	31	1600	126	34 (36)
1583	120	39			

(35) See vol. III, graph III, pp. 17-8 and appendix I, p. 45.

(36) The figures for 1562, 1563, 1579 and 1580 are seriously deficient and therefore have not been entered.

On the basis of the above figures it would appear that the average number of children per family is three, thus estimating the average family of the local population at five persons. The problem of course is what do we mean by the term 'family' within the concept of the very difficult ground of historical demography? Prominent historians such as John Hatcher (37), Peter Laslett (38), J.A. Sharpe (39) and Keith Wrightson (40) have dealt with this controversial problem at least for the last fifteen years. But their findings have been criticised on various grounds, especially the unreliability of the sources, the fact that only a small number of families can be reconstructed and the consequent unrepresentative results and therefore their averages being meaningless (41).

The word 'family' as known today, meaning the 'nuclear' or 'elementary' group of parents and children, is very recent. In the sixteenth century the term implied all the persons who resided in the same dwelling, including maids and servants (42). To avoid any confusion we have decided to use the term 'family' in its presentday meaning, i.e. parents and children.

The evolution of the population is provided by the balance between births and burials. The table below, again based on the returns of the three parishes, indicates the hypothetical balance of the population per annum and consequently the estimated average number of inhabitants on

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(37) Plague, Population and the English Economy, 1348-1530 (London, 1977).

(38) The World We Have Lost - further explored (London, 1983).

(39) Early Modern England: A Social History 1550-1760 (London, 1987).

(40) English Society 1580-1680 (London, 1988, 5th reprint).

(41) R.A. Houlbrooke, The English Family 1450-1700 (London, 1988, 5th impression), p.12.

(42) Ibid., pp.18-9.

the basis of five persons per family for the period 1564-1600 (43):

Year	Balance	Average Inhab.	Year	Balance	Average Inhab.
1564	-103	1428	1583	- 34	1632
1565	+ 27	1455	1584	- 31	1601
1567	+ 36	1536	1585	+ 33	1634
1568	+ 13	1549	1586	+ 66	1700
1569	+ 34	1583	1587	+ 27	1727
1570	- 26	1557	1588	- 7	1720
1571	- 56	1501	1589	- 5	1715
1572	- 23	1478	1590	+ 51	1766
1573	+ 25	1503	1591	- 20	1746
1574	+ 21	1524	1592	- 6	1740
1575	+ 80	1604	1593	- 14	1726
1576	+ 59	1663	1594	-117	1609
1577	+ 33	1696	1595	- 61	1548
1578	+ 35	1731	1596	- 30	1518
1579	+ 30	1761	1597	-131	1387
1580	+ 11	1772	1598	- 26	1361
1581	- 17	1755	1599	+ 17	1378
1582	- 89	1666	1600	+ 17	1395

It must immediately be emphasized that the above figures take no account of families without children or of inward migration to Sandwich from the surrounding countryside. With these two important caveats and notwithstanding possible errors in the parish registers and the uncertainty whether burials include newly-born infants, we can roughly estimate the average English population at Sandwich during the second half of the sixteenth century per decade as follow:

1560 - 1569 : approximately 1,500 - 1,600

1570 - 1579 : approximately 1,700 - 1,800

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(43) See vol.III, graph IV, pp.19-20.

1580 - 1589 : approximately 1,800 - 1,900

1590 - 1599 : approximately 1,600 - 1,700

When examining the above hypothetical figures under the microscope it is clear that the local population of Sandwich grew between the 1560s and the 1580s by approximately 15 to 20% over a period of twenty years (44). And although Sandwich, as elsewhere in the country, recorded a very high level of burials in 1564, 1568, 1570, 1571, 1574 and 1577 - years marked out by epidemics and the aftermath of harvest failures (45) - the birth rate always exceeded the death rate due to a gradual increase in marriages until the 1580s. In Elizabethan England the pattern of late age at marriage was well established: the average marriage age for a woman was approximately 26, that for a man between 28 and 29 (46). This of course significantly affected the fertility period of a woman: the reduced size of the family was a result of the reduced period of child-bearing (47). A certain proportion of the population, moreover, did not marry. The severe earthquakes of 7 April and 2 May 1580 in Sandwich do not even appear to have claimed many victims, if any at all (48). But the ninth decade of the sixteenth century, a decade of disaster in England and elsewhere, devastated the town: the economic decline and severe epidemics in 1592, 1594 and 1597, accompanied with harvest failures in 1594 and 1597, brought the population almost back to its level of the early 1560s despite the still slowly increasing marriages and births. In 1596, 1597 and 1599, despite a slight increase during the latter year, the average population seems to have been lower than in 1564, a pattern which appears to be general in South East England of the 1590s. In Rye, for instance,

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(44) Ibid., graph V, pp.21-4.

(45) See Ch.III below pp.202-3.

(46) R.A. Houlbrooke, English Family, p.63.

(47) Ibid., p.127 sqq.

(48) KAO, Sa/Ac5, fo.253.

the population declined so rapidly in the 1590s that by 1600 the town numbered little more than half its population in the 1550s and 1560s (49).

-) the survey of 1565.

During the second half of 1565 the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Lord Cobham, and the Queen's Commissioners for Kent, Thomas Cott, Thomas Wotton, Thomas Scott, Humphrey Hales, William Cromer and Thomas Tutson, asked the Mayor and Jurats of Sandwich how many houses/households there were in the town. It is not clear why this survey, which also required information about the sort, tonnage and men of the ship in the harbour, was conducted. It is quite possible that the Privy Council was concerned about the defence of the south coast, although the survey does not contain such details as were required for the muster rolls. Whatever the reasons, the Mayor and Jurats of Sandwich replied in December of the same year and the report was recorded by the Lord Warden and the Queen's Commissioners on 18 March 1566 (50).

From the survey we learn that in December 1565 Sandwich had a total of 420 houses/households, of which 291 belonged to the native inhabitants. Our use of the term 'houses/households' needs accounting for. It is indeed very difficult to clarify whether the survey of 1565 counted houses or family units. In the Mayor and Jurats' survey we find the word householdes, whilst the one recorded and signed by the Lord Warden and Commissioners contains the word houses. As we could not trace the actual request for the survey we do not know if the number of houses or households were required. We have assumed that the Commission meant households. Consequently, on the basis of our estimate of five persons per family and taking into consideration our above mentioned reservations, we may

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(49) G. Mayhew, Tudor Rye (Hove, 1987), p.24.

(50) BL, Cotton Manuscripts, Julius B.IV, ff.95-6.

estimate the approximate minimum English population at 1,455. It is this figure that we have used as a basis to calculate the population balance and average number of inhabitants in the table above.

-) the muster rolls.

The system of muster books started in 1544 'when the whole manhood of the country was ordered to arm itself according to its wealth, and instructions were issued to selected residents to return the number of "able men" in each hundred' (51). It underwent some change in 1558, in which year 'instructions were sent to Lords Lieutenant, and so to Commissioners of the Musters, in each shire. They were to divide the shire "up among themselves" into divisions and then to render their returns, in three classes, of all the men between the ages of sixteen and sixty - those "unmeet to serve", those able, and those chosen; the last class to be denominated with its weapons' (52). The most reliable years of the musters for Kent, according to E.E. Rich, are 1573, 1577 and 1580. In these years the county had 9,629, 11,203 and 12,131 serving armed men respectively (53).

We were able to find three muster books for Sandwich dated 1572, 1584 and 1599. In 1572 the Cinque Port had 409 serving men (54), in 1584 513 (55) and in 1599 417 (56). We do not know how many denizens were included in the 1572 muster roll, but in 1584 there were thirteen and in 1599 four. On this basis we can roughly estimate the total English population of Sandwich in 1572, 1584 and 1599 at approximately 1,550, 1,700 and 1,600 respectively. These

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(51) E.E. Rich, 'The Population of Elizabethan England',  
Ec.HR., 2nd series, ii (1950), 248.

(52) *Ibid.*, 249.

(53) *Ibid.*, 253-4.

(54) PRO, SP15/21/115.

(55) BL, Additional 33,511, fo.157.

(56) *Ibid.*, fo.184.



figures are slightly higher than the ones calculated above but, again taking our reservations into account, probably more accurate.

-) the 'cesse' for shipping to be paid by the English inhabitants.

We are poorly informed about this 'cesse' but we may assume that a number of English inhabitants, probably merchants and those who benefited from the shipping of their goods, were requested to pay a contribution to the town for the use of the ships, possibly after an assessment of means. Unfortunately only one of those lists, for 1584, has survived. That year 356 English inhabitants - amongst them five denizens - paid that 'cesse' (57). We can therefore estimate the minimum the English population in Sandwich for the year 1584 between 1,600 and 1,700, a figure which roughly coincides with our previous calculations for the same year.

-) the 'fforren' money or rate-payers list.

Like the Strangers the native population of Sandwich was also to pay their 'fforren' money. Although it is virtually impossible to use these lists to establish independently the size of the population, they are worthy of note. In 1570 eighty-nine English people paid their 'fforren' money, in 1571 ninety-eight, in 1572 eighty-nine and in 1585 121 (58). These low figures are of no use to estimate the English population and would only lead to a very low degree of accuracy, if any at all. Contrary to this conclusion, the Stranger 'fforren' money lists can be used to estimate their numbers, as will be established below.

It may be useful for the purposes of comparison to consider the demographic evolution of the Cinque Port

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(57) Ibid., fo.98-vo.

(58) Ibid., ff.70-2-vo; KAO, Sa/Ac5, ff.51-vo-3, 80-2-vo.

between the second half of the sixteenth century and the end of the eighteenth century. We are fortunate to have an accurate count of the houses and inhabitants for 1776 (59). In that year Sandwich counted a total of 562 houses and 2,206 inhabitants, none of whom were classified as Aliens or Strangers. On the basis of the figures calculated earlier in this chapter the average annual English population in the town between 1564 and 1599 fluctuated around 1,600. This means that the local population of the Cinque Port increased by approximately 556 people over a period of 276 years, i.e. an increase of two to three inhabitants per year.

b. The Flemish (or Dutch-speaking) community.

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In order to be able to estimate the number of Flemish Strangers in Sandwich we have to rely on five name lists, two dated 1563, one 1571, one 1573 and one 1574, three 'fforren' money or rate-payers lists (1570, 1571, 1572), and two 'bonne' money or tax lists dated 1582 and 1585.

According to the Royal Warrant the number of Strangers allowed to settle in Sandwich was limited to a maximum of twenty-five households, no household to extend ten to twelve persons. In other words no more than 200-240 or 250-300 persons, all to be recruited in London (60). But analysis of the aforementioned lists make it very obvious that the Flemish community rapidly exceeded the prescribed limitation. At the end of 1561, for instance, only four months after they were authorised apparently to settle in the Cinque Port, the town counted some 406 refugees. Unfortunately the document supplied by William Boys to substantiate this figure cannot now be traced in the

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(59) W. Boys, Sandwich, pp.295-313.

(60) PRO, SP12/18/9.

archives (61). The tally of 406 was given on 28 November 1561 by the minister of the Flemish community, Jacob de Buyzere, who was no doubt acting on instructions from the Town Council (62). This most interesting document provides us with a breakdown of the Strangers' community at that time:

- married men and women	180
- widowers	3
- widows	6
- bachelors between 18 and 30 years of age	22
- maids and servants	17
- young boys and girls between the age of 1 week and 18 years of age	178

A very youthful community indeed. On 23 October the following year Jacob de Buyzere asked his colleague in London, Pieter Deleen, for help as the persecution in Flanders was driving so many exiles to Sandwich that the town could not accommodate them. If the London Dutch church would not come to the aid of the consistory of the Flemish church at Sandwich, the community would be forced to send a great number of refugees to the capital (63).

On the basis that the survey of 1565 counted households and not houses, in December that year Sandwich contained 129 Stranger family units, the latter wording to be interpreted within the meaning referred to earlier in this chapter, i.e. a household being all the people living in one house, including children, apprentices, maids, etc. The table below gives the exact number of names in each of the lists:

1563 (1)	247
1563 (2)	285
1570 (rate-payers list)	260
1571 (1) (idem)	143
1571 (2)	498

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(61) W. Boys, Sandwich, p.742.

(62) Loc. cit.

(63) Hessels, ii, pp.208-9.

1572 (rate-payers list)	348
1573	492
1574	768
1582 (tax list)	351
1585 (idem)	170

The two lists drawn up in 1563 only contain the names of adult males employed in the textile industry, to be more precise, the names of the twenty-five master-baize and say workers each with between seven and twelve apprentices. It is surely no coincidence that these twenty-five 'households' represent the twenty-five 'households' allowed under the terms of the Patent. Since the families of these males are not included, the government in effect gave permission for the settlement of many more than 250-300 individuals.

Another problem is the number of children per family. On the basis of the collected biographical data of the Strangers listed in vol.II and appendix III in vol.III we counted a total of 372 children spread over 137 families, i.e. an average of three children per family. Thirty-four families had one child, forty had two, whilst the remaining sixty-three varied between three and nine children. In other words 54% of the identified families had one or two children, which suggests strongly that a family consisted of four persons. However, as there are no baptismal records we cannot be certain that all children were registered. Also we have no further records after 1574 so children born after that date are not included. Furthermore, a recent demographic study by E. Hélin affirms that the average family of parents and children in rural Flanders in the sixteenth century consisted of approximately five persons, i.e. three children per family (64). Nevertheless, on the assumption that each adult man was married and had three

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(64) E. Hélin, 'Demografische ontwikkeling van de Zuidelijke Nederlanden', (N)AGN, ed. D.P. Blok et al. (Haarlem, 1980), v, pp.169-94.

children, the number of Flemish Strangers would appear to be as follow after preliminary calculations:

1561	:	404	1571 (2)	:	2,490
1563 (1)	:	1,235	1572	:	1,740
1563 (2)	:	1,425	1573	:	2,460
1565	:	955	1574	:	768
1570	:	1,300	1582	:	1,755
1571 (1)	:	715	1585	:	850

There are of course further difficulties: by no means all families had children and not every adult member of the community was married. The 1574 list numbers twenty-four families in the second ward, of whom six had no children; eighty-seven families in the third ward, of whom thirty-one had no children; sixty-seven families in the fourth ward, of whom nineteen had no children. The numbers include bachelors. These figures suggest that on average one in four families had no children.

Neither rate nor tax registers list all inhabitants, as the discrepancy between the name and rate lists of 1571 demonstrates. Whereas the name list contains 498 individuals, the latter has only 143 names, in other words, roughly speaking possibly one in four Flemish refugees was assessed for rates.

Having examined the pertinent sources we are now in a position to estimate the approximate size of the Flemish Strangers' community in Sandwich:

1561	:	406	1572	:	1,044
1563 (1)	:	927	1573	:	1,845
1563 (2)	:	1,069	1574	:	2,304 (65)
1565	:	717	1582	:	1,053
1570	:	980	1585	:	510
1571	:	1,868			

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(65) This figure is calculated on the following basis: 768

Using these figures we can now tentatively establish how large the Flemish element was in the total population of Sandwich. In view of our above stated reservations and comments for the natives as well as for the exiles we have rounded the figures up to the nearest hundred. The first column contains the year, the second the Flemish population, the third the local population, the fourth the total and the fifth the percentage of Strangers in the total population:

1565	800	1,500	2,300	34.7%
1570	1,000	1,600	2,600	38.4%
1571	1,900	1,600	3,500	54.2%
1572	1,100	1,500	2,600	38.4%
1573	1,900	1,600	3,500	54.2%
1574	2,400	1,600	4,000	60%
1582	1,100	1,600	2,700	40.7%
1585	600	1,700	2,300	26% (66)

Unfortunately none of the burial, baptism and marriage registers for the Flemish community in Sandwich during the second half of the sixteenth century have survived. This is a serious loss for they would have of course provided the means to establish more accurate figures for the Strangers in the town. We should also remember that the Stranger community was subject to marked and rapid fluctuations. The volatile character of the community is borne out by the examination of the 1570, 1571 and 1572 'fforren' money lists: we find that many Strangers in those lists do no longer appear in the later lists, while others, registered in 1570, cannot be located in the lists for 1571 and 1572.

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is the total number of names of individuals residing in three wards, being an average of 256 per ward. As Sandwich had twelve wards this would make a total of 3,072. One in four childless families are to be deducted (708), thus totalling 2,304.

(66) See vol.III, graph no. VIII, pp.29-30.

But one point is abundantly clear: the Flemings were flocking to the town. Jacob de Buyzere did not exaggerate when in 1562 he wrote that they were arriving in such numbers that the town could hardly contain them. As the persecution of adherents of the new religion intensified in Flanders the influx of exiles increased. This immigration, previously unknown to the Kentish Port, soon caused anxiety to the Council of Sandwich. The outbreak of the plague in 1563 and 1564 which caused the death of many Strangers briefly checked the rise (67). But after 1565, when many exiles left Sandwich to settle in the newly-erected refugee community at Norwich (68), the number of Flemings arriving in the town continued to increase: the rate of increase reached its peak in 1567, the year of the arrival of the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands (69). Calvinist hedge preachings followed by the Iconoclastic Fury during the summer of 1566 and insurrections in Flanders and Brabant persuaded Philip II of Spain to send Alva to the Low Countries to suppress the rebellion and to pacify the country. The ringleaders of the Troubles had to be eliminated. Although many refugees left England and returned to the Continent after Alva's departure in 1573 and the Proclamation of the Pacification of Ghent in 1576 (70), there is no evidence that many of those in Sandwich returned to their native province. The Dutch Revolt was far from over and the turbulent 1570s, 1580s and 1590s, when the Spanish troops of Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma,

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(67) KAO, Sa/Ac4, ff.248-vo, 317-vo.

(68) W.J.C. Moens, The Walloons and their Church at Norwich; their Church and Registers, 1565-1832 (PHS, Lympington, 1887-8), ii, p.18.

(69) See vol.III, graph VI, pp.25-6.

(70) J. Decavele, 'Het herstel van het Calvinisme in Vlaanderen in de eerste jaren na de pacificatie van Gent (1577-1578)', Brugge in de Geuzentijd (Bruges, 1982), 11.

reconquered the Southern Netherlands, triggered off a final immigration into England and the United Provinces. Nor were the Flemings the only foreign refugees in Sandwich.

c. The Walloon (or French-speaking) community.

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The sixteenth-century Walloons came from Artois, Hainaut, Walloon Flanders and the Pays de l'Alleu; Tournai, Armentières and Valenciennes were the major Walloon towns. Already at the end of the first half of the sixteenth century Calvinism had made inroads on a large scale in the Walloon provinces, especially at Tournai and Valenciennes.

Little is known about this originally small community in Sandwich. For details of their place of origin and numbers we have only two name lists, the first dated 1571 (71), the second 1574 (72). On the basis of these two sources added with some names from the poor relief account from the deacons of the Walloon church dated 1568-1572 (73), we were able to identify a total of 296 members of the Walloon community. Unfortunately we could only trace the place of origin or residence in the Low Countries of thirty-nine of them, as outlined in the table here below:

Alleu (s.l.)	2	Mesen	1
Amiens	1	Monain	1
Antwerp	1	Reningelst	1
Armentières	3	Richebourg	2
Artois (s.l.)	1	Sailly	1
Bailleul	1	Steenwerck	1
Bergues-Saint-Winoc	1	Tournai	9
Comines	1	Warneton	1
Haringe	1	Wervik	2

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(71) PRO, SP12/78/29, ff.180-212. The Flemings and Walloons are intermingled in that list.

(72) BL, Additional 33,511, ff.327-338.

(73) HL, MS/J 27.



Hondschoote	2	Westkwartier (s.l.)	1
La Gorgue	2	Wormhoudt	1
Laventie	2		

The pattern, so characteristic for the Flemish Strangers in Sandwich, also seems to apply to the Walloon community, albeit on a smaller scale: eleven originated from or had lived in Bailleul, Bergues-Saint-Winoc, Haringe, Hondschoote, Mesen, Reningelst, Steenwerck, Warneton and Wormhoudt, all towns and villages in the Flemish Westkwartier. We can of course not be certain that they were all Walloons and we have to rely on the name list of 1571, in which they are indeed described as Walloons. This immediately prompts us to ask what significant numbers of Walloons were doing in that area.

In the first instance one must not forget that towns like Tournai and Valenciennes were outposts of the industrialised countryside of Flanders and also deeply involved in the 'New Draperies'. With the gradual decline of the urban industries during the course of the early sixteenth century, many Walloons left their native towns in the hope of finding employment, particularly in the booming textile industry of the rural Westkwartier.

But they did not only arrive as a labour force. From the beginning of the 1540s Calvin's doctrine spread to the Low Countries from Geneva along the French border. Spurred on by the short-lived missions of Pierre Brully and Guy de Brès, Reformed from the Walloon provinces reached Hondschoote between 1545 and 1550. They not only sought employment, but also brought with them the new religion, which they helped to spread among the Flemish inhabitants (74). Many cases of heresy came to light in the areas of

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(74) P.M. Crew, Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands 1544 - 1569 (Cambridge, 1978), p.6; G. Moreau, Histoire du protestantisme à Tournai jusqu'à la veille de la Révolution des Pays-Bas (Paris, 1962), p.83 sqq.

Bergues-Saint-Winoc - Hondschoote and Bailleul - Nieuwkerke, the main industrial areas at the time - during the 1550s, when the new religion first made its presence felt in the Westkwartier (75).

Though the evidence is slender, it would seem that the French-speaking community also included some activists: three participated in the Iconoclastic Fury, two acted as armed bodyguards of ministers, two continuously promoted the new religion; another, Antoine Lescaillet, was a radical pastor, who became minister of the Walloon congregation in Sandwich, and others were whipped in Alleu and Flanders because of their heretic activities (76). The paucity of the available information does not allow us to draw any sweeping conclusions but certainly radical Walloon Calvinists were present at Sandwich.

It should be noted that all thirty-nine French-speaking exiles whose origin can be established arrived in Sandwich after 1566. Indeed, when one examines the 1571 list of Walloons, which discloses the year exiles arrived in Sandwich, the following picture emerges:

1562 :	3	1567 :	38
1563 :	1	1568 :	9
1564 :	1	1569 :	7
1565 :	11	1570 :	13
1566 :	5	1571 :	6 (77)

We may therefore assume that the Walloon community in Sandwich before 1567 was quite small. This seems to be borne out indirectly by the records which make no mention of the Walloons until 1566-67. But, as was the case with the Flemings, the congregation rapidly increased in numbers from 1567 onwards. The expansion of this community is

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(75) J. Decavele, Dageraad, i, pp.390-8.

(76) See Ch.V below p.289.

(77) See vol.III, graph VI, pp.25-6.

reflected in the 1574 list. Unlike the lists for the Flemish community, this one would appear to be complete and gives not only the names of the men, but also the women and the number of children, servants and maids in each household, spread over ten wards, thus providing more accurate data than for the Flemish community at that moment in time. Of course we cannot be absolutely certain that the Walloon community was spread over only ten wards, but as we have traced none whatsoever in the remaining two wards, we may assume that the Walloons were concentrated in the ten wards in question. In 1574 the French-speaking community numbered 460: there were 114 households, three with a servant and one with a maid. 235 children were spread over eighty-two families; in other words, each family had approximately two children, who formed 51% of their community, though thirty-two families had no children. It is of course quite possible that some were not accounted for and that therefore the total number might have been slightly higher. Although the sources describe them all as Walloons, some of them were French Protestants. On 1 June 1573 the Mayor and Jurats of Sandwich called the minister and some of the elders of the Walloon church before them

'and dyd there delyver unto them to be distrybuted to the pore Ffrenchemen which are of late comen owt of Ffrance for their conscience sake, to the some of ffiftie shillengs receaved from John Cooke, minister, by the hand of Thomas Andrewes, Maior of Dover' (78).

On the basis of the above details we can with some confidence estimate the number of Walloons at Sandwich in 1571. The list gives the names of ninety-three male adults. If we were to assume that each family nucleus contained four persons, we would conclude that 372 French-speaking exiles resided in Sandwich in 1571. But since almost one-

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(78) KAO, Sa/Ac5, fo.130-vo.

third of the households had no children, we calculate that 279 Walloons were resident in the Kentish port.

The minimum total estimated population of Sandwich during these two particular years appears to be:

1571 : 1,600 local inhabitants + 1,900 Flemings + 300  
 Walloons, total: 3,800;  
 1574 : 1,600 local inhabitants + 2,400 Flemings + 500  
 Walloons, total: 4,500.

The strength of the Strangers at Sandwich can be better appreciated by comparison with other refugee communities in England. We know for example that on 25 May 1571 Dover housed 277 Flemings (men, women, children and maids) (79), Colchester thirty-eight households on 11 May 1571 (80), Maidstone forty-three alien families (115) adults in 1585 (81), Colchester 1,297 Strangers in 1586 (82) and Norwich 4,600 in in 1582 (83). After London and Norwich Sandwich therefore contained the third largest Strangers community in England during the second half of the sixteenth century and the only community to outnumber the native population.

4. The authorities and the continuing influx of refugees into Sandwich.

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Between 1561 and 1563 the Flemish Strangers community increased by an estimated 128% and by the beginning of the

(79) PRO, SP12/78/19.

(80) PRO, SP12/78/9.1.

(81) J. Youngs, Sixteenth-Century England (London, 1984), p.243.

(82) N. Goose, 'The "Dutch" in Colchester: The Economic Influence of an Immigrant Community in the Sixteenth and Seventeen Centuries', Immigrants and Minorities, i, 3 (1982), 263.

(83) J. Youngs, Sixteenth-Century England, p.243.

1580s by approximately 160%. Seven months before de Buyzere asked London for assistance in October 1562, Sandwich Town Council voiced its concern about the problem of the influx of refugees. On 26 March the Mayor and Jurats decreed that all Strangers should be counted (84). Ironically, an outbreak of the bubonic plague in the town, which began at the end of 1563 and reached its climax in 1564, temporarily brought a respite, as it drastically reduced the number of Strangers. The high mortality amongst the Flemish exiles brought the town's population back to some kind of acceptable balance. But the continued flow of further refugees soon reinforced the Strangers community. In 1565, when the Strangers made up around one-third of the local population, the Council decided it was time to act again. Religious issues appear to have led to heated discussions in the Kentish port. On 31 August 1565 the Mayor and Jurats decreed that no member of the Flemish congregation or Englishman was allowed to discuss openly religious matters outside the congregation on pain of banishment (85). Also in 1565 some forty to fifty persons who did not belong to the Flemish congregation, were threatened with banishment from the town if they refused to join the Reformed church (86). The sanction of banishment from the Cinque Port not only reduced the number of Strangers in the town, but, as we shall see in the following chapter, also enormously strengthened the authority and power of the consistory over the members of the Stranger community (87).

In 1566 the number of Strangers may have declined for some returned to their native country after having received word of the Request, presented to the governor-general by the Compromise of the Nobility on 5 April. The Calvinists drew encouragement from the 'Moderation' conceded by Margaret of Parma four days later. They hoped that this

(84) KAO, Sa/Ac4, fo.202.

(85) See Ch.II below p.129.

(86) Loc. cit.

(87) Loc. cit.

heralded the onset of religious freedom, which they had enjoyed for a number of years in their host country. The subsequent revolt, ignited by the Iconoclastic Fury and succeeded by the rash of insurrections ended, however, in complete failure. The arrival in the Netherlands of the Duke of Alva in August 1567 and the creation of the Council of Troubles the next month, as we have remarked, transformed the situation. Fugitives flooded into Sandwich, so that the Stranger communities soon had to absorb larger numbers than ever before.

Almost at once the Town Council went into action in an endeavour, in the first instance, to sift out undesirable individuals. In this the authorities probably had the consent and co-operation of the consistory of the Flemish refugee church, for we find no objections to this policy. On 8 August 1567, 29 December of the same year, 4 May 1573 and 27 September 1574 Strangers were banished from Sandwich for bad behaviour and non-membership of the congregation (88).

Despite the firm stand taken by the Town Council and the consistory of the Flemish refugee church alike against those of ill-repute, little progress was made in the 1580s. The situation became so desperate that Lord Cobham and even the Privy Council thought it necessary to intervene. On 29 March 1582 the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports informed the Mayor and Jurats of Sandwich that the Privy Council knew that there were in the town diverse Strangers not of the Flemish congregation. Mayor and Jurats were ordered to make them depart with their families between that date and Whitsun 'with gentell speeches in courteous manner' (89).

Lord Cobham's instructions, however, did not produce an immediate solution and the authorities' patience began to run out. Strangers were banished from Sandwich in 1583 and 1584. On 12 February 1585, another eight Strangers, not of the Flemish congregation, were ordered to leave the Cinque

(88) Ibid., pp.123-4.

(89) W. Boys, Sandwich, p.745.

Port within ten days. The following month the Privy Council itself ordered further action. Sandwich as well as Dover and Maidstone were instructed on 6 March to send out of the realm all Strangers who were not members of any church or congregation (90). This instruction was acted upon immediately at Sandwich, for on 29 April 1585 no fewer than twenty-four Strangers were banished (91).

It is impossible to establish the precise number of Sandwich Strangers who were in fact non-members of the Flemish, or for that matter the Walloon, refugee church. On the basis of the information available we have been able to collect the names of 131 of whom only nineteen later joined the congregation. The presence of Strangers outside the Flemish and Walloon congregation has been taken into consideration when estimating the total number of Strangers in 1565, 1570, 1571, 1572, 1573, 1574, 1582 and 1585.

Actions against individuals were not the sole measures taken by the local authority. In 1569 many Strangers, members of the congregation and others alike, daily went forth armed into the countryside surrounding Sandwich 'to thoffence of the contry people in this tyme of restreynt wherby the credyt of the governours of this towne may impayer withowt present remedy' (93). In order to halt this practice, which clearly made the rural inhabitants feel threatened, on 24 March the Mayor and Jurats issued a proclamation, which included the following measures:

1. all innkeepers should inform the Mayor and Jurats of any Strangers or foreigners who entered their lodgings by day and night before these left the town;
2. the minister of the Flemish congregation should compile a list of the names of the whole community,

(90) APC, xiv, p.25.

(91) KAO, Sa/Ac6, fo.58-vo.

(92) 'Time of restraint' is possibly a reference to the Anglo-Dutch trade embargo from 1568 to 1573 (see Ch. III below, p.169).

(93) KAO, Sa/Ac5, fo.20.

indicating the honest persons and those known to be honest religious people as well as those he could not answer for; the latter were to be removed (94).

But the sharpest reduction of Sandwich Strangers was achieved in 1575. On 20 October 1574 the Privy Council of England wrote to Lord Cobham that they were given to understand that Sandwich accommodated more Strangers than the Letters Patent permitted (95). At this time some 2,400 Flemings, according to our estimate, and 500 Walloons lived in the town whilst the native population reached 1,600, in other words the two Stranger communities accounted for around two-thirds of the total population of the town! It should therefore come as no surprise to learn that the Town Council expressed its concern to the Privy Council directly. Cobham was ordered to investigate the situation without prejudice and if the fears of the Town Council were well-founded, he was to remove the surplus to other localities 'more remote from the seaside as he sholde thinke convenient' (96). Three months later the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports discussed the matter with the Jurats of Sandwich as part of his enquiry, and after a further census was taken (97), the Privy Council authorised Lord Cobham to reduce the size of the Stranger communities. The Letters Patent of 1561 had specified that Sandwich should receive so many Dutch-speaking exiles. Even before the arrival of a large number of Walloons the Flemish community had exceeded this limit. Consequently some at least of the 460 Walloons listed that year had to be removed and allocated another place of settlement. Lord Cobham proposed Canterbury, to which the Walloons had no objections (98). One must not

(94) Loc. cit.

(95) APC, viii, p.306.

(96) Loc. cit.

(97) D. Gardiner, Historic Haven: the Story of Sandwich (Derby, 1954), p.179.

(98) APC, viii, pp.336-7.

forget that Canterbury had already housed French-speaking refugees in 1548, who were allowed to worship. Furthermore, the city was no longer the centre of pilgrimage and already in July 1567 had recorded its willingness to allow Strangers to settle (99). On 6 February 1575 the Privy Council informed the Lord Warden that they agreed with his proposition and had already requested the Dean, Chapter and Mayor of Canterbury to provide them with details about accommodation; at the same time they instructed Lord Cobham to tell the Flemings that they should also reduce the number of their households in accordance with the Letters Patent or to move elsewhere by Midsummer of that year (100). Around Midsummer 1575 Antoine Lescaillet, the minister of the Walloon Church at Sandwich, led a flock of one hundred Walloon families from the Cinque Port to their new settlement in Canterbury (101). Sandwich had reduced its Strangers' population by approximately between 400 and 500 people, but, although reduced, the excessive number of exiles in the town still remained a problem.

Despite the Lord Warden's firm instructions of 1575, the influx of immigrants into Sandwich persisted, mainly because of Parma's wars in Flanders from the beginning of the 1580s. In 1581-82 a dispute arose between the Flemish refugee church and the Mayor and Jurats of the town about the trades and occupations open to the Strangers. As a result Lord Cobham and the Privy Council decided in 1582 it was time to take drastic action to eliminate the problem once and for all. In March 1582, after consultation with Lord Cobham, the Privy Council summoned the Mayor and Jurats and a delegation of the Sandwich Strangers' church. After discussion, the Privy Council issued, besides harsh decisions relating to the Flemings' trade and occupation (102), very strict measures in a further endeavour to

(99) L. Williams, 'Immigrant Communities', 122.

(100) APC, viii, pp.336-7.

(101) D. Gardiner, Sandwich, p.179.

(102) See Ch.III below pp.174-5, 179-80.

control the inward immigration of Strangers.

Firstly, all the Strangers were to be denied letters of denization which conferred to the status of freeman of the realm. This raises the question whether denizens from the Flemish community were counted as 'English'. We have some evidence that Sandwich considered them to be 'English' as far as their duties were concerned: their names appear in the muster books of 1584 and 1599 and in the shipping 'cesse' list of 1584. As will be elaborated in chapter III it seems that they were not considered to be 'English' as far as their 'rights' are concerned. They also apparently continued to attend the Flemish church for there is no evidence that any of them joined the English parish churches.

The Privy Council took it that under the terms of the original permission 'that her Majesties meaninge both was and is that suche strangers as should be by the authority of the said Letters Patentes suffred to reside within the said towne of Sandwiche should be only aliens' (103). They were allowed to stay on only on sufferance and to follow specified trades. Although we find some thirty-nine denizens who resided in Sandwich, only five achieved that status after 1582. The sharp fall in the number awarded Letters Patent of Naturalisation was not limited to Sandwich alone; after 1581 few Strangers became denizens. In 1581 the problem of Strangers conveying money out of the realm was raised in Parliament. It was alleged that Stranger denizens, especially merchants from the Low Countries, manipulated the exchange rate and secretly conveyed the coin out of the country. On 17 February and 4 March 1581 two Bills were passed to halt the Stranger denizens' practice (104). At the same time Parliament responded to the change in public mood of growing hostility towards the Strangers in general.

(103) APC, xiii, p.370.

(104) T.E. Hartley, Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I, 1558-1581 (Leicester, 1981), i, pp.537,

Secondly, the Mayor and Jurats of Sandwich were ordered to prevent any more Strangers from settling in the town unless it 'shalbe for the supplyinge and furnishinge of the number specified in the Letters Patentes', and then only with the approval and consent of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London and the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports (105).

Thirdly, forty-five Stranger families who did not belong to the congregation were to be removed (106). Unfortunately we cannot discover whether this decision was carried out at once or in various stages over a period of time. Presumably these measures help to explain the marked fall in the number of Strangers between 1582 and 1585 (107).

Quite apart from those Strangers who were ordered to leave Sandwich as a result of decisions taken by the Privy Council many other exiles departed from the town voluntarily. We were able to identify fifty-six Sandwich exiles who moved to Norwich after the Queen's Letters Patent of 5 November 1565; indeed most newcomers to Norwich came from Sandwich (108). In 1565 one settled in Wesel in Germany, before 1593 five in London, in 1571 thirteen in Dover and between 1571 and 1593 eight in Colchester (109). Between 1565 and 1582 five returned to their native Flanders and never came back (110). Many found a new home in the northern provinces of the Low Countries. Between 1572 and 1614 two arrived in Amsterdam, one in Arnemuiden, five in Delft, two in Dordrecht, one in Zeeland, five in The Hague, one in Harderwijk, eight in Holland, one in

541; W. Page, Denizations. Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England. 1509 - 1603, (PHS, London, 1893), viii, p.xl.

(105) APC, xiii, p.371.

(106) Ibid., p.374.

(107) See below p.131-2.

(108) W.J.C. Moens, Norwich, p.18.

(109) For details see vol.II.

(110) Loc. cit.

Middelburg, one in Rotterdam and one in Schiedam (111). By far the largest group moved to Leiden. We identified no less than 289 Sandwich Strangers who settled in the city between 1576 and 1625 (112). They joined the Flemings who immigrated directly into Leiden from the south. Heinz Schilling has calculated some 2,179 southern exiles in Leiden between 1575 and 1619 (113). As a result of this huge influx, in 1582-83 Leiden became one of the most important textile centres of Europe. In 1584 the city produced 26,620 says and baize. By 1603 the production had increased to 66,534 (114).

'At the end of the sixteenth century', F.W. Jessup states, 'the foreign migrants, who practised the new industries, outnumbered the English inhabitants (115); '...these refugee families, who as late as 1600 outnumbered the native born inhabitants of the ancient town...', W.K. Jordan writes (116). Neither of them do provide us with any evidence to substantiate their statement. Our analysis of the evidence leads in the contrary direction. We have conclusively shown that the Strangers community had declined by 1585 from the peaks of the 1560s and 1570s thus setting aside both author's impressions. The policies and actions taken by both the local and central authorities to drastically reduce the number of Strangers undoubtedly had impact.

The Strangers were still in Sandwich during the first half of the seventeenth century. A list of members of the

(111) Loc. cit.

(112) See J.W. Tammel, The Pilgrims and other People from the British Isles in Leiden 1576-1640 (Peel, 1989).

(113) H. Schilling, 'Innovation', 13.

(114) N.W. Posthumus, Geschiedenis van de Leidsche Laken-industrie (The Hague, 1908-39), i, 40-3, 129.

(115) F.W. Jessup, A History of Kent (London, 1974), p.84.

(116) W.K. Jordan, Social Institutions in Kent 1480-1660: a study of the changing pattern of social aspirations (London, 1973), p.86.

community of 29 April 1622 reveals no fewer than 180 names seventy of these had been born abroad, 108 born in Sandwich to Strangers' parents, and two were registered as denizens (117). Using the method employed for our previous calculations we estimate that the Strangers in 1622 numbered between 700 and 800 individuals. A 1638 'fforren' money list contains the name of seventy-four Sandwich Strangers, on the basis of which we may compute the total size of the community at approximately between 400 and 500 (118). So, after the peaks of the 1560s and 1570s and the decline of the size of the Stranger community from the mid-1580s the numbers increased somewhat during the course of the first half of the seventeenth century, but the Flemish community at Sandwich never recovered its former importance.

(117) W.D. Cooper, List of Foreign Protestants and Aliens Resident in England 1618-88 (Camden Society, 1862), pp.15-6.

(118) BL, Additional 33,511, ff.343-8.

CHAPTER II: THE RELIGIOUS ORGANISATION AND DISCIPLINE
OF THE SANDWICH STRANGERS' CHURCH

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1. Introduction.

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The Ordonnances Ecclésiastiques (1541) set forth John Calvin's views on church government. He commenced by stating that Christ instituted four orders of office within the church: ministers, doctors, elders and deacons. For Calvin ministers had a dual responsibility: they had an obligation to rebuke the sinners but especially in time of tribulation not to flinch in the face of persecution (1). The ministers exercised an immense control over their congregation. The so-called Convent of Wesel (1568) faithfully reflected the Calvinist tradition when it defined the tasks of the minister as preaching of the Word, admonition and correction and the administration of the sacraments (2). The ministers dominated the synods and classes (often elders were absent from classical meetings); not only were their opinions given most weight but they occupied key functions such as praeses and secretary or scriba. They also set the tone in the consistory (3).

The election procedure and duties of the ministers of the Dutch and Flemish churches in England were ultimately expounded in the Corpus Disciplinae compiled at their

(1) W.J. Bouwsma, John Calvin: A Sixteenth-Century Portrait (Oxford, 1988), p.221.

(2) F.L. Rutgers, Acta van de Nederlandsche Synoden der zestiende eeuw (WMV, 2nd series, iii, Utrecht, 1889), p. 16.

(3) G. Groenhuis, De predikanten. De sociale positie van de gereformeerde predikanten in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden vóór 1700 (Groningen, 1977), p.31.

colloquium (4) held in London on 12 July 1609. The regulations for the verkiesinge van een Dienaer des Woorts and the statement plichten van een Dienaer des Woorts drew on the decisions of the National Synods of Emden (1571), Dordrecht (1578) and Middelburg (1581) and the colloquia of the exile churches held in London in 1575 and 1576.

First and foremost the ministers had a duty to teach and explain God's Word with reverence and simplicity, and to administer the sacraments. Together with the elders they supervised the conduct of the congregation and censured those who had strayed (5).

Ministers were elected by the consistory. Candidates were required to preach one or more sermons so that the congregation might judge whether they would edify the people. They were finally to be accepted with the agreement of the congregation. Any objections against the election of the candidate were to be registered within two weeks of the final 'test sermon'. If necessary the consistory might seek advice from the classis or two or three established ministers in the immediate neighbourhood. When there were no objections and after the superintendent, the bishop, had given his leave the minister was officially presented to the congregation after a day of fasting and prayer. The minister took office after a ceremony of laying on of hands. He then signed the 'bekentnisse des gheloofs, anno 1578 ? (6), den Coninck van Spaingen overgegeven', the

(4) For details about the colloquia see below in this chapter p.73.

(5) Toorenenbergen, p.137; W.J.C. Moens, Norwich, p.49.

(6) Toorenenbergen's question mark is to be explained by the fact that he was confused by the defective reference in the Corpus Disciplinae. The latter here referred to the text of the National Synod of Dordrecht of 1578, which reads as follows: 'Om eendrachticheyt in der leere te betuygen achten wij dat men in allen kercken der Nederlanden de Belijdenisse des gheloofs in seven en dertich artykeln begrepen, in dat jaer 1578

Heidelberg catechism and the Book of Orders, sometimes called the Book of Discipline, which 'provided for the maintenance of pure doctrine and good order in the church meetings, for keeping all members to their duties and for ensuring warning, admonition, consolation and assistance in time of trouble' (7).

Eligible ministers had to meet certain conditions. They either had to have testimonials from some congregation or from some University; according to this church order, a degree was not required. Nobody could become a minister unless the whole procedure had been followed to the letter. No blind person might be elected to this office and no vice or crime was to be tolerated. A dishonest minister was dismissed immediately (8).

The congregation was bound to maintain the pastors, even if they were rich, but the ministers were not to demand more than they needed. Those who had grown too old or were too ill to exercise their office were to be cared for by the congregation. Their widows and orphans were also to be looked after (9).

We have little information about the office of doctor in the Dutch and Flemish refugee churches in England. The Corpus Disciplinae states only that the churches should do their utmost to ensure that there are suitable doctors of theology in the universities and devout and fit school masters (10). More information about the doctors in England can be gleaned from the Discipline Ecclésiastique (1578) of the French church in London.

They devoted seven articles to the role and duties of

herdruckt ende den coninck Phillippo over vele jaeren overghegeven, onderschrijven sal' (Toorenenbergen, p.136; F.L. Rutgers, Acta, pp.275-6).

(7) Toorenenbergen, p.136; W.J.C. Moens, Norwich, p.49.

(8) Ibid., pp.135-8; see also Gonville & Caius College Library, MS 389/609, pp.62-6.

(9) Toorenenbergen, pp.137-8.

(10) Ibid., p.138.

the doctors. Basically they had to supervise the purity of doctrine, interpret the text of the Holy Scripture accurately and prepare divinity students for the office of preacher. The ministers, elders and deacons were to give the candidate their permission to be accepted as a doctor. If a candidate had not previously been entrusted with this function, he had to deliver an address on some aspect of philosophy and theology to the learned persons of the congregation as well as before other persons appointed by the consistory, although their position was not defined. This appointing board was also required to examine him on the cardinal points of the Christian religion. All the candidates were bound to defend a thesis in public on three or four occasions. The doctors were also charged with teaching the catechism, language (not specified, but possibly including Latin) and all 'sciences' (unclear what is meant) so that the children might receive the best possible education (11).

When in 1536 John Calvin published his Institutes of the Christian Religion he had considered only two orders in the church hierarchy: the ministers and the deacons. The following year the council of ministers in Geneva suggested that a few men of good reputation should be chosen to supervise the life of each member of the congregation in his district and thus to assist the minister though without holding a specific office. In the Ordonnances Ecclésiastiques of 1541 the elder makes his appearance. Originally this office was not instituted as a result of scriptural necessity but arose out of the situation in the

(11) B. Magen, Die Wallonengemeinde in Canterbury von ihrer Gründung bis zum Jahre 1635 (Frankfurt/M., 1973), pp.80-1. In the Netherlands the classis played an equally important role in the training of proponenten (see C.A. Tukker, De classis Dordrecht van 1573 tot 1609 (Leiden, 1965), pp. 155-62). For details on the subject of education see below in this chapter pp.132-5.

towns of Switzerland where, after the overthrow of an episcopal structure, alternative means of upholding morality were required (12). For Calvin the main task of the elders was to maintain discipline within the congregation. His view was that the 'elders are to be to the church as the council is to the city'. They should meet privately so that discussions would take place in good order (13).

In the refugee communities the office of elder was especially important. The Flemish historian Robert van Roosbroeck calls the elders the 'ear' of the congregation (14). This office enabled the refugee communities to be self-governing and to function in isolation (15). When John à Lasco organised the Dutch church in London in 1550 he insisted from the outset that ministers and elders should meet once a week on a Thursday (16).

The Corpus Disciplinae states that the elders' tasks consisted of helping the ministers in supervising the flock, comforting the sick, dealing with complaints and discussing them with the ministers in order to avoid conflicts as much as possible (17). The visitation at least once a year carried out by the elders of church members could provoke controversy (18).

Once a church had been established (dressée) elders were chosen by the consistory, but where a church was in the process of being set up, elders were elected by the members

(12) A. van Ginkel, De ouderling. Oorsprong en ontwikkeling van het ambt van ouderling en de functie daarvan in de gereformeerde kerk der Nederlanden in de 16e en 17e eeuw (Amsterdam, 1975), pp.115-6.

(13) W.J. Bouwsma, John Calvin, p.218.

(14) R. van Roosbroeck, Emigranten, p.275.

(15) A. van Ginkel, De ouderling, pp.195-6.

(16) Ibid., p.178.

(17) Toorenenbergen, pp.138-9.

(18) For more details see A. Pettegree, Foreign Communities, p.194 sqq.

of the congregation (19). Each church was free to elect as many elders as was thought necessary. Those elected were not allowed to refuse the office unless they could show very good cause. They remained in office for two years, and half the elders retired each year. Elders were expected to be sober, honest, prudent, beyond reproach, and above all sound in the faith and zealous to advance the glory of God. Although not a few elders did become ministers, they were not required to be learned in the scriptures (20). During the course of the second half of the sixteenth century elders were also frequently charged with responsibility of disposing of a man's goods after his death, or supervising the upbringing of his children (21).

Calvin only recognised two orders before 1541 namely ministers and deacons. Moreover, he did not consider the latter to be a full office. The Ordonnances Ecclésiastiques clearly demonstrate, however, that Calvin's view of the deacon's office had developed greatly. The function of deacon was further elaborated in Lasco's organisation of the London 'model church'. The four elected deacons were assembled once a month with the ministers and elders in order to take care of the poor (22).

The basic duties of the deacons were set forth again in the Corpus Disciplinae of 1609. The deacons were required to visit regularly the poor and sick, comfort them and ensure that the collected alms were not misused. Once a

(19) W.J.C. Moens, Norwich, p.50.

(20) These regulations were already laid down at the Convent of Wesel (F.L. Rutgers, Acta, pp.21-5).

(21) A. Pettegree, ' "Thirty years on": progress towards integration amongst the immigrant population of Elizabethan London', English Rural Society, 1500-1800, ed. J. Chartres & D. Hey (Cambridge, 1990), 301.

(22) F.A. Norwood, 'The Strangers "Model Churches" in Sixteenth-Century England', ed. F.H. Littell, Reformation Studies, Richmond, Va. (1962), 189;
A. Pettegree, Foreign Communities, p.46.

month or at least a quarter they were to present their accounts to the consistory and answer questions about the distribution of charity (23). They were therefore expected to know the church members in their district (24).

The London deacons met weekly on business concerning the poor and the church. In the event of any difficulties they had the duty to consult a minister or elder, and, if necessary, to submit a report to the consistory. Alms were to be distributed to the poor and sick at their houses at a weekly basis and every month each deacon had to visit the poor under supervision of an elder (25).

The deacons were established in office by a ceremony of laying on of hands in the same way as the ministers and elders (26). Like the elders, half of them were to be replaced yearly by election by others who would also hold the office for two years (27).

While Calvin distinguished the different offices, the four-tier Presbyterian hierarchy of church government of the consistory, classis, provincial synod and national synod owed more to the French Reformer Théodore Beza and the French Reformed churches. The need to organise churches in France gave rise to Presbyterianism, which functioned

(23) Toorenenbergen, p.140.

(24) A. Pettegree, Foreign Communities, pp.202-3.

(25) On 9 April 1570 the consistory of the London Dutch church decided to send two elders and two deacons in each district to go from house to house to remind people to pay their monthly contribution for the maintenance of the minister and their weekly contribution for the poor in accordance with their ability to pay. (A.Kuyper, Kerkeraads-protocollen der Hollandsche gemeente te Londen, 1569 - 1571 (WMV, 1st series, i, Utrecht, 1870), pp.122-3.

(26) A. Pettegree, Foreign Communities, p.202.

(27) J.F.G. Goeters, Die Akten der Synode der Niederländischen Kirchen zu Emden von 4.-13. Oktober (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1971), pp.14,22.

nationally and which could adapt itself to a hostile political environment. The synodal system was introduced in France in 1559. In the 1560s the Reformed churches in the Netherlands followed the French Discipline Ecclésiastique of 1559 (28).

The classis was a body of neighbouring congregations whose task it was, among others, to observe the training of ministers and protect congregations against interlopers (29). To maintain unity and uniformity of the faith the classes sent representatives to the provincial synod, the provincial synod to the national synod.

The first National Synod for the Reformed churches of the Low Countries, held in Emden in 1571, stipulated what should be the business at classical meetings. The synod decided that at each gathering one of the ministers would preach a sermon which the others would judge and, if necessary, criticise or amend. The praeses, after prayers, was then to ask his colleagues whether they held consistory meetings, used the religious discipline, opposed heretics, upheld the doctrine, took care of the poor and the schools; he also asked whether they needed help and advice. Only those subjects dealt with in the churches of the same classis were to be discussed. Emden also decided that the provincial synod should meet once a year (30). At the National Synod at Emden the Presbyterian principle was re-affirmed. This principle aimed at parity between ministers, consistories, synods, etc. Article 1 of the Emden synod reads: 'No Church shall have dominion over another Church, no minister...or elder or deacon shall exercise dominion over another. Rather shall they be vigilant, lest they

(28) A. Duke, Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries (London, 1990), pp.240, 251, 286-7.

(29) *Ibid.*, p.251.

(30) J.P. van Dooren, Classicale Acta. 1573 - 1620. Particuliere synode Zuid-Holland. I. Classis Dordrecht 1573 - 1600 (The Hague, 1980), p.vii.

should give cause to be suspected of desiring dominion' (31). The hierarchy of consistories, classes and synods was further developed. After 1571 this form of church government gradually came to be seen in the Netherlands as the only viable form (32).

For Calvin the most significant instrument of church government was the consistory, the ruling body in a Calvinist congregation, composed of ministers and elders. Its main task was to maintain a very strict discipline among the members of the congregation. In Geneva, for instance, adultery, gambling, swearing and drinking were dealt with by the consistory. The Calvinist congregation was likened to Israel, strong through law and discipline and through its loyalty to God's revealed will (33). The discipline was so significant that in 1568 the Wesel Convention insisted that only professed members, i.e. those who accepted the authority of the consistory, should be admitted at the Lord's Table. 'No discipline, no Lord's Supper' had become an essential motto to the Calvinists in the Low Countries (34).

In 1548 Archbishop Cranmer invited John à Lasco, the Polish reformer then in Emden, to come to England. Lasco eagerly accepted as part of an ambitious programme to give aid and counsel in the work of the Reformation (35). The visit lasted only a short time because of Lasco's other commitments (36), but two years later he was back in London to establish the Stranger churches. 'With the foundation of the stranger churches in the summer of 1550 foreign Protestants settled in London had for the first time a place to meet and worship in their own languages and

(31) J.F.G. Goeters, Emden, p.14.

(32) A. Duke, Reformation, p.240.

(33) J. Lindeboom, De confessionele ontwikkeling der reformatie in de Nederlanden (The Hague, 1946), pp.87-8.

(34) A. Duke, Reformation, pp.xiv, 285.

(35) F.A. Norwood, 'Model Churches', 11.

(36) See A.Pettegree, Foreign Communities, p.35.

according to their own rites', thus Andrew Pettegree (37). In the previous year Somerset had invited a whole congregation of Strangers to settle in Glastonbury and in 1548 Walloon refugees were given leave to worship in a part of the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral (38). Edward VI hoped that the London Dutch church would serve as a Reformed 'model church' for his Kingdom. John à Lasco, the pioneer of the Dutch church, took as his model some aspects of Bullinger and the church of Zürich, but accepted even more the need for congregational discipline as was the case at Emden (39). In these early years the 'model church' stood apart from the English Protestant church: it had its own organisation and superintendent, first Lasco, later Jan Utenhove. The Strangers were allocated Austin Friars and their ministers were permitted to interpret the Gospel and administration of the sacraments without intervention from the English church (40).

This religious autonomy was not established without problems. The delay in the allocation of Austin Friars made Lasco very suspicious '...and these suspicions were confirmed when the Lord Treasurer went on to ask why the Strangers chose to have different ceremonies from those used by the English Church, since these were not repugnant to the word of God. He concluded by demanding that the foreigners should either adopt the English ceremonies or disprove them' (41). Martin Micron's rejection of the ceremonies of the English church served to reinforce the antipathy of the then Bishop of London, Nicholas Ridley. In October 1552 Lasco appealed to the Privy Council complaining that local London officials were trying to force members of the Dutch congregation to attend English parish churches. Nevertheless, the following year Martin

(37) Ibid., p.9.

(38) See also Ch.III below p.148.

(39) A. Pettegree, Foreign Communities, pp.30, 35.

(40) Loc.cit.

(41) Ibid., p.39.

Micron could report that at last the church was prospering (42).

The existence of the London Dutch church was interrupted during the reign of Queen Mary but restored with the accession to the throne of Elizabeth I in 1558. The Queen was moved less by the desire to set up the Stranger churches as examples for English Protestants, than by the consideration that the foreigners could promote the wealth of England. The Dutch church no longer had its own superintendent; this office was now vested in the Bishop of London, Edmund Grindal. In February 1560 Austin Friars was restored to its use (43). Despite these changes the London Dutch church was still an institution with congregational self-government, now modelled even more closely on the example of Geneva, with a degree of spiritual independence which English Protestants envied (44). In 1566, for instance, an English Puritan minister complained that the Strangers had an eldership, the English did not; the Strangers could freely elect their ministers, the English could not; the Stranger churches had deacons and church servants with discipline, the English had not (45).

Before John à Lasco travelled to London he had been the architect of the Reformed town church at Emden. Between the autumn of 1543 and the summer of 1544 the Reformed church at Emden established their first consistory. The Emden church came to be regarded by Netherlanders (in the

(42) Ibid., pp.40-3. Where exiles had not obtained a licence from the bishop of the diocese in which they dwelled to worship in their own way, they were supposed to attend the Established Church (G.H. Overend, 'Strangers at Dover. Part I: 1558 - 1644', Pr.HS, iii, 2 (1889-90), 155-6).

(43) A. Pettegree, Foreign Communities, p.137.

(44) P. Collinson, Archbishop Grindal 1519 - 1583. The Struggle for a Reformed Church (London, 1979), p.129.

(45) P. Crew, Calvinist Preaching, pp.97-8.

second half of the sixteenth century) as their 'model church' and 'mother church' and more affectionately as de herberge der kercke Gods (the haven of God's church) (46). Lasco also instituted a Coetus of ministers which was intended not only to provide a theological education but also an opportunity for the pastors to consult, to supervise the doctrine, life and work of its members and to examine the candidates for the ministry (47). At first the church was limited to the town and for some time to come the organisation of the Emden church government remained an embryonic ecclesiastical constitution which had developed apart from the Geneva church. The 'mother church' lacked the independence of the London Dutch church: its consistory was administratively responsible to and dependent on Anna, the Countess of East Friesland (48). Even the influx of exiles after the accession of Queen Mary did not bring much change to the Emden church government. But the 'London groups' did implant a spirit of freedom which they had developed under King Edward VI (49). The East Frisian church did not develop a Presbyterian structure (i.e. classical assemblies) until the second half of the sixteenth century.

Although the Walloon exiles met separately for worship and poor relief was dealt with separately, the Dutch Strangers at Emden never formed a totally independent

(46) H. Schilling, 'Reformation und Bürgerfreiheit Emdens Weg zur calvinistischen Stadtrepublik', Stadt und Kirche im 16. Jahrhundert. Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, ed. B. Moeller (Gütersloh, 1978), 143.

(47) A. van Ginkel, De ouderling, p.163.

(48) H. Schilling, 'Emdens Weg', 144.

(49) H. Schilling, Niederländischen Exulanten im 16. Jahrhundert. Ihre Stellung im Sozialgefüge und im religiösen Leben deutscher und englischer Städte (Gütersloh, 1972), p.85; R. van Roosbroeck, Emigranten, pp.16, 107.

congregation; they formed part of the Stadtkirche into which they had been admitted. However Netherlanders dominated the Stadtkirche. After 1571 three of the six elders chosen came from the Netherlands. Emden in turn was invited to send representatives to the National Synod held in Middelburg in 1581 (50). And notwithstanding the pressure from the East Frisian counts for their subjects to adhere to the Lutheran ceremonies, Emden remained faithful to its Reformed tradition.

Emden played a crucial part in the organisation of Calvinism in the Netherlands. Already in the 1550s it had established contact in the northern part of the Netherlands and sent ministers to the southern provinces. It became also the centre of Reformed printing after the Habsburg authorities had suppressed the Antwerp trade in forbidden books; books and pamphlets were sent to the Low Countries (51). No fewer than seventeen ministers from the Low Countries visited Emden before 1566 to request shelter, advice and education (52). These included two who later became ministers of the Flemish refugee church at Sandwich, namely Godfried van Wingen and Isbrand Balk.

In 1571 the National Synod at Emden decided that the Flemish/Dutch/Walloon refugee churches in Germany and England and the 'Churches under the Cross' in the Netherlands should be divided into three provinces. The first embraced the scattered communities in Germany, the second the exile churches in England, the third the

(50) H. Schilling, Exulanten, p.84; R. van Roosbroeck, Emigranten, p.96.

(51) A. Pettegree, 'The Exile Churches during the Wonderjaar', Church, Change and Revolution. The Fourth Anglo-Dutch Church History Colloquium, ed. J. van den Bergh & P. Hoftijzer (Leiden, 1991), 89, 94-5.

(52) P.M. Crew, Calvinist Preaching, p.95.

'Churches under the Cross' in the Low Countries. The provinces were subdivided into classes (53). In England the Presbyterian structure remained incomplete until 1604. Instead this was replaced by the colloquium, a body resembling the French colloque, or the Dutch classis. The colloquium seems to have had a dual role and as such to have been peculiar to the Stranger churches in England. In Germany the gathered churches in the Lower Rhineland held both classical and synodal meetings, e.g. Cleves and Cologne. In England the Stranger churches functioned as gathered churches, not as parish churches, unlike the Reformed churches in the Low Countries, which combined features of parish church and gathered church. Furthermore, they were subject to the authority of the colloquium, in the same way as the Calvinist churches in the Netherlands submitted to the authority of the classis (54). Nevertheless, whereas the classes met several times a year, the colloquium assembled only once a year and in that sense thus approximates to the provincial synod. The congregations in England also enjoyed a far greater degree of autonomy than was normal in the Presbyterian churches.

The Walloon/French churches in England were also to hold the colloquia, but these began much later than the Flemish/Dutch. According to Beate Magen this initiative was only taken between 1578, when the Discipline Ecclésiastique was issued in London, by which time the Walloon congregation had left Sandwich for Canterbury, and 1581, when the first colloquium was held in London (55).

(53) R. van Roosbroeck, Emigranten, p.78.

(54) A. Pettegree, Foreign Communities, p.270.

(55) Between 1581 and 1598 fourteen were held: in London in 1581 and 1582, Norwich in 1583, Canterbury in 1584, Southampton in 1586, Rye in 1587, London in and 1589, Canterbury in 1590, Norwich in 1593 and 1594, Canterbury in 1595, London in 1596, Southampton in 1598. From the early seventeenth century until their abolition in 1647 all colloquia

The first national synod embracing both representatives of the Dutch and French-speaking congregations in England took place in 1604. In so doing the churches took a calculated risk as the synod was preparing a petition on behalf of all refugee congregations in England requesting the preservation of the freedom and privileges they had enjoyed under the late Queen Elizabeth to her successor James I. The attitude of the episcopal superintendent had gradually changed during the last two decades of the sixteenth century. The earlier sympathy had been replaced by mounting suspicion. By the early seventeenth century Anglican Protestantism was firmly established in England, and nonconformist Protestant refugees were no longer looked on with favour. The new Archbishop of Canterbury, John Whitgift (1583 - 1604), defended the principle of episcopacy more forcefully than either his predecessors or the Bishops of London Grindal and Sandys had ever done before. As Anglicanism gained in self-confidence, it became increasingly suspicious of foreign churches in the country. The tension came to a head under Archbishop Laud in the 1630s (56).

The colloquium consisted of a delegation of ministers and elders from all Flemish/Dutch (or Walloon/French) congregations in the country. The Flemish church at Sandwich apparently took the lead in demanding colloquia. In a letter to the Dutch consistory in London of 27 February 1570 Sandwich emphasized that such meetings were necessary in order to ensure doctrinal unity and practice among the Flemish/Dutch churches in England. When two years later such an assembly had still not taken place Sandwich returned to the matter. On 4 February 1572 it urged the London consistory to arrange a meeting of all the communities according to the desire of their brethren on the Continent (57).

took place in London (B. Magen, Canterbury, p.134).

(56) R.H. Gwynn, Huguenot Heritage (London, 1988, 1st reprint), p.50.

The first colloquium did not meet until 15 March 1575 in London, three years after the death of minister Jacob de Buyzere whose idea the creation of the colloquia appears to have been (58). Between 1575 and 1609 the Flemish/Dutch representatives of the various congregations assembled thirteen times (59).

The question which immediately arises is why the English Stranger churches, and London in particular, were so

(57) Hessels, iii, pp.102-3, 155.

(58) Loc. cit.

(59) These colloquia took place in London on 15 March 1575 (Sandwich representatives: Jacob Canen and Roland de Carpentier), London between 22 and 29 May 1576 (Sandwich representatives: Isbrand Balk and Roland de Carpentier), Colchester between 18 and 24 May 1577 (Sandwich did not attend), London between 13 and 16 May 1578 (Sandwich representatives: Isbrand Balk and Roland de Carpentier), London between 10 and 16 September 1578 (Sandwich representatives: Isbrand Balk and Joannes Beaugrand), Sandwich between 2 and 4 March 1581 (Sandwich representatives: Jacob de Corte, Jacob Baelde the Elder, Hermes Celosse), London between 28 and 30 August 1581 (Sandwich representatives: Gillis Ente, Hermes Celosse), Maidstone between 12 and 17 April 1583 (Sandwich representatives: Gillis Ente, Jacob Baelde), London between 27 and 28 April 1584 (Sandwich representatives: Gillis Ente, Jacob de Corte), London between 30 May and 11 June 1586 (Sandwich representatives: Roland de Carpentier), London on 28 August 1599 (Sandwich representatives: Christianus van (de) Wauwer, Gillis de Meyer), London on 16 March 1603 (Sandwich representatives: Gillis de Meyer) and London between 12 and 14 July 1609 (Sandwich representatives: Casparus Nierenus, Benjamin Anobardus). Perhaps we may infer from this the leading elders in the Sandwich church (Toorenenbergen, pp. 3-99, 102-152).

reluctant to adopt the church order proposed at Emden and organise their churches into classes with some kind of annual provincial synod in England and of all those 'under the Cross' (60)? The reason is twofold. Ten years of internal feuding in the London Dutch church had undermined that Church's standing and the organisation of the Emden synod went ahead almost without reference to London, although an invitation had been issued (61), a neglect the latter found difficult to accept. But the chief reason for the failure of the Stranger churches in England to implement the Emden church order may be traced to the relationship of Stranger churches to the authorities of the English church. Recognising decrees issued on the Continent meant recognising a higher authority than that of the English Church. The English government in fact prohibited the Stranger churches from participating in the National Synod at Emden (62). When the synod made its proposal to the refugee churches in England to divide themselves into classes they were refused permission to do so. Some time later they were allowed to hold their colloquia. In 1578 the National Synod of Dordrecht accepted that the English refugee churches could only accept a limited number of decrees, dependent on the goodwill of the bishop, their superintendant (63). So it was not until March 1603, shortly after the death of Queen Elizabeth, that the Flemish/Dutch and Walloon/French refugee churches met in London in order to prepare the first national synod in England (64).

The constitutional position of the English Stranger churches seems to have been autonomous, but they followed the decisions of the Dutch Reformed churches very closely, as is apparent from the acts of the colloquia: many

(60) J.F.C. Goeters, Emden, pp.16-7.

(61) A. Pettegree, Foreign Communities, p.253.

(62) Hessels, ii, pp.391-2.

(63) A. Pettegree, Foreign Communities, pp.269-70.

(64) Toorenenbergen, pp.100-1.

decisions taken at these assemblies were based on decisions taken at the Continental synods. After Emden the English churches sent delegates to the synods of the Dutch Reformed churches: at the National Synod of Dordrecht of 1578 the English churches were represented by Isbrand Balk, minister of the Sandwich Stranger church, and Jan de Roo, elder of the London Dutch church (65), at the National Synod of Middelburg in 1581 by minister Godfried van Wingen and Hermes Celosse, elder of the Flemish refugee church at Sandwich, on behalf of the Flemish/Dutch churches, and Antoine Lescaillet, former minister of the Walloon congregation at Sandwich and by then minister at Canterbury, and Nicolaus Lyenaert, elder of the Walloon church in London, on behalf of the French-speaking refugee churches (66).

The procedures of the colloquium were set out at the assembly of 1576 and in the Corpus Disciplinae. After prayers the praeses, invariably a minister, was chosen by secret ballot and a scriba was appointed. The meetings took place between 7am and 11am and between 2pm and 6pm. All communities represented had equal votes except in doctrinal matters where only those competent in the scriptures - the minister, 'prophets' and licentiates - might decide. No congregation was obliged to accept a decision with which they did not agree. Therefore, it was important that wherever possible consensus should be reached concerning doctrine, discipline, ceremonies and church government

(65) F.L. Rutgers, Acta, p.305.

(66) J.P. van Dooren, 'Middelburg 1581: Enige bijzonderheden over de afgevaardigden en over de door hen vertegenwoordigde gemeenten buiten de Noordelijke Nederlanden', De Nationale Synode te Middelburg in 1581. Calvinisme in Opbouw in de Noordelijke en Zuidelijke Nederlanden (Werken uitgegeven door het Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen, i, Middelburg, 1981), 136-7.

(67). In other words, the colloquium had no binding authority.

2. The Sandwich Strangers' church government.

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In contrast with sources available for other Stranger churches such as consistorial minutes (London), registers of baptisms, marriages and burials (Norwich, Southampton), and wills, Sandwich is not well provided. But although consistorial records are no longer extant, other fragmentary sources, nevertheless, still permit us an insight into the operation of the Stranger church in the Cinque Port and other refugee churches in England. The deacons' accounts of the Walloon church at Sandwich (1568 - 1572) allow a detailed analysis of their duties as well as information about their sources of income and the pattern of expenditure. Municipal records concerning the Strangers in Sandwich reveal tensions within the congregation and throw light on the relationship of the consistory with the local council. The acts of the colloquia record the questions raised by representatives of the Flemish refugee church, which presumably reflected the particular concerns of the Stranger community in Sandwich, which the correspondence of the London Dutch church published by J.H. Hessels occasionally supplements. Passing references to the Stranger church are also to be found in the records of the Tudor administration, such as those of the Privy Council and the State Papers Domestic, as well as in the chronicles of William Boys and Symon Ruytinck.

Apart from the numerical and occupational conditions of settlement in Sandwich, as established in chapters I and III, the authorities of the English Church were required to testify that the newcomers were pious people who would submit themselves to the discipline of their church (68).

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(67) Toorenenbergen, pp.13-4, 141-2.

(68) W. Boys, Sandwich, p.741.



Almost nothing is known about the origin of the Walloon community. It must be emphasized, however, that although some Walloons had settled in Sandwich in the early 1560s, there is not a shred of evidence that Sandwich had a separate Walloon congregation before 1567-68. On 21 February 1569 Sandwich Town Council passed an ordinance detailing the terms of the bond for all Strangers in the Flemish congregation which the minister and the consistory would be required to enter into on behalf of the twenty-five masters. These in turn would give assurances to the ministers and the consistory, and each master was to be responsible for their twelve apprentices; six deacons stood surety for the poor. The Walloons were subject to a similar bond, which also forbade them from leaving Sandwich without licence from the Mayor and his deputy (69).

By this time the Walloons evidently had their own minister, consistory and eight masters, for the Council of Sandwich required the Walloon congregation to follow the organisation and discipline of the Flemish church. On 12 August 1569 the minister of the Walloon congregation, Antoine Lescaillet, was called before the Mayor, William Southaick, and Jurats of the Cinque Port. He was instructed to subscribe to certain articles which he was to make known in the community:

- a. 'That the mynister in the Ffrenche tonge... shall firemely houlde the appostolicall doctryn and observe the order and mynistreng of the sacrements as the minister in the Fflemishe tonge dothe. all beinge one church;
- b. Item that he follow aswell all rights and customs aboutt the ministry Ecclesiasticall as also the use of dyssepline receaved and used in the said Fflemishe church. And yf he fortune to vary any change then forthwithe to amende and reform himself;

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(69) KAO, Sa/Ac5, fo.15.

- c. Item as concerning theis things and suche lyke as he shall submyt himself to the Fflemishe concistory orells to lett Mr. Maior of this towne for the tyme beinge to understand;
- d. To conclude let the mynister dilligently take heede that aswell in teaching as in governinge that Gods honor and publike peace maybe furthered so that yt may aswell appeare in all things that they are all one body in Cryst' (70).

In 1575 the Walloon congregation migrated to Canterbury. On 6 December 1576 the Walloon church instructed those members of its congregation who still remained in Sandwich and did not understand the Flemish language, to attend services at Canterbury once a fortnight. The Flemish church at Sandwich duly approved this decision (71).

The presence of the Dutch, French and Italian churches in London had made frequent local meetings between representatives of the consistories in the capital desirable. This body came to be known as the Coetus (72) after the assembly by Lasco in Emden in 1544. He brought this institution to London and expanded it: the ministers, elders and deacons of the Dutch and French refugee churches and the superintendant assembled on the first Monday of each month to discuss the interests of both communities (73). In view of the Council's instructions to Antoine Lescaillet in August 1569 it would seem that in Sandwich too meetings occurred between the Flemish and Walloon consistories or at least their representatives. We have not, however, been able to find any evidence of the existence of a Coetus as such when both communities had their own consistories.

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(70) Ibid., fo.30-vo.

(71) CCDC, U47/A-1, fo.38.

(72) A. Pettegree, Foreign Communities, pp. 69, 72, 193;  
R.D. Gwynn, Huguenot Heritage, p.49.

(73) B. Magen, Canterbury, p.133.

Undoubtedly the Sandwich consistories carried out the same duties as those of the other communities. In the absence of consistorial minutes we may assume, on the analogy of the practice of other Stranger churches, that the consistories would meet once a week. The minutes, kept by the scriba or clerk, would deal chiefly with disciplinary matters. In addition the consistories would also register baptisms, marriages and burials, and furnish letters of attestation when members moved to other communities (74).

a. Ministers, doctors, elders, deacons and Politijcke Mannen.

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We have been able to identify twenty-three refugees who served as ministers, assistant ministers and trainee-ministers in the Flemish and Walloon congregations at Sandwich or elsewhere.

The tables below furnish the following sorts of data which have been arranged in five columns: name, place of origin, occupation or social status before calling to the ministry, period of service at Sandwich (if known). The abbreviations H and P under heading IV draw attention to the categories hulppredikant and proponent.

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(74) Toorenenbergen, p.141; J.F.C. Goeters, Emden, p.16.

Name	Place of origin	Occupation/social status	Service in Sandwich
- ) the Flemish congregation			
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BAERDELOOS, Andries	Hondschoote	graduate	1563-6 P
BALK, Isbrand	Friesland	priest	1572-8
BERT, Pieter de	Reningelst	hatter/say worker	1574-7
BROITEUR, Hans	Steenwerck	'very wealthy'	1561-6 H
BUYZERE, Gerson de	Sandwich	theologian	before 1588 H
BUYZERE, Jacob de	Hondeghem	monk	1561-6; 1570-2
CARPENTIER, Pieter	Mesen	-	1561 P

Name	Place of origin	Occupation/social status	Service in Sandwich
DAMMAN, Gheleyn	Boeschepe	weaver/bricklayer	1562? H
DAMMAN, Willem	Boeschepe	priest	1571 H
FLAMENG, Robert	Ieper	Latin teacher/baize worker	1562 P
HAZAERT, Pieter	Bailleul	monk	1561 and 1562
HENDRICKX, Jan	Alveringem	theologian/chaplain	1561 and 1562 H
OBRI, Adriaen	Den Briel	cobbler/say worker	1570-5?
PLATEVOET, Mahieu	Berthen	tailor/baize worker	1562-6 P
QUEEKERE, Gillis de	Nieuwkerke	weaver/say worker	1562-3
RAET, Nicolaes de	-	-	between 1578 & 1590
SCHILDER, Willem de	Dranouter	cobbler/baize worker	1563? 1566?

Name	Place of origin	Occupation/social status	Service in Sandwich
TOP, Erasmus	Hondschoote	weaver/say worker	1562? 1566?
VIJT, Joannes de	-	-	between 1578 & 1590
VRAMBOUD, Jooris	St.Jans-Cappel	say worker	1561-3?
WAUWERE, Christiaen van (de)	Breda	<u>minnebroeder</u>	1590
WINGEN, Godfried van	principality of Liège	graduate	1562-3

Name	Place of origin	Occupation/social status	Service in Sandwich
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-) the Walloon congregation

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LESCAILLET, Antoine	La Gorgue	shoemaker's son	1568?-75
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We immediately note that - not surprisingly - fifteen ministers came from the Westkwartier. Of the remaining eight, it is possible to discover the origin of six: four came from other localities, Gerson de Buyzere was born in Sandwich, while the minister of the Walloon congregation originated from the Pays de l'Alleu.

The first aspect we wish to discuss is their background and education. We have been able to establish the occupation of nineteen and the social status of another prior to his becoming a minister. Ten came from the ranks of the intelligentsia. These included two priests, three monks, one theologian/chaplain, one theologian, two graduates, and one Latin teacher/baize worker. Nine may be reckoned to the cleyne luden. The ministers from among the artisans included: one say worker, one hatter/say worker, one weaver/bricklayer, one cobbler/say worker, one cobbler/baize worker, two weaver/say workers, one shoemaker's son. Another minister is described as being very wealthy. While all artisans originated from or had been active in the Flemish Westkwartier and one from the Pays de 'Alleu, only four of the better educated came from the Westkwartier and three from elsewhere in the Low Countries.

Those who had been monks, theologians, Latin teachers and university students had received a high standard of education and in that sense were therefore well prepared for the ministry. Parish clergy were not highly educated; they would, however have undergone an appropriate training. But what about these artisans, mainly textile workers, who had never been to the grammar schools, let alone university? They undoubtedly had been taught only the most rudimentary elements of pre-reformation and non-humanistic education: they had learned to read, write and could recite prayers learned by rote. But they lacked the theological knowledge and subtlety of some of the intelligentsia. On the other hand their relatively humble origin may well have given them a 'street credibility' with the poorer classes in the Westkwartier which therefore enabled them to win



their support. But a prejudice against the employment of self-taught preachers can be deduced: none of the ministers from this background, with the exception of Adriaen Obri, Antoine Lescaillet and possibly Pieter de Bert, served in the Reformed ministry in Sandwich or in any other refugee community in England. Moreover, those who appear to contradict this trend were hulppredikanten or proponenten before the Troubles of 1566. Pieter de Bert, Adriaen Obri and Mahieu Platevoet were persons of some substance but they did not serve as fully fledged ministers until after 1567 and then either in the United Provinces or in the Westkwartier during the period of the Calvinistic Republic (75). The refugees who served as ministers at Sandwich all belonged to the intelligentsia: Jacob de Buyzere, Godfried van Wingen, Isbrand Balk, Christiaen van (de) Wauwere and possibly also Nicolaes de Raet and Joannes Vijt.

Sometimes theological controversies raged among the Reformed ministers. Andries Baerdeloos was noted for his fierce and heated polemics against Catholics and Anabaptists although he always emphasized the need to obey and respect the authorities. Phyllis Mack Crew describes him as a person who 'approximated to perfection the prophetic image of the minister as inspired and alienated from society, even from his own friends, yet forgiving those who persecute him' (76).

Isbrand Balk was a very impetuous and controversial individual. No sooner had he arrived in Norwich in 1568 than his arguments with the ministers Anthonis de Zwarte and Karel Ryckewaert commenced. At the end of 1575 during his stay in Sandwich his famous dispute with Adriaen Obri, then minister at Maidstone, started. The controversy,

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(75) For the places outside Sandwich where eighteen listed ministers served see vol.II, nos. 59, 70, 151, 263, 335, 336, 380, 533, 542, 657, 801, 1218, 1293, 1369, 1667, 1794, 1840 and 1889, pp.19, 22, 31, 49, 58, 67, 88, 106, 124, 184, 196, 208, 250, 268, 277, 283.

(76) P.M. Crew, Calvinist Preaching, p.114.

resulting from a sermon held by Isbrand Balk, concerned the two natures of Christ and his role as Bemiddelaar. Obri would not accept Balk's interpretation and the argument, mixed with bitter personal attacks, started. A document written by Godfried van Wingen contains the opinion of the London Dutch church on this dispute. The minister begins by stating that he believed that the differences related to forms of words rather than doctrinal fundamentals. Although Obri praised Balk's concrete way of speaking, he accused him of giving unsatisfactory and weak replies and failing to provide an abstract interpretation. But van Wingen could not see that neither Obri nor Balk did say anything different. When by 20 November 1576 the matter had still not been resolved, Obri requested the whole argument be referred to the colloquium held at Colchester in May 1577. At the assembly the Sandwich consistory, which backed their minister (77), was not represented and the meeting decided to postpone the case until the next colloquium, as Sandwich was likely to call into question any decision reacted by the assembly at which its church was not represented. But before January 1578 the dispute was finally settled (78).

According to Phyllis Mack Crew 'the ministers who preached during the Troubles were a highly disparate group of men, both in terms of their social background and in terms of their experience and relative eminence in the Reformed movement' (79). Much the same can be said about the Sandwich ministers. They too originated from a wide variety of socio-economic backgrounds and varied in experience. Two ministers, Jacob de Buyzere and Isbrand Balk, both prominent in the Calvinist movement, served over a period of seventeen years. Although Crew's distinction between 'ministers' (those of a higher social rank with

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(77) Hessels, iii. pp.334-49, 405.

(78) J.P. de Bie & S. Loosjes, Biografisch woordenboek van protestantsche godgeleerden in Nederland (The Hague, 1919-49), i, p.304; Toorenenbergen, pp.35-7.

(79) P.M. Crew, Calvinist Preaching, p.41.

pastoral training) and 'lay preachers' (those of a lower social rank with no pastoral training, but who believed themselves consecrated by God to preach on their own authority) is certainly open to objections, there is no doubt that the evidence for Sandwich demonstrates convincingly that preachers of inferior social rank were not called to the Stranger church and, as a rule, the preachers active before 1566 did not make the grade as Reformed ministers (80).

We know that in 1573 the Sandwich Flemish church had sixteen elders. This suggests that their districts did not coincide with the boundaries of the inset of the number of wards. For the period 1561 - 1603 we have been able to identify twenty-three elders. In the case of the Walloon consistory we only know the names of six. The headings below give the names, place of origin, their occupation in Sandwich and the year(s) known in which they served:

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(80) Ibid., pp.59-60.

Name	Place of origin	Occupation/social status	Service in Sandwich
- ) the Flemish congregation			
*****			
APPART, Gabriel	-	baker	1573
BAELDE, Jacob the Elder	Nieuwkerke	master	1581, 1583
BEAUGRAND, Joannes	Poperinge	master-baize worker	1561, 1573, 1578
BOCHELIOEN, Jan	-	baize worker	1573
BROUCKER, Pieter de	Nieuwkerke	master	1573
BRUNE, Jan de	Bailleul	master-baize worker/ dealer in butter & soap	1573
CAMPHEN, Jan	Bailleul	baize worker	1573
CANEN, Jacob	Poperinge	master	1575, 1577

Name	Place of origin	Occupation/social status	Service in Sandwich
CARBONEEL, Jan	Bailleul	-	1586
CARPENTIER, Roland de	Mesen	-	1572, 1573, 1575, 1576, 1578
CELOSSE, Hermes	Ronse	-	1573, 1581, 1582, 1586, 1587, 1589, 1590
COLEMBIEN, Jaques	Bruges	-	1590
CORTE, Jacob de	Ieper	-	1573, 1581, 1584
DAMMAN, Gontier	Bailleul	say worker	1573
EEDE, Lieven van	-	-	1583, 1584, 1586
ENTE, Gillis	Nieuwkerke	baize worker	1562-3, 1573, 1581, 1584

Name	Place of origin	Occupation/social status	Service in Sandwich
EVERARD, Franchois	Nieuwkerke	-	1573
FLAMENG, Robert	Ieper	baize worker; <u>proponent</u>	1573
MEYER, Gillis de	Nieuwkerke	-	1599, 1603
MUYS, Philip	Bailleul	-	1573
PLATEVOET, Mahieu	Berthen	baize worker/tailor/ <u>proponent</u>	1573
REABLE, Mr. Cornelis	Ghent	physician/haberdasher	1573
STRASSEELE, Michiel van	Méteren	draper	1585

Name	Place of origin	Occupation/social status	Service in Sandwich
- ) the Walloon congregation			
*****			
BONETS, Jan de	-	-	1568
HAYE, John de la	Laventie	-	1574
SALOMEZ, Pierre	-	-	1568
SCHAMPS, Josse des	Armentières	-	1568
TOURSELL, Piere	Armentières	-	1568
TYBERGHIEN, Gylbert	-	-	1574

Since only two of the twenty-three elders are known to have served the Flemish congregation before 1566 it is impossible to say whether the background of those who held office before the Troubles differed from that of the elders who served later in the sixteenth century. As with the ministers, the majority of elders of the Flemish refugee church originated from the Westkwartier: seventeen out of twenty-three; three came from further afield in Flanders. Of the elders of the Walloon church two originated from Armentières in French-Flanders and another from Laventie in the Pays de l'Alleu. Apart from Gabriel Appart and Cornelis Reable, of the fourteen elders of whom we were able to trace their occupation in Sandwich, all were employed in the textile industry. We have little information about their social standing before they fled to England, apart from the occupation of eleven. Nine of these earned their livelihood in the cloth industry: one wool comber, one blue dyer, three weavers, one cloth weaver, one shearman, one tailor, one draper. There was also a Latin master and a physician both of whom presumably enjoyed a superior social standing. Of those employed in the textile industry we know that the confiscated property of Jan de Brune raised 113 livres parisis or approximately fifty-five florins or guilders, and that of Michiel van Strasseele 124lb.14s. parisian or approximately sixty-two florins or guilders, which suggests that they too must have been persons of some means in Flanders. The social position of the elders in Sandwich may be approximately established from their occupation. At least six held leading positions in the cloth industry; five indeed were master-baize or master-say workers and the sixth was a draper. As such they would have exercised considerable influence and the same probably went for the physician/haberdasher. The occupations of the other elders are not known but we may suppose that they owed their elevation to the eldership to their prominence in society. Certainly Joannes Beaugrand left his mark not only on the Stranger community but also on Sandwich itself. His name is perpetuated in the parish of St. Mary - where he



resided - in a plot of land on the northern side of Loop Street which is still known as 'Beagrams' and a sluice between two water courses near by as 'Beagram's Sluice'. Mr. Cornelis Reable seems to have been respected by the Sandwich authorities both for his honest disposition and his learning. Two other elders had maids: Pieter de Broucker had two, Jacob Canen one. Significantly at least five of all twenty-three elders eventually became denizens: Joannes Beaugrand, Jan Carboneel, Jacob de Corte, Gillis Ente and Cornelis Reable.

Two of the elders bore witness to their religious commitment by later becoming Reformed ministers: the learned Hermes Celosse served as predikant at Giessen-Nieuwkerk and Hendrik-Ido-Ambacht in Holland (classis Dordrecht) between 1604 and 1620, and Gontier Damman returned to the Westkwartier, where there was an acute shortage of ministers, and served in Mesen, Merris and Reningelst. In this capacity he attended the synod at Bruges in May 1582 (81).

On the other hand Latin master Robert Flameng from Ieper went back to the Westkwartier, where he served in 1566 as lay preacher. In 1567 he returned to England, going first to Norwich. When he came back to Sandwich, he was elected elder. In 1574 he was appointed the rector of the Latin school in Middelburg. The following year he was elected member of the local consistory in Middelburg, an office he held until 1577 (82). In 1563 Mahieu Platevoet was a baize worker and tailor in Sandwich. In 1566 he re-appeared as a preacher in the Westkwartier. An elder of the Flemish consistory at Sandwich in 1573, he resumed his career as a

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(81) J.P. van Dooren, 'Middelburg', 75; R. van Roosbroeck, Emigranten, p.284; Toorenenbergen, pp.57-64.

(82) PRO, SP12/78/29, fo.9; M. Backhouse, 'Sandwich 1563', 93, 108; M. Backhouse, 'Sandwich 1573', 236; P.M. Crew, Calvinist Preaching, p.186; Nieuw nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek, ed. P.C. Molhuysen & Fr. K.H. Kossman (Leiden, 1911-37), ii, cl.444-5.

Reformed minister when he served in Dunkirk and Hondschoote. When Hondschoote fell again under Spanish control, he migrated north to Leiden, together with a company of textile weavers from Hondschoote, to take up a ministry there, which he held until 1602 (83). Occasionally an elder's career was attended by controversy. Jan Camphen became a fervent adherent of the new religion and when he fled in 1560 to London, he quickly became elder of the Dutch Stranger church there. As a fierce opponent of Anabaptism, he soon became involved in the 'van Haemstede affair', to which we already referred in the previous chapter. In 1561 he became entangled in vehement disputes with minister Pieter Hazaert, which led to blazing personal rows. In May 1578, during his stay in Sandwich, his name came to the notice of the colloquium then held in London because of a dispute between himself and the Sandwich consistory. Jan Camphen had apparently acted in a particular case without consulting his fellow arbitrators. He also stood accused of lying. By early 1581 the dispute was still not settled and when Camphen, who had been called as a minister to his native Bailleul, attended the National Synod at Middelburg, he was ordered to confirm in writing to the Sandwich consistory that he had been reconciled with them. At the same time the church at Bailleul was admonished for having accepted him without a testimonial from Sandwich. In due course Camphen fulfilled his promise (83).

In 1573 fourteen deacons served the Flemish refugee church (84) and we have identified two other Flemish deacons for the period 1561 - 1603. Although we do not know the number of deacons appointed each year to minister to the needs of the Walloon church we have discovered the names of thirteen deacons who served for the period 1567 - 1575.

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(83) KAO, Sa/Ac4, fo. 209; M. Backhouse, 'Sandwich 1563', 94, 108.

(84) M. Backhouse, 'Sandwich 1573', 237.

Name	Place of origin	Occupation/social status	Service in Sandwich
- ) the Flemish congregation			
*****			
AEL, Pieter	Eecke	master-baize worker/merchant	1573
BERTHEN, Marcx van	Bailleul	master	1573
BOEYE, Jooris	Nieuwerkerke	master-say worker	1561
BOLLE, Franchois	Méteren	master-baize worker/merchant	1561
BRUNE, Jacob de	Nieuwerkerke	baize worker, master	1573
CARBONEEL, Jan	Bailleul	-	1573
EEKE, Joos van	Eecke	baize worker, master	1573
HONDT, Joos de	Hondschoote	-	1573

Name	Place of origin	Occupation/social status	Service in Sandwich
HUSSERE, Willem de	Mesen	master-baize worker	1564
JANSS, Mathys	-	baize worker	1573
KESGHIETER, Jan de	-	master	1573
LIEBAERT, Carel	Bailleul	-	1573
NACHTEGAEL, Clais	Méteren	-	1573
POELE, Chaerle van de	Bailleul	master	1573
RAED, Caerle de	Nieuwkerke	baize worker, master	1573
TUEWELLEN, Maerten	Hondschoote	linen, silk & say seller	1573

Name	Place of origin	Occupation/social status	Service in Sandwich
- ) the Walloon congregation			
*****			
ACKERE, Pierre van	Armentières	-	1568
COENE, Guillaume	-	-	1568
GHERARD, Thomas	-	-	1569
GUINART, Franchois	-	-	1568
HAYE, John de la	Laventie	-	1568
HOUVENAGLE, Mahieu	Armentières	-	1568
LANSEL, Jehan	Comines	-	1570
MONIER, Jacques le	Tournai	-	1568

Name	Place of origin	Occupation/social status	Service in Sandwich
PERNOULT, Jacques	-	-	1568
PORTE, Pierre de la	-	-	1569
SER, Jaques le	-	-	1568
SIX, Salomon	-	-	1569
THEVELIN, Jacques	Wervik	-	1569

Again the large majority, i.e. fourteen out of fifteen, originated from the Flemish Westkwartier, whilst at least four deacons of the Walloon consistory came from French Flanders and two from West Flanders. But what immediately catches the eye about the Flemish deacons at Sandwich is the remarkably high social standing they enjoyed in the Cinque Port. We counted a total of eight masters, three of whom may have been apprentice baize workers before they became deacons, two master-baize workers/merchants and one linen, silk and say seller, probably a retailer or dealer, and one baize worker. Some were already men of substance back in Flanders: Franchois Bolle was once described as a very wealthy 'farmer' lantsman and cloth weaver, Jacob de Brune appears in contemporary sources as zeer rycke wesende, Carel Liebaert had been a draper and cloth merchant, and the confiscated goods of Clais Nachtegael raised some 493lb.10s. parisian or approximately 247 florins or guilders. In Sandwich Jan de Kesghieter had two maids, Carel Liebaert one; Jan Carboneel, Clais Nachtegael, Chaerle van de Poele all became denizens. Jan Carboneel was later also elected elder. The extant records tell us nothing about the deacons of the Walloon church except that John de le Haye also became an elder. On the basis of the admittedly scanty evidence we can nevertheless conclude that the social standing of the Flemish deacons at Sandwich was as high as, and in some cases even higher than that of the elders, presumably because they had to be persons of trust and financial experience.

In 1578 a dispute broke out between the consistory of the Flemish refugee church at Sandwich and the Dutch consistory in London concerning the relationship of the deacons to the consistory. Following the settlement of the row between ministers Isbrand Balk and Adriaen Obri, the Sandwich consistory wrote separately to the deacons of the London Dutch church to thank them for their help in resolving the quarrel. The London consistory took umbrage: in a letter dated 9 January 1578 the Sandwich consistory was curtly advised that since the deacons were not members

of the consistory they did not deal with such matters. By acting so ill-advisedly the Sandwich consistory threatened to re-open a longstanding controversy. The Flemish consistory angrily refuted the accusation. On 27 January Sandwich wrote to London expressing its surprise that the Dutch church in the capital did not regard the deacons as members of the consistory. The synods in France and other Reformed churches considered them as such and so did Sandwich! Sandwich was mistaken. The Corpus Disciplinae stated explicitly, on the basis of the decisions taken at the National Synods of Middelburg, Dordrecht, The Hague and France, that the consistory only comprised ministers and elders, with the exception of proponenten, who may attend a church council meeting to learn the 'ropes' of church government (85).

The deacons discharged the church's responsibility for infirm and indigent members. In the case of Sandwich we can follow the work of the deacons thanks to the survival of poor relief accounts for the Walloon church during 1568-72 (86).

A close examination of these accounts show that the Walloon deacons followed the church order in respect of poor relief to the letter. They distributed the alms to the poor on a weekly basis, made house-to-house collections every month and laid their accounts before the consistory every month.

The deacons derived their income from seven different sources:

-) the monthly house-to-house collections;

-) donations in or at the door of the church. These sums collected obviously varied each month and sometimes yielded nothing. In February 1570, for instance, there were no

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(85) Hessels, iii, p.414; Toorenenbergen, p.141.

(86) I am grateful to Mrs. Mary Bayliss, Hon. Secretary of the Huguenot Society, for allowing me to have the original manuscript, which is in their archives, microfilmed.



donations from this source (87), and only 16d. in August of the same year (88), yet in December 1569 the deacons received 11/- (89) and in October 1570 14/5d. (90) church and other exiles communities, and travellers. In April 1569 'Mestre Luis, Anglois', donated 2/-. (91). The following month Frans Ente (92) gave 7d. towards the maintenance of the poor (93). In April 1571 'un capitaine de guerre' (a Sea Beggar?) contributed 30/-, a soldier 4/- (94) and two months later 'une bonne personne un denier à Dieu' (95). In April 1569 and August 1570 individuals sent money from London (96) and in November 1569 monies were received from the French churches in Stamford and Norwich (97). It must be emphasized that the above mentioned alms were not regular contributions by the people concerned but single donations:

-) Income from the production and sale of baize. In the Book of Orders for the Strangers at Norwich article 8 states that each piece of cloth bought or sold by a Stranger or citizen of the city contrary to the order, would be forfeitable at 2/6d. per piece, one third of which would go to the poor of the Strangers (98). Although we do not know if a similar Order was in force in Sandwich or whether the Walloons had agreed that a part of the monies received from the sale of cloths should go to the poor, but decrees issued by Sandwich Town Council imply the existence

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(87) HL, MS/J 29, ff.57-8.

(88) Ibid., ff.74-5.

(89) Ibid., ff.50-1.

(90) Ibid., ff.68-9.

(91) Ibid., fo.83

(92) See vol.II, no. 618, p.100.

(93) HL, MS/J 29, fo.33.

(94) Ibid., fo.107-9.

(95) Ibid., fo.118.

(96) Ibid., ff.27, 75.

(97) Ibid., ff.48-9.

(98) W.J.C. Moens, Norwich, p.260.

of some such regulations at Sandwich (99). Revenue from the production or sale was certainly used by the deacons to assist the poor. In January 1571, for instance, the deacons received from textile workers, presumably members of the congregation, 1/8d., in March of the same year 15/8d., in July 1/4d. According to the town ordinances, the amount payable was 2d. per piece of baize sold (100);

-) fines for non-attendance at the consistory. In July 1571, for example, Jehan des Bonnets, elder, was fined 3d. for this offence (101);

-) monies owed. In November 1571 we read: 'De Catherine Vasin pour trois mois de louage de sa demeure échus le...septembre dernier, lequel louage tennue à la charge des pauvres pour ceste cause icy à la descharge desdits pauvres 3/4d.' (102). It thus appears that the consistory rented houses in the name or on behalf of the poor. The diaconate may also have had a claim on the estate of deceased persons who had been in receipt of poor relief.

-) loans. 'Les Anchiens et Diacres ont presté pour survenir à la nécessité des pauvres £4 9s. 4d.' (103). October 1568 is the only time this heading appears in the account. This suggests that when the first consistory of the Walloon church in Sandwich had been elected, money had to be borrowed to set up the fund for the poor. Unfortunately the document does not indicate from whom the money was borrowed but only who stood surety for it: three elders and seven deacons.

The tables below give a detailed insight in how much money for the poor was received per month for the period

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(99) See Ch.I above and Ch.III below.

(100) HL, MS/J 27, ff. 96-8. 101-3, 125.

(101) Ibid., fo.125.

(102) Ibid., fo.153.

(103) Ibid., fo.2.

1569-71 (104) and the number of persons (N) from the Walloon community who contributed.

Month	1569	N	1570	N	1571	N
Jan	£1 19s. 8d.	57	£2 2s. 1d.	50	£3 6s. 8d.	43
Feb	£5 1s.15d.	47	£2 1s. 5d.	74	£3 14s. 10d.	48
Mar	£4 17s.14d.	43	£2 5s. 9d.	61	£9 17s. -	59
Apr	£2 13s. 6d.	43	£2 9s. 7d.	48	£5 3s. 3d.	61
May	£2 1s. 3d.	39	£1 12s. -	52	£3 6s. 8d.	53
June	£4 2s.10d.	39	£2 17s. 11d.	51	£3 16s. 1d.	70
July	£1 16s. 6d.	37	£3 - 6d.	45	£3 17s. 8d.	72
Aug	£1 18s.10d.	42	£6 1s. 3d.	45	£3 14s. 6d.	68
Sep	£1 11s. 9d.	39	£4 16s. 10d.	51	£4 9s. -	73
Oct	£3 2s. 9d.	38	£2 1s. 5d.	48	£2 13s. 7d.	70
Nov	£9 5s. 6d.	60	£3 7s. 2d.	58	£5 2s. 4d.	74
Dec	£2 6s. -	53	£2 11s. 4d.	47	£4 19s. 7d.	74
Tot	£40 11s. 8d.		£35 7s. 5d.		£54 1s. 2d.	

On the basis of the contents of the manuscript we were also able to establish that the money in the deacon's account was distributed for four main purposes:

- ) the maintenance of the sick and the poor;
- ) the guardians of the orphans;
- ) bread and wine for the Lord's Supper;
- ) travelling expenses for members of the community who moved to other communities and for foreign refugees from the Continent or other communities in England.

The tables below show how much money the deacons distributed on a monthly basis for the same period as the contributions and the numbers in receipt of relief:

Month	1569	N	1570	N	1571	N
Jan	£2 16s.10d.	78	£2 15s. 5d.	48	£3 6s. -	23

(104) The years 1568 and 1572 are incomplete.

Feb	£3	8s.	8d.	138	£1	12s.	11d.	34	£3	6s.	1d.	49
Mar	£7	3s.	9d.	125	£4	5s.	2d.	49	£2	17s.	2d.	29
Apr	£4	12s.	9d.	108	£2	3s.	7d.	39	£2	7s.	6d.	24
May	£2	1s.	8d.	51	£2	13s.	4d.	38	£3	1s.	10d.	19
June	£1	19s.	4d.	44	£1	4s.	2d.	22	£3	8s.	-	31
July	£1	18s.	2d.	30	£1	12s.	10d.	29	£3	4s.	7d.	23
Aug	£1	10s.	10d.	32	£6	10s.	3d.	72	£2	12s.	2d.	11
Sep	£1	2s.	9d.	26	£4	-	9d.	48	£5	7s.	8d.	40
Oct	£2	8s.	7d.	36	£4	4s.	4d.	46	£7	15s.	3d.	43
Nov	£4	4s.	4d.	44	£2	16s.	10d.	34	£5	7s.	9d.	16
Dec	£2	6s.	9d.	35	£2	3s.	8d.	31	£4	10s.	3d.	20
Tot	£35	14s.	5d.		£37	9s.	6d.		£47	4s.	3d.	

The accounts record the number of disbursements; the number of those in receipt of relief was, of course, much lower. The same names recur frequently, sometimes weekly. Between January and April 1569, for example, a certain Franchois des Pret received weekly poor relief from between 4d. and 1/- (105). Unfortunately the source does not specify for what the money was needed. The sharp increase in the number of recipients between January and April 1569 is attributable to an influx of Strangers from the Continent who had arrived penniless and needed some time before they could settle and find employment. A possible explanation - at least for the Walloons - could be the precarious situation in the cloth industry in the Pays de l'Alleu, French Flanders and Hainaut at that moment in time. Although Tournai and Valenciennes were important textile centres, the economy of Artois and Hainaut was dominated by agriculture, while political power rested with a conservative elite, whose privileged power urban Calvinism had been unable to break. In the circumstances the decision of the English government to place an embargo on trade with the Low Countries late in 1568 must have had a crippling effect on the local cloth industry. However the

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(105) HL, MS J/27, ff.14-vo.-25.

incomplete character of the accounts for 1568 makes comparisons difficult. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that during these years the Walloon community grew rapidly in size, and so did the number of indigent. Although between the beginning of 1569 and the end of 1571 the number in receipt of relief had dropped by nearly half, the amount paid to each recipient almost trebled. Whereas the average sum paid out in 1569 was 4.8p., this had risen to 14.4p. by 1571.

In Norwich the local authorities ordered the Dutch and Walloon churches to choose eight and four members respectively from their congregations to keep the peace in their communities. Those chosen came to be known as the Politijcke Mannen. The city of Norwich confirmed them in office and gave them the authority to deal with all minor disputes or rows between Strangers. They were bound to bring serious offenders before the magistrates and to imprison any members of the community at the request of the ward constables. They also gave general advice to the members of the Stranger community.

Although no further details are known, there is evidence of Politijcke Mannen at Sandwich. At the colloquium of 1576 the Sandwich representatives asked how they should discipline those who had been convicted of lying 'door polityken Gouverneurs ofte mannen openbaer' and had been convicted by the law. According to Lionel Williams the twelve settlers chosen by their community to supervise inspection and sealing of their 'New Draperies' may well have informally fulfilled the role of 'politic men', but we have found no evidence to support this hypothesis (106).

b. Marriage and baptism.

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The findings of Andrew Pettegree, who examined the Forme

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(106) Toorenenbergen, p.25; L. Williams, 'Immigrant Communities', 125.

des Prières, the liturgy of the French church in London, published in 1552, and Lasco's Forma ac Ratio (1555), make clear that by 1552 the main institutions of the Stranger churches in the capital were in operation. Marriage was celebrated during the main Sunday service after the prayers (107).

After their re-foundation in 1559 the exile churches in London expanded rapidly. Consequently the consistories found it more difficult to maintain social control and discipline within their communities. The proper observance of the matrimonial regulations greatly exercised the churches. The consistories of the Dutch and French churches therefore decided in 1564 that all couples who wished to wed should be betrothed in the consistory itself. The reason for this public promise was to make certain that both parties had the consent of their parents or guardians, and that they were free to marry. Without parental consent the wedding could not take place. Obviously problems arose when the parents of children who had fled to England did not accompany them into exile. Even so, the consistory still insisted on proof of consent and duly instructed the parties to obtain such approval. After 1568, following the outbreak of hostilities in the Low Countries, the consistories became more lenient. Occasionally they waived the requirement when, despite genuine efforts, parental consent could not be obtained (108).

Two of the main reasons for compulsory parental consent were to prevent socially unsuitable marriages and bigamy. 'Members wishing to marry who sought to conceal inconvenient details of their past lives were unwise to presume upon the ignorance of the consistory. Even those recently arrived in London often found a former neighbour there prepared to inform the consistory of the true facts of the cases' (109). Consistorial rigour here sometimes

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(107) A. Pettegree, Foreign Communities, pp.57-9.

(108) Ibid., pp.185, 227.

(109) Ibid., p.186.

persuaded members to marry in English churches. As a deterrent the French consistory cautioned that any member who married in this manner would be barred from communion until they had made public repentance (110). Persecution and war dislocated families and disrupted matrimonial ties, for example a husband who had fled the Continent leaving a wife and children behind might be tempted to enter into a bigamous marriage (111).

The church order on the subject of matrimonial affairs set out in the Corpus Disciplinae drew upon decisions made at the national synods of Emden, Dordrecht and Middelburg, and upon decisions taken at the colloquia of the Flemish/Dutch refugee churches in England. According to this church order of 1609 parents or guardians had to signify their consent to the betrothal. Before the minister solemnised the wedding he was required to ask whether the parties freely consented to the marriage, whether their parents had given their consent, whether they were blood-relations and whether they were members of the church. Where parents withheld consent because they opposed the Reformed religion or other 'unjust' reasons, the consistory had to make the final decision. Strangers not known to the congregation could only be betrothed if they could legally establish that they were free to marry. Once the parties were betrothed this bond could not be broken, unless one of them committed an infamous act. After the betrothal the banns were called on three Sundays. The wedding ceremony itself might take place on any day except Sundays and Fastdays (112).

At the assembly of the colloquium in London in March 1575 three problems related to the subject of marriage were raised. Colchester asked whether one or both persons who were engaged to be married with consent of their parents or guardians could retract their promises. The colloquium

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(110) Loc. cit.

(111) Ibid., pp.225-6.

(112) Toorenenbergen, pp.150-2.

replied that when free persons had committed themselves to marry, such promises could not be broken or retracted (113). Sandwich wanted to know how to proceed when a young man who wanted to marry a widow claimed to have slept with her but the woman denied this and therefore the woman refused to marry him. The meeting decided that if the accuser could not prove his case, and the accused denied before God having had intercourse, the accuser should be disciplined for defamation (114).

At the colloquium held in London in May 1576 the brethren from Sandwich asked whether church members might marry persons of unsound doctrine. The colloquium concluded that members of the congregations should only marry those who upheld the true Christian doctrine as it was taught in the same congregations; man and wife should not live separately (115).

The London assembly of August 1581 confirmed the direction of the National Synod of Middelburg that a widow was allowed to re-marry four and a half months after the death of her husband (116).

As in other exile communities the consistory of the Flemish refugee church at Sandwich had its own 'problem cases'. Round about January 1585 a certain Jeanne Vyvers, widow of Jacob Mentyn or Mentye (117), had been betrothed to Gillis Valcke (118). Despite her engagement and the fact that the banns had already been called once or twice, she had admitted to adultery. Gillis Valcke retracted his promise and Jeanne Vyvers was forbidden to sit at the Lord's Table. To avoid shame and escape from the magistrates she fled to London. On 20 June 1585 the Sandwich consistory informed the Dutch church in London in

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(113) Ibid., pp.8-10.

(114) Ibid., p.9.

(115) Ibid., p.25.

(116) Ibid., p.68.

(117) See vol.II, no. 1131, p.171.

(118) Ibid., no. 1688, p.253.



order that the consistory there could trace her and make her repent. By October of the same year she had returned to Sandwich and expressed her sorrow and guilt. The consistory again wrote to London requesting a report of her conduct in the City. If favourable she would be allowed to reconcile with the congregation within fourteen days (119).

In January 1590 Jaelius or Jaques Colenbouen or Colembien, elder (120), received a letter from a certain Johannes Lenaert of the Flemish congregation in Sandwich. Lenaert informed the elder that a young man named Abraham Bogaert had deceived a woman in the congregation. Despite having promised to marry her, he had turned his attention to another woman called Schrifteynken, employed in the Cattle Market (121), in the belief that she had more money. Johannes Lenaert suggested that Schrifteynken should be warned against the unscrupulous Abraham Bogaert, as he had done the same in London with another woman. Bogaert was summoned before the consistory and despite producing a testimonial from a certain widow that she knew nothing about the matter and had no complaints against Bogaert, he was refused permission to marry (122).

A remarkable feature of some Stranger communities was their endogamous character. Nigel Goose, for instance, found that in the early years of settlement the Flemish/Dutch refugees in Colchester did not easily mix with the local population, who regularly complained about their tightly-knit congregation. In fact, the Strangers' consistory disapproved of intermarriage. The evidence from wills showed that the refugees only merged with the local inhabitants in the late seventeenth century. Andrew Spicer has demonstrated that the French-speaking community at Southampton did not marry into the town population during

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(119) Hessels, iii, pp.804, 810.

(120) See vol.II, no. 445, p.76.

(121) See vol.III, map III, pp.9-10. The Cattle Market still exists in Sandwich.

(122) Hessels, iii, pp.904, 906.



the sixteenth century (123).

Both the Dutch and French churches in London opposed marriages between the members of their own congregations and the native English. They feared that this practice would erode their own congregation and undermine the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline. At the colloquium at Maidstone in April 1583 Sandwich asked what happened to those who, although they had the permission of the bishop, married among the English against the will and advice of the consistory. It was decided to request the Archbishop of Canterbury that no licence be issued to the members of the Flemish/Dutch church unless the consistories had no objections (124).

Despite this decision, in London many members of the refugee communities married native English men and women. But the situation in the capital cannot be readily compared with that which obtained in the smaller exile communities. A fair number of Dutch and other foreign merchants had established themselves in London long before the religious persecution on the Continent persuaded Protestants to flee. Some did indeed subsequently become members of the Dutch church, but they felt probably less detached from the English community (125).

Some of the exiles at Canterbury also intermarried. On 20 August 1576 the consistory of the Walloon church admonished a certain Bauduin Ernoud. He had evidently forgotten that as a member of the church he was subject to the ecclesiastical discipline. The cause of his offence was

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(123) N. Goose, 'Colchester', 271-2. We are grateful to Andrew Spicer for providing this information about the Southampton community, on which subject he is at present preparing a doctorate.

(124) Toorenenbergen, p.74.

(125) A. Pettegree, Foreign Communities, p.18.

his marriage to an English woman at Dover, and the consistory feared this might set a precedent and so damage the congregation's unity (126). In fact, members of the Canterbury refugee community often intermarried with the native inhabitants. The consistory was prepared to register the marriages of women members to Englishmen, even though these had not been blessed by the minister. But when male refugees married English women the wedding was not registered. Beate Magen's findings provide sufficient evidence that at Canterbury intermarriage was accepted when the English partners joined the Strangers' congregation (127).

Heinz Schilling has examined the phenomenon of intermarriage in the case of the Stranger churches in Germany. He discerns four different patterns of development in the Netherlands' refugee churches in Germany and he traces the differences to the political, socio-economic, cultural and religious conditions, which in turn influenced the pattern of intermarriage in these Flemish/Dutch and Walloon/French exile churches in the German towns. His first two categories comprise the newly-founded refugee towns and settlements in small territorial towns, e.g. Frankenthal, and those towns where the refugees were integrated into the local Reformed churches such as Emden and Wesel. In these settlements where the refugees were strongly entrenched intermarriages took place, even with the consent of the consistories. On the other hand, Hamburg and Frankfurt had refugee communities which, although socially segregated, brought economic innovations with them. Nevertheless, intermarriage was unlikely to take place in these towns as the Lutherans opposed the Reformed. However in Frankfurt a few very wealthy families were allowed to marry their children into local families (128).

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(126) CCDC, U47/A-1, fo.12.

(127) B. Magen, Canterbury, p.127.

(128) H. Schilling, 'Innovation', 32-3.

In Cologne and Aachen the integration of exile communities failed and in fact ended in their expulsion (129). In both towns the Protestants as a whole were in a small minority and therefore confessional differences were less important. In Aachen Reformed refugees intermarried with local Protestants as well as with Lutheran and Anabaptist exiles (130), whereas in Cologne the situation was quite different. In this Catholic city the Protestant exiles from the Low Countries never received official recognition (131).

In short, it seems that in most refugee communities in Germany, as in England, intermarriage took place. But unlike in England, intermarriage in certain localities in Germany seem not to have been opposed by the consistories of the refugee congregations, but by the local authorities and population on political and socio-economic, and mainly confessional grounds.

The experience of the Sandwich Stranger community was strikingly different. A close study of extant available parish registers for the period 1561-99 shows that of the 2,000 strong Flemish community only two appear to have married an English inhabitant, namely Henry Cornellysson (132) who married Jane Gresson on 2 May 1577, and Adam van den Berghe who married Panell Tassele on 2 February 1583 (133). In the absence of the marriage registers we cannot of course be certain that there are no other cases of mixed marriages. But it should be emphasized that, with the exception mentioned above, not one reference to intermarriage in Sandwich during the second half of the sixteenth century was found in any of the other archives and printed primary sources.

The endogamous character of some Stranger communities

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(129) Ibid., 16.

(130) Ibid., 25-6.

(131) Loc. cit.

(132) See vol.II, no. 479, p.79.

(133) KAO, Sa/Ac10, fo.276-vo.

is quite remarkable and emphasizes the enormous power the consistories of these communities exerted over their congregation. The endogamous character of Southampton, which was relatively small, could perhaps be explained by the fact that the cohesive character of the original community ensured endogamy: most of the original settlers came from Valenciennes. Sandwich, however, presumably lacked this degree of social cohesion, although the majority came from the Westkwartier, but the large size of the community ensured a sufficient choice of marriage partners.

The Corpus Disciplinae of 1609 contains two articles concerning baptism, namely the performance of baptism in the presence of witnesses and the importance attached to giving children Scriptural names.

The issue of witnesses at baptisms sparked off a controversy in the refugee churches which rumbled on throughout the second half of the sixteenth century. In the early 1550s Gualter Delenus, appointed by Lasco to lecture in the Old Testament, had questioned the need for godparents at baptisms (134). Some ten years later Godfried van Wingen fanned the flame of controversy by calling for godparents. Van Wingen began to consider the matter shortly before or during his stay in Sandwich. Soon after his arrival in London towards the end of 1563 he issued his notorious decree, which stated that fathers who wanted their children baptised should first submit a declaration by two persons who were willing to act as witnesses. It was hoped in this way to insure that those baptised were the children of parents who were members of the refugee church. By June 1564 matters had come to such a pass that the deacons threatened to resign. After arbitration by the Flemish refugee church at Sandwich, the Bishop of London and the churches of Antwerp and Emden, the deacons finally

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(134) A. Pettegree, Foreign Communities, p.64.

(135) *Ibid.*, pp.243-6.

accepted the decision concerning the function of godparents (135).

Despite the intervention of the 'mother church' in Emden, in 1571 the problem was still not resolved. The question was raised again at the National Synod where, of course, the English churches were not represented. The synod decided that each church should continue its own practice until or unless a future general synod directed otherwise. To the question whether godparents who did not belong to the congregation yet themselves inclined to the Reformed religion might be permitted, the synod ruled that such godparents were permissible, though in churches where the godparents would be responsible for the upbringing of the children, these should be members of the congregation (136).

The colloquia in England also gave their attention to the matter. In London in May 1576 the assembly concluded like the Emden Synod, that conformity in the refugee churches should be preserved, although each congregation should be free to do as it felt best and there should be no compulsion of conscience. On the question whether it was permissible to baptise the children of parents who belonged to no church and of unchristian life, especially if these had been refused baptism in English churches, the colloquium affirmed that such children could be presented for baptism by members of the congregation provided these promised to take them under their wing (137). The meeting in London between 30 May and 11 June 1586 directed that only members of the congregation or those with good attestation could be witnesses at baptisms (138).

How the Flemish/Dutch refugee churches in England were to administer the sacrament in general is set out in the Corpus Disciplinae and is based on the recommendations of

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(135) Ibid., pp.243-6.

(136) J.F.C. Goeters, Emden, pp.26, 60.

(137) Toorenenbergen, pp.22, 24-5.

(138) Ibid., p.84.

the National Synods of France, Emden, Dordrecht and Middelburg. Only the minister was allowed to baptise. It was the duty of the parents to present the infant for baptism in public as soon as possible, and a long delay might result in consistorial reprimand. The congregation was to be admonished to respect the administration of the sacrament. The fathers, accompanied by witnesses who should be members of the congregation and at least twenty-four years of age, were to be present for baptism. The children of heathens or Jews could not be baptised until they had made profession of their faith having reached the age of discretion (139).

Certain members of the Flemish congregation at Sandwich did refuse to baptise their children with godparents and as a result were suspended and ultimately excommunicated by the consistory. Legier van den Berghe from Poperinge arrived in Sandwich in 1569 with his wife and family. In 1572 he was being described as a member of the congregation, whilst the following year he was registered as being 'without good wytnesse', presumably because he had been suspended from the Lord's Supper on account of his views (140). Saerlo van Huele or Hille from Wervik arrived in the Cinque Port in 1568 and was described as a joiner. In 1573 he was registered as not being a member of the congregation from which he had been suspended (141). Both families refused to have their children baptised in the presence of godparents 'accordyng to thorder now here used in their Congregacon' (142) and on 15 April 1572 they were ordered to appear before the Mayor and Jurats in the Council Chamber. After discussing the matter they were given a minimum of eight and a maximum of fourteen days to solve the problem, consult the elders of the consistory and agree to have their children baptised in the manner used in

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(139) Ibid., pp.145-6.

(140) See vol.II, no. 148, p.31.

(141) Ibid., no. 895, p.139.

(142) KAO, Sa/Ac5, fo.99-vo.

their church, or to depart from the town within twenty days after the deadline (143). The consistory was very patient and this consultation with the elders lasted more than two years. On 27 September 1574, however, Legier van den Berghe and Saerlo van Huele, together with their families, were finally excommunicated and given fourteen days to leave the town (144).

The Sandwich Flemish church adhered strictly to the requirement of the church order that children should be given names to be found in the Holy Scripture (145). A list dated 1622 contains the names of 178 Stranger householders. Those named are all children and some possibly grandchildren of the original settlers (146). The list is divided into two groups: those who were not born in Sandwich and those who were. The group of Strangers not born in the Cinque Port numbers a total of seventy. Of those forty-one, i.e. nearly 59%, had names to be found in the Old and New Testament:

Peter	N.T.	12	Samuel	O.T.	1
John	N.T.	11	Michael	N.T.	1
Jacob	O.T.	2	Paul	O.T.	1
Daniel	O.T.	2	David	O.T.	1
Israel	O.T.	1	Mathew	N.T.	1

The list of those born in Sandwich contains 108 names. A remarkable ninety-five, i.e. 88%, bear names out of the Old and New Testament:

John	N.T.	30	Eleazar	O.T.	2	Moses	O.T.	1
Peter	N.T.	16	Mark	N.T.	2	Elias	O.T.	1
Jacob	O.T.	16	Mathew	N.T.	2	David	O.T.	1
Abraham	O.T.	6	Nathaniel	N.T.	1	Tobias	O.T.	1

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(143) Loc. cit.

(144) Ibid., fo.156-vo.

(145) Toorenenbergen, pp.145-6.

(146) W.D. Cooper, Aliens, pp.15-7



Daniel	O.T.	4	Symon	O.T.	1	Joshua	O.T.	1
Samuel	O.T.	3	Benjamin	O.T.	1	Salomon	O.T.	1
Isaac	O.T.	2	Jonas	O.T.	1	Jeremy	O.T.	2

Though traditional Flemish (saints) names such as Gillis, Caerle, Francis, did not completely disappear, they certainly ceased to be popular and scriptural names became more fashionable. In this respect Sandwich stood foursquare with the other refugee churches like Colchester and Norwich (147). The preference for names from the Old and New Testament and sometimes unusual Biblical names, especially Old Testament names such as Samuel, Isaac, Eleazar, Elias, Tobias, Joshua, Israel, for which there would have been no precedent before the Reformation, becomes even clearer when we compare the names of those born in Sandwich with the Christian names borne by the first generation of Strangers, who would of course have been baptised as Catholics. For this purpose we have used the first 1563 name list which gives the names of 247 Flemish refugees. Of those 116 had names from the Holy Scripture:

Joannes	53	Michiel	6
Peter	20	Thomas	4
Matheus	15	Daniel	1
Jacob	13	Bartholomeus	1
Andries	3	Steven	1

The remaining 131 had the following names:

Frans(oeys)	21	Walram	1
Willem	15	Jason	1
Jooris	13	Venant	1
Caerle	10	Maeliaerdt	1
Claey	9	Hendrijck	1
Gillis	6	Laureyns	1
Maercx	5	Sebastiaen	1
Christiaen	5	Seeghers	1

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(147) See J.W. Tammel, Leiden.

Gheleyn	4	Dieryck	1
Maerten	3	Robertus	1
Adriaen	3	Floreyn	1
Viedast	2	Clement	1
Anthuenis	2	Bossand	1
Victor	2	Vincent	1
Colaerd	2	Lieven	1
Loeij	2	Cornelis	1
Philips	2	Gontier	1
Nicolaeys	2	Erasmus	1
Christophel	2	Passchier	1
Gherardus	1		

c. Liturgy, catechism and the Lord's Supper.

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In 1540 Wouter Deleen, who became minister of the Flemish/Dutch congregation in the capital, published his Latin New Testament in London, and in the same decade John à Lasco compiled a catechism and Confession of Faith, thus furnishing a convenient statement of the Reformed doctrine of the church. About the same time Jan Utenhove, elder of the London Dutch church, translated the Emden catechism and Lasco's Compendium Doctrinae into Dutch. From its foundation the London Dutch church used Lasco's Emden catechism, but as this was deemed unsuitable for children Martin Micron provided a shorter version for their needs in 1562. With the two catechisms and the Confession of Faith the ministers provided a carefully-graduated hierarchy of instruction for the members of the church (148). These publications prepared the church order which determined the future shape of the Stranger church (149).

In the Elizabethan period the London catechism was replaced by the Heidelberg one. The minister catechized

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(148) A. Pettegree, Foreign Communities, pp.48, 50-1, 54.

(149) Ibid., p.237.

the children on the Sunday afternoon, when adults with an insufficient grasp of doctrine were expected to attend. Care was taken to instruct the children thoroughly. Teachers and parents alike were to encourage them in every way to learn the catechism so that they would be ready to join the congregation. Parents who failed to send their children to the catechism lessons were to be admonished (150). In due course the children had to make a profession of faith in the church after which they became full communicant members (151).

The colloquium of May 1576 directed that the brethren of the congregation whose children showed promise in the catechism and the Scriptures should be encouraged to let these train for the ministry. The colloquium also urged the rich members of the congregation with no children of their own to educate and support the children of the poor who showed academic ability (152). The same assembly decided that all Flemish/Dutch refugee churches in England should use the Heidelberg catechism, with the exception of the London congregation (153).

Only those who had made profession of their faith could sit at the Lord's Table. The administration of the Lord's Supper took place on the first Sunday of each month. Only ministers might administer the Lord's Supper, which was celebrated with bread and wine. Two weeks before the communion the congregation was given notice so that the members could prepare themselves. The elders carried out a visitation of their districts to comfort the weak and the poor. The night before the sacrament was to be administered, a sermon was held and the institution of the Lord's Supper read to the congregation. Those members who were admitted for the first time had to make a profession of faith of the Reformed religion and provide evidence of

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(150) Toorenenbergen, pp.21, 45.

(151) W.J.C. Moens, Norwich, p.52.

(152) Toorenenbergen, p.17.

(153) Ibid., p.17.

their piety. Such a profession was made before the minister and the elders. Those who came with good attestations from other congregations were admitted without having to make a new profession of faith (154). Before the Sunday service an elder or deacon or somebody appointed by the consistory would read one or two chapters from the Scripture. The service then started with a psalm in the metrical translation of Pieter Dathenus and prayers (155).

Communion services were held frequently in the Stranger churches. In the towns of Holland the Lord's Supper took place between four and six times a year and in the smaller villages it might be held only once a year. But in Sandwich, Norwich and the other Stranger communities such services took place every month. The reasons for this difference are not far to seek. In the first place, it was not practical in the Netherlands to hold such service every month: the preparation of the communicants would have taken too long. Secondly, the celebration of a monthly Supper in the English refugee communities served to emphasize the importance of consistorial discipline and thereby reinforced the separate character of the Stranger communities. It was possible, especially in the early stages, to take for granted a greater commitment on the part of the refugees. Frequent communion, accompanied by visitations, enabled the consistory to retain control and thereby reduce the risk of assimilation. Pieter Dathenus recognised the difference between the types of Reformed churches in a letter to Bullinger in 1570. In this letter he admitted that it would be unrealistic to expect the strict discipline in the Calvinist territorial churches to be the same as the one maintained in Geneva or in the Calvinist Stranger churches (156).

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(154) Toorenenbergen, pp.146-7.

(155) Ibid., p.144; W.J.C. Moens, Norwich, p.52.

(156) A. Duke, Reformation, p.290.

## d. The exercise of discipline.

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In London the Dutch church 'waged an unrelenting battle against those other classic objects of Calvinist disapproval: drunkenness, gambling and dancing. All were particularly heinous if committed on a religious festival' (157). In many cases drinking and gambling went hand in hand and often gave rise to brawling. Consistorial punishment could be very severe, especially because this kind of behaviour jeopardised the reputation of the entire community. The culprit could be suspended from communion, be sentenced to public penance or even excommunicated (158).

At the colloquium in March 1575 Norwich asked whether people who had been repeatedly rebuked for drunkenness by the consistory should be allowed to get away with a confession made in private (i.e. in the consistory), when they usually relapsed into the same errors despite their promise to do better. The colloquium replied that the congregation should be warned and that such offenders should be publicly suspended, and, if they showed no real signs of repentance, eventually excommunicated. The colloquium advised that care was to be taken about the status of the individual (159).

In Sandwich the Stranger community also had its drunken offenders. Several Strangers were banished from Sandwich because of their bad behaviour in 1567, 1573, 1574, 1582, 1584 and 1585 (160). In all these cases the consistory received resolute support from the Sandwich magistrates. In 1571 Sandwich Town Council again intervened, on this occasion in a dispute between the consistory of the Flemish refugee church and nine Strangers as a result of a

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(157) A. Pettegree, Foreign Communities, p.189.

(158) Ibid., pp.189-90.

(159) Toorenenbergen, p.7.

(160) See Ch.I above pp.52-3.

since 1567 (161), Melch de Yong, Willem van de Castle, Jacques Mente from Poperinge and in Sandwich since 1565 (162), Anselme van der Mayer, Jannekyn Spytts, Maykeys Brokeys, Walrave Boteman and Kateren van Stoppen were summoned to the Council Chamber on 19 July 1571. All were ordered to leave the town within one month unless they could produce an attestation from the consistory that they had joined the congregation and that they had improved their lives (163). It would seem that all but one left Sandwich for good. Jacques Mente must have left the town for some time as his name does not appear in the 1573 name list, although he had returned and joined the congregation by 1574 (164).

Significantly none of the Strangers banished in the years mentioned above were in fact members of the congregation of the Flemish refugee church - although one or two had participated in the Iconoclastic Fury (165). The sources do not tell us whether they had been suspended or excommunicated. The records only state that they did 'confesse that they were owt of the duche congregacon' (166), 'as they are not admytted to the congregacon' (167), 'not of the congrigacon of the duche churche heare in this towne' (168). As remarked in chapter I, we have identified no fewer than 131 Flemish Strangers who were listed as not being from the congregation and there may of course have been others.

Unfortunately it is not possible to throw further light on the antecedents of these Strangers who apparently had no links with the congregation. There are three possible

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(161) See vol. II, no. 428, p.73.

(162) See above in this chapter p.110.

(163) KAO, Sa/Ac5, fo.78.

(164) BL, Additional 33,511, fo.328.

(165) E.g. Michiel Sarasyn, see vol.II. no.1483, pp.223.

(166) KAO, Sa/Ac5, fo.156.

(167) KAO, Sa/Ac6, fo.39.

(168) KAO, Sa/Ac5, fo. 9.

explanations. Some of them might have been Anabaptists, as we shall see below, others may have gone to England to find employment rather than escape religious persecution, and yet others were religious dissidents, who, though they had fallen foul of the authorities in Flanders, had no wish to place themselves under the discipline of the consistory.

Pieter van Oost, a baize worker from Bailleul, had been in Sandwich at least since 1563. During the Troubles of 1566 he returned to Flanders, participated in the Iconoclastic Fury and became a notorious member of the Wood Beggars in the Westkwartier. During the latter half of 1568 he returned to Sandwich. His immoral behaviour in the Cinque Port proved his downfall: on 22 December of that year he was banished for life from Sandwich 'for that he hath lewdly behaved' (169). He returned to the Westkwartier, only to be arrested and on 8 June 1569 executed at the stake as a convicted heretic (170).

Another illustration of confrontation between the consistory of the Flemish refugee church and members of the congregation concerns Robert Cauwersyn, upholsterer from Ieper, who was a very troublesome character. After having taken part in the Troubles in Flanders he arrived in 1570 in Sandwich when he registered as a member of the Flemish refugee church. He resided in the fifth and seventh ward respectively. Notorious in Flanders as a disturber of the public peace, his conduct in Sandwich served to reinforce that reputation (171). He became so vexatious and malicious that the minister and the elders made an official complaint to the town council, as he 'hadd divers and many wayes hearetofore troubles them and their consistory with divers wrangelings, unchristian...skoffynge speches, and yet continuet revyveth the same againe' (172). On 12 August 1586 he was called before the Mayor and Jurats who told him

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(169) KAO, Sa/Ac5, fo.9; see vol.II, no.1226, p.187.

(170) Coussemaker, i, pp.40, 300, 304-vo.

(171) KAO, Sa/Ac6, fo.58-vo; see vol.II, no.403, p.70.

(172) Loc. cit.

that 'it ys apparantly seen that he is a very malicious and troublesome person. whoes impudent bouldness is such as he shameth not to oppose him self againste the whole churche, the aucthoritie of the elders'. Unless he changed his attitude and became a quiet and honest man, he would be banished from the town (173).

The mere threat of banishment, reinforced by the exemplary ejection of those who fell foul of the civil and religious authorities in Sandwich, would have served to strengthen the power of the Sandwich consistory over the members of its community.

c. Anabaptists.

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Until the 1550s the Anabaptists had virtually no rivals among the religious dissidents in Flanders. In particular Anabaptism had entrenched itself in Flanders, which included the influential town of Kortrijk, as well as smaller towns such as Menen, Wervik and Comines. All the Protestants executed in these four towns between 1550 and 1566 were Anabaptists. The Anabaptist elders Gillis van Aken and Lenaert Bouwens, two close companions of Menno Simons, were very active in administering adult baptism in Kortrijk and their influence also extended to the neighbouring localities of Harelbeke, Zwevegem, Deerlijk and Lauwe.

Anabaptism also penetrated French Flanders, making its presence felt in towns like Halluin and Armentières. By 1561 Armentières had become one of the most important Anabaptist centres and after 1561-2 it displaced Kortrijk as the seat of the entire Anabaptist movement in South Flanders.

Anabaptism also had its followers in the Flemish

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(173) Loc. cit.



Westkwartier, but these came more under the influence of Antwerp than Kortrijk. Those who had been baptised by Gillis van Aken and Lenaert Bouwens in the metropolis evangelised when they returned to the Westkwartier. Before 1566 at least seventy-four Anabaptists were condemned in Hondschoote, Nieppe, Reningelst, Hazebrouck, Cassel, Diksmuide, Oudezeele and Bollezeele. Even the Iconoclastic Fury did not halt recruitment in the area: between 1566 and 1571 Anabaptists were burned at the stake in Bergues-Saint-Winoc, Ieper, Hondschoote, Bailleul and Bas-Warneton.

Nieppe and Warneton both had a relatively important Anabaptist community with their own lay preacher. Nevertheless, in the small centres the movement did not make such headway as the risk of discovery was much greater than for the brethren in the larger towns of Armentières, Hondschoote and Ieper. Furthermore, at the end of the 1550s and the beginning of the 1560s inquisitor Pieter Titelmans succeeded in scattering the local cells in Nieuwkerke, Ieper and Poperinge, although occasional Anabaptists continued to be found there.

In the Westkwartier Anabaptism put down roots in Hondschoote alongside Calvinism. Even after the drive against heretics in 1562, in the wake of the Calvinist service held at Boeschepe, Hondschoote remained a haven of refuge for Anabaptists; heretics could still go to ground here in relative safety after 1563. The most famous Anabaptist family in Hondschoote were the de Zwarte's, who originated from Bailleul or Dranouter. Between 1558 and 1567 no less than eighteen members of this family had been executed (174).

The strength of Anabaptism in the Low Countries raises the question as to what extent these dissidents infiltrated in the refugee communities in England. An obsession about Anabaptists was clearly marked under Edward VI. Anabaptist heresy was almost entirely limited to the Dutch Strangers

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(174) M. Backhouse, 'Beeldenstorm en Bosgeuzen', 62-4;

J. Decavele, Dageraad, i, pp.469-515.

living in London. In 1550 Lasco and other leaders of the London Dutch church argued strongly that the establishment of a refugee church would help to check the wayward opinions of their fellow countrymen and this argument convinced the English government. To prevent the spread of false doctrine Lasco suggested that a note be made in the register of the parishes where members resided to assist the English ministers in identifying foreigners (175).

During the early Elizabethan years the control of Anabaptism was again a major preoccupation, though by then the government attached more weight to the socio-economic argument than to the need to prevent Anabaptism when it permitted the foundation of refugee churches. In 1560 the English government issued a proclamation banning all Anabaptists (176).

On Easter Sunday 1575 twenty-seven Dutch and Flemish Anabaptists were discovered in London. Two managed to escape but the remaining twenty-five were arrested promptly. The majority admitted their error and begged for forgiveness, but on 22 July 1575 two were executed at the stake (177). The incident came to the notice of Parliament. On 2 March the following year the Commons drafted a petition sent to the Queen for the reform of church discipline. The petition claimed that Anabaptists and Papists were the Queen's most dangerous enemies. It was therefore necessary that the preaching, teaching and discipline of the Church of England should be improved. In this way Anabaptists and Papists would be weakened so that they would not be able to conspire against her and take over the state (178). On 13 February 1581 a bill was put before Parliament that all professors of Anabaptism were to be whipped for the first offence, branded for the second

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(175) A. Pettegree, Foreign Communities, pp.44-5, 66.

(176) Ibid., p.138.

(177) Ibid., p.288; J. Ridley, Elizabeth I (London, 1987), pp.192-3.

(178) T.E. Hartley, Parliament Elizabeth I, p.446.

and adjudged a felon for the third (179).

Two members of the original consistory of the Flemish refugee church at Sandwich, Joannes Beaugrand and Jan Camphen, had a fiercely anti-Anabaptist outlook, and during their time in London in 1560 had acted as 'witnesses for the prosecution' in the 'van Haemstede case' (180). We mentioned earlier the possibility that some of the Flemings who did not belong to the Flemish congregation at Sandwich might have been Anabaptists. The Town Council took strict precautions. On 31 August 1565

'the Maior and Jurates of Sandwich aforesayd carefull to precerve and kepe the state and governement of the seyde towne in good unyon and quietnes to repress all misorder and contencons that might ryse in the same towne by evell and lewd persons opynatyve specially amonge the duch congregacon....and because some heretofore have been proved very busye persons dysputing matters tending to baysse cedecios error and for the same have bene ponished and imprisoned',

decreed that no inhabitant of the town, English or Stranger, was to discuss or dispute any matter of religion outside the congregation on pain of punishment, and 'that they and every of them do conforme them selves unto the preachers, elders...and to be obedient under their statutes, decrees and ordinances' (181). This decree not only once more highlights the power of the consistory at Sandwich, but also confirms that the local council recognised the consistory as the only authority in the Stranger community. Six weeks later, on 10 October, Nowell le Cante, Frannces Har, Lanchier Beugrand, Antony Gwyon, Nicholas Williot, Peter Teyvens, Maliart van Teusten,

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(179) Ibid., pp.536-8.

(180) A. Pettegree, Foreign Communities, pp.169-70, 174-8, 181; P. Collinson, Grindal, pp.134-9.

(181) KAO, Sa/Ac4, fo.288.

George de Pennell, Jacobe de Quevere, Jaques Mayentyn, Charle van Mont, Gerard Peminet, George de Verver, Peter Platfoote, Peter Vecke, Jarome Mersheman, Roger Masse, Nicholas Rawse, William Drosyan and John de Ardre, described as Fflemings Strangers appeared before the Mayor and Jurats. They had been given the choice of becoming members of the Flemish church or having to leave. Although given a final opportunity, they remained obdurate and were ordered to quit Sandwich within twenty-one days with their wives and families. Those who failed to comply by 1 November were liable to have their property seized and they would all be sentenced to imprisonment (182).

The English government's concern with radical sectarianism also found expression in the creation of a commission, as a consequence of the events in London at Easter 1575, to investigate the presence of Anabaptists among the Strangers in the Cinque Port. The commission found that some maintained 'the most horrible and damnable error of Anabaptists; and fearing that these corruptions be spred in sundrie places of Her Majesty's realme where these straungers do inhabit' (183). The consistory of the Flemish refugee church was required to subscribe to eight articles of faith:

1. That Christ take flesshe of the substance of the virgin (184);
2. That the infants of the faithfull are to be baptized;
3. That it is lawful for a christian to take othe;
4. That a christian man may be a magistrat and beare the office of auctorite;
5. That it is lawful to a christian magistrat to execute obstinate heretiques;

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(182) Ibid., fo.287-vo.

(183) W. Boys, Sandwich, p.744.

(184) This article was devised to counter specifically the Melchiorite teaching on the Virgin, which was peculiar to Dutch Anabaptism.

6. That it is lawful for a christian man to warre;
7. That it is lawful for a christian man to require that auctorite of the maqistrat and of the law that he may be delivered from wronge and restore the right;
8. That a christian man may lawfullie have propertie in his goodes and not make them common; yet ought he accordinge to the rule of charitie to releve the needie accordinge to his habilitie (185).

This request was sent to the Flemish church on 7 June 1575 with a warning that those who refused to sign would be summoned before the commissioners. This caused some concern to the minister and the elders of the Sandwich consistory. On 27 June they wrote to the consistory of the London Dutch church that in principle they had no objections in signing the document, but feared that some members might object to article five and refuse to sign. London had requested the commission to limit article five to some extent. Although no reply to this letter has been found the minister, Isbrand Balk, and twenty-five elders and deacons headed by Roland de Carpentier, subscribed to the articles in their own names and on behalf of the congregation on 7 July (186).

On 27 March 1582 more Strangers were ordered by the Mayor and Jurats to leave Sandwich 'for that they are not of the Dutch congregacon'. Peter Goras, Adam Vanderberck and Mathewe Brewar were given ten days to depart, whilst John Goble, his wife and daughter were to leave within eighteen days (187). On 17 August 1583 the elders of the Flemish church appeared before the Mayor and Jurats and were told to give the names of all Strangers who did not belong to the congregation (188).

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(185) W. Boys, Sandwich, pp.744-5.

(186) Loc. cit.; Hessels, iii, pp.313-4.

(187) KAO, SA/Ac6, fo.8-vo.

(188) Ibid., fo.12-vo.

Nevertheless, Strangers who were not members of the congregation continued to enter the town and some Anabaptists even managed to mislead the consistory and the minister. On 8 August 1575 Sandwich informed London that they had discovered that a fifteen-year old girl, niece of minister Isbrand Balk, was not baptised on account of her parents, who were Anabaptists! On 23 September 1583 Goris Troble, Clais Clement, Powles Collens, Gylles Ballewyz and John Busshop, mariners from Ostend and Flushing, were banished from the Cinque Port and forbidden to settle in the town 'as they were no members of the Dutch congregacon' (189).

e. Education.

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Many Flemish Strangers who resided at Sandwich came from a society noted for its humanist schooling and widespread education system. During the state visit to West Flanders of Philip II in 1549 the humanist Juan Luis Vivès, who accompanied the then crown-prince, wrote in his diary that practically everybody in that part of Flanders could read and write, even women (190). Indeed, the Netherlands in general and West Flanders in particular, were renowned for the great importance they attached to education. As early as 1531 Emperor Charles V published an edict which required the children of the poor, formerly forced into vagrancy, to attend school in order to learn a trade (191). The researches of Germain Schoonaert have greatly advanced our knowledge of the educational system in West Flanders, more specifically Poperinge, in the sixteenth century.

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(189) Ibid., fo.24-vo; Hessels, iii, pp.321, 323.

(190) G. Schoonaert, 'Onderwijsstructuren in de 16de eeuw te Poperinge. De graewe susteren alleenelyck dochterkens lerende', AS, xxiv, 4 (1984), 29.

(191) G. Schoonaert, 'Onderwijsstructuren te Poperinge in de 16e eeuw. De aerne schole', AS, xv, 1 (1985), 12.

Until the 1560s Poperinge had four categories of schools: the higher school or hooghere scoole, the small schools or cleene scoolen, schools exclusively for young girls and, after 1531 also schools for the children of the poor or aerme schole. The education of orphans was entrusted to individuals.

The hooghere scoole taught Latin grammar to boys above the age of eleven. They were usually the children of the wealthy middle-class and were looked on as the future elite. It was forbidden to teach Latin in the cleene scoolen and pupils above the age of eleven could not be accepted unless they were still unable to write. The masters in these schools often practised a second occupation such as weaver, cobbler, clerk and verger. The class met in the living room or workshop of the teacher. The main daily activities were reading, spelling and prayers, but also arithmetic and good manners (192). The Caroline edict of 1531 also required the care of the poor to be organised by the town councils. In Poperinge the children of the aerme schole were not only taught to read, but also a craft. Meals were prepared for the needy children. The curriculum consisted of the Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, The Creed and In Spiritum, and reading and writing of the Flemish language. Those who showed a special aptitude were later allowed to go to the hooghere scoole without paying any school fees (193).

The sisters Penitent or graeuwe susteren were dedicated to the education of the young girls. Some of the girls, according to their social status, took service after their basic school education in the cleene scoole, some in the houses of the rich middle-class or entered a convent school (194).

As a result of Christian humanism, in 1568 a new school

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de 16e eeuw. De cleene scoolen en de hooghere scoole', AS, XIV, 2 (1984), 4-6.

(193) G. Schoonaert, 'Aerme schole', 12, 14-5.

(194) G. Schoonaert, 'Graewe susteren', 28.

system was launched in Poperinge and elsewhere in West Flanders, namely the municipal school or ghemeene schoole van der stede. In this new type of school, also called the volksschool, all children of the keurbroeders (guild brothers) were permitted to attend the school without distinction of class, rank or status. In this system of public education the names aerme schoole and hooghere scoole disappeared. Instruction in Latin was restricted to those who were destined to go to university. Outside the grammar schools or 'Latin schools' the emphasis was now placed on the development of native Flemish (195).

Although little is known about the schooling of the Flemish refugee church at Sandwich, we may be sure that some of the settlers attached much importance to it as they had done in Flanders. In 1561 Pieter Vlaminck, a schoolmaster from Nieuwkerke, fled to London to escape the inquisition. When later that year the Flemish refugees received authority for settlement in Sandwich, the consistory of the Dutch church in London immediately sent this schoolmaster to the Cinque Port to teach the Strangers' children and there is no doubt that Latin teacher Robert Flameng also gave instructions to the children of exiles (196).

The Flemings concern for education also finds expression in the statutes and decrees issued for the government of the Flemish orphans in Sandwich in June 1566, to which we shall shortly return:

'But afore all other that they muste  
have a speciall care and regarde  
oversuche as infants: for as for the  
other which be of the eldre sorte, lett  
them learne to reade and wrytte. And  
yf there wytts and wealthe wyll extende

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(195) G. Schoonaert, 'Onderwijsstructuren te Poperinge in de XVIe eeuw. De ghemeene schoole vander stede (1569 - ), AS, xv, 2 (1985), 28-9.

(196) See vol.II, no. 1772, p.265.



therunto lette them be brought upe with  
learnynge' (197).

The consistories of the Flemish/Dutch refugee churches in England played an equally important role. They were particularly concerned, as we have noticed, with the education and training of ministers. They attached no less importance to the appointment of well educated and pious schoolmasters. Their refusal to admit unsuitable teachers contributed to the shortage of schoolmasters in the English exile communities in the 1570s. The problem was discussed at the colloquium in London in May 1576, with representatives of the refugee communities of London, Sandwich, Norwich, Maidstone, Dover, Yarmouth and Thetford. They refused, however, to recognise schoolmasters who were not church members. Unfortunately for the Church many available teachers were indeed considered 'onsuyver in de leere' (doctrinally unsound). Some teachers reputedly led a godless life: such teachers were to be prevented from giving instruction lest they infected their pupils. After 29 May 1576 all those who were both members of the congregation and qualified to teach there were to be examined to discover whether they were sufficiently versed in the faith to be able to initiate their pupils in the chief doctrines of the Christian religion. The elders of the consistory and, on occasion, the ministers themselves were to inspect the schools in their quarter and examine the books used for instruction. The teachers were also required to take their pupils to church on Sundays. These principles were confirmed in the Corpus Disciplinae of 1609 (198).

The dense network of schools in the Westkwartier shows the importance the Flemings in general attached to the education of children. This importance is reflected in Sandwich and the other refugee communities in England by the provision of special schools and by the general desire

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(197) BL, Additional 33,511, fo.132.

(198) Toorenenbergen, pp.23, 138.

to recruit ministers and the concern of the Sandwich community to have a teacher. But nothing is known in detail about either the schooling provided for the Strangers at Sandwich nor about the precise syllabus. Nevertheless, many Sandwich Strangers were in possession of religious literature such as Bibles and psalters. Inventories of goods show that Mary Valkenes, for instance, possessed a Flemish Testament, a Bible and a psalter, Pieter de Walle a small Bible and two other books, and Pieter Abigelles two Bibles, a Testament, a psalter and a 'briefe of the Book of Monementes' (most presumably John Foxe's 'Acts and Monuments', better known as the Book of Martyrs) (199).

g. The administration of the orphans.

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Between 7 and 11 June 1566 statutes were drafted by or for the local authorities after discussion with representatives from the Flemish refugee church. Presumably the Archbishop of Canterbury had given his approval in his capacity as superintendant of the Stranger church.

Though the thirty-one articles concern the orphans, they also disclose other aspects of the Strangers' daily life in Sandwich. Since the statutes have been published (200), we shall limit our present concerns to those articles that throw light on the organisation of the Stranger community.

When a child lost one of its parents, the surviving partner had to inform the two appointed guardians within eight days of the death. The three would then choose two 'tutors' or overseers for the upbringing of the child(ren), who would be responsible for the well-being of the orphans,

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(199) KAO, PRC/10/12, fo.14-vo, PRC/10/14, fo.169, PRC/10/16, fo.339.

(200) M. Backhouse, 'Documenten betreffende de geschiedenis van de Vlaamse en Waalse vluchtelingen in Sandwich tijdens de tweede helft van de 16de eeuw. Deel I', HKCG, clv (Brussels, 1989), 203-15.

their schooling and their estate (201). It seems that at Sandwich the guardians of the orphans were not nominated by the individual testators, but were officials appointed by the Deacons of the Orphans. They presumably could have been Politijcke Mannen: they reported unruly orphans to the magistrates, who would punish them, after having been informed of their behaviour by the 'tutors'.

If both parents died either the next of kin - if there was one - or their immediate neighbour were to give the guardians the names within eight days of the death of the next of kin or the best friend of the deceased. These would then appoint someone to bring up the orphans (202).

Each year the 'tutors' had to appear before the consistory in the presence of the guardians. On this occasion they would set forth the maintenance costs of the orphans and make report on the children's godliness, their knowledge of the catechism, as taught in the church, and their ability to read and write. Where appropriate, the 'tutors' also gave an account of the eldest child's occupation (203).

'Tutorship' ceased when the orphans entered into marriage or reached the age of maturity, i.e. twenty-five years of age. Even then the 'tutors' could, after having informed the guardians, bring the orphans back under supervision if they believed that the inheritance was being squandered (204). While the tutors were in charge, the orphans were forbidden to incur debts (205).

Although we might expect that these regulations owe something to the ordinances for orphans in Flanders, Belgian scholars have, as yet, done too little research on the subject of the wezerij to be able to establish a firm

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(201) Ibid., pp.203-6.

(202) Ibid., pp.206-7.

(203) Ibid., pp.211-3.

(204) Loc. cit.

(205) Loc. cit.

connexion (206). But despite this lacuna, a publication by Philippe Godding on the subject, which is not intended to be exhaustive, of the statutes of guardianship for orphans in the towns of the Low Countries, demonstrates a kinship between these and the statutes of the Flemish refugee church at Sandwich, although the appointment of 'tutors' appears to be less important in the Netherlands. But some of the duties of the guardians in the Low Countries closely resemble those of the 'tutors' in Sandwich. Like the latter they were responsible for the well-being of the orphans, their schooling and their estate. They were responsible for the registration of the inventory of the orphans' goods in the wezenkamer, for the sale of movables which did not appear indispensable when both parents had died, for obtaining authorisation from the Magistrate concerning all actions which could affect the orphans' immovables for the orphans' accounts. A striking difference with the Sandwich statutes is that generally speaking, in the Low Countries the surviving parent automatically became a guardian by law (207).

The system of the administration of the orphans was open to abuse. In 1588 the deacons of the Flemish church at

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- (206) The bibliographies note only E. Bergsma, Over de weeskamers zooals die vroeger in Holland en Zeeland bestonden (Utrecht, 1855) and A.S. de Blécourt, Kort begrip van het oud-nederlands burgerlijk recht (Groningen, 1969). At present Marianne Danneel is preparing a doctorate on the subject of the wezerij in Bruges at the end of the Middle Ages. I am grateful to Dr. D. Lambert of the Faculty of Law of the Rijksuniversiteit of Ghent for this information.
- (207) P. Godding, 'Le contrôle des tutelles par le Magistrat urbain dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux', Het openbaar initiatief van de gemeenten in België. Historische grondslagen (Ancien Régime), 11de Internationaal Colloquium, Spa, 1-4 sept. (1982).

Sandwich appointed Clais Nachtegael (208) and Jan van Acker, their cousin, to act as guardians for Suzanne and Abraham van Acker, the children of the deceased Jan van Acker. Both guardians neglected their duty and left Sandwich for London and Flanders respectively without appointing other guardians and leaving the orphans penniless. On 13 February the Sandwich deacons wrote to the London consistory to admonish at least Clais Nachtegael (209). As nothing had happened three years later, the minister and elders of the Sandwich church wrote to London to remind the consistory there of the case (210). In February 1591 Suzanne and Abraham van Acker wrote to London themselves explaining that their uncle had abandoned them, despite having taken an oath to care for them. In consequence they had hardly any money to live upon. They therefore asked whether the London consistory might assist them by rendering an account of their money (211). By 1594 still nothing had happened and in the meantime Clais Nachtegael had died. In September that year the overseers of the orphanage of Sandwich again wrote to London requesting if there was any money left for the children, but nothing further is known about the outcome of this case (212).

The upbringing of orphans by the Strangers came to the attention of the colloquium held in London in April 1584. The Sandwich representatives, Gillis Ente and Jacob de Corte, both elders of the Flemish consistory, asked for guidance in the case of orphans maintained by their community but who had friends and possessions in Flanders. The assembly decided that if the friends in Flanders were not of the Reformed religion the orphans were not to be sent there as they might be brought up as Catholics. By

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(208) See vol.II, no.1205, p.184.

(209) Hessels, iii, p.863.

(210) Ibid., p.917.

(211) Ibid., p.918.

(212) Ibid., p.972.

1584, of course, Parma's reconquest of the Southern Netherlands was already well advanced (213).

Significantly the statutes make no mention of the orphans of poor parents. We may therefore assume that such orphans were financially supported, within the limits of possibility, by the congregation or the diaconate. This indeed is implied by the question raised by the Sandwich representatives at the 1584 colloquium.

The provision for the education and the administration of the orphans clearly show the importance the Flemish refugees placed on the maintenance of their culture and prosperity in a foreign country. Children held the key to the future. They were to be brought up and educated in such a way that by either studying or learning a skill or trade their future and the future of the community was secured. Above all their religious education was not to be neglected so that the sacrifices made by their parents for the sake of the Reformed church should not have been in vain.

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(213) Toorenenbergen, . pp.79-80.

CHAPTER III: CRAFTS, COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY: THE STRANGERS'  
ROLE IN THE ECONOMY OF SANDWICH

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1. English medieval and early Tudor economic policy and trade relations with Flanders (13th - first half of the 16th century).

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M.M. Postan described the rise of the textile industry in Flanders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as 'one of the wonder stories of medieval economic history'. To Belgian historians, however, the cause of this phenomenon is clear: extensive sheep farming on the salt marshes along the coast and on the chalky soil of South Flanders had been possible up until the twelfth century because of this geographical condition. But whatever the cause may be, from the twelfth century onwards Flemish cloths were exported all over Europe (1).

By the end of the thirteenth century England had also put her economic mark on the medieval world as an exporter of raw materials - mainly wool - a development in which originally Flemish merchants played a leading role. As early as the eleventh century, trade relations with Flanders had firmly been established. A London customs tariff dated 1021, for instance, clearly indicates the existence of wholesale export of high quality English wool to Flanders. In 1209 King John granted a trade privilege at La Rochelle to the large Flemish towns of St.Omer, Arras,

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(1) M.M. Postan, The Medieval Economy and Society (Harmondsworth, 1986), p.213; W. Blockmans, 'De ontwikkeling van een verstedelijkte samenleving (XIde-XVde eeuw)', Geschiedens van Vlaanderen van de oorsprong tot heden, ed. R. Doehaerd, W. Blockmans, H. Soly, E. Witte & J. Craeybeckx (Brussels, 1983), 59-62.

Ghent, Ieper and Lille. In 1211, 1217 and 1259 respectively merchants of St.Omer, Bruges and Ieper had stipulated special trade privileges in England and in the thirteenth century Flemish merchants had set up the Hanse of London, thus making them the earliest exporters of English wool (2).

In the thirteenth century the mechanisation of the fulling process highlighted an important development in the English cloth industry (3), but nevertheless the major breakthrough occurred during the next century when English merchants began to export wool at the same time as the Flemish textile industry went into decline. Although in the Hundred Years' War the Flemish towns were pro-English - for economic reasons - Count Louis of Nevers chose the side of his vassal, the King of France, and brought Flanders into the war on the French side. Moreover, internal social struggles, e.g. recognition of the guilds, tore the Flemish towns apart. Despite attempts by the Flemish towns to protect the domestic cloth industry by placing an embargo on the sale of English cloth, England in 1326 took measures to promote her own cloth industry by prohibiting the wearing of foreign cloth and the export of cloth-making materials (4).

Between the great famine of 1315-16 and 1330, a decade and a half of political and economic turbulence, English wool exports slumped and drastic measures were needed for its revival. In the beginning of his reign King Edward III

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(2) During the course of the thirteenth century this role would be taken over by the Italians and German merchants of the Hanseatic towns; see M.H. Keen, England in the Later Middle Ages (London, 1973), p.174, and E. Power, The Wool Trade in English Medieval History (Oxford, 1941), p.15.

(3) For details of the development of this fulling process see M.H. Keen, Later Middle Ages, p.178.

(4) M. Prestwich, The Three Edwards. War and State in England 1272-1377 (London, 1980), pp.234, 248.



allowed Flemish weavers to settle in this country and a large number of them emigrated chiefly to England as a result of the decline of the textile industry in Flanders. Furthermore, in 1337 he issued a general invitation to foreign cloth workers in an endeavour to stimulate the English cloth industry and at the same time to force Flanders into an alliance with the English. The following year he heavily increased English customs levies on the export of wool and in the early 1350s 'foreigners were being allowed to buy and sell where they chose with almost total freedom' (5). This immediately raises the question why so many Flemings accepted this invitation. M.M. Postan provides us with the answer: 'with the domestic price of wool, compared to its price in Flanders, so low, England was now the clothier's promised land...numerous Flemings who came to this country merely reinforced the ranks of native cloth-makers who had been always present in some numbers in the English countryside'. The results of this economic policy were soon to be felt: the average English cloth export, for instance, increased from below 2,000 cloths in the early 1350s to more than 40,000 between 1390 and 1395 (6).

During the first half of the fifteenth century relations between England and Flanders, now ruled by the House of Burgundy, temporarily broke down, whilst between 1430 and 1440 the French gained the upperhand in the war against the English, and between 1455 and 1485 the country encountered civil disorder as a result of the Wars of the Roses. England sank into political and economic depression. Between 1290 and 1340 she exported an average of 30,000 sacks of wool per year, but between 1400 and 1450 export fell to approximately 10,000 sacks. The second half of the century, however, witnessed a dramatic improvement. In the

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(5) Ibid., pp.234-5; see E. Blockmans, 'De ontwikkeling', 82.

(6) M.M. Postan, Medieval Economy, p.217; J. Hatcher, Plague, p.34.

reign of Edward IV cloth exports, fallen in 1422 to 35,000 pieces of cloth, increased to 62,000. Now the English cloth merchants started to concentrate their activities on the Low Countries (7).

When in 1485 the Tudors came to power they, as the House of York had done, continued to encourage the cloth industry which resulted in many years of prosperity because of the expansion of the woollen industry. For instance, during the reign of Henry VIII England exported an annual average of more than 98,000 cloths, including to the European Continent, where there was a growing demand for English cloth (8).

Once again aliens were encouraged to settle in England. In 1543-44 Henry VIII persuaded foreign gunfounders to settle in Sussex; that same year French hat-making and later russel (i.e. Rijsel or Lille) weaving from the Netherlands were introduced in England. The early Tudors sought to attract foreign skills and to encourage new industries, both to replace expensive imports and to create new products to meet new demands. Queen Elizabeth I continued this policy even more vigorously (9).

## 2. The economic role of Sandwich in the late middle ages and early sixteenth century.

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In the thirteenth century the Kentish ports, especially

(7) M.H. Keen, Later Middle Ages, p.178; J.D. Mackie, The Earlier Tudors 1485-1558 (Oxford, 1987, 12th reprint), p.462; E. Power, Wool Trade, pp.11-2.

(8) J.D. Mackie, Earlier Tudors, p.462; D.M. Palliser, The Age of Elizabeth. England under the Later Tudors 1547-1603 (London, 1985, 3rd impression), p.251; J. Youngs, Sixteenth-Century England, p.72.

(9) J.D. Mackie, Earlier Tudors, p.463; see D.M. Palliser, Age of Elizabeth, pp.323-4.

the Cinque Port of Sandwich, were the principal ports of shipment for the exportation of wool and cloth to the Continent. Between September 1296 and September 1297, for example, 109 sacks of wool and 8,563 fleeces were exported from Sandwich and between 1279-80 and 1299-1300 an average of 500-600 sacks of raw wool per year (10). But it was in the next century that Sandwich's prosperity reached its peak. According to L.F. Salzman, as early as 1303 connections with Flanders were established at Sandwich: cloth was imported by Salomon Bette of Ghent and Giles Panne of Poperinge 'as well as by others whose name suggest a Flemish connexion' (11). However the 'great boom' for the Cinque Port began in 1317. In that year the well organised merchants of Venice established their official fleet, controlled by the Grand Council of Venice, known as the 'Flanders Fleet'. From 1317 the fleet sailed each year, and some vessels came to the ports of Sandwich, Southampton and London, importing goods from the orient and exporting English and other goods. Four ships sailed to the Downs and from there two sailed to London and two to Flanders. On the return journey they reassembled at Sandwich (12). After the capture of Calais by the English in 1347 the 'Flanders Fleet' increased its voyages to England and to Sandwich, which was already used by the merchants of Genoa, in particular. The town's wool and cloth export became so important that special officers were appointed. In 1364 John de Welbore became controller of the 'tronage of wool' and the common sergeant of Sandwich combined his duties as alnager with those of his other office. From 1364, when the

(10) E.M. Carus-Wilson & O. Coleman, England's export trade 1275-1547 (Oxford, 1963), p.136; W. Page, The Victorian History of the Counties of England. A History of Kent (London, 1932), iii, 403.

(11) L.F. Salzman, English Trade in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1931), p.358.

(12) H.C. Bentwich, History of Sandwich (Broadstairs, 1980, 3rd edition), p.35.

Staple was removed from Queensborough to Sandwich, the Cinque Port's economic activity became even more intense. The latter development had in fact already started in 1353: the 'Ordinance of the Staples' designated ports for those towns, which lacked such facilities and directed exports to these ports. Accordingly Sandwich exported the Canterbury products (13).

A large proportion of the export of cloths, etc. from England was carried out by aliens and denizens, as demonstrated by L.F. Salzman's figures. From Michaelmas (29 September) 1348 to Michaelmas 1349 denizens exported 1,535 cloths and 2,302 worsteds, aliens 217 1/2 cloths and 1,877 worsteds. In that year only seven ports exported cloths, amongst which we find Sandwich. But textiles obviously were not the only products exported from Sandwich. Between 1300 and 1399 the annual grain export from each English port amounted on average to some 866 quarters, and in one exceptional year more than 6,600 quarters from Sandwich alone (14).

For most of the fifteenth century the town retained its importance as a port of shipment, but towards the end of the century its economy gradually deteriorated, not only because in 1457 Sandwich had been sacked by the French, which caused the Venetian ships increasingly to turn to Southampton, but also because many ships, especially those of the 'Flanders Fleet', now concentrated their activities on Flanders. Nevertheless, in 1428 the then Mayor of Sandwich acted as Consul for Venetian, Genoese and Catalonian traders. Less than one fifth of the Italian wool trade was carried in their ships from Southampton, London and Sandwich. Between 1450 and 1466-67 Sandwich exported a total of 7,000 pieces of cloth and in 1444, a peak year,

(13) Ibid., p.35; W. Page, History of Kent, iii, p.403;
L.F. Salzman, English Trade, p.293.

(14) The other ports were London, Yarmouth, Ipswich, Bristol and Southampton (L.F. Salzman, English Trade, p.324).

more than 2,000 pieces of cloth (15).

Towards the end of the century Sandwich's economic decline as a centre for shipping and foreign trade became apparent. 1475 was the last year of big significance as a major port, when the largest force ever to leave the shores of England before 1944 assembled in the haven and sailed to Calais with King Edward IV (16). In 1532 the 'Flanders Fleet' made their last journey to England and for the next thirty or so years foreign vessels less regularly arrived in Sandwich harbour.

3. The Strangers at work in Sandwich: native envy of an industrious minority.

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#### a. 1561-66: co-operation and harmony.

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The early Tudor economic policy of attracting foreign craftsmen to this country was pursued more actively under Elizabeth I. Although this policy was not much promoted under Queen Mary, Edward VI had continued the policy of Henry VIII with the encouragement of the Duke of Somerset and Sir Thomas Smith, a politician in Somerset's service (17). In 1549 the Duke persuaded his monarch to allow

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(15) H.C. Bentwich, Sandwich, p.35; E.M. Carus-Wilson & O. Coleman, Export Trade, pp.137, 154-5; E. Power, Wool Trade, p.101; for details of the trade relations between Sandwich and Venice in the fifteenth century see P. Brown (ed.), Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs. Venice. i (1202-1509) (London, 1864), pp.53-4 sqq.

(16) H.C. Bentwich, Sandwich, p.36.

(17) J. Thirsk, Economic Policy and Projects. The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England (Oxford, 1978), p.33.

Flemish cloth workers to settle at Glastonbury to improve the production of English worsteds (18). The replacement of expensive exports by domestic products, the creation of new products to meet new demands and the introduction of foreign skills to the nation in order to maintain a favourable balance of payments, remained the focus of later Tudor economic policy, of which besides the Queen herself, Lord Burghley was the staunchest supporter. The sixteenth-century refugees were not therefore granted permission to reside in this country solely on purely religious grounds.

William Cecil, the Queen's astute principal minister and most trusted adviser, was extremely conscious of the economic potential the foreign refugees in England represented. He had already demonstrated his industrial insight in 1559 when he granted a petition to a group of Italian silk weavers to set up their looms in London and to enjoy freedom from custom on their goods and protection from competition for ten years. They were also provided with accommodation and a church. Burghley had acquired an interest in such projects when he became secretary of the Duke of Somerset in 1547. Since then he kept himself informed about foreign industrial and agricultural developments and drew up reports on the feasibility of domestic projects on the basis of the information obtained. He persevered in this course of action throughout his career and searched for new ideas and projects (19).

The success of the 'new' and light draperies, established as early as the fourteenth century in the rural Westkwartier of Flanders and, from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, with Hondschoote and its neighbourhood as a booming textile centre, prompted Lord Burghley to support another commercial venture. We should not exaggerate the novelty of the 'New Draperies' in England. In the past historians assumed rather than argued their influence on

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(18) D.M. Palliser, Age of Elizabeth, p.323.

(19) A. Pettegree, Foreign Communities, pp.140-1;

J. Thirsk, Projects, pp.33-4.

the sweeping changes of the English woollen industry from the 1560s onwards. In the fifteenth century, albeit within the framework of the 'Old Draperies', England already produced cheaper and lighter worsteds (20). The Flemings who settled in Glastonbury in 1549 had been dyers of worsteds and says, and baize were also manufactured in England, though less successfully than in Flanders (21). Moreover, the success of the 'New Draperies' not only resulted from the influx of immigrants from the Low Countries, but was in part due to the chronic scarcity of the fine English wool as sheep-breeders preferred large animals to meet the needs of the urban butchers (22). Finally, as D.C. Coleman carefully explains, the origin of the 'New Draperies' did not simply lie in the Low Countries but in the textile centres of medieval Italy. Many kinds of cloth made in Flanders were in fact variants on Italian textiles (23).

When in May 1561, at the instance of the consistory of the Dutch church in London, a small number of Flemish migrant families, already settled in Sandwich (24), presented their request to the local authorities for official recognition as a Strangers' community, the Town Council, as we have seen, immediately approached the Privy Council. Lord Burghley seized the opportunity presented by the Strangers to revive the flagging economy of Sandwich and convinced the Queen to grant permission to allow Stranger workmen to settle in the town. The immigrants had

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(20) D.C. Coleman, 'An Innovation and its Diffusion: The "New Draperies"', *Ec.HR*, 2nd series, xxii (1969), iii, 429; G.D.Ramsay, The English Woollen Industry, 1500 - 1750, (London, 1982), p.15.

(21) D.M. Palliser, Age of Elizabeth, pp.258-9.

(22) G.D. Ramsay, Woollen Industry, pp.14-5.

(23) D.C. Coleman, 'New Draperies', 419-20.

(24) Amongst them we find Peter Cooper, alias Maydenbleeck, a cobbler who arrived in Sandwich in 1551 and became a denizen (see vol.II, no. 466, p.79).

left their homes and livelihood primarily for religious reasons, and whilst being promised and permitted freedom of worship, they were only too willing to work to earn a living during their period of exile. Cecil was very well aware of the economic benefits the introduction of the Flemish 'New Draperies' techniques might bring to the Kentish port. Persuaded by her minister, and having also taken into consideration the religious factors, the Queen acted swiftly and on 6 July 1561 she authorized the Letters Patent by which Sandwich became the home of the oldest exile community outside the capital 'for the helpe, repaire and amendment of the said towne and port of Sandwich' (25).

Soon thereafter the Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, and the Bishop of London, Edmund Grindal, under whose supervision the Queen had placed the establishment of the new refugee community, the Town Council and the ministers of the London Dutch church, amongst whom we find Peter Delenus, commenced negotiations about the conditions of residence of the newcomers. Archbishop, Bishop and Town Council alike insisted to the representatives of the London Dutch church that the Strangers destined for Sandwich should be men of honesty and quiet conversation. Each household (26) had therefore to produce a letter of attestation signed by the Archbishop and the Bishop of London confirming their recommendation by the London Dutch church (27). Sandwich Council, who now had to welcome and house at least 250 foreign workers, eager to have the Strangers in May 1561, appeared to become rather anxious by August for on 4th of that month the Mayor and Jurats wrote to the Dutch consistory in London:

'thes shalbe to requyer you yf you will  
advisidly consider and conceyve that all  
suche persons as by you in the behalfe shalbe

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(25) PRO, SP12/18/9.

(26) See Ch.I above p.34 for the meaning of 'household'.

(27) KAO, Sa/ZB3/58.



allowed iuette to be sente to inhabit here  
 maye be suche approved men and knowen by  
 your experience to be of suche honeste and  
 quiet conversacon as you wold answeere for  
 and also of suche abilytie to sett aworke  
 everye howseholder accordynge to faculty  
 lymittid and prescribed xii servannts. So  
 as Her Maiestie and Her Moste Honorable  
 Maiesties good meanyng maye take good  
 successe, and we, Her Graces subiects, lyve  
 in onitie and quietnesse to the will of  
 Allmightie God, and wealthie of our poore  
 towne which thynge we truste ye will depely  
 consider by your wisdomes, leyste by the  
 same persons and theyr disorder, owre sayd  
 beyng perturbed the Quenes Maiesties wrothe  
 and displeasure maye be steyred upp agaynste  
 you and them in tyme to come, which we would  
 be sory for and muche lamente' (28).

This letter not only indicates their unease but sounds a threatening note. Why this concern by Sandwich Town Council? The economic revival of port and town was their predominant concern and an appropriate workforce was needed to attain that goal. An incompetent, disorderly and dishonest workforce would endanger and even bring to an end the whole purpose of the project. But there might also have been a second reason. Of 150 identified original exiles who came from London, there are only five of whom we can say with certainty that they arrived at Sandwich in July 1561: Franchois Bolle, 'farmer' and cloth-weaver from Mesen, and his wife, Joannes Heijseeck, weaver from Nieuwkerke, and his wife, and Pieter Vlaminck, a schoolteacher from Nieuwkerke (29). Undoubtedly there must have been more than seven newcomers in July, but should the Council's

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(28) Loc. cit.

(29) See vol.II, nos. 211, 212, 811, 812, 1772, pp.40, 127, 264.

letter also be interpreted as a discreet request to the London Dutch church to speed up its vetting procedures so that textile production could commence without further delay?

The newcomers were not only to be honest and quiet. The terms of the Letters Patent were explicit: they also had to be skilled in making baize (dress-cloths), say or serges (cloths made from cheaper fabrics than the normal material but resembling traditional worsted) and other cloths not previously made in England (30). This condition the Dutch church in London strictly observed and carefully recommended only compatriots possessing the required skills for settlement in Sandwich. Of the 1,950 identified Flemish Strangers who emigrated to, or were born in, Sandwich, we have been able to establish the occupation of 623, i.e.32%, of them (31). It should, however, be noted that sometimes the evidence about the occupation of a Stranger derives from his time in Flanders and some Strangers changed their occupation when they settled in Sandwich. For the period 1561-66 the Flemish community at Sandwich may be divided into two distinct categories: those recommended by the London Dutch church and those Strangers who escaped from Flanders and travelled to Sandwich directly or via another locality. Of the 150 identified male and female exiles who come from London we note twenty-four say workers, fifty-seven baize workers, one weaver and the twenty-five masters: six master-say workers and nineteen master-baize workers. Of those 150 at least twenty-five (twelve wives not included) were recommended to Sandwich by the London Dutch church, amongst whom seventeen master-baize workers and three baize workers (who later became masters). One schoolteacher was also sent to the town.

This emphasis on the introduction of the Flemish 'New Draperies' explains why many Strangers who exercised

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(30) PRO, SP12/18/9.

(31) We were only able to establish the occupation of nine Walloons, so an analysis would not be very fruitful.

different occupations in their own country became baize and say workers when they arrived at their new settlement, in particular when one examines their locality of origin. As elaborated in chapter I, we identified 470 Flemish refugees who emigrated from London or directly to Sandwich between 1561-66 (32). Of those we know the place of birth of 244 of them:

Alveringem	1	Kemmel	9
Antwerp	3	Leisele	1
Bailleul	14	principality of Liège	1
Bergues-Saint-Winoc	4	Loker	6
Berthen	3	Merris	2
Béthune	1	Merville	1
Boeschepe	3	Mesen	16
Brabant (s.l.)	1	Méteren	7
Bruges	2	Mons	1
Buysscheure	1	Morbecque	1
Caëstre	4	Nieppe	2
Cassel	1	Nieuwkerke	39
Den Briel	1	Poperinge	10
Deinze	1	Reningelst	16
Dranouter	5	Ronse	1
Eecke	4	St.Jans-Cappel	2
Elverdinge	17	Steenvoorde	5
Estaires	1	Steenwerck	9
Flêtre	3	Strazeele	1
Flushing	1	Veurne	2
Hazebrouck	2	Warneton	2
Herzeele	2	Westkwartier (s.l.)	3
Hondeghem	1	Winnezele	1
Hondschoote	24	Wulvergem	1
Ieper	5		

The table plainly shows that apart from the thirteen who originated from Antwerp, Béthune, Brabant, Bruges, Den

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(32) See p.29.

Briel, Deinze, Flushing, the principality of Liège, Mons and Ronse, all the rest, i.e. 231 or 94%, were born in or inhabited different localities all to be situated in the Westkwartier of Flanders, the birth place of the Flemish 'New Draperies', and the Pays de l'Alleu.

Of those 231 we know the occupation in both Flanders and Sandwich of eighty-seven of them. Of those eighty-seven Flemish exiles thirty-four exercised different occupations in Flanders from those they practised at Sandwich:

'farmers' (33)	15	millers	3
hatters	1	blacksmiths	1
cobblers	3	barrelmakers	1
carpenters	1	book-sellers	1
surgeons	1	bookbinders	1
<u>schepenen</u>	1	monks	1
schoolteachers	1	chaplains	2
Latin teachers	1		

Furthermore, among the fourteen 'farmers' were several who had additional occupations. We found one 'farmer'/cloth-weaver, three 'farmer'/weavers, one 'farmer'/shoemaker and one 'farmer'/sawyer. Many of these therefore had also already worked in the textile industry, as this analysis indicates, and the remaining fifty-three had been active textile workers or had been connected with this industry in their native country:

weavers	14	blue dyers	1
linen weavers	1	cloth shearmen	1
yarn & linen weavers	1	twisters	1
weavers/bookkeepers	1	spinners	1
linen weaver/fuller	1	shearmen	1

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(33) The term 'farmer' might cause confusion. The word used in the Flemish contemporary sources is lantsman as distinct from lant arbeyder, who is an agricultural or rural labourer. As it is not possible because of

wool weavers	2	fullers	1
baize weavers	3	tailors	2
cloth weavers	1	merchants	5
weaver/cloth or book mongers	1	drapers	1
weaver/cloth manufacturer	1	say workers	5
apprentice	1	baize workers	2
wool combers	2	fuller/wool combers	1

The textile industry in the Westkwartier of Flanders had developed above all in the countryside. Many labourers and artisans, employed in the textile industry, had originally been 'farmers', for whom the cloth industry afforded an additional income, as was also the case with the English textile workers (34). Even though in the Westkwartier during the first half of the sixteenth century the industrial and commercial activities had increased enormously, many textile labourers retained their links with the land from which they derived at least a part of their livelihood (35).

At the time of their arrival in Sandwich in 1561 the Strangers complied with the conditions of settlement. Their immediate and important commission was to manufacture a gift for their 'benefactor', Lord Burghley, which he probably had ordered himself, namely twelve cushions of arras bearing his arms according to the pattern, costing 6/8d. each, and six of a better quality with a border, at

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insufficient information to make a clear distinction between husbandman, tenant farmer, peasant and smallholder, we have employed the more general term 'farmer'.

(34) G.D. Ramsay, Woollen Industry, p.28.

(35) M. Backhouse, 'The Official Start of Armed Resistance in the Low Countries: Boeschepe 12 July 1562', ARG, lxxi (1980), 206; D.C. Coleman, 'New Draperies', 422.

10s. each. Half a dozen of them were sent to Cecil on 31 December 1561 with an accompanying letter from the Mayor and Jurats of Sandwich: 'the ffyrste woorke therof the Strangers within this towne. And althoughe they are not so good as we wyssche, yet we beseche Your Honor to accept them in good parte as the fyrste ffrutes of our pore good willes' (36).

Originally the activities of the Flemish refugees were strictly regulated by Sandwich Town Council. On 22 December 1561 a delegation appeared before the Mayor and Jurats to discuss the sealing of their baize and says. The negotiations ended in an agreement: the Strangers would pay 'unto the use of this towne for sealyng of ennye ffyne pece of the said clothe' 4d. and for baize and says 'more coursely wroughte' 2d. They further agreed to pay 'the thyrde peny or value of the thyrd parte that shall be forfayted by any defalte hereafter in the premysses'. The monies were to be paid to the town Treasurer every quarter. Willem Brand, a silk weaver from Mesen, was made responsible for the collection and paying in of this money and he was sworn in accordingly. The Council further issued a decree that Willem Brand would receive 12d. for each pound he collected for the sealing of the Strangers' cloth (37). Willem Brand would continue in this function until 2 october 1565 when he was replaced by Christiaen Kycke, a weaver from Nieuwkerke. The Flemish refugee church had apparently replaced Willem Brand with Christiaen Kycke as the new collector because of a dispute between Brand and the consistory. Unfortunately, the issues at stake in this argument are unknown (38).

The Council of Sandwich did everything possible to promote the Flemish 'New Draperies' and the prosperity of the town. On 8 January 1562, following a request by the Flemings for a market for the sale of their yarn, the Mayor

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(36) KAO, Sa/ZB2/5.

(37) KAO, Sa/Ac4, fo.192.

(38) Ibid., fo.287.

and Jurats granted them a market hall for the sale of their products on Wednesday morning at the Cross in the Cornmarket. Eleven days later, however, a delegation of Strangers was summoned before the Council and, after having been handed a copy of the Letters Patent, it was agreed between the parties that the exile community would pay £20, being a charge for 'theyr safe dwellyng in this said towne': £10 was to be paid by next Candlemas (2 February) and another £10 at Easter (39). In fact, Sandwich Town Council had paid £40 to obtain the Letters Patent, and although the terms of the Letters Patent did not imply that the newcomers were to pay a charge to the host town for their safe dwelling, the Strangers were requested to contribute half of the costs. It must be said, of course, that over the years Sandwich had acquired quite a reputation concerning its charges and taxes. At the end of the fourteenth century, for instance, the town's Custom's officials had greatly increased the dues payable to the town (40) and throughout the sixteenth century the Council kept raising taxes at any opportunity (41). The newcomers, grateful for the hospitality given by the town, preferred to agree to this rather than enter into a dispute. But where did the money come from, as many Strangers were poor? It appears that the Flemish exiles relied heavily on the well-off minority of their congregation. On 4 March 1566 they reached agreement with the Mayor and Jurats to be temporarily discharged from paying that tax, as they could no longer pay 'by the deathe of dyvers of the most welthie of their congregacon and by the great number of the pore of the same congregacon greatly increasing amongst them dailey more and more'. The agreement was renewed on 22 July 1568

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(39) Ibid., fo.195. For the location of the Cornmarket, see vol.III, map III, pp.9-10.

(40) H.C. Bentwich, Sandwich, p.35.

(41) See below in this chapter pp.197-8.

(42). One such wealthy exile was Franchois Bolle, an extremely well-off 'farmer' and merchant, who had brought some 800 rijksdaalders with him from Flanders! In December 1563 his wife and two of his nine children were stricken by the bubonic plague. He possibly died of the same disease as the sources no longer refer to him after January 1564 (43).

Further agreements were soon to follow. On 24 April 1562 the Strangers were allowed two market days for the sale of their baize and says and other cloths made by them, namely on Wednesday and Saturday morning. There were certain restrictions, however, intended to protect the interests of the town and the local English inhabitants. On Wednesday morning freemen of the town only were allowed to buy their products, whilst on Saturday freemen as well as Strangers could buy. All cloths not sold on the Wednesday could be offered to everybody on Saturday. Cloths unsold after both market days could be sent to another market by the maker, provided that none of these products were sent to London either by maker or buyer. There was a 10/- fine on any cloths otherwise sold, half for the benefit of the poor of the Flemish community, the other half for the good of the town (44).

From the outset the Strangers had their own tailors, who threatened the local highly organised Tailor Corporation. Soon a series of agreements between the latter and the Flemish exiles were reached and ratified by the Mayor and Jurats. On 10 July 1562 it was decreed that eight Stranger tailors were allowed to exercise their occupation. They were Mahieu Platevoet from Berthen who was a baize worker and became a preacher in 1566, Matheus Thooris, baize

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(42) KAO, Sa/Ac4, ff.312-vo, 349, 372-vo.

(43) For further details on Franchois Bolle, see W. Boys, Sandwich, pp.741-2; J. Decavele, Dageraad, i, p.414; Cousse-maker, i, pp.54, 310, 352; Hessels, ii, pp. 221-3.

(44) KAO, Sa/Ac4, fo.204-vo.



worker, Pieter Mersman, baize worker, Daniel Meeuss, baize worker, Jan Basset from Mesen, baize worker and later master, Jooris Wils, baize worker, Jan Janss from Bruges, baize worker, and Robert de Mey, baize worker (45). The agreement stipulated that they might only make Flemish garments until the next feast of John the Baptist (24 June 1563). Any offender was liable to a fine of 40/- with half the proceeds going to the town and the other half to the Corporation of Tailors. The agreement was renewed on 3 September 1563 and 9 April 1565. On 28 June 1564 a further agreement was settled between the two parties: Lyven Symons, Stranger tailor, was allowed to open shop and in return had to pay 5/- each year to the Corporation of Tailors. He was, however, forbidden to employ foreign workmen (46).

Lord Burghley's experiment was taking shape. Within a short period of time the Flemish exiles had settled down in the town and performed the work many of them had done in the Westkwartier. Gradually Sandwich prospered. When Archbishop Parker visited the Cinque Port in 1563 he came to the conclusion that the Strangers were 'very godly on the Sabbath day and busy in their own work on week days, and their quietness such as the Maior and brethren had no cause of variance between themselves coming before them' (47). The work conscientiousness of the Strangers is illustrated by the fact that in the early days some of them regularly returned to Flanders by commercial necessity to obtain the right sort of yarn, thus risking capture by either the authorities or the inquisition. Mahieu Stekelorum from Caëstre and baize worker at Sandwich went to purchase yarn in Tourcoing, Frans Hueguebaert, cloth and linen merchant from Nieuwkerke, on many occasions crossed the English Channel to buy linen in Hazebrouck and Frans

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(46) KAO, Sa/Ac4, ff.209, 234-vo, 250, 274-vo.

(47) J. Strype, The Life and Acts of Mathew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury (London, 1711), p.139.

Ente went to buy cotton in Armentières (48). The Archbishop further stated that 'profitable and gentle Strangers ought to be welcomed and not grudged at', thus accentuating the Tudor policy of persuading towns to forget old prejudices against strangers in general and aliens in particular (49). But for how long?

b. From 1567 onwards: disillusion and discord.

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The huge influx of Flemings into Sandwich after the collapse of the Calvinist insurrection in Flanders in 1567 could not all find employment in the cloth trade and many Strangers started to follow 'unrecognised' trades. It is extremely difficult to define precisely and in detail what was understood by 'permitted' and 'unpermitted' trades, but a guideline can be found in the Council's ordinance of 21 July 1581 which states clearly that the making of baize, says, tapestry, lace and fishing were the only trades allowed in accordance with the terms of the Letters Patent (50). However, it should be remembered that a lace maker (recognised trade) who sold by retail might be guilty of exercising an unpermitted occupation. On the other hand the tailors recognised by the Council and the Tailor's Corporation, although their number was restricted once again in 1570.

Of the 1,153 identified Strangers who possibly arrived in Sandwich or were born there after 1566 and the 327 exiles of whom the date of arrival in the Cinque Port is unknown we know the occupation they exercised in Sandwich of 235 of them (the ministers are not included). The table

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(48) Coussemer, i, pp.345-54; see vol.II, nos.618, 894, 1601, pp.100, 139, 241.

(49) P.M. Crew, Calvinist Preaching, p.96; C.W. Chalklin, Seventeenth-Century Kent (London, 1965), p.348; J. Youngs, Sixteenth-Century England, p.242.

(50) See below in this chapter pp.172-3.

below indicates the permitted trades (51):

say workers	24	sackcloth weavers	5
wool weavers	3	tailors	20
wool combers	13	fullers	6
baize workers	18	groggram dyers	1
combers	3	skin-wool removers	2
say combers	1	drapers	5
cloth workers	2	makers of gown laces	1
weavers	2	merchants	5
thread weavers	2	linen sellers	4
wool comber/fullers	1	linen, silk & say	
wool carders	1	dealers	1
fustian workers	1	master- baize & say	
shuttlemakers	1	workers	10
lace weavers	10	twisters	1
shearmen	1		

The following unrecognised trades were also practised:

joiners	8	cardmakers	3
cobblers	9	wheelwrights	1
turners	5	surgeons	1
bakers	7	locksmiths	1
smiths	8	cooks	1
haberdashers	4	dealers in cast-off	
carpetmakers	1	clothes	1
carpenters	1	potters	1
bookbinders	3	basketmakers	2
tilers	2	pursemakers	1
upholsterers	1	apothecaries	1
silk weavers	3	shuttlemakers	1
tinkers	1	stocking knitters	1
gardeners	3	brewer's mates	1

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(51) We have assumed that dyers and sackcloth weavers formed part of the 'New Draperies' and therefore included them in this table.

physician/haberdashers	1	brewers	1
wood carriers	1	blanketmakers	2
skindressers	1	butter & vinegar	
pedlars	1	retailers	2
shoemakers	2	joiner/turners	1
artificers	1	courriers	1
pewterers	1	'farmers'	2
haberdasher/pedlars	1	cardmaker/buttonmakers	1

Of these 235 we know the place of origin of fifty-five of whom all but eleven came from the Flemish Westkwartier:

Bailleul	12	Méteren	1
Bergues-Saint-Winoc	1	Nieuwkerke	5
Caëstre	1	Nieuwpoort	1
Cassel	2	Poperinge	1
Elverdinge	1	Roesbrugge	1
Esquelbecq	1	Steenvoorde	3
Hazebrouck	1	Steenwerck	1
Hondschoote	2	Veurne	1
Ieper	5	Watou	1
Mesen	1	Westkwartier (s.l.)	2

We must immediately stress that the above two occupational tables do not include the original newcomers who settled in Sandwich as baize and say workers but changed their occupation during their period of exile. For example, Frans Ente, a weaver from Nieuwkerke, fled to England in 1561, arrived in Sandwich in or about April 1562 where he worked as a baize worker. By 1570 he had changed occupation and was then registered as a baker (52).

The lists of 'fforren' money dated 1570, 1571 and 1572 provide us with more detailed evidence of the development of the Strangers exercising illicit trades. In 1570 sixty-six Flemish exiles were registered as paying their rates. We discovered no less than twenty-two different

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(52) See vol.II, no.618, p.100.

occupations, only two of which are recognised trades: one lace weaver and one maker of laces for gowns. The remaining twenty are all unpermitted ones, as shown in the table below:

silk weavers	1	apothecaries	1
smiths	4	wheelwrights	1
joiners	2	skindressers	1
cobblers	3	basketmakers	1
bakers	5	couriers	1
cooks	1	potters	1
turners	2	shuttlemakers	1
gardeners	2	surgeons	2
bookbinders	1	cardmakers	1
tinkers	1		

The 1571 list contains the names of 145 Stranger rate payers. Those in recognised trades include ten lace weavers, five sackcloth weavers, one cloth weaver, twelve tailors, one merchant and four linen merchants. As for those in unrecognised trades we find:

silk weavers	2	potters	1
bakers	8	cooks	1
shuttlemakers	1	carpenters	3
surgeons	1	turners	4
bookbinders	1	dealers	2
joiners	7	wheelwrights	1
smiths	6	pursemakers	1
cobblers	6	haberdashers	4
shoemakers	2	gardeners	5
tinkers	1	cardmakers	3
tilers	4	apothecaries	2
basketmakers	1		

The following year eighty-five exiles were listed to pay their 'fforren' money. The recognised occupations were: six lace weavers, three sackcloth weavers, one grogram dyer,

five tailors, eleven merchants and three linen merchants;  
the illicit trades were represented by:

silk weavers	5	gardeners	2
couriers	1	upholsterers	1
cooks	2	turners	3
dealers	2	basketmakers	1
cobblers	3	shuttlemakers	1
cardmakers	3	potters	1
haberdashers	1	surgeons	2
bakers	6	apothecaries	1
joiners	5	tilers	3
wheelwrights	1	carpenters	2
pursemakers	1	sawyers	2
smiths	3		

A 1582 'fforren' list discloses even more details and contains 348 names with no less than fifty-eight different occupations. The table below shows the permitted trades:

baize makers	86	sealers of baize	1
baize weavers	74	spinners	3
baize brokers	1	spoolers of baize	1
dyers	1	spoolers of yarn	2
fullers	17	baize beaters	2
leace weavers	24	tailors	6
linen weavers	1	wool beaters	1
linsey woolsey weavers	2	wool combers	24
merchants	7	schoolteachers	3

As unrecognised trades we find:

apothecaries	2	mill loaders	1
sellers of aqua vitae	1	millers	7
bakers	4	millwrights	1
basketmakers	1	packmakers	1
beaters of millstones	1	painters	1
bookbinders	1	potters	1

clerks	1	messengers to Flanders	1
brewers	3	sawyers	3
cardmakers	2	turners	3
carpenters	3	shipwrights	1
cobblers	3	smiths	5
coopers	2	surgeons	1
cowherds	4	makers of teazle	
		handles	1
auctioneers	1	tilers	1
gardeners	1	upholsterers	1
goldsmiths	2	wagoners	1
grogram weavers	1	wheelwrights	1
flax dressers	1	wood carriers	1
joiners	5	unspecified occupations	6
labourers	6		

In short, although 248 Strangers exercised authorised occupations, the remaining 100. i.e. 28.8%, followed a wide variety of unrecognised trades (53).

Of course the 1571, 1572 and 1582 lists include Strangers whose occupations were recorded in 1570, but what immediately attracts our attention is the fact that in contrast with the 1582 list, those of the early 1570s include few active in the recognised trades. Could it be that in an attempt to restrict the unrecognised trades Sandwich Town Council originally levied its 'fforren' money mainly amongst those Strangers not employed in the recognised occupations, and that the crisis of the 1580s caused the Council to extend the rates to the permitted ones? But why then include any workers engaged in the recognised occupations in the 1570-2 registers at all? It must not be overlooked that workers were more versatile in

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(53) W. Boys, Sandwich, p.747. The author claims that the list - which cannot now be traced - contains '351 names with the station and employment of every person'. On that basis it would appear that he miscalculated, as I could only count 348.

the early modern period and many exercised a second occupation. This was also the case at Sandwich. We identified at least twenty-six Flemish exiles who exercised two trades:

- 1 master-baize worker/apothecary
- 1 master-baize worker/butter and soap dealer
- 1 master/sackcloth weaver
- 2 baize worker/bakers
- 1 baize worker/lace weaver
- 1 baize worker/say worker
- 1 wool comber/fuller
- 1 baize worker/smith
- 1 baize worker/wheelwright
- 1 say worker/baker
- 2 baize worker/sawyers
- 1 physician/haberdasher
- 1 cook/lace and gown maker
- 1 baize worker/tiler
- 1 master-baize worker/tailor
- 9 baize worker/tailors

Although we were not able to find any reference in the sources, we cannot discount the possibility that Sandwich Town Council not only forbade Strangers to practise any occupation outside the textile industry, but also forbade the textile workers to exercise more than one occupation in their own trade. This might explain why in the early 1570s Strangers such as baize worker/say workers, master/sackcloth weavers, wool comber/fullers, etc. were also registered to pay 'fforren money' as one of their occupations was illicit.

Clearly the Strangers had moved far from the original community of baize and say workers and fishermen (the latter will be dealt with below in this chapter) permitted in 1561. Did Sandwich Council turn a blind eye because of the economic advantage or did they lack the means to control the influx? How easy it had become to enter and



leave the town is demonstrated by the two careers of Jacques Ebrecht and Joos Winnebroodt. In June 1567 Jacques Ebrecht travelled from the Westkwartier to Sandwich. On his arrival he found lodgings in a dwelling named 'The White Bear'. He immediately started to work as a tailor and after three or four months he returned to Flanders. In May or June 1568 he again left the Westkwartier to Sandwich, resided in the same house and became a self-employed tailor for three or four months. In 1568 Joos Winnebroodt, also a tailor, left the Westkwartier for Sandwich, where he exercised his occupation for about two months and then returned to Flanders (54).

It is not surprising that such circumstances led to conflicts with and complaints from the local townsmen. Whilst originally the Flemish refugees received a warm welcome, as time went on, they suffered increasingly from social and economic discrimination. Pressed by the Town Corporation and the English inhabitants, who with growing frequency accused the Strangers of taking away their livelihood and thus impoverishing them, the local authorities had no choice but to issue supplementary decrees. Competition and severe rivalry eroded the relationship. Already in 1569, after only eight years of residence, the Strangers were subject to an inquiry after a forceful complaint by some of the local inhabitants. The Flemish exiles had not only exceeded the number and kind of occupations allowed but had also commenced sales by retail 'to the greate hinderance and impoverishment of the Englishe inhabitants of this Towne, using the same trades and occupacons'. The local Council endeavoured to reform the situation. On 22 July the Mayor, William Southaick, and Jurats issued a statement that 'every man greved, to bring their greefe in wryting with the names of the Strangers

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(54) M. Backhouse, 'Dokumenten betreffende de godsdienst-troebelen in het Westkwartier: Jan Camerlynck en tien zijner gezellen voor de Ieperse vierschaar (1568 - 1569)' HKCG, cxxxviii (Brussels, 1972), 112, 220.

offendors. This to be done with expedicon' (55). Though the dossier containing the report of this inquiry appears to have been mislaid long ago so the precise details of the complaint made by the locals remain unknown, it certainly had results. On 24 February 1570, the Mayor, Jurats and Common Council of Sandwich decreed that from the feast of the Annunciation (25 March) 1570

1. No Stranger might sell by retail any kind of merchandize whatsoever brought from abroad, e.g. baize, yarn and household articles. If the same were not sold by wholesale, the Council 'shall forfeacte the same, the one halfe to the town, thother halfe to the presenter, upon prooffe';

2. Stranger shoemakers were no longer allowed to sell or make new shoes; offenders would be fined at the Mayor and Jurats' pleasure if proven;

3. No Stranger tailor or hosier might carry on without licence from the Mayor and Jurats and agreement with the Corporation of Tailors; if the complaint were proven the offender would be fined by the town and the Corporation;

4. No Stranger carpenter, bricklayer or mason might work other than as a hired man without official permission, unless an Englishman had already refused the job; any offender was to be fined at the pleasure of the Mayor and Jurats, half of the proceeds for the benefit of the town, the other to the plaintiff if proven;

5. No maker of silk, lace, striped canvas, etc. might sell by retail but only by wholesale, except those who sell haberdash wares, but only between 9 am and 1 pm on market days; offenders were to have their goods forfeited, one half for the benefit of the town, the other for the plaintiff if proven;

6. Bakers were no longer allowed to bake ordinary bread for sale, other than kinds heretofore in use, or sweet bread for their own purposes; the offender was to be fined as in article 5;

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(55) KAO, Sa/Ac5, ff.26-vo, 27-vo.

7. Strangers were no longer allowed to sell by retail English butter, cheese or bacon; the offender was to be fined as in article 5;

8. Strangers were no longer allowed to traffic to the Low Countries, this in accordance with the Queen's order, on pain of banishment from the town (56).

The latter article obviously refers to the trade embargo with the Low Countries between 1568 and 1573. In November 1568 Huguenot pirates attacked five ships sailing from Spain to the Netherlands, carrying bullion destined for Brussels. The money was not sent by the Spanish Crown but by Genoese merchants who needed the money, a loan to the government in Brussels, to pay for the credit operation. The ships sought safety in Southampton and Plymouth. When Queen Elizabeth, who originally intended to send the money to Brussels, learned that the money technically was not that of Philip II until it had reached the Low Countries, on 19 December, to everybody's surprise, she ordered the ships to be detained and had the money conveyed to the Tower of London. As a result of the account of the inexperienced Don Gueran de Spes, ambassador to London, who did not wait until he knew all the facts, on 29 December the Duke of Alva responded by ordering all English property in the Netherlands to be seized. In February 1569 King Philip II followed suit and all English property in Spain was confiscated. The Queen did not delay her counter-action and ordered all trade between England and the Hispanic world to cease (58).

It is remarkable that, despite the increasing number of non-textile workers, the Council of Sandwich took no drastic steps to eliminate them or even to reduce their number. Understandably the Flemish refugees too felt aggrieved. Soon after the decree was issued they lodged a

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(56) Ibid., ff.41-2.

(57) G. Parker, The Dutch Revolt (London, 1977), p.123; G.D. Ramsay, The Queen's Merchants and the Revolt of the Netherlands (Manchester, 1986), pp.90-8.

protest. Articles 1 and 8 were the stumbling block as communications with their native country would be drastically severed. Negotiations took place between representatives of the Flemish refugee church and Sandwich Council and soon a compromise was reached: on 22 April 1570 the Mayor and Jurats decided that 'the said articles do seeme somewhat grevous unto the said Dutche' and decreed that as from that day articles 1 and 8 were 'utterly voyed and of none effecte, the decree aforesaid or any thinge therin to the contrary in anywize not withstandinge' (58). By issuing this ordinance Sandwich Town Council clearly dispensed the Strangers from the law of the land and brings home the importance of the Cross-Channel trade, possibly yarn. During the discussion with the Council the Strangers undoubtedly must have emphasized that without this trade the 'New Draperies' could not operate, with the obvious disastrous consequences for the Strangers and the town alike.

In spite of such concessions the Mayor and Jurats appear to have been unable to enforce the remaining restrictions on the Strangers, several of whom flouted the decree. On 3 March 1571 Jan Marveille, who lived in the tenth ward, was fined 5/-, to be paid within 14 days, for selling beer without licence. The same day Jan Knockaert, a miller (turned baize worker) from Reningelst, and a denizen, was fined and confined to ward for having sold beer on several occasions, despite various warnings by the Council. Also on 3 March Barnard de Visschere was fined 3/- for his contempt (59). On 12 December 1575 Mayke, the wife of Jacob Pierins, a 'farmer' from Elverdinge, who lived in the High Street (ninth ward) (60), appeared before the Mayor and Jurats and was fined 6/8d. for buying 16lb. of sweet butter at

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(58) KAO, Sa/Ac5, fo.44.

(59) Ibid., fo.72-vo.

(60) For its location, see vol.III, map III, p.9-10.

Davygate (61) contrary to the decree. The next offender was Gillis Ente, a cloth weaver from Nieuwkerke, in Sandwich since 1562, elder of the consistory and since 26 May 1573 a denizen. On 9 April 1578 he appeared in the Council Chamber accused of unlawfully buying and selling certain quantities of wool contrary to the Statute. The size of the fine is not known but 'the said Gyles hathe submitted him selfe therin unto the judgment and order of the Mayor and Jurats for the cessinge of the fyne, also for all other woll sould at any time before this daie by the said Gyles' (62). In the previous year Christiaen Kycke (63) was fined 2/- on 27 September for baking and selling bread in defiance of the decree. He was warned that any further offence would be punished with a fine of 40/-, one month imprisonment and banishment for life from the town. On 27 November 1579 Jan Harringhoke, Pieter de Ruddere, resident in the fifth ward, Nycholas van de Walle and Jacob Wildemersse from Esquelbecq, resident in the sixth ward in Mr. Jackson's house and a joiner, were charged with contravening the ordinance. They were fined 6/8d., 6/8d., 3/4d. and 3/4d. respectively for the selling of wool contrary to the Statute (64).

Gillis Ente, Jan Harringhoke, Pieter de Ruddere, Nycholas van de Walle and Jacob Wildemersse had not only contravened the decree but also the Statute, enacted in June 1572 with effect from 1 April 1573. According to this Act henceforth no Alien or Stranger born outside the realm might

'unfold, undoe or cut to pentente to sell  
the same or utter or sell by retayle any  
lynnyn clothe, naperie, canvas, hollands,

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(61) The Davygate does no longer exist, but is to be located in the parish of St.Clement near the present Barbican (Loc. sit.).

(62) KAO, Sa/Ac5, ff.179, 222-vo-3.

(63) See above in this chapter p.156.

(64) KAO, Sa/Ac5, ff. 208-vo, 242-vo.

camricks, lownes or any other like wares or marchandizes to any person or persons whatsoever within the cytie of London or within this realme of Englande except to the intente and purpose onlie to worke the same into shirts, smocks, bandes, kuffs, napkins or other mere varie things' (65).

The Act was intended to curb the activities of those Strangers resident in London and elsewhere, who by selling and buying on the London market, made themselves a small personal fortune, above all by promoting the export of the products. Two such examples are the cases of Jan Godschalck and Pieter Trioen, 'religious exiles who came to London soon after Elizabeth's accession. Both were marked on the Dutch petition of 1561 as cloth makers, but both soon took the opportunity to diversify their business, Trioen as merchant, Godschalck by selling cloths made by the Dutch weavers settled in Norwich and Sandwich on the London market' (66).

The next decade saw no improvement in relations between Sandwich Council, the local inhabitants and the Strangers. On the contrary. The decree of 1570 had made little impact on the Flemish refugees and the English townsmen lodged repeated complaints. According to the preamble of the new ordinance of 21 July 1581 the situation had become desperate:

'Whearunto the said estrangere, not regardinge their then agreement nor the prosperitie and good estate of the English dwellers in this Towne, of a gredye desyre to enriche them selves and to encroche all manners of trades into their

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(65) PRO, SP12/88/35.

(66) A. Pettegree, Foreign Communities, pp.296-7. A further Bill against Strangers selling wares by retail was discussed in Parliament in 1588 but was defeated (D.C.A. Agnew, Protestant exiles from France in the Reign of Louis XIV (London, 1874), iii, pp.10-2.

owne handes, have procured them selfs to be made denizens and kepe open shopps as mercers, grocers, taylers, chandelers, shoemakers, etc. and all other trades and occupacons used by the English inhabitants within the same, and to the utter rewyne of the said towne' (67).

This set forth still more draconian measures:

1. No shops were to be kept open without written licence issued by the Mayor and Jurats and only after agreement first with the wardens of the several fellowships of any of those trades;

2. After the feast of St. Bartholomew (24 August) the only trades allowed to be followed by the Strangers and denizens were the making of baize, says, tapestry, lace and fishing in accordance with the Letters Patent;

3. Strangers, not being freemen, were forbidden to sell any retail after 24 August without special licence from the Mayor, Jurats and Common Council and only after written agreement first from the wardens of the various fellowships;

4. Any breaches of the decree were to be punished with hefty fines: 40/- and/or imprisonment for shops open or selling retail after St. Bartholomew's (68).

Twenty-one days later the following Strangers were licenced in certain trades and occupations:

1. joiners : Adrian Addiers, Johan van Hull, Willem Penning, Jan Staelen the Elder from Hazebrouck, Jan Staelen the Younger, Jacob Staelen and Jan Wildemersse;
2. smiths : Jan Seale, Gyles Beale, Lambrecht van de Glase from Belle-ambacht and Joyce Clayse;
3. turners : Frans Wildeman, Loyse Wildeman and Jacob de Clercq from Ieper;

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(67) BL, Additional 27,462, fo.1; KAO, Sa/Ac5, fo.266-vo.

(68) Ibid., ff.1-1-vo; ibid., ff.266-vo-7.

4. cardmakers : Jan de Steckere from Ieper and  
Roeland van Dale;
5. goldsmiths : Jan van der Share;
6. bookbinders : Peter Strateman;
7. wheelwrights : Gillis de Vinke;
8. basketmakers : the widow Angel;
9. upholsterers : Robert Cauwercyn from Ieper.

The latter, however, was granted a licence under certain conditions: 'which Robert is commanded to sell no newe bestedetts after he hath soulded thoes which are nowe in his shopp, upon the payne in the said decree, not to sell any other joyners stufte in his shoppe, excepte he do bye the same in this towne of the joyners heare' (69). In fact, the number of Flemish refugees licenced to exercise occupations other than those authorized by the Letters Patent was officially reduced to twenty-two. But, as elaborated above, the 1582 rate list contains the names of 100 Strangers exercising unpermitted occupations, so, nearly a year after the decree at least seventy-eight were acting illegally.

Even some of the most moderate and accommodating exiles found the decree unacceptable as now they saw their livelihood threatened. Unwilling to negotiate any longer on this matter with Sandwich Council, the Flemish refugee church presented a petition to the Privy Council, alleging that the 'Mayour...hathe violently entred into some of their howses and taken awaye certen quantities of wares to a good value to aunswer the pretended forfeitures made by the culler (= caller) of the said decree' (70). On 6 December 1581 the Privy Council asked Lord Cobham to investigate the matter 'not knowing by what authoritye the said Mayour and the reste maie lauffullye make and execute any suche decree tending so mucche to the prejudice of those poore banished straungers'. Cobham was to call the Mayor and Jurats before him and if, after investigation, it appeared that they had issued the decree without sufficient

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(69) Ibid., fo.267.

(70) APC, xiii, p.277.



and enriches yearlie according to the meaning' (73).  
 Seven years earlier some local inhabitants had lodged complaints against certain denizens with Sandwich Council. As a result between October and December 1575 the Mayor and Jurats had ordered that 'fforasmuche as the inhabitants of this Towne doe fynde them selves greved with such dinizons as are latelye made whoe reape the cheif comodytie from the handes of the said ynhabitannts, their greate detrymente and to the impoverishinge of them, that the sayd denysons shall for this greate occupienge be cessed at Christmas next' (74). By 1578 many denizens had not yet paid that tax (75).

In chapter I above we already pointed out that there was some evidence that Sandwich Council considered denizens to be 'English' as far as their 'duties' were concerned but not as regards their 'rights'. The above quotation implies that they were not considered to be any different than the other exiles. But did the denizens themselves at least believe they had a different position and had the right to exercise more than one occupation? Of the forty identified Flemish exiles who became denizens only one exercised two occupations namely Vincent Jacobs, who was a baize worker and baker. We found no evidence that any of the others did. Among the remaining thirty-nine we counted three master-baize workers, one master, eight baize workers, two say workers, one cobbler, one brewer, one smith, one dealer in cast-off clothes, one draper, one haberdasher, one tiler and one linen, silk and say merchant. So, had they become the envy of the English inhabitants through competition and possible monopoly? Who were these denizens who held so prominent a position in the economy of Sandwich? In the first instance we should examine the cases of Michiel van Strasseele, Maerten Tuewelen, Mahieu Lowys and Jan Carboneel, the four Strangers whose houses had been raided

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(73) Loc. cit.

(74) KAO, Sa/Ac5, fo.178.

(75) See below in this chapter p.198.

by local inhabitants, allegedly by order of the Mayor. Michiel van Strasseele was a draper from Méteren. Together with his wife, Louise Baert, he had participated in the Troubles of 1566 and as a result both had been condemned by the Council of Troubles to life banishment with confiscation of their goods. The confiscation register reveals that he undoubtedly was wealthy. His movables raised 124lb.14s. parisien and he also possessed property in Bailleul near de Zuuthouck vers Outterstene. They arrived in Sandwich in 1567, he was listed as a member of the Flemish refugee congregation in 1571 and resided in the first ward. On 4 May 1575 he became a denizen. The fact that in 1585 he had to pay 10/- 'bonne' money indicates that he certainly did not belong to the poorest of the Strangers' community (76).

Maerten Tuewelen or Toewelen originated from Hondschoote. When exactly he arrived in Sandwich is not known, but he was in the town in 1570 and originally resided in 'The Rose' in the sixth ward (77). On 20 December 1571 he became a denizen. Two years later he had moved to the second ward and had been elected deacon of the Flemish refugee church. The 'fforren' money lists describe him as linen, silk and say merchant. No doubt his business flourished: whilst in 1570 he paid 5/- rates to the town, the following year they had increased to some 40/-. Shortly after the incident he must have left Sandwich: in December 1582 he was registered in the poorterboeken in Leiden (78).

The locality of origin of Mathias Loye or Lowys is not known. He was already in Sandwich in 1573: the Flemish refugee church registered him as not being a member of the congregation, though he joined later. He resided in the second ward. Little is known about him, but he undoubtedly had become a denizen by 1584: his name appears under that

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(76) See vol.II, no. 1613, p.244.

(77) The Butchery and neighbouring streets. See vol.III, map III, pp.9-10.

(78) See vol.II, no. 1682, p.253.

heading in the muster book of that year. In 1585 he paid 2/- 'bonne' money (79).

Jan Carboneel arrived in Sandwich with his wife and two children in 1565 and lived in the third ward. By 1573 he had become deacon of the Flemish refugee church and on 19 August 1581 he was granted a letter of denization. In 1585 he paid 20/- 'bonne' money. The following year he was elected elder of the consistory. Jan Carboneel was quite wealthy: he left £693 10s. in his will (80).

It is difficult to determine the two or three other Strangers blacklisted by the local inhabitants, but possible candidates might have been George Bavelare, Jacob Scheers, Lieven van de Putte and Willem Even. George Bavelare originated from Hondschoote, was in London in 1561 and arrived in Sandwich after July 1561 as master-baize worker. On 1 September 1573 he became a denizen. He lived in the twelfth ward and paid 10/- rates in 1570 and 1572. By 1585 he had moved to the ninth ward and paid 8/- 'bonne' money (81).

Jacob Scheers and his wife Marie van Boonstraete originated from Bailleul. It is not known when they arrived in Sandwich but in 1571 they resided in the fifth ward and paid 5s.8d. rates. He was registered as a haberdasher. On 4 May 1575 he became a denizen (82).

Lieven van de Putte originated from Hondschoote. Because of his sympathies for the new religion, in 1562 he was sentenced to public penance and abjuration of his faith, but was granted pardon. Soon thereafter he fled to Sandwich, where in 1563 he was registered as a member of the Flemish refugee church and was employed as a baize worker. In 1573 he resided in the first ward. On 1 February 1578 he became a denizen. He moved to London where he dwelt in the parish of St. Mary in Southwark. He died in London

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(79) Ibid., no. 1059, p.163.

(80) Ibid., no. 370, p.64. See also Ch.IV below, pp.273-4.

(81) Ibid., no. 99, p.25.

(82) Ibid., no. 1495, p.226.

soon after 2 July 1593. No mention is made of the value of his property in his will but its contents leads us to conclude that he may have been reasonably well-off (83).

Little is known about Willem Even except that he was a denizen, beer brewer and died after 7 September 1588. This Stranger must have been well-off: he left a minimum of £467 in money in his will and possessed dwellings, land and tenements (84).

Although the careers of these men provide insufficient evidence to substantiate the allegations of monopolizing the town, nevertheless it is clear that some Stranger denizens certainly exerted considerable influence in Sandwich. But personally Lord Cobham did not believe the refugees had done anything unlawful. There was no proof that they had disobeyed or shown contempt to the magistrates. He was convinced that the Strangers were willing to submit themselves to any order he would lay down. The Mayor and Jurats were most reluctant to conform and wanted Cobham to agree with their demands as outlined in the decree (85). On 8 February 1582 one of Lord Cobham's officers reported to him that in Sandwich he had found that the native town dwellers were content to allow the Flemish refugees to reside and trade in the town. The fault lay with a few Englishmen, having the best housing and other things, who 'for gayne do lett and sell them rather to Straingers. and privily mainteyne their suit against their own countrymen' (86). The following month the Privy Council finally reacted, after having summoned the Mayor and Jurats and a delegation of the Flemings:

1. Aliens and denizens who used the facilities and trades specified in the Letters Patent, and none other, and those who had been admitted to the freedom of the town, or were brewers, joiners or artificers of other mysteries not

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(83) Ibid., no. 1351, p.205. See also Ch.IV below, p.273-4.

(84) Ibid., no. 633, p.103. See also loc. cit.

(85) PRO, SP12/152/14.

(86) PRO, SP12/152/40.

hereafter prohibited, were allowed to remain in the town until further notice;

2. Strangers and denizens who followed any trade other than specified in the Letters Patent had until Whitsun following to leave Sandwich and settle in another locality at least 8 miles distant from the town;

3. The Mayor and Jurats were forbidden to allow any other Stranger denizen to reside in the town, except only those who followed the facilities and trades contained in the Letters Patent;

4. Every denizen in Sandwich, ordered to depart, was entitled to sell his wares, household furnishings, without hindrance from the Mayor and Jurats;

5. Strangers remaining in the town were forbidden to gain a living as retailers, shopkeepers, tailors, shoemakers, cobblers, coopers, masons, bricklayers, bakers, blacksmiths, shipwrights and cowherds; however as many in the town were poor, the Privy Council allowed such to remain until Whitsun, by which time they may depart or provide for themselves otherwise; they were likewise allowed to sell anything in their possession;

6. Those who had suffered the seizure of various items by the Mayor and Jurats were to have their property restored or, in the event of its having been destroyed, one half of its value in money;

7. The town's decree was to be suspended until next Whitsun;

8. There were to be no recriminations against the Strangers when the Mayor and Jurats returned to Sandwich. They would be held answerable for any further offence or default caused by them (87).

Despite this compromise, accepted by both parties, the tensions remained. Encouraged by the decision of the Privy Council, Mayor and Jurats repealed on 3 January 1584 a previous decree made under the late Mayor Richard Porredge (1580-82) concerning the Flemish blacksmiths. Although the

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(87) APC, xiii, pp.369-74.

compromise of March 1582 prohibited Strangers to work as blacksmiths, the Council's ordinance of 21 July 1581 had allowed three. Henceforth they were forbidden on pain of punishment to make 'audierus black, spyttts, tryvett doggs for buildinge all manner of nayles, saw, hobb nayles, shoinge of horse waggens and cart wheles, water work, shippwork, cartwork, ploughwork, brewers work, bell work' (88). On 9 September of that year the position of the artisans who kept a few cows was re-assessed since they had more cattle than the regulations permitted. Originally Michiel Stampe had been allowed to keep two, Vincent Jacobs five, Engle Sneake five, Barbara Lowys, the widow of Jan Lowys, five, Walram Olivier two, Marten Huble five, Phillip Parle two, Jan Beuber five and Adriaen de Worme three. Strictly speaking any cattle in excess should have been destroyed, but the Council decided that 'in respect that they are pore men and promise to submitt them selves to the order of the said Maior and Jurats, they are abated of some of their nomber and commanded to kepe such nomber as hereafter is sett downe' (89). Adriaen de Worme was now allowed to keep three, Engle Sneake four, Barbara Lowys four, Phillip Parle one, Marten Huble four, Vincent Jacobs seven, Walram Olivier four, Michiel Stampe three, Jan Beuber four. Also, three new names appear: Marcx de Meester, who was allowed to keep three cows, Jacob de Corte four and Jacob van Buuchave two (90). Those three Strangers, when informed about the re-assessment, obviously took the opportunity to apply to the Council for authority to keep cows. It is not known if other exiles made a similar application. It may justifiably be noted that there is no trace in the archives that similar regulations were enforced against English inhabitants with cattle. Most of these Flemings with cows were not cowherds or graziers as such, but craftsmen who kept a few cows: Vincent Jacobs was

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(88) KAO, Sa/Ac6, fo.20-vo.

(89) Ibid., fo.24-vo.

(90) Loc. cit.

a baize worker and baker, Walram Olivier a baker, Michiel Stampe a baize worker, Jacob van Buuchave a say worker, Marcx de Meester a say worker. We do not know the occupation of the remaining seven, but Jacob de Corte was an elder of the consistory and Marten Huble had a maid. It appears that the matter was not related to the overgrazing of common land, since Adriaen de Worme kept his three cows in a certain Mr. Peke's garden, but rather to a decree (which has not been traced) dated 1581 in which it was ordered that the Strangers were 'utterly forbidden to kepe any cowes' (91), and which might have been connected with the ordinance of 1581. Were some Strangers, despite the decree, allowed to keep a few cows to use them to feed the poor of the Flemish community?

Again some of the Flemish exiles did not comply. On 17 October 1589 their minister and elders of the consistory were summoned before the Council together with five offenders: Marten Huble, who had five cows instead of four, was ordered to dispose of one and pay a fine of 10/-; Vincent Jacobs, who had more than seven, was fined 10/-; Phillip Parle, who in 1584 was only allowed to keep two, was now authorized for three and was not fined; Jooris Kycke had no licence at all to keep cows and was fined 10s., but immediately thereafter allowed to keep four; Jacob Rycasis had four instead of two and was ordered to put down two and fined 6/8d. (92). The latter must have obtained permission between 1584 and 1589. We observe the inconsistent judgement of Sandwich Council: all had offended against the ordinance of 1584, but while two were ordered to put down their excess number of cows and fined, one was not fined, one only fined, and one first fined and then granted permission to keep cows!

In 1584 the native tailors of Sandwich complained to the Mayor and Jurats that the Flemish tailors continued to exercise their trade contrary to the order of the Privy

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(91) Loc. cit.

(92) Ibid., fo.120-vo.

Council. Subsequently, on 30 October the Stranger tailors were summoned to the Council Chamber and informed that they might tailor Flemish and English work until Shrove Sunday next 'and that they shall from thence forth betake themselves to some other allowed trade, orells departe the towne ells whear to dwell, but yt is allowed them to use their taylor's trade of Duche worke only untill Shrovetyde' (93). This however did not satisfy some local inhabitants. Henry Hussey, Richard Wyate, John Seath and Thomas Philpot raided the house of Michiel van Strasseele (again!) and searched in 'divers places of his howse, made search for Dutch taylors supposed there to bee at work' (94). After a complaint by Michiel van Strasseele the four intruders appeared before the Mayor and Jurats on 16 February 1585 and were committed to prison at the 'White Rode'. On 3 March they submitted themselves to obedience, good order and the constitution of Sandwich and were released from prison (95).

As the English tailors kept up their complaints, the Flemish settlers requested the Council to be allowed to maintain a competent and appropriate number of Flemish tailors to make 'Dutche apparell' only, as happened in Canterbury, Maidstone, London, Colchester and other places in England where Strangers were licenced to dwell 'alsoe for the Englishe taylors of this towne nether doe or have accustomed to make mende any Flemishe apparell and much lesse will be willinge to batch or patch the olde and badd apparell of the poore people of their congrigacon' (96). Having considered the arguments of both parties the Council issued a decree on 15 December 1585 which stated that

'theis persons heare under written and noe other shall and may closly in their howses exercise the crafte and occupacon of taylors

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(93) Ibid., fo.26-vo.

(94) Ibid., fo.37.

(95) Loc. cit.

(96) Ibid., fo.49-vo.



within this towne, only to make mende and botche  
Dutche or Flemishe apparell and noe other' (97).

They had to pay the yearly sum of 40/- to the town and £4 to the wardens of the Corporation of Tailors at the feast of St. John the Baptist and at Christmas. The twelve tailors allowed to practise their craft were Jehan van de Walle, a baize worker from Steenvoorde, first in Sandwich in 1562, Peter de Hooke, Jan Marten from Bailleul or Ieper and in Sandwich at least since 1573, Paskier Lawers, Pieter Jooris from Roesbrugge and also in the town at least since 1573, Jan Pille, Pieter Mersman, Jan Veceroy, Jan de Jonghe, in Sandwich at least since 1573, Jacques Vancostenoble, Katheren Rickewaerth and Mary van Eke (98).

The archives make no further mention of similar complaints during the last decade of the sixteenth century.

The Letters Patent of 1561 also authorised the Strangers to engage in fishing (99). Yet we cannot find a single reference to Sandwich Strangers exercising this occupation. But this conspicuous absence of fishermen among the Strangers at Sandwich may be explained by their Flemish background, for almost all the exiles came from inland towns and villages (100).

4. General resentment against the Strangers in the context of local and national difficulties during the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

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a. Native opposition to other refugee communities.

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The growing hostility against the presence of the Flemish Protestant exiles at Sandwich was a phenomenon by

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(97) Ibid., fo.50.

(98) Loc. cit.

(99) PRO, SP12/18/9.

(100) See vol.III, Map I, p.6.

no means peculiar to that town. Similar, and on occasions, more violent incidents occurred at Rye, Dover, Colchester, Norwich and London. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew in Paris (24 August 1572) resulted in a massive influx of French refugees into the town and Cinque Port of Rye. A large number of these exiles belonged to the poorest groups of society. This predicament caused great anxiety, discomfort and displeasure among the local inhabitants, who justifiably feared that if the refugee community would not be able to maintain their poor, the town would be obliged to tackle the problem itself, thus reducing its own revenue and consequently impoverishing the English population (101). In order to avoid any social upheaval, or even riots the town assembly decreed on 15 February 1574 that no common passengers were to disembark in the town 'excepte marchauntes, gentes, common postes and messengers' on pain of a 40/- fine (102). Four years later a French baker was no longer allowed to bake bread and sell it to either the English or French community. By 1593 two French women had set up their own baking business which resulted in a town ordinance in October that year ordering that no French baker might bake or sell any bread within the liberties of Rye. In July 1586 a French trader, Guillaume Vatmere, had been fined 10/- for selling linen cloth by retail (103).

The Colchester refugee community, consisting of only Flemish and some Dutch immigrants - the first fifty

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(101) The contrary occurred at Maidstone, where the Strangers had to teach their skills to English apprentices as well as to their own children. They also employed many paupers from the local community in spinning of flax. (V. Morant, 'The Settlement of Protestant Refugees in Maidstone during the Sixteenth Century', Ec.HR., 2nd series, iv (1951) ii, 213).

(102) G. Mayhew, Tudor Rye, p.82.

(103) Ibid., pp.84-5.

settlers had come from Sandwich in 1568 (104) - also fell victim to native jealousy. And not without reason. The Colchester Strangers controlled the Bay Hall, where all baize were sealed and, prior to that procedure, their quality and fitness for sale inspected. All the books for the hall were kept in Dutch, so 'they effectively controlled the whole process of bayes manufacture in the town and thus the livelihoods of all English bayes-weavers' (105). It thus comes as no surprise that such circumstances raised objections, to say the least, among the natives. Furthermore, besides displeasure about the independence of the Strangers' congregation, its freedom from the statutes and the exiles' tendency to undertake overseas trade, rising prices and rents were also attributed to their presence in the town (106). When in 1580 Colchester Council decided to limit the number of Strangers in the town, the English preachers, Nycholas Chalnyer, Robert Lewis, Robert Saule and Robert Monke found it necessary to intervene. On 8 November they petitioned Walsingham not to remove any Strangers from the town 'by the injust complaint of the meanest sorte of the saide Towne' and

'doe moste earnestlie beseeche your honor to be a comforter to thes poore strangers, as that by your honorable meanes to the Bailiffes and Aldermen of the same Towne of Colchester, they maye have continuance there,

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(104) W.L. Hardy, 'Foreign settlers at Colchester and Halstead', Pr.HS, ii (1887-8), 185.

(105) D.L. Rickwood, 'The Norwich Strangers, 1565-1643: a problem of control', Pr.HS, xxiv (1984), 124. The hall books continued to be written in Dutch until 1616. That year the Attorney General, Sir Francis Bacon ordered that all Colchester Dutch Books were to be translated in English and that at least one Englishman was to be present at the searching and sealing of cloths in the Bay Hall (Loc. cit.).

(106) Loc. cit.

so the quietnes of ther consciences and  
fruition of the puer religion of Christe's  
Gospell' (107).

The Mayor, Thomas Whalle, accused the Strangers of having done more harm than good to the city as they took the livelihood away from the English. They were no longer allowed to walk the streets after 8pm (108). Disputes between the refugees and the local inhabitants continued. In 1569 the former might no longer buy sheep skins from the butchers: they bought them in such quantity that the native glovemakers could not purchase them themselves, thus putting them out of business (109). On Midsummerday 1570 a plot to turn the Strangers out of the city was detected. Rivalry and friction with the exile families had turned the local textile workers against them and the refugees were blamed for taking up too much food and accommodation (110). Between August 1578 and February 1579 the plague ravaged Norwich. Whilst 2,355 English people died, 2,482 Strangers fell victim to the disease. The natives accused the refugees of spreading the malady because of the crowded conditions in which they lived and because of their allegedly dirty habits (111). By 1572 the atmosphere at Norwich had become so charged that the consistory of the refugee church in the city begged the Privy Council to impose their authority to protect the poor members of the congregation against daily oppression by some of the English (112).

Because of the huge influx of refugees into London many Strangers lodged with their co-religionists which resulted

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(107) W.J. Hardy, 'Colchester and Halstead', 186-7.

(108) C.M. Vane, 'The Walloon community in Norwich: the first hundred years', Pr.HS, xxiv (1984), 131.

(109) *Ibid.*, 130-1.

(110) W.J.C. Moens, Norwich, pp.27-8; see G.D. Ramsay, Woollen Industry, 15-6.

(111) C.M. Vane, 'Norwich', 132.

(112) J. Briels, Zuidnederlanders, p.216.

in dwellings becoming overcrowded and thus dramatically increasing the rents in the capital. In September 1573 the Privy Council referred to the risk of the plague to justify their decision to remove lodgers from dwellings which housed an unsuitable number of them, a policy the City extended to all lodgers the following year (113). In 1586 the apprentices of London raised a riot in the City against the Dutch and French refugees (114). A similar outburst occurred in 1593. In that year a pamphlet, distributed throughout the City, was pinned to the wall of the churchyard of Austin Friars. This threatened that unless the Flemings and Strangers had left the City by 9 July, 2,336 apprentices and journeymen would slaughter them (115). Further incidents occurred in 1595 and 1599 (116).

How strongly anti-Stranger sentiment in this country had developed is revealed by the English inhabitants of the Cinque Port of Dover, who insisted upon even more extreme measures. On 19 June 1576 the burgesses of the town requested Queen Elizabeth to change her attitude towards the Strangers because of the many complaints by her subjects and to 'happily cast them owt of hir dominions' (117).

Restrictions on foreigners and aliens who had settled in England did not arise for the first time in the sixteenth century. A Statute of 1483 prohibited the aliens from employing other aliens or to taking them on as apprentices, as the contrary would be of disadvantage to the natives. A 1523 Act allowed them two alien journeyman, but at the same

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(113) A. Pettegree, Foreign Communities, p.284.

(114) C.M. Vane, 'Norwich', 131.

(115) A. Pettegree, Foreign Communities, p.292; see J. Briels, Zuidnederlanders, p.216.

(116) For more details about the tensions in London between the natives and the Strangers, see A. Pettegree, Foreign Communities, pp.282-94.

(117) G. Overend, 'Dover', 91; 124; see J. Briels, Zuidnederlanders. p.225 n18.

time the ban on apprentices was extended to denizens! In 1534 aliens were forbidden by Statute to work as pewterers, printers or bookbinders and as early as 1515 denizens were no longer exempt from double taxation, a measure already taken against ordinary aliens (118).

Violent outbursts against the Strangers had already occurred in London in the fourteenth century. During the Peasants' Revolt in 1381 peasant bands executed some dozens of Strangers in the City and a rioting mob completely demolished the Hanse headquarters. The most notorious of course is the 'Evil May-Day' riot of 1517, when incited by a preacher, several hundred apprentices took to the streets of London in search for foreigners (119). A similar uprising took place in 1563 (120). In the spring of 1551, again in the capital, a delegation of citizens made a formal complaint to the Lord Mayor blaming the Strangers for the high prices and food shortages after two bad harvests. A plot to attack them was uncovered and suppressed by the authorities (121).

It is thus apparent that with the recurrence of plague epidemics, bad harvests and rising inflation in the second half of the sixteenth century the originally warm hospitality towards the Strangers had given way to open hostility on the part of the English. To the ordinary people of England the Strangers were not the conveyers of new and better industrial techniques, thus creating local and national economic wealth; instead they appeared to threaten their livelihood. The natives resented them not adhering to the occupational limitations imposed upon them, their freedom from statutory regulations, while the presence of large numbers threatened the town corporations' control over economic affairs. They were accused of causing huge price and rent increases, of encouraging the spreading

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(118) J. Youings, Sixteenth-Century England, p.127.

(119) A. Pettegree, Foreign Communities, pp.14, 285.

(120) *Ibid.*, p.285.

(121) *Loc. cit.*

of the plague because of their crowded living conditions, of having dirty habits...And what about the attitude and sympathy of the English authorities? Andrew Pettegree put the matter very well when writing about the capital he explained that the outlook of those in authority

'may be said to have depended very largely on the strangers' utility outweighing any threat they seemed to pose to the stability of the capital. The strangers' position thus inevitably became more perilous at the time of domestic and international tension, but in periods of calm the city authorities offered them steady protection, in return for the ministers' co-operation in exploiting the foreigners' skills to the benefit of their adopted home' (122).

This applies to all the towns where Strangers settled.

The situation did not alter in the seventeenth century. Jean Bulteel, minister of the Walloon church at Canterbury, wrote in 1645 that the prejudice against foreigners in England was like that against Israel in Egypt, thus cleverly exploiting the Old Testament rhetoric then current in English Protestant churches (123).

- b. Sandwich during the last three decades of the sixteenth century.

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At the end of the fifteenth century the urban crisis which effected most county towns, led Sandwich into increasing economic upheaval (124). However, during the

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(122) Ibid., p.262.

(123) J. Bulteel, A Relation of the Troubles of the 3 forraigne churches in Kent (London, 1645), p.32.

(124) See P. Clark, 'English country towns 1500-1800', Country towns in pre-industrial England, ed. P. Clark (Leicester, 1981), 2-43.

course of the next century the Cinque Port experienced a revival, albeit temporary.

A survey of the town dated 25 December 1565 gives an extremely accurate and detailed description of the port, governed by the Mayor and Jurats. In 1565 Sandwich harbour had two creeks, one named the 'Old Crane Creek', the other the 'Seftling'. Both were under the authority of the Customs Officer, the Controller and the Searcher. The harbour also had two appointed landing places, namely Davygate and Jesus Key (125). Wares and merchandise might also be landed in the downs between the castles (126). Licences to load, unload, embark and debark ships or vessels were authorised in the Customs House (127) by the Queen's Customer, the Controller and other of her officers (128).

In 1561 eleven vessels belonged to Sandwich harbour: one ship, one hoy, four barks and five 'crayers', with a total tonnage of 467 and sixty-eight masters and mariners. All eleven were owned by local inhabitants of Sandwich and used for transport of merchandise and coal (129). The survey of 1565 reveals that on Christmas Day 1565 seventeen ships, boats and vessels belonged to the port of Sandwich with a total tonnage of 308, to be divided into three categories: those carrying merchandise (five 'crayers', three boats and two hoys), fishing boats (four 'crayers' and two boats) and those used to carry wool and coal (one hoy). They were manned by sixty-two masters and mariners and fishermen - none of whom were Strangers - and again were owned by local

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(125) The presentday Boat Yard next to the site of Pillory Gate and opposite St.Mary's Church (see vol.III, map III, pp.9-10).

(126) Probably the presentday area between the Stour and Manwood Road (the site of the King's castle), St. George's Road and Sandown Road (loc. cit.).

(127) The Quay (loc. cit.).

(128) KAO, Sa/ZB3/24.

(129) KAO, Sa/ZB3/68.



inhabitants (130).

The above details clearly indicate that Sandwich harbour was regaining some of its former activities. During the next decade these would see some further increase. Graham Mayhew placed Sandwich in sixteenth position among the forty larger English ports for the year 1571-2 behind, e.g. London, Ipswich, Bristol, Rye, Colchester and Southampton, but ahead of Poole, Maldon, Blakeney and Chester, with a total tonnage of merchant vessels of 729 (131). Unfortunately the author does not specify how he arrived at this figure. Having consulted and examined the same source (132), we have reached rather different conclusions: that year Sandwich harbour had two vessels with a total tonnage of 150, two of 140, six of 130, two of 125, five of 120, one of 118, seven of 115, three of 112, three of 110 and five of 106. The evidence is impressive: in 1571-2 the aggregated tonnage of ships in the port of Sandwich amounted to 1,226 and involved thirty-six vessels. This would mean that between 1561 and 1571-2 the tonnage of ships in Sandwich harbour had increased by some 262% and in number by more than 325%! On the assumption that all other figures in Graham Mahew's table are correct, the above information would move Sandwich into eighth place instead of sixteenth. It must also be noted that with its thirty-six ships, in 1571-2 Sandwich then had the largest number of vessels of all Kentish ports: Faversham had twenty-two, Dover eighteen, Rochester nine, Maidstone seven, Margate five and Gillingham four (133).

During the economic crisis of the 1580s Sandwich harbour appears still to have taken in a sufficient number of ships. According to Graham Mayhew, in February 1587 forty-three ships belonged to the port of Sandwich with a total tonnage of 1,216 and employing 106 mariners (134).

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(130) KAO, Sa/ZB3/24.

(131) G. Mayhew, Tudor Rye, p.236.

(132) PRO, SP15/22/1.

(133) Loc. cit.

And there are of course the import and export figures. During the whole of the sixteenth century Sandwich exported an annual average of 342 quarters of grain, varying from forty quarters in 1559-60 to 2,112 quarters in 1572-3 (135). In 1576-7 Sandwich exported some 975 tons of beer and imported linen and hops from France and the Low Countries. That year the trade of Sandwich yielded some £690 in customs duties; by 1594-5 the figure for Sandwich and its satellite ports had increased to £3,125 (136). In June 1581 and February 1582 great quantities of grain were sent from Sandwich to Flanders, though the exact figures are not known (137). In 1597 one London baker alone shipped

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- (134) There exists some conflicting information about the tonnage and number of vessels. Another document in the Public Record Office states that on 3 February 1587 Sandwich had forty-one ships with a tonnage of 404! This must be a clerical error for eight months later Sandwich harbour had forty ships with 102 mariners, although the tonnage is unknown. The number of ships and mariners makes a total tonnage of approximately 400 quite implausible, especially if one takes into consideration that even in 1629 the port of Sandwich was still the leading shipping centre in Kent after Dover with a total tonnage of 1,684, more than 400 tons more than in 1587 on the basis of Dr. Graham Mayhew's figure (PRO, SP12/198/5; G. Mayhew, Tudor Rye, p.20; C.W. Chalklin, Seventeenth-Century Kent (1965), p.170; see vol.III, map III, pp.11-2.
- (135) J. Thirsk, 'The Farming Regions in England', The Agrarian History of England and Wales, (iv (1500-1640) (Cambridge, 1967), pp.524-5.
- (136) T.S. Willan, Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade (Manchester, 1968, 1st reprint), p.76.
- (137) A.J. Butler (ed), Calendar of State Papers. Foreign Series of the Reign of Elizabeth, January 1581-April 1582 (London,1907), p.200-1; ibid., January-June.

260 quarters of wheat from the Cinque Port (138). Between the feast of St. Michael and 31 December 1596 Sandwich exported 350 quarters of wheat and 4,130 quarters of malt (139). Furthermore, in 1598-9 Sandwich imported 1,176 chaldrons of coal, a total that exceeds that for the ports of Dover, Rochester, Milton and Faversham (140).

And there is the textile industry. Customs on Export of Old Draperies demonstrate that Sandwich (including Dover) exported £577 worth of Old Draperies in 1596, £466 in 1597, £273 in 1598, £447 in 1599, £353 in 1600, £255 in 1601, £357 in 1602 and £442 in 1604. Even in 1617 the town exported £200 worth of New Draperies and £573 of Old Draperies and in 1618 £133 and £766 respectively. Such figures do not suggest that the Old Draperies counted for more in Sandwich despite the Strangers, but simply that the value of the Old Draperies was so much greater (141).

But despite the renewed intensified maritime and commercial progress of Sandwich, according to the local authorities, the harbour was in decay and urgent government help was needed. A report about the condition of the harbour dated 30 September 1574 and drafted by the Mayor, Henri Crispe, and Jurats, provides us with the most fascinating detailed analysis not only of its structural situation but also with detailed proposals to improve the condition of the port. On the question of the principal cause of the decay of the harbour, the Mayor explains that whereas in the past the mouth of the river Stour had entered the sea further to the south, the drifting sand had increased to such an extent that shipping from Sandwich port to the open sea was forced to follow a more northerly

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Addenda, p.132.

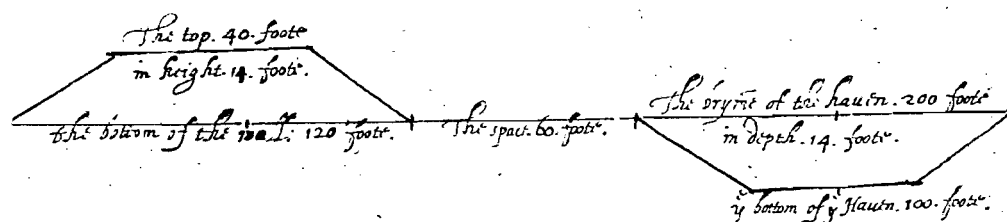
(138) J. Youngs, Sixteenth-Century England, p.277.

(139) PRO, SP12/261/30.

(140) C.W. Chalklin, Kent, p.180.

(141) W.B. Stephens, 'The Cloth Exports of the Provincial Ports, 1600-1640', Ec.HR, 2nd series, xxii (1969), ii, 245-6; see vol.III, graph XI, pp.35-6.

channel closer to the Isle of Thanet. There the tide washed the flats before the harbour's mouth which, as it was now running northwards, brought in very thick sand. Contributory factors were the innings of the marshes and the straightening of the river above the town towards Canterbury (142). What was the solution? The Council took the view that the reconstruction of the old course beginning from the town's end to the sea would not be the most convenient and practical remedy. They suggested that the course of the harbour be dredged further to the south so that the channel would enter the sea nearer to the castles in the downs and further away from the sand banks. The soil there was much firmer and therefore better able to withstand the spring tides and storms. The new cut would measure 576 rods - at 20 feet to the rod - from the old harbour at the town's end; the whole enterprise was estimated to cost approximately £13,000, a huge sum! The reproduction below of the original illustrates clearly what the Mayor and Jurats had in mind:



(143).

But the suggestion was rejected: the Queen refused to provide the monies needed to complete the works and the Council themselves failed to raise the necessary resources to carry out the project. By April 1581 the condition of the port, in the opinion of the local authorities, had deteriorated so badly that they once more petitioned the Privy Council. It explained 'the haven of Sandwiche hath more growen to decay within these two yeres past then in many yeres before, nothithstandinge the yearly charges that

(142) KAO, Sa/LC4/fo.85; see vol.III, map IV, pp.11-2.

(143) Ibid., ff.85-6. For a complete breakdown of the estimate, see loc. cit.

the Towne bestoweth therupon' and requested a licence for transporting some 20,000 quarters of corn 'wholly to the use and behoofe of the haven' (144). Though no reply from the Privy Council has been found the fact that Sandwich exported large quantities of grain to Flanders in 1581 and 1582 might be taken as an indication that the government could have made some kind of concession.

There is no doubt that by 1500 the gradual silting up of Sandwich harbour had commenced. Nevertheless, our findings on the number and tonnage of ships in the port, and its continued use as a port of export in the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, clearly indicate that at that moment in time the problem might have been less serious than it was presented by Sandwich Town Council. This might explain why repeated requests for help by the local authorities to Henry VII, Henry VIII, Edward IV and Elizabeth I remained unanswered (145). This conclusion runs counter to the findings of local historians such as Helen Bentwich, and calls for further detailed research in the future.

Whatever the difficulties of the harbour of Sandwich, it cannot be denied that the town flourished as a port during the reign of Elizabeth. The question which immediately arises concerns the role the Strangers played in this temporary and limited economic revival of the town. Unfortunately we have no precise information about their textile production, e.g. accounts, output, export, etc. This of course would have provided us with a better guide to their economic activity in the Cinque Port. We can, however, gauge their economic contribution to some extent from their tax assessments as decreed by the Town Council.

Notwithstanding their various ordinances attempting to limit the Strangers' craft and trade the Sandwich authorities ensured that the immigrants made their

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(144) PRO, SP12/148/40.

(145) H.C. Bentwich, Sandwich, pp.43-6; C. Wright, Kent through the years (London, 1975), p.129.

financial contribution to the wealth of the town in times of prosperity as well as in periods of difficulties. On 14 April 1571, nearly two months after it had been decreed that the Strangers were prohibited to traffic to the Low Countries and only eight days before the decision was revoked (!), the Mayor and Jurats of Sandwich issued an ordinance that

1. any resident Stranger who shipped all his baize from Sandwich to London would not be liable to pay anything for the benefit of the town;

2. those resident Strangers who shipped and transported their baize abroad were to pay 2d. for each baize for the benefit of the town;

3. non-resident Strangers, merchants and others, who shipped their baize at Sandwich to London or elsewhere were to pay 2d. for each baize for the benefit of the town; in all circumstances the brokers had to give notice to the town Treasurers if the baize were to be shipped or transported by wagon or on horseback from the town (146).

Friction between a number of Strangers, who had become resentful of the Council's continuous search for opportunities to raise some kind of tax from them, erupted on the occasion of Queen Elizabeth I's visit to the town between 31 August and 3 September 1573. The Cinque Port organised the royal celebrations and many Strangers took part. On 1 September, for instance, Walloons performed a mock battle arranged for the Queen's entertainment. On 3 September she observed 120 English and Flemish children all spinning fine baize yarn (147). The splendour of this visit turned out to be a rather expensive event: 'And for asmuche as the chardge of the towne both generall and particulerly have ben great against her Maiesties comynge hether', the

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(145) KAO, Sa/Ac5, fo.75.

(146) For more details about this visit see W. Boys, Sandwich, p.694, D. Gardiner, Sandwich, pp.188-91 and J. Neale, Queen Elizabeth I (London, 1958, 9th reprint), p.208.

Mayor and Jurats later explained. Only fifteen days after her departure the Council ordered the levy of a general cess for all inhabitants of the town. Two Jurats, two members of the Common Council and two commoners were nominated to assess all the males of their community. The natives were to pay £50, the refugees £100. Furthermore, if any Stranger was to leave the town after his tax assessment but before its collection, the sum at which he had been taxed was to be levied from his goods and domestic livestock before his departure. By 23 September the Stranger community had not yet commenced its assessment and the Mayor and Jurats pressed them to start the procedure. They were given until the following Friday afternoon to complete their tax assessment. But nothing appears to have happened because seven days later Joannes Beaugrand, elder of the Flemish consistory, was summoned to the Council Chamber and requested to give the names of the denizens. With immediate effect Jacob de Corte, Gillis Ente, Maerten Tuewelen and Jacob Loys, denizens, together with two other Strangers, were appointed to assess the Flemings and Walloons (148). Neither the immediate further development of this incident nor the result of the assessment are known, but the friction continued. In 1578 certain Flemish denizens and non-naturalised Strangers had refused to pay their taxes and had complained to the Lord Treasurer and the Lord Warden. Sandwich Council was no longer prepared to tolerate this situation. On 4 March 1578 they decided that the persons in question should be summoned before the Mayor and Jurats and the monies due to be paid; if they still refused, their tax would be levied 'by waie of distress' and if they complained again 'the same againe persons for that purpose to be nominated to be answered at the chardge of the towne' (149).

As stated above, in 1574 Sandwich Council estimated the costs for the works to be carried out on its harbour at

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(148) KAO, Sa/Ac5, ff.139-vo-40.

(149) Ibid., fo.221.

£13,000. Their suggestion was to borrow £10,000 from the country's Treasury, to be repaid within a term of ten years at £1,000 per annum. One of their options of how to collect the remaining £3,000 was to obtain the money from...the Strangers in England (!):

'yt is offred by them of Sandwich in their degrees view that of enny alyen stranger in England above the age of 15 yeares if there may be levyed of the riche sorte £10 a peece, of the next sorte 6s.8d. a peece, of the meaner sorte 3s.4d., of the inferior 12d., to be assessed by the leders of their congrigacions' (150).

During the economic crisis of the 1580s the baize making trade at Sandwich was in decline and was gradually being replaced by say making, grograms and suche 'lyke more used', so the baize industry was providing the town 'littill or no benyfitt at all' (151). Consequently, on 30 December 1585 the Mayor and Jurats, 'havige good respect unto mainteynance of this towne and how the comon chardge of the same sholde be borne, and findinge the same veri greate and the revenues of the towne somwhate diminished', decreed that from henceforth the Strangers were to pay for the benefit of the town 3d. for the sealing of any double baize, 2d. for any single, 2d. for any say and 2d. for any grogram and also for their shipping (152).

Not even the decade of disaster of the 1590s exempted the Strangers from the burden of financial contributions to the town. In 1596 the Privy Council informed Lord Cobham that the Strangers in Sandwich, Canterbury and Maidstone, 'as they are partakers of the benefitts of Her Maiesties' realme by their aboade here', by order of the Queen, were to be made to contribute to the defence and security of the county of Kent (153). Soon Sandwich Council found a way to

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(150) KAO, Sa/LC4, fo.85.

(151) KAO, Sa/Ac6, fo.52.

(152) Loc. cit.

(153) APC, xxv, 443.



relieve the exiles from their duties. On 21 July 1598 the town assembly decided to increase the town's watch and persuaded the Flemish people to agree to pay £40 per quarter 'and so to be freed from watchinge' (154). However two months later the agreement had to be reviewed: on 18 September the payment was reduced to £36 per quarter by reason of the poverty of the Flemish community (155). On 22 March 1599 the Council agreed to grant the Strangers a further lowering to £30 per quarter as 'their congregacon falleth to decaye and into povertie' (156).

The Flemish Strangers not only brought new weaving techniques to Sandwich but also introduced market-gardening to the town and the county at large. When exactly this introduction occurred is still a matter of dispute. F.W. Jessup claims market-gardening came to Sandwich between 1560 and 1570 (157) but Joan Thirsk argues that it developed rapidly mainly in the 1590s (158). The latter would appear to be the most logical in view of the economic situation of the town: shortage of grain, obtainable only at excessive prices, forced the Strangers to search for other means of survival. They were the market-gardeners of Europe and found the soil and climate in Sandwich and the fields around (at present still bearing the name of 'Poulders') suitable (159). They grew cabbages, carrots and celery. The Sandwich carrot became very famous and as late as 1768 was still considered the sweetest and largest of any in England (160).

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(154) KAO, Sa/Ac6, fo.248.

(155) Ibid., fo.249-vo.

(156) Ibid., fo.260.

(157) F.W. Jessup, Kent, p.83.

(158) J. Thirsk, 'Farming regions', iv, pp.196-7.

(159) C. Wright, Kent, pp.129-30.

(160) F.W. Jessup, Kent, p.84. For details about the horticulture in the seventeenth century, see G.E. Fussell, '"Low Countries"' Influence on English Farming', EHR, lxxiv (1959), 611-22.

The serious economic distress of the 1580s and 1590s, a new period in the urban crisis caused by wars, privateering, recurrent outbreaks of epidemics, financial and military levies by the Crown and repeated bad harvests, resulting in extortionate grain prices (161), had naturally not only affected the Strangers but Sandwich as a whole. Its population stagnated as a result of economic decay and disruption and food shortages. In 1586 the export of cloth had practically come to a standstill but the Cinque Port continued to export grain, wheat and malt, causing intense popular dissatisfaction. Furthermore, the growing crisis made it necessary to provide help for the increasing population, especially the poor. In the 1580s the entire county of Kent had accommodation for only about 270 sick and elderly poor. Sandwich found it 'necessary to sell places in the almshouses to those who could afford to pay and there are reports of corruption by trustees' (162), thus creating further unrest amongst the inhabitants. Feelings were running high and the situation came to a head on 5 June 1587 when a conspiracy was discovered. Thomas Bird, a weaver from Sandwich, had persuaded a woolcomber, Thomas Benstead, to accompany him to Barham Down, a common between Sandwich and Canterbury, where they, as they later stated, would meet 800 to 900 men who did not care for justice of the peace and whose intention it was to lynch the rich farmers, who had an abundance of corn. However on 5 June both conspirators, together with three others, were arrested and by mid-July four of them were tried and shipped to fight in the Netherlands (163). The presence of government troops continued to cause minor popular protest in Sandwich during the remaining years of the eighth decade of the sixteenth century (164).

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(161) See below in this chapter pp.203.

(162) J. Youngs, Sixteenth-Century England, p.272.

(163) P. Clark, 'Popular Protest and Disturbance in Kent 1558-1540', Ec.HR., xxix (1976), iii, 367.

(164) Loc. cit.

The 1590s certainly did not bring any improvement to Kent as a whole. Riots broke out at Cranbrook and Wye (1595), Canterbury (1596 and 1600) and near the Sussex border (1597) (165). At the end of 1595 there were municipal troubles at Sandwich, in which Lord Cobham and even the Privy Council thought it necessary to intervene. The inhabitants of Sandwich were obviously not satisfied with the way the town handled its revenues and commoners had protested against the choice of treasurers at a public assembly. The Privy Council, uneasy about the incident in view of the general unrest in the country, instructed the Mayor and Jurats of Sandwich to use convenient diligence as such a situation was dangerous (166).

c. The economic depression in England in the 1580s and 1590s.

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Economic changes in England during the course of the sixteenth century were marked by the growth of population and the inflation of prices - especially food prices - often accompanied by bad harvests and epidemics of the bubonic plague and other fatal diseases. After rising fairly steadily from the beginning of the century the population's growth accelerated after 1547. In spite of the high mortality between 1557 and 1559 caused by the 'hot burning fever' (167), the population of England continued to increase on a large scale for the remaining part of the century and well into the 1600s (168). Although the pace slackened after 1586, by the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign the population of this country may have been as much as 35%

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(165) Ibid., 368.

(166) APC, xxv, 97-8.

(167) A virus disease similar to modern influenza (see J. Youngs, Sixteenth-Century England, p.147).

(168) D.M. Palliser, Age of Elizabeth, p.33.

higher than in 1558-9 (169), notwithstanding the disastrous and terrible harvests of 1586-7 and the four consecutive years between 1594 and 1597, the rampant plague epidemics in 1596 and 1597 and local outbreaks of the disease. Rye, for instance, was struck by the bubonic plague in 1577, 1579-80 and 1596-8 (170), Bristol in 1565 and 1575, Norwich in 1579-80 and 1584-5, Hull in 1575 and 1582, Doncaster in 1582-3, London in 1592-3 (171). The surviving records make no mention of similar outbreaks in Sandwich during the last two decades of the sixteenth century, but the dramatic drop in the population of the town between 1594 and 1598 is suggestive (172). Moreover, many died in the wars overseas. Between 1591 and 1602, for example, approximately 4% - 6,000 men - of the entire population of Kent was sent abroad to the battlefields of the Low Countries and Ireland (173).

After a period of reasonable stability in the previous century, prices in England started to rise steadily from about 1510 onwards; by the mid-sixteenth century they had certainly doubled. In the 1560s the rate of increase slackened until the late 1570s and 1580s, by which time they were three times as high as in 1500. During the last decennium of the sixteenth century food prices rose steeply so that by 1600 they stood at least four times above the level at the beginning of the century (174).

Prices of industrial products were also subject to inflation. On the basis of the scale already referred to above, Robert Ashton has calculated the average prices of industrial products as 110 for the decade 1520-9, 230 for 1580-9 and 238 for the last decade of the sixteenth

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(169) Ibid., p.37.

(170) G. Mayhew, Tudor Rye, p.47.

(171) J. Youings, Sixteenth-Century England, pp.149-50.

(172) See vol.III, graph IV, pp.19-20.

(173) J. Youings, Sixteenth-Century England, p.152.

(174) For further details, see Ch.IV below pp.243-52.

century (175), and D.C. Coleman, using the same scale calculated them at 227 for the period 1570-89 and at 247 for the years 1590-1609 (176). Naturally the prices of textiles were also effected. D.C. Coleman's index, based on unpublished material provided by Professor Phelps Brown, demonstrates, on a scale where 1450= 100, that they reached between 250 and 350 in the 1580s and 1590s (177).

The economic depression England then faced was caused not only by internal factors but also by events abroad: the conquest of Ireland and especially the military offensive by the Duke of Parma in the Low Countries. The cloth export to Antwerp was the important branch of the English trade, monopolized by the Merchant Adventurers in the city. The capitulation of Antwerp on 17 August 1585 and the consequent blockade of the River Scheldt by the Duke caused a sharp decline of the cloth exports to the Low Countries. Furthermore, Elizabeth's decision to aid the Dutch resulted in increasing tax demands. On 5 August 1585, for instance, the Queen agreed with the Dutch to send 4,000 foot and 400 horse to relieve Antwerp and to pay them some 600,000 florins a year. She eventually agreed to contribute 1,000 horse and 6,350 foot (178). In all, during the last twelve years of her reign the war cost her £3.5 million (179).

In those circumstances riots were almost inevitable. Although it would appear that there is practically no evidence of deaths from starvation during the famine of 1596-8 in the county, riots in Kent occurred, as stated above in this chapter. But rioters did not only appear on the streets of Kent. Similar events took place at

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(175) R. Ashton, Reformation and Revolution 1558-1660

(London, 1985), p.89.

(176) D.C. Coleman, The Economy of England 1450 - 1750

(Oxford, 1977), p.23.

(177) Ibid., p.22.

(178) G. Parker, Dutch Revolt, p.217.

(179) P. Williams, Tudor Regime, p.75.

Gloucester, Basingstoke, Maldon (180), and an attempted revolt in Oxfordshire shook the Privy Council (181). There were disturbances in London in 1590, 1592 and 1595 (182).

It must be stressed, however, that the severe depression of the 1590s was not just an English phenomenon. In fact, the crisis affected the European Continent: there were revolts in France (Croquants), Austria (1594-7), the Ukraine (1593) and Hungary (1597) (183).

Throughout the sixteenth century the Crown endeavoured to control the food supply by:

1. preventing the export of grain overseas in time of shortage;
2. encouraging the import of grain in times of dearth;
3. trying to ensure that all home-grown corn should be brought to the markets and sold at a fair price;
4. attempting to ensure that corn was moved from well-supplied regions of the realm to those in need;
5. allowing corn to be exported overseas within reason when abundant (184).

But the war in the Low Countries took its toll: grain was continuously to be sent 'for the relieffe of Her Mejesties subiects in the Low Countries', thus creating a shortage in England and an inevitable rise in prices, which was made worse by the depression. At the end of December 1588, for instance, the government transported some 300 quarters of wheat from Sandwich alone to the army in the Netherlands (185).

On occasions transport of goods to the Continent created additional political and economic tension. An incident of that nature occurred in 1584 between Sandwich and Dover on

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(180) P. Clark, 'English country towns', 14.

(181) D.M. Palliser, Age of Elizabeth, p.27; P. Williams, Tudor Regime, pp.327-8.

(182) P. Williams, Tudor Regime, pp.328-30.

(183) *Ibid.*, p.327.

(184) *Ibid.*, p.187.

(185) PRO, SP15/30/127.

the one side and the States of Holland and Zeeland on the other. Ships belonging to the Cinque Ports of Sandwich and Dover had been sent to Flushing. On their arrival the States of Holland and Zeeland confiscated the ships and their freight. As soon as the news reached Sandwich the Mayor and other inhabitants of the town - most likely the owners of the ships - petitioned the Queen for the release and return of the ships and their cargo. Between August and November intense correspondence was exchanged between the Privy Council, Walsingham, Lord Cobham and the States of Holland and Zeeland, from which it appears that the ships were sent against the edict and proclamations issued by the Queen, 'going (as was said) to victual our enemies', and thus were liable for confiscation. On 18 September Lord Cobham wrote to Walsingham:

'The Frenshe fynde suche favor as uppon small requeste xxiiiity of their sayle were delyvered withoute losse or any thing taken from them. The continuall and lamentable complaynts of these our coste men moveth me to recomende their causes unto you. The losse is so great that the Mayor and Thomas Nowell with other doo sustayne that it is their overtrowe and the utter impoverishinge of their wives and children. I doo moste earnestly recomende their causes unto you' (186)

The outcome of this incident is unknown.

In view of the disastrous depression of the 1580s and 1590s it therefore comes as no surprise that in the particular circumstances the 'wrath' of the English inhabitants turned against the Strangers - especially the well-off - some times even indirectly supported by the local authorities. Moreover, 'English foreign policy was dictated more by the pattern of English cloth exports than

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(186) PRO, SP12/173/17; see S.C. Lomas (ed.), Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, August 1584 - August 1585 (London, 1916), pp.25, 76, 145.

by consideration of religion or the balance of power', D.M. Palliser concludes (187). In 1587, for instance, two years after the capitulation of Antwerp, the Dutch had become anxious to re-establish the English wool and cloth trade in the Low Countries, a policy supported by Leicester. But the Privy Council encouraged the Merchant Adventurers to increase their export to Emden (188).

In December 1566 the clothworkers of London complained against the exportation of Kentish cloths: all coloured cloths, except Kentish cloths, were not to be exported abroad until fully finished. A letter to the Queen dated 21 December 1566 and written by Sir William Garrard, recommended that no further licence be issued for the export of unfinished Kentish cloth. The Queen accepted the recommendation (189) which severely affected the textile industry in Kent. A memorandum to Lord Cobham dated 1575 and drafted by authors unknown requested the emendation of the Statute of 1566 as it had brought decay to the cloth trade in Kent:

1. it was estimated that the Weald of Kent produced some 11 - 12,000 cloth per annum. Out of each cloth came 50/- for the relief of the poor such as spinners, weavers, etc., amounting to between £25,000 and £26,000 per year for them;

2. the localities in Kent where cloth was manufactured had become so densely populated that the land was only able to maintain half of them;

3. clothing in the Weald of Kent was the 'nurse of the people'. Maintaining clothing meant maintaining the people; if the cloth industry were in decay, so were the people;

4. Cranbrook was now producing 1,000 cloths less than in 1573 and 1574; therefore a great number of people were losing their livelihood and consequently idleness and poverty were increasing daily;

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(187) D.M. Palliser, Age of Elizabeth, p.278.

(188) Conyers Read, Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth  
(London, 1965), p.132.

(189) PRO, SP12/41/50.



5. the memorandum requested that Kentish cloth be exempted of the Statute of 1566, which had forbidden the export of unfinished coloured cloth abroad;

6. should the prohibition on export of Kentish cloth continue, the inhabitants of the Low Countries would make and dress their own cloth instead of buying them cheap from English merchants, thus bringing further decay to the county of Kent (190).

In June 1572 Parliament enacted that as from 1 April the following year aliens or Strangers, born outside the realm, who sold by retail any linen cloth, napery, canvas, hollands, camricks or similar material in London or within three miles of the capital or corporate town or market, would have their goods confiscated; however they were allowed to sell the above named material by retail for the purpose of transferring it to shirts, smocks, bands, kuffs, napkins or other varieties (191). In 1591 a parliamentary bill was proposed to limit the trading right of aliens, but the strong opposition of many MP's caused it to be withdrawn (192).

##### 5. The organisation of the Sandwich Strangers' textile trade.

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Unfortunately the extant records about the organisation of the textile industry among the Flemish refugees at Sandwich are less informative than those available to Norwich. Nevertheless, we believe that the available material, replenished with secondary sources, discloses sufficient information for us to shed further light on the organisation of the Sandwich Strangers' textile trade.

In chapter I we established that at least forty-six Flemish exiles who fled to Sandwich originated from

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(190) W. Page, History of Kent, iii, 409.

(191) PRO, SP12/88/35.

(192) D.M. Palliser, Age of Elizabeth, p.382.

Hondschoote (193). There is therefore no doubt in view of the terms of the Letters Patent of 6 July 1561 and of the success of the Hondschoote cloths in Flanders that many of the rules and regulations, if not all, with reference to the Hondschoote sayetterie were to be implemented in Sandwich. This assumption is reinforced by the fact that the majority of the first newcomers at Norwich in 1565 came from Sandwich and immediately started to manufacture Hondschoote says in the city (194).

a. The Hondschoote sayetterie.

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On 8 March 1374, at the time of the decline of the Flemish urban textile industry, the then Count of Flanders, Lodewijk van Male, granted Hondschoote its charter by which this rural town obtained the right to manufacture its says. Say-making had been in the area for quite some time but with that charter the sayetterie of Hondschoote gained public recognition and its organisation was formally established. Henceforth Hondschoote could compete against the towns of Bergues-Saint-Winoc and Veurne. Furthermore, Hondschoote's special manufacturing techniques were to its great advantage and presented the town with an opportunity to develop its role in the Westkwartier.

Although for some time after 1374 Hondschoote's say production remained quite modest the town had already established contacts with Florence by the early fourteenth century. During the course of the following century the production of says at Hondschoote progressed considerably and reached its peak in the sixteenth century: between 1502 and 1508 Hondschoote's say production increased by 15% and between 1551 and 1570 the town exported 1,534,444 says! What medieval weavers did not even dare to dream had now

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(193) See p.28.

(194) E. Kerridge, Textile manufacturers in early modern England (Manchester, 1985), p.60.

become reality. And even though Hondschoote was ransacked in 1582 and its say and cloth hall semi-destroyed by Anjou's troops, say production continued until the eighteenth century, when the industry finally went into decline (195).

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the say production began to increase on a large scale, new regulations for the Hondschoote sayetterie were laid down. According to these the textile workers manufactured four types of cloth:

-) Hondschoote says: these resembled traditional worsteds but were made with a particular method of warping and weaving, then the cloths were lightly fulled and then calendered;

-) gograms: coarse fabrics made from silk or mohair and wool;

-) bombasines: twilled dress-material of worsted, silk or cotton, with worsted weft;

-) passementerie: also called braid; a woven fabric of silk, linen, etc. in the form of a band.

All Hondschoote cloths were manufactured exclusively with combed wool; they used inferior yarn manufactured in the West Flemish countryside and specifically sold in the markets of Veurne, Bergues-Saint-Winoc, Cassel, Lo and Roesbrugge. This yarn was either ordinary yarn (file de trame) or strong yarn used to produce gograms made of two or three yarns milled together (196). The use of high quality English or Spanish wool was strictly forbidden (197).

The 1576 regulations give details about the warp, length

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(195) E. Coornaert, Hondschoote, pp.1-3, 9, 42-3, 73; D. Coleman, 'New Draperies', 422.

(196) E. Coornaert, Hondschoote, p.193.

(197) English and Spanish wool was used in Poperinge, Nieuwerkerke, Bailleul, Nieppe, Eecke, Méteren, Godewaersvelde and Flêtre (Ibid., pp.190, 199). See also D. Coleman, 'New Draperies', 422.

and width of the Hondschoote says: the double broad warps were to have 2,300 threads and were 37/35 aunes à la corde long and 6 1/2 quarters wide. The single broad warps had 1,900 threads, were 34 1/2 aunes long and 6 quarters wide. Fine warps were restrained to fine narrow says, the single ones containing 1,600 threads, 41 aunes à l'ourdisseur long and 3 1/2 quarters and 1 taille wide; the doubles had 1,400 threads and were 1 aune wide (198).

All manufactured cloths were to be submitted to searchers or warrandeurs who had the essential function of controlling the quality of the products. They examined the says either at the manufacturer's workshop or at the cloth hall. Until the middle of the sixteenth century there were five searchers, thereafter sometimes five, sometimes six. The special techniques used for the Hondschoote says required detailed inspection and control at all times in accordance with the requirements of the charter; only the says manufactured for domestic use need not be examined (199).

The masters or drapers occupied the key position in the making of says. The Hondschoote master was the one who distributed the work and in many cases he was also a merchant; he was the self-employed independent producer. The regulations supposedly prohibited the masters from being wage-earners, although in practice this distinction was not always observed. Besides production or manufacture master, the draper could also be master of the preparatory work of the wool. Those drapers were the masters of the entire industrial operation (200).

The masters were allowed to employ apprentices. As already stated the manufacture of Hondschoote says was

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(198) E. Coornaert, Hondschoote, p.218.

(199) Ibid., pp.139, 229.

(200) Ibid., pp.269-70, 273, 354, 375. This in contrast with the English draper who was interposed between workers-masters, manufacturers and the cloth merchants who concentrated on distant commerce.

subject to very strict rules and regulations and the apprentices had to observe these meticulously. Apprenticeship with the weavers took two years and there was no age limit: some commenced their apprenticeship as early as ten or eleven years old and some even earlier. Apprenticeship with the fullers also took two years, but the wool workers as such were not at all submitted to rules and regulations, although the combers had one year apprenticeship and had to provide themselves with their own tools (201).

E. Coornaert divides the Hondschoote textile workers into three categories:

-) those who lived in the masters' house and used his tools; they were either piece-workers or received a daily wage;

-) those who worked in a workshop, but had their own residence; they were probably piece-workers;

-) those who worked for a master at home with their own tools or at least hired them; they were certainly piece-workers.

Workers in the third category were the most independent: they were masters of their own work, and some even owned the means of production. They were the sayetteurs in the proper sense of the word (202).

b. Some particulars concerning the organisation of the Strangers' textile industry at Maidstone, Colchester and Norwich.

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α) Maidstone.

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The majority of the Flemish refugees who settled in Maidstone (203), were makers of fine woollen and silk

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(201) Ibid., pp.243, 343-5.

(202) Ibid., pp.399-401.

(203) See V. Morant, 'Maidstone', 211-2.

cloths. In fact, the petition of the Mayor and Jurats to the Privy Council in June 1567 requested makers of says, mockados (mock velvet), grograms, russels (kind of satin), diapers (patterned fabric), damask cloths (reversible figured fabric, originally of silk but later linen and cotton (204).

In 1569 the Corporation of Maidstone decreed that all cloths manufactured by the Strangers were to be sealed after examination by two searchers, one English and one Stranger born. Later, the 'Sandwich procedure' was implemented (205). The exiles who settled at Maidstone also had to teach their trade to English as well as to Stranger apprentices (206).

The cloth industry as such did not accomplish very much at Maidstone. Here, it was the thread-making industry which developed to such an extent that by the seventeenth century Maidstone had become the principal centre of manufacture (207).

#### β) Colchester.

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Although the settlement of Strangers at Colchester was only authorised in 1571 newcomers had arrived before that year. They were mainly cordwainers and clothworkers with some hopplanters. But after 1571 the cloth industry came to dominate the town (208).

The exiles at Colchester were given the Bay Hall where English as well as their own cloths were searched and sealed, and they were granted the power to make and alter their 'New Draperies' statutes (209).

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(204) E. Kerridge, Textile manufacturers, pp.70, 79.

(205) For details, see below in this chapter p.224-5.

(206) V. Morant, 'Maidstone', 212-3.

(207) C.W. Chalklin, Kent, p.128; D. Coleman, 'New Draperies', 427.

(208) N. Goose, 'Colchester', 266.

(209) *Ibid.*, 226; D.L. Rickwood, 'Norwich', 124.

Like the 'New Draperies' in other exile communities in England, those manufactured at Colchester were made either from combed long-staple wools or a mixture of woollen yarns or even worsted and silk. The Colchester Strangers not only produced their baize but also sackcloth and passementerie (210).

A document dated 17 December 1594 informs us of the weight, quality and prices of various types of cloth manufactured by the Strangers at Colchester, Norwich and Sandwich. The Colchester single baize was to have between 54 and 60 threads and weigh 27lb; three single baize were to weigh 81lb. The Colchester double baize contained 68 threads and was to weigh 32lb; a baize and a half was to weigh 48lb. The 68 Colchester single baize was to be approximately 36 yards long and to be sold at 16d. per yard; three single baize were to be sold at £7 4s. The 68 Colchester double baize had the same length and one and a half was to be sold at £4 10s (211).

τ) Norwich.

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Most Strangers who arrived in Norwich in 1565 came directly from Sandwich but they were soon reinforced by others coming from London or directly from the Continent, involving many Walloons. Right from the beginning the city took control of the process of searching and sealing so that the 'Dutch' and Walloon leaders in fact were only given a delegated responsibility (212). The church of St. Mary the Less was turned into the sale hall where cloths were to be searched and sealed (213). The Norwich Strangers' textile industry had thirty masters, twenty-four

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(210) D. Coleman, Economy England, p.80; E. Kerridge, Textile manufacturers, pp.70, 79.

(211) R.H. Tawney & E. Power, Tudor Economic Documents (London, 1965, 3rd impression), i, pp.218-9.

(212) D.L. Rickwood, 'Norwich', 124-5.

(213) W.C.J. Moens, Norwich, p.74.

'Dutch' and six Walloons.

The Norwich Strangers manufactured no less than twenty-nine types of 'New Draperies'. Amongst them we find mockados, passementerie and bombasines (214). The size, length, etc. of their baize were the same as those produced by the refugees at Colchester (215). The 'Dutch'-made baize were classed as 'wet and greasy', the Walloon baize 'dry and coloured' (216). In 1575 all says were to be woven of dry and no longer of oiled yarn. Worsted for the weft of the Hondschoote says was bought locally (217).

Various ordinances and decrees were issued by the city Council in connection with the organisation of the Strangers' textile industry. In 1571 four wardens, two English, one 'Dutch' and one Walloon, were appointed to search the passementerie (218). On 13 August 1576 the dyers were ordered to put their marks on the goods they dyed; on 10 October of the same year it was decreed that twelve masters were to be added to the four wardens for the sayetterie. From 21 August of the following year mockadoes were to be manufactured with two threads of flax and two of say, as it appeared that some Strangers were cheating. On 1 July 1578 the Council ordered that cloths were to be sealed by the appointed wardens three days a week between 9am and 1pm as previous to that date many Strangers did not turn up to have their products sealed. On 10 August 1580 lace and knitted hose were to be searched and sealed; that same year it was decreed that all cloths not sealed were to be seized (219).

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(214) E. Kerridge, Textile manufacturers, pp.60, 63, 70, 73; W.J.C. Moens, Norwich, p.74; N.J. Williams, 'Two documents concerning the New Draperies', Ec. HR, 2nd series, iv (1951-2), 354.

(215) See above in this chapter p.210, 213..

(216) D.L. Rickwood, 'Norwich', 125.

(217) E. Kerridge, Textile manufacturers, p.60.

(218) W.J.C. Moens, Norwich, p.76.

(219) Ibid., pp.74-8.



On 25 January 1577 the Council issued a decree as regards apprenticeship and imposed the custom of the city upon the Strangers: no boy or girl above the age of fourteen, except their own children, were to knit hose, make lace, etc. unless these young people were lawfully bound as apprentices. Furthermore, no Stranger was to weave lace or mockadoes unless he had served first as an apprentice (220).

c. Sandwich.

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α) The masters and apprentices.

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(1561) '...these immediately repaired to Sandwich, to the number men, and women, and children, of 406 persons; of which eight were only masters in the trade', thus E. Hasted states (221). Evidently the author derived the number of masters in Sandwich from a document signed by minister Jacob de Buyzere, dated 28 November 1561, entitled: 'Hi qui sequuntur, numero octo, sunt opificiorum magistri seu prefecti' and published by William Boys (222). But the latter apparently did not publish the document in full (223) and Hasted overlooked the preceding letter, edited on the same page by Boys, dated 21 July 1561 and signed by Archbishop Matthew Parker, Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London, and William Cobham, and giving the names of twenty-five Strangers being recommended by the undersigned to settle in Sandwich. That these twenty-five Strangers are

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(220) Ibid., p.77.

(221) E. Hasted, The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent (Canterbury, 1778-99), iv, p.253. E. Kerridge also quotes eight masters using the same source as E. Hasted (Textile manufacturers, p.185).

(222) W. Boys, Sandwich, p.741.

(223) The original document can no longer be traced and has been lost or mislaid.

the twenty-five masters is confirmed by the two 1563 lists which give the masters the same names as those in the letter of 21 July 1561: seventeen masters are related to baize-making and eight to say-making (224). Ten years later only three of them were still in Sandwich as masters; the remaining twenty-two had all been replaced (225).

It comes as no surprise that out of these forty-seven masters at least thirty-nine originated from the Westkwartier, where they had been active in the manufacture process of the Flemish 'New Draperies'. Furthermore, of the twenty-two new masters named in the 1573 Stranger's list nine were already employed as say and baize workers in Sandwich ten years earlier (226).

The Sandwich master had much in common with the Hondschoote master. It should be noticed, for instance, that the masters of the Flemish refugees seem to have followed the Hondschoote rule that no master should be a wage-earner. A possible exception could have been Jan de Brune, alias Maude, who also practised the occupation of sackcloth weaver. However it is uncertain whether he exercised the work as self-employed or as wage-earner. Like those at Hondschoote some of the Stranger masters were also merchants, i.e. Franchois Bolle, Thomas Bateman, Jacob Vierendeel and Joannes van der Slaert. C.W. Chalklin describes the function of the master weaver at Sandwich as that of entrepreneur and manufacturer, under whose roof the chief production process was being conducted (227). Some of them had one broad loom, others two broad looms, two narrow looms, ten lace looms, two broad and six narrow looms or

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(224) For the names of these masters, see M. Backhouse, 'Sandwich 1563', 84-113.

(225) For the names of these masters, see M. Backhouse, 'Sandwich 1573', 238-40.

(226) These were Jan Basset, Ghelein Beke, Jacob de Brune, Jan Beyaert, Carel de Raedt, Jacob de Meyer, Pieter van de Walle, Gillis Ael and Joos van Eecke.

(227) C.W. Chalklin, Kent, p.126.

lace looms only (228). This position continued in the seventeenth century: in 1644, for instance, master Jacob de Vinck, descendant of Sandwich refugee Gillis de Vinke (229), manufactured linsey woolsey and some bays and says. He possessed two linsey woolsey looms as well as ingredients for cleansing and dying (230).

We possess little information about the apprentices except the details disclosed in the two 1563 name lists and a few rare references in the unprinted sources.

-) baize workers:

The name list dated 8 September 1563 gives the names of 155 apprentices divided into seventeen groups, one group per master, in the following manner: four groups had eleven apprentices, three groups had ten, three groups had nine, five groups had eight and two groups had seven (231). The second name list, undoubtedly drafted later that year or possibly even in 1564, shows five groups with twelve apprentices, two groups with eleven, five groups with ten and five groups with nine apprentices, thus totalling 177. In the latter list the following heading is to be read from the seventh group onwards: 'Opifices baej. Hii reliqui magistri opificii baej qui sequuntur nondum habent famulorum numerum plenum' (232). This endorsement clearly indicates that a master was allowed to have twelve apprentices, a number which coincides remarkably with the maximum of household numbers, i.e. working units as discussed in chapter I above (233), allowed in the Letters Patent of 6 July 1561.

It must also be noted that despite the increased number of refugees, the number of masters in both 1563 and 1573 remains at twenty-five, the number permitted under the

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(228) E. Kerridge, Textile manufacturers, p.185.

(229) See vol II, no. 1760, p.265.

(230) C.W. Chalklin, Kent, 126.

(231) M. Backhouse, 'Sandwich 1563', 84-104.

(232) Ibid., p.107.

(233) See p.40.

original Letters Patent. Although we did not find clear evidence, it appears that the Strangers were responsible for increasing the number of apprentices in a 'household'. None of the consulted sources, e.g. the Sandwich Year Books, contain information proving the opposite. This could therefore explain why they could obey the letter of the original Patent, while in practice they were expanding the size of the community.

-) say workers:

In the list of 8 September 1563 we find eight groups of say workers, again one group per master, divided as follow: two groups with eleven apprentices, one group with ten, one group with nine, one group with eight and three groups with six, numbering a total of sixty-seven say worker apprentices. The second list contains the names of eighty-three apprentices spread over eight groups: three groups with twelve, two groups with ten and three groups with nine. The three groups with twelve apprentices are marked numerum 12, while the remaining groups have no endorsement at all. Like the master-baize worker the master-say worker appears also to have been allowed twelve apprentices.

Little or nothing is known about the working and living conditions of the Strangers in the Cinque Port. But as the influx increased during the years there was presumably a shortage of adequate accommodation in the town. Surprisingly, there is hardly any reference to the matter in the sources. There is however an allusion to the problem in the letter of minister Jacob de Buyzere of 1562 mentioned in chapter I above (234). A further reference to the problem can be found in the survey of 1565 in which it is stated that seven persons, amongst whom three merchants, are homeless in Sandwich, although the survey does not reveal whether they were local inhabitants or Strangers (235).

Since the size of the refugee community fluctuated

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(234) See p.41.

(235) KAO, Sa/ZB3/24.

sharply after 1567 - depending on events in Flanders - we may suppose great instability in the accommodation and employment in the Cinque Port; often the refugees had to move house in Sandwich itself. It would therefore be implausible to suppose that the harmonious and quiet working condition of master and apprentices living and working under the same roof, which allegedly marked the early days of settlement, continued. Nevertheless, despite the dense situation we need not, on the other hand, imagine that harmony vanished altogether; it simply became less common. Although many apprentices rented accommodation from the local freemen, some still worked in their master's house, as we know from the case of Michiel van Strasseele in 1585, discussed earlier in this chapter (236). On that occasion local inhabitants of the town raided his house because they thought Flemish tailors were at work there.

β) The correlation between the Strangers' occupation and the wards in which they resided.

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An examination of the distribution of the exiles in the town fails to reveal any particular pattern to the settlement and no evidence that certain occupations connected with the 'New Draperies' were concentrated in particular wards (237): the baize workers for example did not live cheek-by-jowl in the same part of the town. In our analysis of the distribution of the Strangers' population across Sandwich's twelve wards we have taken as our source the 1573 name list since the 1570-2 'fforren' money lists do not provide sufficient evidence; the 1574 name list is incomplete.

According to the document in question, which has the Flemish refugees listed per ward, their population in Sandwich was distributed as follow:

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(236) See p.183.

(237) The boundaries of the wards in the sixteenth century are not known. Presentday Sandwich has no wards.

1st ward: 69 names (65 members of the congregation, 4 non-members)  
 2nd ward: 20 names (16 members and 4 non-members)  
 3rd ward: 76 names (64 and 12)  
 4th ward: 33 names (24 and 9)  
 5th ward: 29 names (24 and 5)  
 6th ward: 20 names (17 and 3)  
 7th ward: 15 names (13 and 2)  
 8th ward: 35 names (30 and 5)  
 9th ward: 24 names (21 and 3)  
 10th ward: 33 names (30 and 3)  
 11th ward: 32 names (25 and 7)  
 12th ward: 50 names (43 and 7)

The above table shows clearly that the Flemish Strangers were concentrated in the highest numbers in the 1st, 3rd and 12th ward, which obviously makes us assume that the local population chiefly resided in the remaining wards. But what about the Walloon population? On the basis of the 1574 name list -assumed complete- the Walloon population at Sandwich was distributed as follows:

3rd ward: 68 persons	8th ward: 73 persons
4th ward: 55 persons	9th ward: 45 persons
5th ward: 58 persons	10th ward: 19 persons
6th ward: 28 persons	11th ward: 44 persons
7th ward: 34 persons	12th ward: 35 persons

Although the 1574 name list is not really comparable with the 1573 one of the Flemings, we note that the Walloon exiles were highly concentrated in the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 8th ward.

What immediately attracts our attention is that the 3rd ward, Loop Street and neighbouring streets, and the 12th ward, Sandown Road and neighbouring streets, are situated against the town walls (238). Jacob Casier and Pieter van

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(238) See vol.III, map III, pp.9-10.

Dycke (239) lived in the 3rd ward in houses 'upon the walls' (240). This leads us to conclude that a large number, if not the majority, of the Flemish, and undoubtedly some of the Walloon, community resided outside the town centre, many of them probably in slum dwellings. It is logical that the highest number of textile workers coincides with the wards where the Flemish refugee population was mainly distributed, but in Sandwich there was no correlation between the Strangers' occupation and the ward in which they lived.

τ) The manufacturing process of the Strangers' 'new' and light draperies at Sandwich.

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Unfortunately the sources throw very little light on the manufacturing process of the Strangers' cloths, but we may assume that this manner will have been very similar to the one used in their native country, more specifically Hondschoote, and other refugee communities such as Norwich and Colchester. What we do know is that selected baize wool, oiled with butter, made the wefts and that the warps were made of wheelspun fleece wool. Their baize contained nothing but virgin fleece wool which made them dye well and take crimson excellently (241). In 1599 apparently the woolcombers first prepared the wool, then the yarn was sold on market days to supply the need of those making baize says, grograms, etc. (242).

Sporadic references in unpublished and published sources, complemented with the findings of E. Kerridge and other relevant studies also bring to light what types of cloths the Sandwich Strangers produced. We know for certain that soon after their settlement in the Cinque Port they manufactured stammel jerseys: already in 1563 they exported

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(239) See vol.II, nos.386, 588, pp.67, 94.

(240) KAO, Sa/Ac5, fo.83-vo.

(241) E. Kerridge, Textile manufacturers, p.96.

(242) C.W. Chalklin, Kent, p.126.

them (243). They also introduced the fabrication of flannel and produced striped canvas (244). They also manufactured grograms, sackcloths, sometimes striped and always composed of mixed flax and silk, carrells (245), bombasines, passementerie (246), silk lace and other laces (247).

The success of their baize industry is demonstrated by the fact that in the 1570s and even in the difficult 1580s Sandwich manufactured between 2,000 and 5,000 baize per year; the Strangers alone shipped out approximately 2,000 (248).

In the 1550s Kent broadcloths were to be 28 to 30 yards long and the heaviest to weigh at least 90lb (249). After the arrival of the Strangers the Sandwich double baize of 100 threads were to weigh approximately 46lb. and, at a rating of one and one and a half for three single baize, a baize and a half weighed 69lb. The Sandwich double baize of 80 threads were to weigh 38lb. and, at a rating of one and one and a half for three single baize, one baize and a half weighed 57lb. The 100 baize was approximately 36 yards long and was to be sold at 3/- per yard, the value of one and a half baize being £8 2s.. The 80 baize had the same length and was to be sold at 2/4d. per yard., the value of one and a half baize being £6 6s. (250). According to E. Kerridge the Sandwich Strangers originally probably only made baize of 54, 60 and 68 threads (251). The 80 and 100 threads

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(243) E. Kerridge, Textile manufacturers, p.111.

(244) KAO, Sa/Ac5, fo.41-vo; W. Boys, Sandwich, p.742.

(245) E. Kerridge, Textile manufacturers, p.70. The Sandwich carrells were not made in velours but probably formed by means of diaper weavers in large patterns (loc. cit.).

(246) Loc. cit.

(247) KAO, Sa/Ac5, fo.41-vo.

(248) G.D. Ramsey, Woollen Industry, p.13.

(249) Loc. cit.

(250) R.H. Tawney & E. Power, Tudor Documents, i, pp.218-9.

(251) E. Kerridge, Textile manufacturers, p.96.



which were finer, longer and wider than the others, came much later, the 100's being invented in the 1570s. They were the first baize to be warped with 100 threads. The same author states that the name 'singles' and 'doubles', the lowest and the highest sort, was used incorrectly by the English (252).

Details of how the Flemish exiles' cloths were searched and sealed at Sandwich appear from a document dated July 1594 (253). For the office of searching and sealing the Strangers chose among themselves twelve men 'of the discreetest and best skill'. The inspection and control was carried out at the hall during certain hours of the day (254). On pain of a fine the manufacturers were required by the rules to weave at the end of each baize four 'leades'. The baize were inspected twice: the first time they came from the loom before being fullled, the second time after the fulling process. The searchers had three seals set upon the cloths. The first which bore the Crown's seal was issued on the authority of the alnager, to whom they paid a yearly composition for the use of the seal. The second seal indicated the locality of production; Sandwich in 1594 received 2d. for every piece sealed. The third seal denoted the number of threads in the warp, i.e. the quality. The best quality received a seal with a ship, the second best a seal with a rose and the third best a seal with a 'fleur de lis'. This procedure was carried out in accordance with some informal international agreement or understanding for the same conventions were used in the Low Countries, Spain, Barbary and elsewhere. These conventions enabled cloth buyers to recognise the quality of the product

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(252) Loc. cit.

(253) I am grateful to Dr. S. McKendrick, Curator of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, London, for providing me with a photocopy of the document (HMC 9: Salisbury (Cecil) MSS, iv, pp.573-4).

(254) The exact hours of inspection and control are not known.

immediately. There was also 'an order of viewing and sealing them, being white' for other cloths such as grograms; thereafter they were taken to London to be sold and dyed.

δ) From where did the Sandwich Strangers obtain their wool?

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'Very little raw wool was imported into England before 1750, so that the growth and change in the textile trades had to be encompassed in the domestic production of fleeces. Wool-growing probably lost its competitive lead over other products by the late-sixteenth century...', thus B.A. Holderness elaborates the English wool problem in the sixteenth century (255). But we know that within two years of their settlement in Sandwich the Flemish refugees were already exporting stammel jerseys. As E. Kerridge states: '...it is inconceivable that they developed it from scratch over here in a town where no baize and little cloth of any description had previously been made' (256). As we also have seen, an even more remarkable characteristic was that wherever in England the Flemings settled their manufactured textile products were very much the same or at least very similar to the ones produced in the Flemish Westkwartier. So where did their wool come from?

There is no doubt whatsoever that in the initial stages, and even later, the Flemish refugees, as we have set out above in this chapter, frequently returned to their homeland to obtain the necessary raw materials and other commodities (257). But the Flemings also imported yarn: Jan van den Berghe, a cotton merchant from Hondschoote, who fled to Sandwich in 1567, imported yarn from the Westkwartier which he sold in England in the early 1560s

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(255) B.A. Holderness, Pre-Industrial England. Economy and Society 1500 - 1750 (London, 1976), p.71.

(256) E. Kerridge, Textile manufacturers, p.94.

(257) See p.159.

(258). According to E. Kerridge, in the early days of their arrival at Sandwich the Strangers imported their baize yarn through Dunkirk, their combing wool also came from Flanders and their worsted mainly from Béthune (259). The Sandwich local authorities knew and permitted this trade according to the decree of 24 February 1570, i.e. that no Stranger might sell by retail any merchandize whatsoever brought from abroad, e.g. baize yarn and household articles (260). Whether tools and other utensils related to the baize and say industry were included in or considered as household articles is uncertain.

Wool and yarn were not only imported from Flanders. P.J. Bowden (261), C.W. Chalklin (262) and E. Kerridge (263) all agree that Sandwich was also provided with inland wool from the Saltings Country and the Midland plain, but chiefly from Romney Marsh. The good feeding on the rich soil of the Marsh produced longer wool of greater quantity but of poorer quality. This kind of wool was also fit for combing and therefore for the manufacture of the 'New Draperies' (264). The Sandwich combers processed the full wool and fleeces bought from Romney Marsh (265).

Wool trading in England was extremely complex as the wool was sold, resold, combed, etc on all sides. So the Sandwich - and Canterbury - 'combers and converters retained the coarser carding grades that came their way and resold the finer ones to makers of carded woollens who for their part had coarse fibres to dispose of' (266). Sandwich

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(258) Cousse-maker, i, p.353.

(259) E. Kerridge, Textile manufacturers, p.148.

(260) See above in this chapter, p.168.

(261) P.J. Bowden, The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England (London, 1971, new edition), pp.35, 39.

(262) C.W. Chalklin, Kent, pp.124-5.

(263) E. Kerridge, Textile manufacturers, p.145.

(264) C.W. Chalklin, Kent, pp.124-5.

(265) E. Kerridge, Textile manufacturers, p.155.

(266) *Ibid.*, p.147.

and Canterbury were served largely by Flemish wool dealers who bought their wool within the county (267).

Another way of obtaining or exporting wool was less conventional, namely smuggling. In about 1582 such allegations were made in two particular cases. A certain Thomas Clarke, clothier of Malden in Essex who sold wool to the merchant Strangers, bought great quantities of wool with their money and shipped the same to Malden for the purpose of making cloth. He then secretly re-shipped the wool to the Continent, after he had obtained a certificate at the Malden Custom House to the effect that the wool had been discharged there. Clarke transported shiploads of wool to Malden, Sandwich, Colchester, Milton and Faversham in English hoys and barks, deliberately misnaming the ships, masters, mariners and freight. In this way he could ship wool to the Continent without licence or customs (268).

The second case concerns a London Stranger, Symon Desterke. He regularly travelled to Milton, Faversham, Rye, Sandwich, Colchester and other places, where he became acquainted with the officers in the Custom Houses. In each of those localities he had English and Stranger agents for the purpose of buying and conveying wool and other things on behalf of merchant Strangers, mainly the wealthiest, and to transport wool from London and to towns where cloth and baize makers dwelled, e.g. Sandwich, Dover, Rye, Colchester, Yarmouth, Faversham, etc. without paying any licence or custom (269). Though there is no evidence to prove that other fraudulent merchants were active in Sandwich, the possibility cannot be ruled out.

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(267) *Ibid.*, pp.152-3.

(268) R.H. Tawney & E. Power, Tudor Documents, i, pp.193-6.

(269) *Loc. cit.*

CHAPTER IV: WEALTH AND POVERTY. SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND  
THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE STRANGER  
COMMUNITIES AT SANDWICH

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1. The socio-economic situation in the Flemish Westkwartier in the second half of the sixteenth century: social stratification and the cost of living of the local population.

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As the majority of the Sandwich Strangers originated from the Westkwartier of Flanders it seems only logical to begin this chapter with an examination of the socio-economic situation in that region at the time when they left to settle in England.

By 1560 Calvinism in the Westkwartier had developed into a mass movement, and the region played a central role during the Troubles in the Low Countries (1). The immediate question is what had made the population of the Westkwartier, to a greater extent than anywhere in the Southern Provinces, so receptive to the 'new religion'?

As we have already seen, industrial and commercial activity in the Flemish Westkwartier had increased considerably as a result of the success of the 'new' and light draperies during the first half of the sixteenth century. But during the 1550s especially the southern part of the region (2), suffered severely from repeated economic fluctuations which resulted in enormous price rises. Merchants and producers aggravated the difficulties by withholding foodstuffs - mainly grain - from the home market and diverting these for export. These dearths were accompanied by mass unemployment, poverty and a sharp drop

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(1) See Ch.V below, pp.289.

(2) Among others towns and villages such as Nieuwkerke, Boeschepe, Steenvoorde, Reningelst, Westouter, Dranouter (see vol.III, map I, pp.5-6).

in the nominal wages (3).

The population of the Westkwartier was deeply affected by the commercial 'capitalist revolution' of the sixteenth century in the Netherlands. This economic transformation created at the top of the social ladder a new breed of 'bourgeois', the fortune-hunters, the so-called 'individualists', who controlled both the economic life and the local administration (4).

Also, the success of the international commerce in the Low Countries had resulted in a sort of euphoria about the future, itself the result of the increased bargaining power of the middle-class. But the consequences of the Anglo-Netherlands trade conflict in 1563-4 had a devastating effect in the Netherlands and threatened the middle-class. 'Poverty does not necessarily lead to revolt or open

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(3) See C. Verlinden, J. Craeybeckx & E. Scholliers, 'Mouvements des prix et des salaires en Belgique au XVIe siècle', Annales: économies, sociétés et civilisations (1955), x, 192.

(4) A typical illustration of this new phenomenon was the bailiff of Hondschoote who executed his function between 1550 and 1560: he was a merchant and an important money-lender, whose family in 1469 had been described as very poor (E. Coornaert, Hondschoote, p.423). It often happened that a merchant also was a manufacturer, thus increasing his socio-economic and political power. Two examples of these merchant-entrepreneurs were Jan Sorbreucq and Michiel Godschalck of Hondschoote. The latter not only exported says but also owned a dye-works factory. Between 1552 and 1569 Sorbreucq and Godschalck alone exported an average of 39% per annum of the total say production in the town. At a certain time a third merchant, Jan Wils, also exported approximately 30%. This means that between 60% to 65% of the say export of Hondschoote rested in the hands of just three persons! (M. Backhouse, 'Beeldenstorm en Bosgeuzen', 50-2).

revolution; when, on the contrary, amid the euphoria of a secular or interdecennial expansion, prosperity is suddenly threatened by an economic slump or a famine crisis, such a threat above all then strikes the middle-class, who can be considered to be the most important nerve of the affluent state', thus Herman Van der Wee (5). The author thus argues, very much with Antwerp in mind, that the deterioration experienced by the unskilled mattered less than the sudden reversal in the position of the skilled workers. These had benefitted from the favourable economic situation immediately after 1559, but their prosperity was shortlived. The trade embargo followed by the dearth threw large numbers out of work. These skilled workers had developed a degree of educational emancipation in the early sixteenth century and a significant proportion proved receptive to the Reformation.

The intellectual emancipation process also developed in the industrial Westkwartier mainly because of its constant contact with towns and cities, especially Antwerp, and found its resonance for instance in its sophisticated system of schooling. There also the Reformation appealed to the educationally emancipated. But more than elsewhere in the Netherlands they joined the ranks of the unskilled and made them perceptive to the 'new religion'.

The position of those at the bottom of the social hierarchy also underwent changes. Until the middle of the century highly-skilled labourers - textile workers as well as others - enjoyed a relatively high standard of living. There are no traces of social unrest in the Westkwartier during that period. Even the unskilled labourers remained quiescent. But from the 1550s the recurring economic crises caused wages to decline in real terms, and the slightest stagnation in trade and industry resulted in the skilled

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(5) H. Van der Wee, 'De economie als factor bij het begin van de opstand in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden', Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden, lxxxiii (1969), 25.

labourers suffering the same fate of the unskilled; eventually the skilled labourers became indistinguishable from the unskilled and together they formed a single new class, namely the so-called 'pre-industrial proletariat'. The relation between draper and weaver had developed into the relation capitalist-hired labourer (6). In 1565, a year in which grain prices in Flanders rocketed, neither unskilled labourers nor cloth workers received a wage adjustment which might have helped them to overcome the dearths. Furthermore, although the income of the unskilled labourers normally amounted to approximately 60% of the skilled labourers, in 1565 it dropped to 44% (7).

But if the labourers and artisans were affected on the one hand by the rising cost of grain and rent increases, and on the other by low wages as a result of cut throat competition, the combined effect of which reduced standards of living, so too after 1556-7 were the middle-class who sank to the ranks of the 'proletariat', many of whom in turn had been forced into vagrancy (8).

In previous studies and publications we have analysed the social composition of the participants in four major events of the Troubles in the Westkwartier: the public sermon at Boeschepe (9), the hedge preachings in the region (10), the Iconoclastic Fury (11) and the activities of the Wood Beggars (12). We came to the following conclusions:

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(6) E. Coornaert, Hondschoote, pp.421-2, 429-30.

(7) E. Scholliers, 'Vrije en Onvrije arbeiders, voornamelijk te Antwerpen, in de 16de eeuw', Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden, x (1956), 4, 311.

(8) E. Coornaert, Hondschoote, p.426.

(9) M. Backhouse, 'Boeschepe', 204-11.

(10) M. Backhouse, 'Korte peiling naar de sociale stratificatie van de toehoorders der hagepreken in het Westkwartier in 1566'. Unpublished article to be edited by WGJ in 1992.

(11) M. Backhouse, 'Beeldenstorm en Bosgeuzen', 102-11.

(12) *Ibid.*, 128-32.



a. the public sermon at Boeschepe:

Ninety-eight persons are known to have attended the sermon and there is sufficient information in the case of sixty-two to enable us to discover the social background. Analysing these in terms of livelihood, value of the confiscated goods and the fines included in the verdict of the trial, it was clear that, with a few exceptions, those present at the sermon were drawn from the lower classes in society, the majority being without property, including members of the lower middle-class, who had been reduced to poverty and forced down the social ladder. In both groups 'farmers' predominated.

b. the hedge preachings:

We have identified no fewer than 739 inhabitants of the Westkwartier who attended hedge preachings in the region between May and December 1566 and collected information of 194 of them. These too we have examined in terms of their livelihood, confiscated goods and fines. All groups of society were represented, but two categories - nearly two-thirds of the 194 - were textile workers and other skilled artisans. A third group, the merchant-entrepreneurs, was also strongly represented for the appeal of Calvin's doctrine was not confined to the poor. Once again the majority of auditors belonged to the lower social groups: the property - and penniless 'pre-industrial proletariat' and the lower middle class.

c. the iconoclasts:

We know of 122 iconoclasts of whom forty-seven may be classified on the basis of our information. All social groups participated: the 'pre-industrial proletarians', the lower middle-class as well as the well-off 'bourgeoisie'. The majority were propertyless textile workers (mainly from the Hondschoote agglomeration), including both skilled artisans and unskilled labourers.

d. the Wood Beggars:

Forty-four out of a total of ninety-three activists can be assigned to social categories. Three specific groups emerge: a preponderant group of textile workers, a group of tailors and a heterogeneous group varying from skilled artisans to landowners. Many had come from the Hondschoote area, the Calvinist stronghold of the Westkwartier. The town's industrial and commercial activities reached their peak in 1568 when there was little or no unemployment. So the economic climate does not explain their participation in their war of resistance. In this respect the Wood Beggars differ from the participants in the other three events. Many of the Wood Beggars were sought by the authorities because of their role in the image-breaking and other riots and were therefore virtually unable to find any form of employment in Flanders.

In all four events a cross section of the social hierarchy was represented, but the lower classes were the most numerous. It appears to be difficult to establish any clear causal relationship between occupation and wealth on the one hand and choice of religion on the other. Social distinctions within one and the same professional branch continuously appear. One say worker, for instance, might have no property and be penniless, while another possessed land.

As we shall see in chapter V many of the Sandwich Strangers participated in the Troubles in Flanders in general and the Westkwartier in particular. Before we investigate their social position in Sandwich, we ought to examine their social background in Flanders to see whether there are any similarities with the conclusions reached in the above mentioned events.

Of the 1,950 identified Flemish refugees in Sandwich we have sufficient information to discover the social condition of 139 (13). This information includes the

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(13) As we have the same information of only two Walloons it is impossible to analyse their social condition.

occupation before they fled from the Westkwartier, and makes use of the registers of confiscated goods and fines levied by the courts (14). Those handicaps, however, need not deter us from making an endeavour to shed some light on the social background of the Sandwich Strangers before they left Flanders.

a. Analysis in terms of livelihood:

Of the 139 refugees in question we know the occupation pursued by forty-three before they left Flanders. Occupational data which relate to the period when they were in exile has been left out of account. The following forms of employment are represented:

say workers	4	'farmer'/cloth weavers	1
baize workers	1	'farmers'	3
weavers	3	landowners	1
weavers/cloth shearmen	1	blacksmiths	1
cloth shearmen	1	locksmiths	1
wool combers	1	wheelwrights	1
twisters	1	cobblers	1
yarn and linen weavers	1	carpenters	3
weaver/cloth manufacturers	1	grocers	1
tailors	2	bakers	1
drapers	2	law officers	1
draper/merchants	2	<u>schepenen</u>	1
merchants	4	first sheriffs	1
ministers	1		

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(14) Besides the familiar gaps in the source material it should be remembered that some of these 1,950 would have been born in Sandwich; others might never been fined and/or had their goods confiscated when they fled to England. This explains why we have only succeeded in tracing information for a relatively small proportion.

When divided by category we come to the following result:

labourers and artisans	25 (15)
'farmers'	5
merchant-entrepreneurs	9 (16)
officials	3
clergymen	1

As expected the category of labourers and artisans, in terms of the above analysis, is the largest. However, as was the case with the attendants of the hedge preachings, the number of merchant-entrepreneurs is quite significant. This causes us to ask whether these fled to England on purely religious grounds.

b. Analysis of the value of the confiscated goods:

In the studies and publications referred to above we have explained why the registers of confiscated property can only provide a rough guide to the wealth of those convicted. Nevertheless, they are sufficiently important to summarize them at this point. One must not forget that many Calvinist activists deliberately left or were forced to leave Flanders to avoid arrest or capture by the authorities. Those who only owed a small amount of property could have sold it before they left. The entry néant can therefore mean nothing was found rather than that the condemned had no property. Others, who possessed more, might have sold part of their property, so that only what was left behind would be confiscated. Nor should we forget

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(15) 4 say workers, 1 baize worker, 3 weavers, 1 weaver/  
cloth shearman, 1 cloth shearman, 1 wool comber, 2  
tailors, 1 twister, 1 blacksmith, 1 locksmith, 1  
wheelwright, 2 cobblers, 3 carpenters, 1 grocer, 1  
baker, 1 yarn and linen weaver.

(16) 1 weaver/cloth manufacturer, 2 drapers, 2 draper/  
merchants, 4 merchants, 1 silk merchant.

that some refugees had houses and land in localities other than where they resided, properties we were not able to trace.

One should also be aware that the entries of the confiscated goods, normally being the total raised by sales, in the registers were sometimes written very untidily and inaccurately. Sometimes the unit of currency is not specified. This could give rise to miscalculations because of the discrepancies between the various monies of account, although, particularly in the Westkwartier, the livre parisis was commonly used.

We have subdivided our groups under five headings according to their recorded wealth: a group the value of whose goods is registered as néant, a group known to have possessed property but for which there are no further details, a group for which we have only information about their movables, a fourth group with information only about their immovables and the last group with both details of their movables and immovables.

- the group néant:

In this category we find nineteen refugees. These include one weaver/minister, one weaver/cloth shearman, one merchant, one cloth shearman, one fuller/wool comber, one fuller and one draper.

Those employed in the textile industry are prominent in this group. This confirms what we already know, although it is difficult to accept that a merchant would have no possessions at all. Artisans as well as the middle-class are represented.

- the group with property, but no further details:

In this category we could identify nineteen, amongst whom one 'farmer'/cloth weaver, one weaver/cloth manufacturer, one blacksmith, one silk merchant and one say worker. Artisans, 'farmers' and middle-class are all represented but, as one might expect, the middle-class predominates.

- the group with movables only:

- value between 1 lb. and 100 lb. parisian (between 1/2 and 50 florins or guilders): we could identify five, one whose occupation is unknown, one law officer, one locksmith, one tailor and one draper.

- value between 101 lb and 200 lb. parisian (between 50 and 100 florins or guilders): here we find one tailor, one baize worker and one say worker.

- value between 201 lb. and 300 lb. parisian (between 100 and 150 florins or guilders): one refugee was identified but his occupation is not known.

- value between 301 lb. and 400 lb. parisian (between 150 and 200 florins or guilders): we could trace one wheelwright in this group.

- value between 401 lb. and 500 lb. parisian (between 200 and 250 florins or parisian): we identified one exile whose occupation is unknown.

- the group with immovables only:

- value between 1 lb. and 100 lb.: seven of this group were identified, amongst whom one draper, one draper/merchant, two cobblers, one draper and one carpenter.

- value between 101 lb. and 200 lb.: we traced three, one weaver and two of whom we do not know the occupation.

- value between 201 lb. and 300 lb.: one refugee whose occupation in Flanders could not be traced.

- the group with movables and immovables:

thirteen exiles amongst whom two merchants, one 'farmer'/cloth weaver, one baker and one carpenter.

- value between 101 lb. and 200 lb.: we traced five refugees in this group, one weaver, one grocer, one draper/merchant and two of whom we do not know the occupation.

- value between 201 lb and 300 lb.: one person whose occupation is unknown.

- value between 401 lb. and 500 lb.: one 'farmer' and one schepen.

- value between 501 lb. and 600 lb.: one refugee of whom we do not know the occupation.

c. Fines included in the verdict:

Not all those who took part in the Troubles in Flanders and the Westkwartier were sentenced immediately to be executed or banished with confiscation of their goods but, depending on the 'severity' of their 'crime', initially were punished with fines in addition to the other sentences such as whipping and being pilloried. We identified twenty-one Sandwich Strangers who were sentenced to fines. The scales of these fines vary between twenty-five and 400 florins over and above (or between 50 and 800 lb. parisian), in most cases, payment of prison expenses and costs of the trial. The currency account for these fines is expressed in florins instead of the usual livre parisian. Perhaps the courts found it more convenient to demand fines in round figures florins than to work them out in pounds, shillings and pence, for the latter only happened twice. Or perhaps the Council of Flanders or the Council of Troubles used the money of account preferred by the central government.

For the Sandwich Strangers fined in Flanders we can reconstruct the following breakdown:

50 lb. parisian (or 25 florins)	: 1 say worker
70 lb. parisian (or 35 florins)	: 1 say worker
100 lb. parisian (or 50 florins)	: 1 whose occupation is unknown
100 lb. parisian (or 50 florins)	: idem
200 lb. parisian (or 100 florins)	: 1 'farmer'
300 lb. parisian (or 150 florins)	: 1 say worker
300 lb. parisian (or 150 florins)	: 1 whose occupation is unknown
400 lb. parisian (or 200 florins)	: idem
400 lb. parisian (or 200 florins)	: idem

540 lb. parisian (or 270 florins): idem; he was fined  
twice, the first  
time to pay 80 lb.,  
the second time 460.

800 lb. parisian (or 400 florins): idem

One draper was fined 60 lb. parisian, i.e. 30 florins, one whose occupation we do not know was fined 20lb. parisian, i.e. 10 florins. The size of the fine is not specified for nine others.

On the basis of the above analysis we may conclude with some confidence that all groups of the Flemish society were represented by the Sandwich Strangers: labourers and artisans, 'farmers', the lower middle-class, poor as well as reasonably well-off, and the wealthy upper middle-class. In terms of their livelihood those connected with the textile industry are the predominant group. In terms of the analysis of the value of their confiscated goods, as well movables or immovables or both, again all categories are present but it is clear that the textile workers form the majority of those refugees without property. The middle-class group of merchant-entrepreneurs is very well represented.

In terms of those with fines included in their verdict, although they did not necessarily possess property, it stands to reason that they must have had some kind of wealth, even those fined on the lowest scale. Textile workers, 'farmers' and merchant-entrepreneurs are to be found in this category.

The analysis provides sufficient evidence that no obvious causal relationship can be established between employment and wealth on the one hand and the choice of religion on the other. Nevertheless, until the 1550s those who were to become Sandwich Strangers had enjoyed a relatively high standard of living in their native country but the circumstances of the majority had probably suffered as a result of the continuing economic fluctuations from the mid-century onwards. The hope of an improvement in



their socio-economic fate provided a stimulus for the poor textile workers of the Westkwartier to be attracted to the 'new'. But despite these material elements, in the 1560s Calvinism did not produce far-going social reforms. It was the anti-Catholic element that inspired the artisans and labourers, in other words, although the socio-economic background played an important role in the choice of religion, the attraction to Calvinism was basically religious.

It is impossible to establish how many inhabitants from the Westkwartier fled to England as a result of religious or economic motives, but we may accept that the majority left the region on religious grounds, although it must not be overlooked that some went to England on economic grounds, which made it easier when one was a Protestant.

## 2. The standard of living of the Sandwich Strangers in their new settlement.

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Several historians have published studies and source material related to the economic development and the cost of living in England during the sixteenth century. These include A.P. Appleby (17), W. Beveridge (18), J. Burnett (19), B.A. Holderness (20), R.B. Outhwaite (21), E.H. Phelps Brown and Sheila V. Hopkins (22), J.E.Thorold Rogers

(17) A.P. Appleby, Famine in Tudor and Stuart England (Liverpool, 1978).

(18) W. Beveridge, Prices and Wages in England from the twelfth to the nineteenth century, i (London, 1925, 2nd impression).

(19) J. Burnett, A History of the Cost of Living (Harmondsworth, 1969).

(20) B. A. Holderness, Pre-Industrial England.

(21) R.B. Outhwaite, Inflation in Tudor and Stuart England (London, 1970, 1st reprint).

(22) E.g. E.H. Phelps Brown and S.V. Hopkins, 'Seven

(23) and Joan Thirsk (24). Nevertheless, we are of the opinion that the Belgian historians Prof. Dr. Herman Van der Wee, Prof. Dr. Charles Verlinden, Prof. Dr. Jan Craeybeckx and Prof. Dr. Etienne Scholliers developed quantitative methods which give a clearer picture of the movement of the secular trends of wages and prices. In particular, their use of moving averages gives a more accurate impression of how the standard of living fluctuated in the early modern period. Scholliers also introduced certain quantitative techniques and the use of a semi-logarithmical scale for graphs (25).

It must be stressed that it is not possible to make a detailed analysis of the standard of living in any community within the confines of a single chapter. In the case of Sandwich no previous work has been carried out in this subject, which indeed requires a separate study which we might tackle in the future. However we believe that, on the basis of the material at our disposal, we have been able to shed some light on living standards in Sandwich.

In chapter III above we discussed the general economic situation in England in the sixteenth century and in particular the crises of the 1580s and 1590s. It is not therefore necessary to repeat the matter. In order to analyse the standard of living of the Flemish refugee community at Sandwich, we need to examine the general movement of wages and prices in England as a whole and thereafter to compare the conclusions with our findings in Sandwich.

Centuries of the Prices of Cunsumables Compared with the Builders' Wage Rates', Economica, xcii, new series, xxiii (1956).

(23) J.E.T. Rogers, A History of Agriculture and Prices in England, iii, v (Oxford, 1882, 1887); Six Centuries of Work and Wages (London, 1906).

(24) J. Thirsk, The Agrarian History.

(25) E. Scholliers, De Levensstandaard in de XVe en XVIe eeuw te Antwerpen (Antwerp, 1960).

a. Wages in England.

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In the 1520s inflation in England began in earnest. As a result in the 1530s the wages of the masons began to increase and some ten years later those of labourers and agriculture workers followed suit. With continued inflation, wages in general rose sharply in the 1550s with a pause in the 1560s (26), by which time the government considered that inflation had undermined the old wage regulations and in 1563 the Statute of Artificers was introduced. The main purpose of this Act was to 'enforce the universal obligation to work' (27). The Statute mainly directed young people, under thirty and not married, and forced them to work for any employer in need of labour. Furthermore, the Justices of the Peace were given the duty to assess all wages, industrial and agricultural alike. They were to assess the maximum wage rates on a yearly basis; the scale of the assessment was then to be published (28).

The setting of maximum wage rates soon caused problems as it was very difficult to ensure that these rates were not exceeded (29). D.M. Woodward compared the wage rates in Lancashire, Chester, Kent and Durham and concluded that the scales of the maximum wages were frequently flouted; furthermore, some assessments were only very infrequently renewed: the Kent assessment of 1563, for instance, was re-issued without any change until at least 1589 (30).

Graph XII (31) represents the evolution of real wages,

(26) D.M. Palliser, Age of Elizabeth, p.141.

(27) J. Youngs, Sixteenth-Century England, p.291.

(28) Ibid., p.293.

(29) See A. Kelsall, Wage Regulations under the Statute of Artificers (London, 1938).

(30) D.M. Woodward, 'The Assessment of Wages by the Justices of the Peace 1563 - 1813', Local Historian, viii (1969).

(31). See vol.III, pp.37-8.

industrial prices and the cost of living in England between 1451 and 1610, the index being 1451-75 = 100. The graph is based on the figures of the decennial averages as calculated by B.A. Holderness (32). The trends are self-explanatory: until approximately 1520 the value of the real wages, the industrial prices and the cost of living were more or less in equilibrium. But when inflation started to rise in the 1520s the value of the real wages decreased as the industrial prices and especially the cost of living rose remorselessly and, by the 1550s a gap had opened that could not close.

Naturally wages alone do not indicate the effect of the economy on the cost of living or standard of living of the population. We therefore have to examine the movement of the prices, especially those for foodstuffs, in order to discover the evolution of the real daily wages, i.e. how much could be spent on a daily basis.

b. Prices in England.

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The sixteenth century is often described as the century of the price revolution. As stated above, from the 1520s onwards inflation made its entry in the economic development of sixteenth-century England and prices started to increase. In the 1550s, a decade of crisis, prices rose steeply and after a short period of stability in the 1560s and 1570s, they rose sharply in the 1580s and 1590s, after which, though they continued to rise, they did so more slowly in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Between 1501 and 1510 a quarter of wheat cost 5s. 6d.; between 1541 and 1550 it practically doubled to 10s. 8d. and reached 34s. 10d. between 1593 and 1602. Thus over a period of 100 years the price of a quarter of wheat increased by approximately 525% (33). E.H. Phelps Brown and S.V. Hopkins

(32) B.A. Holderness, Pre-Industrial England, Table I p.21.

(33) *Ibid.*, p.62.

calculated that during the period 1590 - 1600 the buying power of the wages only amounted to 45% of what it was in 1500 (34). According to B.A. Holderness it is not unlikely that between 1500-20 and 1590-1603 real wages declined by 50-60% 'not least because many of the commodities most wanted for immediate consumption by the poor rose in price faster than the average of all goods' (35). He further estimates that in 1495 a skilled man earned three quarters of wheat, three quarters of malt and two quarters of oatmeal in ten weeks. In 1533 this had increased to fifteen weeks, 1562 thirty-two weeks, 1593 forty weeks and 1610 thirty-three weeks. An unskilled labourer would earn the same food in fifteen weeks in 1495 but by 1651 a whole years wages would be insufficient (36).

Graph XIII (37) shows the eleven-yearly moving average (38) price in pence of wheat (per quarter) and hay (per load), which we compared with the average daily wage of an agricultural labourer and a mason for the period 1571 - 1604. We have calculated those figures on the basis of J.E.T. Rogers' material (39) and obtained the following result:

| Year | Wheat | Hay | Agr. Wages | Mason's Wages |
|------|--------|--------|------------|---------------|
| 1571 | 178.79 | 140.15 | 7.97 | 11.40 |
| 1572 | 181.81 | 141.76 | 8.16 | 11.31 |
| 1573 | 185.70 | 138.42 | 8.36 | 11.40 |
| 1574 | 187.43 | 134.81 | 8.52 | 11.40 |
| 1575 | 193.77 | 124.70 | 8.61 | 11.31 |
| 1576 | 200.43 | 136.51 | 8.63 | 11.31 |
| 1577 | 205.40 | 141.56 | 8.72 | 11.45 |

(34) E. Scholliers, Levensstandaard, pp.155-6.

(35) B.A. Holderness, Pre-Industrial England, p.204.

(36) *Ibid.*, p.210.

(37) See vol.III, pp.39-40.

(38) See E. Scholliers, Levensstandaard.

(39) J.E.T. Rogers, Agriculture and Prices, iii, pp.108-17.

| | | | | |
|------|--------|--------|------|-------|
| 1578 | 209.68 | 145.60 | 8.50 | 11.54 |
| 1579 | 208.70 | 146.40 | 8.42 | 11.54 |
| 1580 | 225.38 | 144.93 | 8.31 | 11.56 |
| 1581 | 256.65 | 147.84 | 8.31 | 11.65 |
| 1582 | 252.29 | 145.06 | 8.06 | 11.75 |
| 1583 | 248.04 | 151.63 | 8.10 | 11.84 |
| 1584 | 261.52 | 179.43 | 8.17 | 11.84 |
| 1585 | 273.47 | 166.97 | 8.08 | 11.84 |
| 1586 | 273.36 | 167.40 | 8.25 | 11.93 |
| 1587 | 278.36 | 170.77 | 8.28 | 11.93 |
| 1588 | 286.22 | 179.86 | 8.27 | 11.93 |
| 1589 | 305.45 | 183.81 | 8.57 | 12.00 |
| 1590 | 329.63 | 193.90 | 8.57 | 12.00 |
| 1591 | 357.47 | 205.40 | 8.66 | 12.06 |
| 1592 | 364.72 | 207.29 | 9.61 | 12.06 |
| 1593 | 381.18 | 209.61 | 8.94 | 12.06 |
| 1594 | 393.95 | 213.56 | 8.98 | 12.06 |
| 1595 | 404.63 | 226.11 | 9.00 | 12.06 |
| 1596 | 403.36 | 228.61 | 8.99 | 12.06 |
| 1597 | 412.79 | 240.27 | 9.00 | 12.06 |
| 1598 | 419.09 | 242.08 | 8.99 | 12.06 |
| 1599 | 424.38 | 245.36 | 9.00 | 12.06 |
| 1600 | 412.65 | 259.95 | 8.98 | 12.00 |
| 1601 | 403.75 | 257.95 | 9.01 | 12.00 |
| 1602 | 383.02 | 277.68 | 8.99 | 12.00 |
| 1603 | 383.75 | 284.90 | 9.02 | 12.00 |
| 1604 | 388.18 | 293.35 | 9.00 | 12.00 |

As with the wages, the average price has been calculated on prices from all over the country. When we examine the above figures we note that between 1571 and the 1590s the average annual price of wheat and hay increased sharply: wheat by approximately 137%, hay, necessary for the survival of livestock, by approximately 117%. During the same period the average daily wage of an agricultural labourer rose by 13%, that of a mason by 6%.

Graph XIV (40) demonstrates the average prices of poultry and dairy produce in pence as calculated by J.E.T. Rogers for the period 1583 - 1610 (41). We observe at once that during the period concerned the price of chickens remained in general stable, although there was a marked increase in the crisis year 1596. Rabbits were more expensive and the price fluctuated between 8d. and 16d. per pair. The price of butter displayed a different pattern. The price of 12lb. of butter slowly increased and reached above 50d. and 60d. at the end of the century. The peak years for the price of 100 eggs were 1587, 1592, 1594, 1598, 1599 and 1600. We note that poultry prices did not follow those of cereals, but then poultry did not form part of the regular and essential diet of the population. As a source of cheap calories bread was indispensable.

Graph XV (42) demonstrates the eleven-yearly moving average index of the prices of grains (wheat, barley, oats, heading II), other arable crops (hay, straw, peas, beans, heading III), livestock (sheep, cattle, horses, pigs, poultry, rabbits, heading IV), animal products (dairy produce, eggs, wool, fells, hides, heading V), timber (heading VI), prices of consumables (heading VII) and the equivalent of the real wages (heading VIII) for the period 1560 - 1597, all calculated in pence and based on the figures produced by D.M. Palliser (43):

(40) See vol.III, pp.41-2.

(41) J.E.T. Rogers, Agriculture and Prices, v, pp.372-3.

(42) See vol.III, pp.43-4.

(43) D.M. Palliser, Age of Elizabeth, pp.385-7. The author drew the figures for grains, arable crops, livestock, animal products and timber from those published by P. Bowden. These index figures have the level 1450 - 99 = 100. The calculations for the price of consumables are based on E.H. Phelps Brown and S.V. Hopkins, i.e. 'the basket of consumables', and the equivalent wage rate of a building craftsman, the index being 1451 - 75 = 100.

| I | II | III | IV | V | VI | VI | VIII |
|------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|
| 1560 | 350.27 | 278.81 | 271.27 | 232.90 | 177.81 | 295.00 | 59.50 |
| 1561 | 356.36 | 272.81 | 275.54 | 237.54 | 178.63 | 285.22 | 59.40 |
| 1562 | 305.63 | 274.27 | 273.54 | 231.09 | 179.54 | 271.00 | 59.33 |
| 1563 | 316.54 | 284.27 | 275.36 | 233.36 | 181.36 | 276.11 | 59.50 |
| 1564 | 315.90 | 289.27 | 278.27 | 237.36 | 179.09 | 281.11 | 59.12 |
| 1565 | 314.54 | 289.18 | 283.09 | 232.36 | 179.18 | 281.11 | 59.50 |
| 1566 | 311.63 | 288.54 | 283.54 | 238.45 | 179.81 | 279.66 | 59.88 |
| 1567 | 318.18 | 286.18 | 289.54 | 235.63 | 185.18 | 280.55 | 59.66 |
| 1568 | 327.81 | 287.09 | 294.36 | 247.45 | 188.63 | 289.90 | 59.66 |
| 1569 | 327.00 | 284.36 | 301.09 | 247.72 | 191.90 | 289.90 | 59.66 |
| 1570 | 337.90 | 286.72 | 308.18 | 245.00 | 192.81 | 291.80 | 59.87 |
| 1571 | 340.09 | 289.72 | 316.45 | 247.81 | 196.63 | 299.40 | 60.14 |
| 1572 | 351.36 | 290.72 | 320.27 | 250.00 | 199.90 | 306.30 | 60.33 |
| 1573 | 356.00 | 285.45 | 329.45 | 253.18 | 202.09 | 310.80 | 60.60 |
| 1574 | 361.36 | 284.54 | 331.90 | 258.00 | 205.18 | 317.40 | 60.00 |
| 1575 | 376.54 | 289.36 | 337.36 | 259.72 | 211.54 | 322.10 | 60.40 |
| 1576 | 388.81 | 295.00 | 343.63 | 264.54 | 212.63 | 329.90 | 59.40 |
| 1577 | 399.45 | 302.72 | 347.90 | 268.81 | 215.72 | 335.30 | 59.40 |
| 1578 | 399.63 | 306.18 | 348.00 | 275.27 | 218.90 | 341.20 | 59.20 |
| 1579 | 385.63 | 301.45 | 347.36 | 272.45 | 225.72 | 337.60 | 59.16 |
| 1580 | 405.81 | 304.54 | 345.45 | 279.27 | 229.09 | 338.90 | 58.85 |
| 1581 | 433.63 | 319.18 | 345.54 | 280.45 | 235.18 | 355.45 | 56.62 |
| 1582 | 434.18 | 319.90 | 348.00 | 283.72 | 238.36 | 353.90 | 56.77 |
| 1583 | 435.63 | 322.81 | 349.36 | 290.27 | 239.54 | 354.18 | 56.70 |
| 1584 | 450.09 | 326.09 | 349.36 | 294.36 | 245.09 | 360.54 | 56.18 |
| 1585 | 469.18 | 343.18 | 354.36 | 300.36 | 247.54 | 371.18 | 54.90 |
| 1586 | 469.09 | 346.63 | 357.36 | 306.45 | 249.36 | 373.27 | 54.54 |
| 1587 | 456.54 | 350.00 | 358.54 | 317.81 | 254.36 | 374.45 | 54.36 |
| 1588 | 450.00 | 356.18 | 361.72 | 319.27 | 258.63 | 379.63 | 53.45 |
| 1589 | 472.81 | 366.72 | 371.72 | 324.63 | 263.27 | 396.18 | 51.54 |
| 1590 | 505.27 | 380.36 | 379.72 | 334.72 | 267.09 | 411.36 | 49.81 |
| 1591 | 549.18 | 401.63 | 385.27 | 342.09 | 272.54 | 441.63 | 47.27 |
| 1592 | 557.72 | 407.45 | 394.09 | 352.81 | 276.81 | 449.63 | 46.72 |
| 1593 | 571.63 | 410.36 | 402.36 | 362.82 | 280.36 | 461.27 | 45.27 |
| 1594 | 585.27 | 417.54 | 410.27 | 366.90 | 285.81 | 470.81 | 44.18 |
| 1595 | 606.81 | 436.72 | 419.18 | 376.81 | 288.45 | 483.54 | 42.90 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|
| 1596 | 600.54 | 432.00 | 424.36 | 380.18 | 294.63 | 484.63 | 42.72 |
| 1597 | 603.90 | 434.00 | 428.54 | 380.00 | 298.18 | 491.72 | 41.90 |

Expressed in percentages the index for grain prices increased from 350.27 in 1560 to 603.90 in 1597, i.e. 72%; arable crops rose from 278.81 in 1560 to 434.00 in 1597, i.e. 56%; livestock prices from 271.27 in 1560 to 428.54 in 1597, i.e. 58%; animal products from 232.90 in 1560 to 380.00 in 1597, i.e. 63%; timber from 177.81 in 1560 to 380.00 in 1597, i.e. 114%. The average annual price index of consumables, increased from 295.00 to 491.72, i.e. 67%, between 1560 and 1597. During the same period the average real wage index appears to have fallen from 59.50 in 1560 to 41.90, i.e. 30%, in 1597.

E.H. Phelps Brown and S.V. Hopkins compiled a composite unit of consumables, the so-called 'basket of consumables'. They established in that 'basket' farinaceous products (grains and peas), meat (sheep), fish (herrings), drink (malt), fuel and light (charcoal, candles and oil), textiles (canvas, shirting and woollen cloth). They determined that in the year 1500 a building craftsman would consume 1 1/4 bush or quarter of wheat per year, 1 bush of rye, 1/2 bush of barley, 2/3 bush of peas, the meat of 1 1/2 sheep, 15 white herrings, 25 red herrings, 4 1/2 bush of malt, 4 1/4 bush of charcoal, 2 3/4 lb. of candles, 1/2 pint of oil, 2/3 yard of canvas, 1/2 yard of shirting and 1/3 yard of woollen cloth. They further concluded that his consumption of butter and cheese amounted to nil (44).

We have chosen two years, 1571, a year of reasonable economic stability and 1597, the height of the crisis of the 1590s, in order to compare the prices of the separate

(44) E.H. Phelps Brown & S.V. Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of consumables', 22.

Prof. Dr. Etienne Scholliers compiled a similar 'basket of consumables': bread, peas, butter, cheese, milk, eggs, herring, rapeseed oil, clothing, fuel and light (Levensstandaard, pp.67, 103).

units of the 'basket'. From our knowledge of the average daily wage of the agricultural labourer and mason, it is possible to determine the purchasing power of their income, in other words the real wage. We have used the composite unit for 1500 as determined by E.H. Phelps Brown and Sheila V. Hopkins in the knowledge that the results obtained could be the absolute minimum.

1571

| | |
|---|--------|
| - average annual price of wheat per bush or quarter in pence | 135.50 |
| - average annual price of rye per bush or quarter in pence | 67 |
| - average annual price of barley per bush or quarter in pence | 96 |
| - average annual price of peas/beans per bush or quarter in pence | 88.50 |
| - average annual price of charcoal per bush or quarter in pence | 14.50 |

1597

| | |
|--|--------|
| - average annual price of wheat per bush in pence | 628.50 |
| - average annual price of barley per bush in pence | 305.25 |
| - average annual price of malt per bush in pence | 348.25 |
| - average annual price of oats per bush in pence | 169.75 |
| - average annual price of rye per bush in pence | 410.50 |
| - average annual price of peas per bush in pence | 213.75 |
| - average annual price of sheep in pence | 121 |

- annual average price of twelve common 240 (45)

On the basis of the composite unit for the year 1500 the above figures imply that workers spent the following average minimum amount in pence per year on food.

| | 1571 | 1597 |
|------------|--------|----------|
| wheat | 169.37 | 785.62 |
| rye | 67 | 410.50 |
| barley | 48 | 152.62 |
| malt | - | 1,567.12 |
| peas/beans | 59 | 142.50 |
| sheep | - | 180.50 |
| Total | 343.37 | 3,238.86 |

Scholliers calculated the average total number of annual working days of a building worker in Antwerp in the sixteenth century at a maximum of 264, having regard to seasonal variations, climatological factors and Sundays and holy days (46). On that basis he then calculated the average annual earned wage of a building worker and its purchasing power and established that during the most unfavourable economic period of 1594 - 1600 78.53% of the wages might be spent on food, 5.4% on rent, 6% on heating and light and 10.07% on clothing; in a year of dearth a building worker could spend more than 80% of his budget on food (47).

Although England's climate differed little from that of the Low Countries, the number of working days per annum was higher because there were fewer feast days. From 1541 there were just ten, Sundays not included (48), thus reducing the

(45) J.E.T. Rogers, Agriculture and Prices, v, pp.268-9, 347-8, 588.

(46) E. Scholliers, Levensstandaard, pp.83-7.

(47) *Ibid.*, pp.83-92, 103-22, 173-5.

(48) J. Youngs, Sixteenth-Century England, pp.187-8.

working year to a maximum of 303 days. However, masons, bricklayers, journeymen, etc. having to work outdoors were more affected by the weather than for instance weavers. Therefore, we have assumed that they have lost an average of between fifteen to twenty working days per year due to poor weather conditions and as a consequence worked a maximum of 288 days. On the basis of this estimate we have calculated the average annual earned wage of a mason in 1571 at 3,283d. and of a bricklayer at 3,211d and in 1597 at 3,973d. and 3,519d. respectively (49). It must of course be stressed that neither for 1571 nor for 1597 is the list of prices of the unit of consumables complete and specific information about prices for heating, light, clothing and rent is lacking.

In order to obtain a clearer picture of the correlation between the earned wages of a worker and its buying power it is necessary to examine the data for the last four decades of the sixteenth century. The two tables below contain the average index, on the basis of 1451-75 = 100, of the eleven-yearly moving average of the price of consumables per decade, the equivalent real wage of a building craftsman (50) and the percentage of increase or decrease as regards the 1560s.

| Decade | Index of Price of Consumables | Percentage |
|--------|-------------------------------|------------|
| 1560-9 | 285.75 | - |
| 1570-9 | 294.67 | + 3.12% |
| 1580-9 | 342.90 | +19.92% |
| 1590-9 | 412.94 | +44.52% |

| Decade | Index Real Wage Building craftsm. | Percentage |
|--------|-----------------------------------|------------|
| 1560-9 | 58.90 | - |
| 1570-9 | 59.93 | + 1.74% |

(49) For the figures used see p.

(50) See vol.III, graph XV, pp.42-3.

| | | |
|--------|-------|---------|
| 1580-9 | 58.26 | - 2.83% |
| 1590-9 | 50.20 | -13.83% |

The conclusion is clear. As the second half of the sixteenth century progressed the average price of consumables kept rising to reach a peak during the crisis years of the 1590s; at the same time, although the workers real wages had increased by 9% and 10% between the 1570s and the 1590s, the real wages or purchasing power decreased by at least 13% to 14% and probably more in the 1590s since the sixth decade of the century. The price of the basic food alone exceeded their at least between 2% and 7% of their budget. Taking into consideration that this percentage does not include all food nor rent, heating, light and clothing we can estimate that the total price of all their basic needs exceeded an average of at least 50% to 60% of their budget.

\*

\* \*

\*

In an endeavour to determine the wealth and standard of living of the Strangers' community in Sandwich we will examine the following four aspects: the Stranger families with servants and maids, their taxes, rates and wills, and the evolution of prices and wages in the Cinque Port.

c. Stranger families with servants and maids.

\*\*\*\*\*

The fact that some families from the Flemish refugee congregation had servants and maids indubitably indicates that they had achieved a certain degree of wealth, and thus social status, in the community and in Sandwich at large. The incomplete 1574 Strangers' list contains 176 families, bachelors and widows; twenty-nine of these families, and an assumed bachelor, i.e. a total of just under 17%, are registered as having servants and maids. On the basis of our estimate that Sandwich then housed some 2,400 Flemish

refugees we might therefore expect that some 102 families would have had servants and/or maids. As the possibility of error in such an estimate is too great we have limited our investigation to the twenty-nine families and the one bachelor. It should be noted that two Walloon families also had a servant (51).

In chapter I above we have already set out what we do understand by 'family', i.e. the nucleus of father, mother and children. In fact, when analysing the 1574 list (52) we note that in some cases brothers, sisters and mothers of the head of the family and/or his wife are also included and we have taken this into account in this part of the chapter. Also worthy of note is that we come twice across the term 'household' (53). Unfortunately the document gives no further details except the number: five persons in the first, four in the second. In view of the small number of individuals in the 'households', we may assume that the word is to be used in the meaning of 'family', as set out in chapter I above.

Generally speaking in the sixteenth century 'servants' were boys or young men bound over as apprentices after an agreement between the parents and the future master. These youths covenanted to live in the same dwelling as their master for seven years (54). It would seem, however, that this definition does not apply to the 1574 Strangers' name list. Whilst the terms 'boy' and 'young man' appear regularly, undoubtedly being apprentices, the word 'servant' is mentioned only once and the context in which it is used ('a mayd and a man servant') leads us to believe that the person concerned in fact was a domestic attendant (55).

(51) Namely Jean Phillips of Tournai and Vincent Tamuer
(see vol.II nos. 2144, 2205, pp.315, 321).

(52) See vol.III, appendix III, pp.60-71.

(53) Ibid., p.61.

(54) P. Laslett, The World We Have Lost, p.3.

(55) See vol.III, appendix III, pp.60-6.

The headings in the table below contain the following information: I: the names of the heads of the family; II: their place of origin; III: their occupation in Sandwich; IV: the number of male and/or female servants in the family.

| I | II | III | IV |
|--------------------|-------------|------------------------------|--------|
| Gillis BEAME'S | | | |
| widow | - | - | 1F |
| Pieter BEKAERT | Bailleul | tailor | 1M, 1F |
| Gheleyn BEKE | Nieuwkerke | baize worker,
then master | 1F |
| the widow | | | |
| BOEVES | - | - | 1F |
| Caerle de | | | |
| BROECKERE | Steenwerck | baize worker | 1F |
| Pieter de BROUCKER | Nieuwkerke | master | 2F |
| Claysse van BUNES' | | | |
| widow | - | - | 1F |
| Jacob CANEN | Poperinge | master | 1F |
| Jacob de CONYNCK | - | - | 1F |
| Willem van | | | |
| DRIESSCHE | - | - | 1F |
| Gheley van ELST | - | linen seller | 1F |
| Frans ENTE | Nieuwkerke | baize worker,
baker | 1F |
| Gillis ERCLE | Bailleul | - | 1F |
| Lammellot GILLEN | - | - | 1F |
| Marten HOBBELE | - | - | 1F |
| Michiel HOED | Hondschoote | say worker | 2F |
| Willem HOEVENAGEL | - | sayworker | 1F |
| Peter JANSS | Antwerp | baize worker,
wheelwright | 1F |
| Jan de | | | |
| KESGHIETER | - | master | 2F |
| Maillaert de | | | |
| LANSHEERE | - | - | 2F |
| Carel LIEBAERT | Bailleul | - | 1F |

| | | | |
|------------------|------------|-----------------------------------|----|
| Frans de LOOPER | - | - | 1F |
| Jacob MAHIEU | Kemmel | - | 1F |
| Marx de MEESTER | Méteren | - | 1F |
| Jacob de MEYER | Nieuwkerke | baize worker,
master, merchant | 1F |
| Symon van MOERE | - | - | 1F |
| Malard de ROO | - | - | 1F |
| Matheus de RYCKE | Mesen | master-say worker | 1F |
| Michiel STAMPE | - | baize worker | 1F |

Among the twenty-nine heads of families and one bachelor we find six masters, at least one of whom was also a merchant and two who had originally commenced their occupation as baize workers at the time of their arrival in Sandwich. Besides the masters there are also four baize workers, two of whom had a second occupation as a baker and a wheelwright. Furthermore we find two say workers, one linen seller and one tailor. So, the majority of them are all connected with the textile industry and we may therefore assume that this would be also the case with the majority of the other families with maids - however small their number - whom we cannot indentify. And there is no doubt that, like Jacob de Meyer, some were not just masters but also merchants.

These Strangers did not always start afresh in exile. Many refugees brought money and possessions with them. In chapter III above we already mentioned Franchois Bolle who took some 800 rijksdaalders with him when he left Flanders (56). Others who had left money and possessions behind arranged for it to be forwarded to their new destination using the good offices of the members of their family who had remained in Flanders or friends, for which purpose they used messengers or other refugees. Although we know of no evidence for the Sandwich Strangers, letters from exiles at Norwich to their friends and relatives in Ieper give a distinct insight into the operation. On 21 August 1567

(56) See p.158.

year.

- τ) boys between twelve and eighteen years of age were to receive 20/- per year or meat, drink and clothes at the liberty of the master (61).

As a result of the Statute of Artificers in 1563 the Kent wages were again re-assessed:

α) male servants:

- - - - -

- | | | |
|------------------|------------------|--------|
| - the best sort: | - with livery | 40/- |
| | - without livery | 46/8d. |
| - the second | | |
| sort: | - with livery | 33/4d. |
| | - without livery | 40/- |

- β) female servants: - the best
without livery 26/8d. only
- - - - - - - - - - the second best
without livery 20/- only

- τ) boys between fourteen and eighteen years of age were to receive 20/- per annum or meat, drink and clothes and 6d. per quarter (62).

The sixteenth century was certainly not the century of equal pay: it was much cheaper, half as cheap, to employ maids rather than servants. This surely must have been a major factor in the master's choice to employ a servant or a maid, especially if only purely domestic labour was required.

d. Rates and taxes.

\*\*\*\*\*

(61) KAO, Sa/ZB3/69.

(62) B.H. Putnam, 'The Earliest Form of Lombard's "Eirenarcha" and a Kent Wage Assessment of 1563', EHR, xli (1926), 272.

As the second half of the sixteenth century progressed rates and taxes demanded by the local authorities became a real burden for the Strangers. As we already established above, as early as 4 March 1566 minister Jacob de Buyzere and the elders of the consistory requested the Mayor and Jurats to be discharged from the 2d. tax the Strangers had to pay for every piece of baize that was shipped because many wealthy members of their community had fallen victim to the bubonic plague in 1563-4 and the congregation had to cope with a great number of orphans and poor exiles. The Council agreed to discharge this tax for as long as they thought fit. They even issued an additional decree ordering that any of the Flemish inhabitants who produced faulty cloth was to pay the third penny thereof; the remaining two parts were to be used for the congregation and its poor (63). The decree was repeated on 22 July 1567 (64). In November 1569 the Norwich refugee community sent £5.81 to their co-religionists in Sandwich to help the congregation (65). In June 1577 the Flemish refugee church petitioned Sandwich Council about the burden of the head money. Originally the Strangers were to pay 2d. head money but in 1577 Sandwich council decided to increase the same so that each refugee who left the town to pass the seas was now to pay 4d. and an additional 22d. for him going out (66).

α) The rates or 'fforren' money

- - - - -

Though we were able to trace information about the 'fforren' money for only three years, these were fortunately consecutive years: 1570, 1571 and 1572 (67). The table below contains I: the name of the Stranger rate payer, II: his occupation in Sandwich, III, IV, V: the

(63) KAO, Sa/Ac4, ff.312-vo-3.

(64) Ibid., fo.372-vo.

(65) C.M. Vane, 'Norwich', 137.

(66) W. Boys, Sandwich, pp.743-4.

(67) See Ch.I and III above pp.23, 40, 162.

amount of rates he paid in 1570, 1571 and 1572 respectively.

| I | II | III | IV | V |
|--------------------------|---|-------|-------|-------|
| Pieter AEL | master-baize
worker | - | 10/- | 5/- |
| Gillan ALBRECHT | haberdasher | 5/- | 6/8d. | 6/8d. |
| Peter van APLES | lace weaver | - | 5/- | 5/- |
| Gabriel APPAERT | baker | - | 2/- | 2/- |
| Joyce A PORTE | silk weaver | 2/8 | 6/8d. | - |
| Jan ARDAEN | - | - | 12d. | - |
| Peter BALLEYS | cobbler | - | 6d. | - |
| Jan BASSET | master-baize
worker, tailor | - | 5/- | 5/- |
| Gilles BATLEW
George | lace weaver | - | 2/- | - |
| BAVELAERE | - | - | 10/- | 10/- |
| Clais van
BAVIEREN | - | 2/6d. | - | - |
| Jacob BAWDWIN | baker | 3/4d. | 6/8d. | - |
| Pieter BECQUE | cardmaker | 12d. | 12d. | - |
| Pieter BEKAERT | tailor | - | 12d. | 5/- |
| Pieter BOLY | turner | 6d. | 12d. | 12d. |
| Lowrence BONDY | merchant | - | - | 10/- |
| John de BONNET | silk weaver | - | 5/- | 5/- |
| Bertram van der
BORCH | smith | 2/6d. | 2/6d. | - |
| Victor BOUDEN | master-baize
worker,
apothecary | 6/8d. | 6/8d. | - |
| Jan BRAND | - | - | 10/- | - |
| Andrys BROUCK | lace weaver | - | 2/- | - |
| Jan de BRUES | lace weaver | - | 6d. | - |
| Jan de BRUNE | master-baize
worker, seller
of butter and
soap | - | 10/- | 10/- |

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| Jan de BRUNE
(Maude) | master,
sackcloth
weaver | - | 20d. | - |
| Jan de BUS | leace weaver | - | 3/4d. | - |
| Barble van CAPLE | seller of butter,
soap and vinegar | 2/6d. | 3/4d. | - |
| Charles
CARDEMAKER | - | 2/6d. | 2/6d. | - |
| Caerle
CARPENTIER | cardmaker | - | 2/6d. | 5/- |
| Jacob CASIER | sackcloth
weaver | - | 20d. | - |
| Jan CASIER | sackcloth
weaver | - | 20d. | - |
| Jacob van de
CASTEELE | tailor | - | 6d. | - |
| Robert CAUWERSYN | upholsterer | - | - | 5/- |
| Jehan CLAES | cobbler | 12d. | 12d. | 12d. |
| Jacob de CLERCQ | joiner | - | 2/- | 2/- |
| Gilles COLAERS | tailor | - | 12d. | - |
| Jacobe COLLERT | gardener | 8d. | 12d. | - |
| Peter CONRODE | cardmaker | 2/- | 2/- | - |
| Peter COOPER | cobbler | 5/- | 10/- | 5/- |
| Jacob van
COPPENOLLE | sackcloth
weaver | - | 20d. | - |
| John CORDE | cobbler | 12d. | 12d. | - |
| Danyell CORNE | lace weaver | - | 6d. | - |
| Willem COS | tinker | 6d. | - | - |
| Pieter de COSTER | tailor | - | 12d. | - |
| Boudewyn de CROP | cobbler | 12d. | 2/6d. | - |
| Marten de DECKER | pedler | 12d. | 6/8d. | 6/8d. |
| Dyrricke
DIRRICKSON | turner | 12d. | 12d. | - |
| Jacob DOCLE | cobbler | 12d. | 2/- | - |
| Pieter van DYCKE | wheelwright | - | - | 3/4d. |
| Ghelein van ELST | linen seller | - | - | 12d. |
| Frans ENTE | baize worker,
baker | 5/- | 6/8d. | 6/8d. |

| | | | | |
|------------------|------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| Gillis ENTE | baize worker | 10/- | 40/- | 10/- |
| Michiel ESEBOUT | cook | 12d. | 3/4d. | 3/4d. |
| Franncys FFERMYN | - | - | 12d. | - |
| Hercules FFLORYN | tailor | - | 12d. | - |
| Caerle FIRMIJN | say worker,
baker | 2/6d. | 5/- | - |
| Jacobb GERNYE | wood carier | - | 6d. | - |
| Jose GHUSER | sackcloth
weaver | - | 20d. | - |
| Nycholas | - | 12d. | 5/5d. | - |
| GOLDSMYTHE | | | | |
| George GOWYN | linen seller | 2/- | 10/- | - |
| Bryse GYLLES | - | - | 20/- | - |
| Matyse HENDRYCK | tailor | - | 2/6d. | - |
| Willem | gardener | 12d | 12d. | - |
| HEYNDERICX | | | | |
| Peter HOIELL | tailor | - | 2/6d. | - |
| Gheerdt de HONDT | linen seller | 3/4d. | 10/- | 10/- |
| Caerle | | | | |
| HUEGHEBAERT | baize worker | - | 12d. | 12d. |
| Saerlo van HUELE | joiner | 12d. | 12d. | 12d. |
| Johan van HULSTE | courier | 2/- | 2/6d. | 2/- |
| Vincent JACOBS | baize worker,
baker | 3/4d. | 5/- | 5/- |
| Matthys JANS | goldsmith | 2/6d. | 5/- | 5/- |
| Pieter JANS | baize worker,
wheelwright | 5/- | 6/8d. | 6/8d. |
| Ffranncys JOYNER | lace weaver | - | 3/4d. | - |
| Lowys KALENDER | silk weaver | - | - | 6/8d. |
| Christiaen | say worker,
baker | 2/4d. | 5/- | 5/- |
| KYCKE | | | | |
| Jooris KYCKE | gardener | 12d. | 12d. | - |
| Peter LABYT | lace weaver | - | 2/- | - |
| Christiaen | gardener | 2/- | 12d. | 12d. |
| LAMOOT | | | | |
| Hannce LAMOTT | - | - | 20/- | - |
| Gilles de LONG | tailor | - | 12d. | - |
| Lawse LONG | baker | - | 5/- | - |

| | | | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| Willem LOUAGES | cobbler | 12d. | 2/- | - |
| Jacob LOY | dealer in
cast-off
clothes | 3/4d. | 5/- | 6/8d. |
| Peter MABSIN | skin dresser | 2/- | - | - |
| Jacques MAES | cobbler | - | 12d. | - |
| Gyssel MAKENOYE | joiner | 12d. | 12d. | - |
| John MALLERD | - | 12d. | - | - |
| Kaerle MANELIS | tailor | - | 12d. | 12d. |
| Androw MANYE | lace weaver | - | 5/- | - |
| Carull de MATTS | tailor | - | 12d. | - |
| Peter de MAYE | shoemaker | - | 10/- | - |
| Philip MUYS | - | - | 3/4d. | 3/4d. |
| Adriaen OBRI | say worker,
cobbler | 12d. | 3/4d. | - |
| Jan OUTERSS | tailor | - | 2/- | - |
| Jooris van
PEPERSTRAETE | baize worker,
sawyer | - | 12d. | 12d. |
| Olivier PERME | - | - | 20/- | 10/- |
| Jacques van
PEVERNAIGE | smith | 6d. | 6d. | - |
| Jan PLANDTSOEN | potter | 3/4d. | 3/4d. | 3/4d. |
| Mahieu PLATEVOET | baize worker,
tailor | - | 2/- | 2/- |
| Bernard
PORKEPALL | pewterer | - | 2/6d. | - |
| Peter de la
PORTE | merchant | - | 10/- | 5/- |
| John de PRYCE | shuttle maker | 6d. | 12d. | - |
| Lambert de PUET | surgeon | 12d. | - | - |
| Johan PYAM | baker | 5/- | 5/- | - |
| Christean
RAWDER | bookbinder | - | 6d. | - |
| Jan van
REGHERSBERGH | apothecary | 6/8d. | 6/8d. | 10/- |
| John de REWELL | cobbler | - | 12d. | - |
| Johan ROBARD | merchant | - | 10/- | - |
| Christian de | bookbinder | - | 6d. | - |

| RONDE | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------------|------|-------|-------|
| Pieter de ROO | lace weaver | - | 12d. | - |
| Angel ROOBAERT | basketmaker | 12d. | 12d. | 12d. |
| Gillis ROOSE | pursemaker | 2/- | 3/4d. | 3/4d. |
| Marten de ROY | capper | 2/- | 2/- | - |
| Jacob SCHEERS | haberdasher | - | 5/8d. | - |
| Heinderic | lacemaker, | 6d. | 3/4d. | 3/4d. |
| SCHERRIER | cook | | | |
| Dyryck SCORE | silk weaver | - | - | 2/- |
| Bernard SKYFERD | tailor | - | 12d. | - |
| Mahieu SMEEKAERT | tiler | - | 12d. | 12d. |
| Lanslot SMYTH | - | - | 12d. | - |
| Jan STAELEN | joiner | 12d. | 12d. | 2/- |
| Katherin van | pedler | 5/- | 5/- | - |
| STAPLES | | | | |
| Mahieu van | baize worker, | - | 12d. | 12d. |
| STAVEL | tiler | | | |
| Prune STROOBLES | - | 2/- | 2/- | - |
| Leven SYMONS | tailor | - | 5/- | 5/- |
| Mychell TASIER | tailor | - | 2/6d. | - |
| John de TECKER | carpenter | - | 12d. | 12d. |
| Jasper TROUBLES | sackcloth | - | 20d. | 20d. |
| | weaver | | | |
| Marten TUEWELEN | linen, say &
silk dealer | 5/- | 40/- | 40/- |
| Jacobb TYSEMAN | carpenter | - | 12d. | - |
| Collekey | linen seller | 10/- | 2/6d. | - |
| VIERENDEEL | | | | |
| Tanneken VOLCAS | haberdasher | - | 5/8d. | - |
| Georg de VOS | turner | 2/- | 2/- | 2/- |
| Andreas VRAMORTH | tailor | - | 6d. | - |
| Hanckell WEYMELL | tiler | - | 12d. | 12d. |
| Jacob | joiner | - | 12d. | 12d. |
| WILDEMERSSE | | | | |
| Carel WITS | - | - | 20/- | 10/- |
| Jooris WYNCE | sackcloth | - | 10/- | - |
| | weaver | | | |
| Andran de WYNER | - | 12d | - | - |

| | | | | |
|--------|-----------|-------|------|------|
| Ganet | tinker | - | 12d. | - |
| George | surgeon | 2/6d. | - | - |
| Gyse | surgeon | 2/6d. | - | - |
| Jacob | carpenter | - | - | 12d. |
| Willem | joiner | 8d. | 12d. | 12d. |

For the purpose of the analysis of the table above we shall first examine each year separately, thereafter compare the annual amount of 'fforren' money the Strangers had to pay in those three years and with the amount of rates the English inhabitants of Sandwich had to pay. We can divide the Flemish rate-payers into four distinctive categories: those who paid between 1d. and 12d. per year, those between 1/- and 5/-, a third category which paid between 5/- and 10/- and the last group paying more than 10s. per annum.

According to the 'fforren' money list of 1570 twenty-eight Strangers paid between 1d. and 12d. rates that year. They exercised the following occupations:

| | | | |
|----------------------|---|--------------------|---|
| say workers/cobblers | 1 | cobblers | 5 |
| cardmakers | 1 | joiners | 4 |
| shuttlemakers | 1 | tinkers | 1 |
| bookbinders | 1 | cooks | 1 |
| surgeons | 1 | smiths | 1 |
| turners | 2 | pedlers | 1 |
| basketmakers | 1 | occupation unknown | 3 |
| gardeners | 3 | | |

Thirty Flemish refugees paid between 1/- and 5/- 'fforren' money:

| | | | |
|-----------------------|---|-------------|---|
| dealers in linen, say | | couriers | 1 |
| and silk | 1 | goldsmiths | 1 |
| haberdashers | 1 | gardeners | 1 |
| cappers | 1 | potters | 1 |
| pedlers | 1 | turners | 1 |
| linen sellers | 2 | pursemakers | 1 |

| | | | |
|--------------------|---|---------------------|---|
| cardmakers | 1 | dealers in cast-off | |
| skindressers | 1 | clothes | 1 |
| bakers | 2 | baize worker/ | |
| smiths | 1 | wheelwrights | 1 |
| silk weavers | 1 | baize worker/bakers | 2 |
| surgeons | 2 | say worker/bakers | 2 |
| sellers of butter, | | occupation unknown | 3 |
| soap and vinegar | 1 | | |

Only four Strangers paid between 5/- and 10/-: one baize worker, one master-baize worker/apothecary, one apothecary and one linen seller.

The table above contains the names of forty-six Flemish exiles who paid between 1d. and 12d. rates per annum in 1571:

| | | | |
|----------------------|----|---------------------|---|
| cardmakers | 1 | smiths | 1 |
| tailors | 11 | basketmakers | 1 |
| turners | 2 | joiners | 4 |
| lace weavers | 3 | carpenters | 2 |
| cobblers | 5 | tilers | 2 |
| gardeners | 3 | wood carriers | 1 |
| baize workers | 1 | baize worker/tilers | 1 |
| baize worker/sawyers | 1 | occupation unknown | 3 |

The same year fifty-four Strangers were to pay between 1/- and 5/- rates:

| | | | |
|----------------------|---|---------------------|---|
| say workers/cobblers | 1 | cooks | 1 |
| baize worker/tailors | 1 | say worker/bakers | 2 |
| bakers | 2 | tailors | 6 |
| master-baize worker/ | | couriers | 1 |
| tailors | 1 | baize worker/bakers | 1 |
| master/sackcloth | | goldsmiths | 1 |
| weavers | 1 | baize worker/ | |
| smiths | 1 | wheelwrights | 1 |
| lace weavers | 7 | potters | 1 |
| cardmakers | 1 | dealers in cast-off | |

| | | | |
|--------------------|---|---------------------|---|
| sackcloth weavers | 5 | clothes | 1 |
| cobblers | 2 | pursemakers | 1 |
| lacemaker/cooks | 1 | cappers | 1 |
| turners | 2 | pedlers | 1 |
| silk weavers | 1 | linen sellers | 1 |
| sellers of butter, | | surgeons | 1 |
| soap and vinegar | 1 | occupations unknown | 1 |
| pewterers | 1 | | |

Also in 1571 twenty-one Flemish refugees paid between 5/- and 10/-:

| | |
|---|---|
| master-baize worker/ sellers of butter and soap | 1 |
| master-baize workers | 2 |
| master-baize worker/apothecaries | 1 |
| haberdashers | 3 |
| silk weavers | 1 |
| bakers | 1 |
| cobblers | 1 |
| pedlers | 1 |
| baize worker/bakers | 1 |
| linen sellers | 2 |
| baize worker/wheelwrights | 1 |
| apothecaries | 1 |
| merchants | 2 |
| sackcloth weavers | 1 |
| shoemakers | 1 |
| occupation unknown | 1 |

Only six Flemish settlers paid more than 10/- rates that year: one baize worker, one linen, say and silk seller and four of whom we could not trace the occupation.

In 1572 sixteen Sandwich Strangers paid between 1d. and 12d. 'fforren' money:

| | | | |
|---------------|---|----------------------|---|
| turners | 1 | baize worker/sawyers | 1 |
| cobblers | 1 | basketmakers | 1 |
| linen sellers | 1 | tilers | 2 |

| | | | |
|---------------|---|---------------------|---|
| baize workers | 1 | baize worker/tilers | 1 |
| gardeners | 1 | joiners | 3 |
| tailors | 1 | carpenters | 2 |

Twenty-eight exiles paid between 1/- and 5/-:

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|---------------------|---|
| baize worker tailors | 1 | baize worker/bakers | 1 |
| bakers | 1 | goldsmiths | 1 |
| master-baize workers | 1 | say worker/bakers | 1 |
| master-baize worker/
tailors | 1 | potters | 1 |
| cardmakers | 1 | pursemakers | 1 |
| upholsterers | 1 | lacemaker/cooks | 1 |
| joiner/turners | 1 | joiners | 1 |
| cobblers | 1 | turners | 1 |
| wheelwrights | 1 | grogam dyers | 1 |
| cooks | 1 | lace weavers | 1 |
| couriers | 1 | silk weavers | 2 |
| sackcloth weavers | 1 | merchants | 1 |

Thirteen Sandwich Strangers were to pay between 5/- and 10/- 'fforren' money:

| | |
|--|---|
| master baize worker/ seller of butter and soap | 1 |
| baize workers | 1 |
| master-baize workers | 1 |
| haberdashers | 1 |
| pedlers | 1 |
| baize worker/bakers | 1 |
| linen sellers | 1 |
| dealers in cast-off clothes | 1 |
| apothecaries | 1 |
| merchants | 1 |
| silk weavers | 1 |
| occupation unknown | 2 |

In 1572 one refugee paid more than 10/- rates: a seller of say, linen and silk.

We are immediately struck by the small number of 'fforren' money-paying Strangers employed in the textile industry, a matter already outlined in chapter III above (68). Moreover, the contents of the petition of 5 June 1577 suggest that the so-called 'fforren' money, also paid by the native population as we will see, was an additional rate payment levied by Sandwich Council on those Strangers not employed in the 'New Draperies' and on those Stranger textile workers who supplemented their earnings by working in addition in occupations unconnected with baize and say-making. As a matter of fact the petition, published by William Boys but which we could not trace in the archives (69), clearly states that each Stranger had to pay twopence 'head money' per annum. We can therefore assume that the £40 per year the Flemish refugees had to pay to the town as agreed in 1562 (70), was in fact the 'head money'. The petition further states that 'are within theis next past fower or fyve yeares (which was not used heretofore) sessed all those that be no pure base-makers' (71). This confirms our impression that Sandwich Council levied an extra tax on those Strangers who were not solely or not employed at all in the textile industry. When in the 1580s the economic crisis continued to increase, the Town Council decided to extend the 'fforren' money to all Strangers dwelling in Sandwich. The 'fforren' money seems never to have returned to its original purpose: in 1638 seventy-four Strangers were assessed and it seems quite implausible to suggest that none were not connected with the textile industry (72).

It is also clear that the vast majority of rate-payers fell within the two lowest categories, i.e. between 1d. and 12d. and between 1/- and 5/-. In other words that the

(68) See p.165.

(69) W. Boys, Sandwich, pp.743-4.

(70) See Ch.III above p.157.

(71) W. Boys, Sandwich, p.743.

(72) BL, Additional 33,511, ff.343-8.

majority must have been of modest income.

We are struck by the large number in 1571 paying 'fforren' money by comparison with 1570 and 1572: the 1570 list contains sixty-three names, the 1571 128, and the 1572 list fifty-nine names (73). This would suggest that in 1571 many new settlers, who were not employed in the textile industry, came to Sandwich; consequently those who practised other occupations besides the 'New Draperies' rose sharply. It is no coincidence that in 1571 the amount of 'fforren' money to be paid increased, for some, very dramatically. In comparison with 1571, in 1570 only twenty-one Strangers paid the same amount as in 1571 and one paid less than in 1571; in 1572 seven paid less than in 1571 and six paid more. The amount of 40/- that Strangers like Gillis Ente and Marten Tuewelen had to pay certainly indicates a high level of wealth; even in 1638 15/- was the highest amount (74).

The native inhabitants of Sandwich were also assessed for payment of 'fforren' money. We were fortunate that, although occupational details are lacking, the primary sources revealed the townsmen's assessment for 1570, 1571 and 1572, and consequently allow for a comparison with the Strangers.

In 1570 eighty-nine Englishmen were assessed: seventy-seven paid between 1d. and 12d. and twelve between 1/- and 5/- (75). The following year ninety-three were listed: seventy-eight were to pay between 1d. and 12d., fourteen between 1/- and 5/-, and one above 5/- (76). In 1572, again, ninety-three were registered: sixty-seven between 1d. and 12d., twenty-one between 1/- and 5/- and five above 5/- (77).

(73) Two Strangers just described as a baker and a cobbler in the 1570 and 1571 lists respectively without any further details are not included.

(74) BL, Additional 33,511, ff.343-8.

(75) KAO, Sa/Ac5, ff.52-3.

(76) Ibid., ff.81-82-vo.

It immediately strikes us that the number of native rate-payers is more equally divided over the three years than the Strangers, thus confirming the inconsistent fluctuation of the exile community. When comparing the number of townsmen and Strangers assessed to pay 'fforren' money we note that in 1571 the proportion of registered refugees is 36.5% higher than the English and consequently reflects our estimate in chapter I that in 1571 the Strangers' population was higher than in 1570 and 1572. We also establish that, although like the Strangers, the majority of the assessed local inhabitants fall within the two lowest categories, most natives are enumerated in the 1d. - 12d. group (86.5% in 1570, 84% in 1571 and 72% in 1572), whilst most Strangers are listed in the second lowest category. i.e. between 1/- and 5/- and 5/- (48.4% in 1570, 42.5% in 1571 and 48.3% in 1572), being consistent with England's policy that the Strangers were to pay double taxation.

In 1585 121 Sandwich natives were assessed to pay their 'fforren' money: 102 between 1d. and 12d., fifteen between 1/- and 5/-, and three above 5/-; of two the assessed amount in not mentioned (78).

β) The 'bonne' or 'boune' money.

The term 'bonne' or 'boune' money in Sandwich occurs in medieval farm bailiff's records as a commutation in cash for customary services due from farm workers and paid in manorial dues (79). Apart from the Strangers' 'bonne' money list of 1585 and a registration of the natives for the same year, there is no documentary evidence that this tax was still collected in the Cinque Port as late as the second

(77) Ibid., ff.109-vo-10.

(78) BL, Additional 33,511, ff.70-70-vo.

(79) See Ch.I above p.23 n6. We are grateful to the late Miss Elizabeth Martin who provided us with this information.

half of the sixteenth century. Perhaps a cunning Borough Treasurer levied this tax under the pretext that the Strangers were to pay for services expected from the community for the maintenance of the town services, street cleaning, the filling up of potholes, etc., similar to the stall and art dues at Southampton (80), and that this device was used to squeeze more money out of the Strangers on a particular occasion during a period of crisis. This hypothesis is reflected in the fact that in 1585 only twenty-one Sandwich natives were assessed to pay 'bonne' money (81).

In 1585 170 heads of Flemish families, bachelors and widowers were assessed for 'bonne' money (82). For convenience we have followed the forefold classification which we adopted earlier for the rates: those liable to pay between 1d. and 12d.; between 1/- and 5/-, 5/- and 10/- and those who paid in excess of 10/-. 104 Strangers were assessed at between 1d. and 12d.; amongst them we find three baize workers, three smiths, two joiners, one turner, one tailor, one gardener, one tiler and one say worker/joiner. Thirty-five exiles were assessed at between 1/- and 5/-, amongst whom one smith, one goldsmith, one sackcloth weaver, one baize worker/baker, one basketmaker, one bookbinder and one baize worker. Thirteen were assessed at between 5/- and 10/-, amongst whom one master-baize worker, one sackcloth weaver, one baize worker, one upholsterer and one gardener. Sixteen Strangers, amongst whom three master-baize workers and one baize worker, paid more than 10/-. The assessments for two Strangers are unknown.

(80) We are grateful to our supervisor, Dr. A.C. Duke, for this information.

(81) Nineteen between 1/- and 5/-, four between 5/- and 10/-, four above 10/- and of two the amount is not mentioned (BL, Additional 33,511, ff.66-66-vo).

(82) See Ch.I above p.42.

e. Wills and inventories of goods.

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In Tudor England the registration of inventories of goods and wills came under the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts. In Kent these were the Archdeaconry Court and the Prerogative Court. The difference between both institutions was that the latter engaged itself exclusively with wills and heritage, whilst the Archdeaconry Court also dealt with marriages, crime and heresy.

Each testator had to submit his or her will to the Prerogative Court for approval, especially if he or she possessed bona notabilia in more than one diocese or goods within their own province. When the court had approved and ratified the will, after the death of the testator, the executor or administrator had the duty to provide the court with a list of the estate and its value which the deceased had left behind. Thereafter the clerk of the court registered the list, large fortunes in the Prerogative Court, possessions with a small value in the Archdeaconry Court. The purpose of registration of these lists was to protect the executor or administrator against possible claims by creditors or against the family who might insist on paying off debts for which insufficient capital was available.

As soon as the debts and funeral expenses were settled and the money and possessions shared out the executor was to make a report to the court. This procedure also applied to all refugees who died in Kent (83).

The fact that we have only traced the wills and inventories of a small number of Strangers, despite exhaustive investigations, is a cause for comment. It is hard to explain why less than 1% of the 1,950 Flemish

(83) J. Cox, Wills, Inventories and Death Duties (London, 1988); T.V.H. Fitzhugh, The Dictionary of Genealogy (Totowa/Sherborne, 1986), pp.94-5.

refugees apparently left a testament and last will. Are we to suppose that, since the law did not demand the making of a will when the value of the estate did not exceed £5, that most of the Strangers were so poor that the value of their possessions was worth less than £5? We do not know for certain, but there are some clues that seem to point in that direction. As we will learn, the value of property referred to in the archives rarely exceeded £250. Persons with estates of this value might be reckoned to be 'middle-class' but definitely not as the 'upper middle-class'.

The table below contains under heading I the names, II the date of death, and III the value of the estate of fourteen Strangers (84):

| I | II | III |
|---------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Pieter AVEGEERS | 6.4.1585 | £18 19s.8d. |
| Jan de BRUNE | after 6.3.1590 | unknown |
| Jooris BUFKIN | before 2.10.1579 | £22 19s.10d. |
| John BUFKIN | before 25.2.1586 | £15 6s.6d |
| Jan CARBONNEEL | after 30.11.1620 | minimum £693 10s. |
| William EVEN | after 7.9.1588 | minimum £467 |
| Barnard LENTE | after 10.4.1584 | unknown |
| Jacob LOYE | after 14.8.1581 | |
| Jacob de MEYER | before 9.3.1594 | £211 9s.11d. |
| Lieven van de PUTTE | after 2.7.1593 | unknown |
| Joos SCHIETHAZS | before 9.3.1594 | £90 7s.6d. |
| Mary VALKENES | 1581 | £23 10s.8d. |
| Pieter de WALLE | before 26.9.1584 | £19 9s.10d. |
| Carel WITS | 1584 or 1585 | minimum £848 |

The above data clearly demonstrate that, although some Strangers were reasonably well-off, none of them was extremely rich, even merchants like Joos Schiethazs and Jacob de Meyer. The fact that testators bequeathed money to

(84) KAO, PRC/2/6, 10/10, 10/12, 10/14, 10/15, 10/16; PRO, Prob.11/68, 11/76, 11/82, 11/84, 11/136.

the Stranger church bears out the argument that the refugee community was poor. Joos Schiethazs left 10/- for the poor of the Stranger congregation (85), Jacob de Meyer 39/- (86)), Carel Wits thirty-three shillings parisis (87), Lieven van de Putte 20/- (88), Jacob Loye 20/- (89), Jan de Brune £4 (90), Barnard Lente 20/- (91), Jan Carbonneel £8 (92) and William Even £10 (93). And some of the Stranger testators did not only think about their own congregation: Jacob Loye bequeathed 10/- to the poor of the native community of Sandwich, Barnard Lente 20/- to the English poor in the parish of St.Peter, William Even £5; Jan Carbonneel not only left £1 for the local poor in the parish of St.Mary but also £1 for the Walloon church at Canterbury.

f. Prices and wages in Sandwich.

\*\*\*\*\*

α) Prices.

- - -

The only local source for prices comes from the accounts of St.Bartholomew Hospital in Sandwich which Lord Beveridge edited (94). Unfortunately these accounts contain numerous gaps, which make the calculation of the eleven-yearly moving average difficult and the results less reliable. Nevertheless, we have analysed the general trend of the prices in the town on the basis of the information

(85) KAO, PRC/2/6/, ff.268-268-vo.

(86) Ibid., ff.296-8.

(87) PRO, Prob.11/68, ff.94-4-vo.

(88) PRO, Prob.11/82, ff.148-8-vo.

(89) PRO, Prob.11/68, ff.201-vo-2.

(90) PRO, Prob.11/76, fo.288.

(91) PRO, Prob.11/68, ff.95-vo-6-vo.

(92) PRO, Prob.11/136, ff.428-vo-9-vo.

(93) PRO, Prob.11/84, ff.234-vo-5.

(94) W. Beveridge, Prices and Wages, i, pp.213-40.

available for tares, hay, bran, beef, butter, candles and Suffolk cheese. Whilst it is appreciated that this 'basket of consumables' is incomplete we only have these items to go on.

---) The price of tares expressed in shillings per quarter (1564-1610).

(selling price as sold by the Hospital).

| Year | Price | Year | Price | Year | Price |
|------|-------|------|-------|------|---------|
| 1564 | 15.80 | 1587 | 10.8 | 1602 | 13.78 |
| | | 1588 | 15 | 1603 | 15.80 |
| 1580 | 8.64 | | | 1604 | 16.46 |
| | | 1596 | 12 | 1605 | 16.61 |
| 1582 | 9.46 | 1597 | 12.42 | 1606 | 11.33 |
| 1583 | 18.67 | 1598 | 28 | 1607 | 11.33 |
| | | | | 1608 | 16.00 |
| 1586 | 18.67 | 1601 | 28.5 | 1609 | 17.67 |
| | | | | 1610 | 16 (95) |

---) The price of hay expressed in shillings per load (1578-1609)

This table also contains the selling prices: 'When the hay from the Hospital meadows was good and exceeded the requirements of the Hospital, the surplus was sold' (96).

| Year | Price | Year | Price | Year | Price |
|------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|
| 1578 | 9.50 | 1598 | 17.32 | 1605 | 16.50 |
| 1580 | 13.22 | 1601 | 20.00 | 1606 | 16.00 |
| 1587 | 12.75 | 1602 | 14.50 | 1607 | 18.00 |
| 1588 | 13.17 | 1603 | 18.00 | 1608 | 18.00 |

(95) Ibid., pp.216-7, 238.

(96) Ibid., p.217.

| | | | | | |
|------|-------|------|-------|------|------------|
| 1596 | 13.75 | 1604 | 14.00 | 1609 | 21.00 (97) |
| 1597 | 16.17 | | | | |

---) The purchasing price of bran expressed in shillings per stone (1572-1609).

| Year | Price | Year | Price | Year | Price |
|------|-------|------|-------|------|-----------|
| 1572 | 3.73 | 1582 | 5.78 | 1602 | 4.80 |
| 1573 | 6.67 | 1583 | 5.33 | 1603 | 5.33 |
| 1575 | 4.34 | 1586 | 8.00 | 1604 | 5.33 |
| 1577 | 4.00 | 1587 | 2.67 | 1606 | 5.33 |
| 1578 | 5.19 | 1596 | 7.11 | 1609 | 9.34 (98) |
| 1579 | 4.50 | 1598 | 9.33 | | |

---) The purchase price of beef expressed in shillings per stone (1586-1610).

| Year | Price | Year | Price | Year | Price |
|------|-------|------|-------|------|-----------|
| 1586 | 1.29 | 1597 | 1.33 | 1604 | 1.23 |
| 1587 | 1.20 | 1598 | 1.27 | 1605 | 1.20 |
| | | | | 1606 | 1.22 |
| 1589 | 1.20 | 1601 | 1.20 | 1607 | 1.22 |
| | | 1602 | 1.09 | 1608 | 1.53 |
| 1596 | 1.27 | 1603 | 1.05 | 1609 | 1.21 |
| | | | | 1610 | 1.47 (99) |

---) The purchase price of butter expressed in shillings per doz. lb. (1573-1610).

| Year | Price | Year | Price | Year | Price |
|------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|
| 1573 | 4.00 | 1588 | 4.08 | 1604 | 4.00 |

(97) Ibid., pp.216-7, 240.

(98) Ibid., pp.218, 238.

(99) Ibid., pp.219, 236.

| | | | | | |
|------|------|------|------|------|------------|
| 1575 | 3.00 | 1596 | 4.25 | 1605 | 5.00 |
| 1577 | 4.00 | 1597 | 4.75 | 1606 | 5.00 |
| 1578 | 3.75 | 1598 | 5.00 | 1607 | 5.00 |
| 1579 | 3.00 | 1601 | 6.00 | 1608 | 5.00 |
| 1582 | 4.00 | 1602 | 4.00 | 1609 | 5.00 |
| 1586 | 4.00 | 1603 | 4.00 | 1610 | 5.00 (100) |
| 1587 | 4.25 | | | | |

---) The purchase price of candles expressed in shillings per doz. lb. (1564-1610)

| Year | Price | Year | Price | Year | Price |
|------|-------|------|-------|------|------------|
| 1564 | 2.67 | 1586 | 3.25 | 1603 | 4.00 |
| 1572 | 2.67 | 1587 | 3.50 | 1604 | 4.00 |
| 1573 | 3.00 | 1588 | 3.63 | 1605 | 3.50 |
| 1575 | 3.25 | 1596 | 3.75 | 1606 | 4.00 |
| 1577 | 3.00 | 1597 | 3.50 | 1607 | 4.00 |
| 1578 | 3.17 | 1598 | 3.75 | 1608 | 4.25 |
| 1579 | 3.50 | 1601 | 4.00 | 1609 | 4.17 |
| 1582 | 3.00 | 1602 | 4.00 | 1610 | 4.25 (101) |
| 1583 | 3.00 | | | | |

---) The purchase price of Suffolk cheese expressed in shillings per doz. lb. (1564-1610)

| Year | Price | Year | Price | Year | Price |
|------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|
| 1564 | 1.21 | 1583 | 1.75 | 1603 | 2.75 |
| 1572 | 1.23 | 1586 | 2.00 | 1604 | 1.75 |
| 1573 | 2.00 | 1587 | 1.63 | 1605 | 1.50 |
| 1575 | 1.75 | 1588 | 1.58 | 1606 | 2.00 |
| 1577 | 1.49 | 1596 | 2.25 | 1607 | 2.00 |
| 1578 | 1.46 | 1597 | 2.25 | 1608 | 2.25 |
| 1579 | 1.59 | 1601 | 2.50 | 1609 | 2.50 |

(100) Ibid., pp.222, 236.

(101) Ibid., pp.226, 238.

| | | | | | |
|------|------|------|------|------|------------|
| 1582 | 1.50 | 1602 | 1.82 | 1610 | 2.50 (102) |
|------|------|------|------|------|------------|

As we only have incidental information about the movement of prices between 1561 and 1572 for the seven items detailed in the tables above, and only have the prices for one institution we need to be cautious in their interpretation. Because the annual prices for the period 1572 - 1610 are not consecutive, conclusions about the evolution of prices in Sandwich should be regarded as providing no more than a guideline.

Nevertheless, when we analyse the fluctuation of the prices of the seven items concerned there is no doubt that - in line with the general movement of prices in the country - as the last two decades of the sixteenth century progressed, the prices in Sandwich evolved likewise. The prices of butter, cheese, candles and beef significantly seem to have been the least affected by the crisis of the 1590s. Although they clearly show an upward trend these price rises occurred very slowly, because beef and cheese did not feature in the diet of the public to any great extent. Between 1582 and 1597-98 the price of 12 lb. of butter increased by 25%, 12 lb. of Suffolk cheese by 50%, 12 lb. of candles by 25, and between 1586 and 1598 the price of a stone of beef actually fell by just 0.2/-. In the period 1582 - 1609-10 the price of butter increased by 25, of Suffolk cheese by 66%, of candles by 41%, and between 1586 and 1610 the price of a stone of beef by 14%.

The price movement of tares, hay and bran, on the contrary, developed more drastically as these were absolutely necessary as food (calories). Between 1582 and 1598 the price of a quarter of bran rose by 62%, between 1580 and 1598 a load of hay by 106%, between 1582 and 1598 the price of a quarter of tares by 151%; for the period 1582 - 1610 the price increased by 62%, 1586 - 1610 by 59% and 1582- 1610 by 70% respectively.

There is no doubt that 1598 was a very difficult time

(102) Ibid., pp.223-5, 238.

for the town and Cinque Port of Sandwich. The collection book of the parish of St. Peter shows that in that year the parish paid a total of £17 19s. 4d. to its poor (103). On 24 April of the same year the parish's poor list contained twenty-four families, i.e. eighty-five people, or roughly a quarter of the English population of the parish (104). On 10 December no less than forty persons in the parish received handouts of bread from the church wardens (105).

We do not have any Sandwich prices for grains such as wheat, barley and oats. But we know, however, from the calculations made earlier in this chapter, that the national eleven-yearly moving average index of grains increased from 399.45 in 1582 to 571.63, i.e. 43%, in 1598; for the same period the national moving average index of consumables rose from 335.30 to 461.27, i.e. by 37.5%. On the basis of the prices of the consumables at St. Bartholomew Hospital and the national average grain index, we can tentatively conclude that the price of consumables in general for the period 1582 - 1598 increased in Sandwich by roughly between 40 and 50%, thus above the national average for consumables. We shall now seek to examine the effects this economic fluctuation had on the cost and standard of living of the Strangers' community in the town.

β) Wages.

Only six weeks after the Strangers were permitted to settle in Sandwich, the Elizabethan government instructed the Justices of the Peace in the shires to review the wages of artificers and labourers in an attempt to keep the 'excessive wage demands' under control. Two years later the

(103) CCDC, U3/12/11/1, fo.5.

(104) Loc. cit.; P. Clark, 'English Towns', p.48. As outlined in Ch.II the Strangers were to look after their own poor, so no Stranger names are included.

(105) CCDC, U3/12/11/1, fo.5.

Statute of Artificers reinforced this policy. We were fortunate to discover the 1561 Sandwich/Kent wage review, whilst B.H. Putnam published the 1563 assessment (106). The most remarkable aspect of the latter, dated 24 June 1589, is the statement that 'Theise rates have bene yearly Certified into the Chauncerye, synce 5 Elizab. Reg: without any chaunge; and doe stand now 24 June 31 Eliz.' (107). For at least twenty-six years the maximum wages in Kent - and therefore at Sandwich - remained unchanged - at least officially.

There is no reason to suppose that the Strangers' wages would have been assessed separately from the English inhabitants; they would therefore have been included in the 1563 assessment. This view is confirmed by the fact that whereas the 1561 review refers only to carpenters, sawyers, bricklayers, tilers, thatchers and labourers, the 1563 assessment includes clothiers, wool weavers, fullers, dyers and linen weavers.

The tables below demonstrate the daily wage in Kent/Sandwich in pence for the various occupations included in the 1561 and 1563 assessments supplemented with sporadic information for the years 1574, 1593, 1597, 1599, 1600 and 1601. Where the wages are set out per year we have transformed them into daily wages on the basis of the maximum possible average working days per year, i.e. 303.

For reason of space we are obliged to use the following abbreviations: AP = apprentice, AR = artificer, M = master, MD = meat and drink, S = summer, W = winter, WT = without meat and drink.

| Occupation | Season | Condition | 1561 | 1563 |
|-------------|--------|-----------|------|------|
| M carpenter | S | MD | 6 | 6 |
| | | WT | 9 | 10 |

(106) KAO, Sa/ZB3/69; B.H. Putnam, 'Kent Wages Assessment', 169-73.

(107) B.H. Putnam, 'Kent Wages Assessment', 173.(?)

| | | | | |
|--------------|---|----|---|----|
| | W | MD | - | 5 |
| | | WT | | 10 |
| AP/2nd AR | S | MD | 4 | 5 |
| | | WT | 8 | 9 |
| | W | MD | 3 | 4 |
| | | WT | 6 | 8 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| M saywer | S | MD | 6 | 6 |
| | | WT | 9 | - |
| | W | MD | - | - |
| | | WT | - | 10 |
| AP/2nd AR | S | MD | 4 | 5 |
| | | WT | 8 | 9 |
| | W | MD | 3 | 4 |
| | | WT | 6 | 8 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| M bricklayer | S | MD | 6 | 6 |
| | | WT | 9 | - |
| | W | MD | - | - |
| | | WT | - | 10 |
| AP/2nd AR | S | MD | 4 | 5 |
| | | WT | 8 | 9 |
| | W | MD | 3 | 4 |
| | | WT | 6 | 8 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| M tiler | S | MD | 6 | 6 |
| | | WT | 9 | - |
| | W | MD | - | - |
| | | WT | - | 10 |
| AP/2nd AR | S | MD | 4 | 5 |
| | | WT | 8 | 9 |
| | W | MD | 3 | 4 |
| | | WT | 6 | 8 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| M thatcher | S | MD | 6 | 6 |
| | | WT | 9 | 10 |
| | W | MD | - | - |
| | | WT | - | 10 |

| | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|----------------|---|-----|
| AP/2nd AR | S | MD | 4 | 5 |
| | | WT | 8 | 9 |
| | W | MD | 3 | 4 |
| | | WT | 6 | 8 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| tucker's/shearman's miller | | | | 3 |
| | | 'byrler' | | 2 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| clothier's forman | | | | 2 |
| | | common servant | | 2 |
| | | journeyman | | 2 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| wool weaver's foreman | | | | 2.5 |
| | | common servant | | 2 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| millers/fuller's best servant | | | | 2.5 |
| | | common servant | | 2 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| dyer's wringer or underdyer | | | | 3 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| hosier's/tailor's foreman | | | | 2.5 |
| | | sower | | 2 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| shoemaker's best servant | | | | 2.5 |
| | | other servant | | 2 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| tanner's market man | | | | 2.5 |
| | | other servant | | 2 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| pewterer's foreman | | | | 2.5 |
| | | common servant | | 2 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| baker's setter or seasoner | | | | 2.5 |
| | | common servant | | 2 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| brewer's headbrewer | | | | 2.5 |
| | | common servant | | 2 |
| <hr/> | | | | |

| | |
|--|-----|
| glover's waterman | 3 |
| shopman | 2 |
| <hr/> | |
| cutler's foreman | 2 |
| common servant | 2 |
| <hr/> | |
| ferror's/blacksmith's best servant | 2 |
| common servant | 2 |
| <hr/> | |
| currier's drawer & colourer | 2.5 |
| common servant | 2 |
| <hr/> | |
| saddler's best servant | 2 |
| common servant | 2 |
| <hr/> | |
| 'spurrier's' servant | 2 |
| <hr/> | |
| turner's servant | 2 |
| <hr/> | |
| capper's/hatter's/feltmaker's best servant | 2 |
| second best | 2 |
| <hr/> | |
| bowyer's/fletcher's best servant | 2 |
| second best | 1.5 |
| <hr/> | |
| arrowheadmaker's servant | 2 |
| <hr/> | |
| butcher's foreman | 2 |
| common servant | 2 |
| <hr/> | |
| cook's servant | 2 |
| <hr/> | |
| corn miller's grinder and loader | 2 |
| <hr/> | |
| wheelwright's best servant | 2.5 |
| second best | 2 |
| <hr/> | |

| | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|----|---|-----|
| limeburner's servant | | | | 2 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| linen weaver's best servant | | | | 2 |
| second best | | | | 2 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| cooper's best servant | | | | 2.5 |
| second best | | | | 2 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| potter's servant | | | | 1.5 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| M ploughwright | S | MD | - | 6 |
| | | WT | - | 10 |
| | W | MD | - | 5 |
| | | WT | - | 10 |
| Ap/2nd AR | S | MD | - | 5 |
| | | WT | - | 9 |
| | W | MD | - | 4 |
| | | WT | - | 8 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| millwright | S | MD | - | 10 |
| | | WT | - | 15 |
| | W | MD | - | 8 |
| | | WT | - | 13 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| plasterer | S | MD | - | 6 |
| | | WT | - | 11 |
| | W | MD | - | 5 |
| | | WT | - | 10 |
| plumber | | MD | - | 8 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| glasier | | MD | - | 6 |
| | | WT | - | 11 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| M mason | S | MD | - | 8 |
| | | WT | - | 13 |
| | W | MD | - | 6 |
| | | WT | - | 11 |
| <hr/> | | | | |

| | | | | | | | |
|----------------|--------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| carver/joiner | S | MD | - | 7 | | | |
| | | WT | - | 12 | | | |
| | W | MD | - | 6 | | | |
| | | WT | - | 11 | | | |
| his servant | S | MD | - | 5 | | | |
| | | WT | - | 10 | | | |
| | W | MD | - | 4 | | | |
| | | WT | - | 9 | | | |
| <hr/> | | | | | | | |
| shipwright's | | | | | | | |
| M hewer | - | MD | - | 12 | | | |
| | | WT | - | 13 | | | |
| cable clincher | - | MD | - | 10 | | | |
| | | WT | - | 15 | | | |
| holder | - | MD | - | 6 | | | |
| | | WT | - | 11 | | | |
| M calker | - | MD | - | 10 | | | |
| | | WT | - | 15 | | | |
| mean calker | - | MD | - | 7 | | | |
| | | WT | - | 13 | | | |
| <hr/> | | | | | | | |
| labourers | S | MD | 4 | 4 | | | |
| | | WT | 8 | 9 | | | |
| | W | MD | 3 | 3 | | | |
| | | WT | 6 | 7 | | | |
| <hr/> | | | | | | | |
| mower | - | MD | - | 6 | | | |
| | | WT | - | 11 | | | |
| reaper
man | - | MD | - | 6 | | | |
| | | WT | - | 11 | | | |
| woman | - | MD | - | 4 | | | |
| | | WT | - | 7 | | | |
| <hr/> | | | | | | | |
| Occupation | Season | 1574 | 1593 | 1597 | 1599 | 1600 | 1601 |
| M carpenter | S | - | 15 | - | - | - | - |

| | | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|------|------|------|------|------|-------|
| M carpenter + | | | | | | | |
| labourer | - | - | - | - | 32 | - | - |
| M tiler | S | - | - | 9 | - | - | - |
| M mason + | | | | | | | |
| labourer | - | - | - | - | - | 28d. | 26d. |
| labourer | S | 10d. | 16d. | 10d. | 12d. | | (108) |

As stated above, between 1582 and 1598 the average price of consumables in Sandwich increased by approximately 40 to 50%. But between 1563 and 1598 the wages of artisans, labourers, maids and servants in the town had stagnated and we found little evidence in Sandwich to the contrary. There is no doubt, however, that in certain circumstances the limitations imposed by the 1563 assessment on occasions was flouted in the Cinque Port: the summer daily wage of a labourer, assessed at 4d. in 1563, was 10d. in 1574, i.e. an increase of 150% over eleven years. This may be exceptional, but we do observe a general increase in the daily wages during the crisis years of the 1590s. The wage of a master tiler rose from 6d. per day in 1563 to 9d. in 1597, the summer wage of a labourer, 4d., meat and drink included, in 1563 to 16d. in 1593, 10d. in 1597 and 12d. in 1599. In short, between 1563 and 1597-9 the average daily wage of a skilled artisan and unskilled labourer in Sandwich increased approximately between 50 and 200%, but, as we have seen earlier, at the same time the buying power of the real wages decreased.

Despite the economic fluctuations in England from the 1580s onwards a small minority of Strangers still managed to accomplish a level of wealth similar to that they had enjoyed in Flanders before the 1560s. The fact that at least twenty-nine families and even one batchelor had maids and servants (the wills of Carel Wits, Barnard Lente and Jan Carbonneel indicate as much). Nevertheless, the vast

(108) The source of the data in the second table is CCDC, U3/12/4/1, ff.8, 12-vo, 20, 22; KAO, Sa/LC4/12.

majority of the Flemish community in Sandwich appear to have been poor or just managed to live above the minimum standard of living and were of modest means. Most of them did not pay rates and taxes and the majority of those who did, fell within the two bottom categories. The absence of wills provides indirect evidence which points in the same direction.

We find it interesting, at this stage, to compare the wealth of the Strangers with ordinary inhabitants of Sandwich. For this object we have chosen at random the wills of three English townsmen. In 1569 the contents of the dwelling of Thomas Scotte were valued at £28 3s. 10d. (109). In 1577 those of John Stampuer at £28 15s. 10d. (110). In 1623 Joshua Ruck only possessed one bedstead with feather bolster, two pillows, two pillow-cases, two blankets, one coverlet, two pair of Holland sheets, three silver spoons and a silver cup (111). So, the first impression one gets is that the Strangers were probably no worse off than the native population. However the fact that, mainly after 1585, more than 300 Strangers preferred to leave Sandwich for the northern Netherlands - an opportunity not available to the English townsmen - is an indication that for the mass of immigrants who had no access to the labour market Holland seemed to offer considerably greater opportunities than Sandwich. They moved to Holland in search for work and prosperity (e.g. in Leiden) because their lot in the Cinque Port during the last two decades of the sixteenth century was far from prosperous. Besides, initially the refugees were welcomed in the north and the Sandwich community would have known of the wholesale exodus of Hondschootenaren to Leiden. Furthermore, apart from cultural and linguistic affinities, the privileged status accorded to the Reformed Religion in the Republic might also have persuaded some to emigrate.

(109) KAO, PRC/10/3, ff.195-vo-6-vo.

(110) KAO, PRC/10/9, ff.100-vo-1.

(111) PRO, PRC, Prob.11/142, fo.54-vo.

large scale. Accompanied by more frequently recurring economic depressions this situation resulted in social unrest and made textile workers, artisans and labourers an easy target for new ideas, mainly militant and radical Calvinism.

As early as 1554-5 secret conventicles and Bible readings organised by small groups of adherents to the new religion, were held in private houses, the woods, the 'Flemish Hills' (2) and in deserted and dilapidated barns. From 1559 exiled and fugitive preachers returned from England and France in an endeavour to convert the inhabitants of the Westkwartier to Calvinism. Some of these ministers were in fact skilled artisans from the region. Amongst them we find Loys de Zomere, cloth-cutter from Bailleul, Jooris Vrambout, the brothers Gheleyn and Willem Damman, David Cambier, linen weaver from Nieuwkerke, Hans Broiteur and Sebastiaan Matte, hatter from Ieper (3). Between 1559 and 1562 we know of at least seventy nightly and clandestine gatherings (4).

By 1560 Calvinism had become a mass movement in the Westkwartier. Despite the ferocious persecution in the region by the fanatic inquisitor Pieter Titelmans, dean of Ronse (5), by the end of 1561 he was no longer in control of the situation. In or about that time anti-establishment pamphlets were distributed in the area. In Hondschoote one of these pamphlets attacked the attorney-general, the

(2) I.e. the Kemmelberg, Katsberg, Ravensberg, Rodeberg, Zwarteberg, Boeschepeberg and the Scherpeberg (see vol. II, map I, pp.5-6).

(3) For details about Jooris Vrambout, the brothers Damman and Hans Broiteur, see Ch.II above, pp.82-4.

(4) M. Backhouse, 'Bijbellezingen', 62-79.

(5) At least 127 people are known to have been sentenced to death - mainly burned at the stake - through

inquisitor and the legal authorities, and emphasized that the repression would cause Hondschoote to lose its prosperity (6). Soon the pamphlet propaganda and other verbal threats were overtaken by physical action. In 1561, for instance, the population of Bailleul came out in arms when the 'heretic' Hans de Clercq was transported from the town prison to Ieper. In November of the same year Jan Hacke (7) was freed from jail in Mesen. Likewise a similar act of audacity occurred in Armentières. And on 12 May 1562 minister Willem Damman was rescued from his prison cell in Ieper. Death threats against Pieter Titelmans increased in number; in desperation he requested to be discharged from his office (8).

Matters were just beginning to quieten down, when the authorities were alarmed by a popular act of defiance on the part of the Reformed. On Sunday 12 July 1562 minister Gheleyn Damman preached a public sermon on the cemetery of Boeschepe, his native village, at 9 o'clock in the morning to coincide with the high mass which was celebrated in the local church. The number in attendance was estimated at 150 to 200, some of whom carried arms. Damman preached for more than one hour against the Church, the authority of the Pope, the Holy Sacrament and other articles and mysteries of the Roman Catholic religion. The meeting ended with prayers and a psalm.

The audacity of the act startled the country. The repression which began immediately the day after the sermon was most severe. Gheleyn Damman managed to escape to

Titelmans' intermediary (J. van de Wiele, 'Het optreden van inquisiteur Pieter Titelmans en zijn inquisitierechtbank in het Westkwartier en Waals-Vlaanderen tussen 1545 en 1566', De Franse Nederlanden (1987), 69).

(6) Coussemaker, iv, pp.59-61.

(7) See vol.II, no.751, p.118.

(8) Coussemaker, iv, p.55.; J. van de Wiele, 'Titelmans', 67-80.

Gravelines, where he remained three months as a journeyman bricklayer. He arrived back in Sandwich in October 1562. The instructions of the governor-general, Margaret of Parma, were crystal clear: all those guilty had to be arrested and punished and all heretical activities in general were to be eradicated once and for all. Arrests, trials, banishments and public executions followed soon. Of ninety-eight people whom we know to have been present at the sermon thirty-four were banished with confiscation of their goods, twenty-six were fined with public penance, five were sent to the galleys, one died in prison and twelve were executed. Before long the consequences of this savage reaction were to be felt. Many adherents of the new religion either fled the country or pretended to be Catholics to escape the gallows, the stake, the rack and the pillory. Nevertheless, the success of this persecution was only temporary: for more than three years the preachings were halted, but in 1566 the storm erupted, more violent and resolute than ever before (9).

The presentation of the Compromise of the Nobility by the confederates to Margaret of Parma on 5 April 1566 created a new stimulus for the Reformed. Full of hope now to be able to practise their religion in an atmosphere of tolerance and freedom as they did in their host country, hundreds of exiles and refugees returned from England to their native Westkwartier. Among them were ministers, who immediately stepped into action. At the end of May 1566 Calvinist sermons were still held secretly at night but by June hedge preachings were organised in broad daylight. Between 26 May and 15 December 1566 at least 150 preachings were heard in the Flemish Westkwartier (10).

(9) M. Backhouse, 'Boeschepe', 198-200; M. Backhouse, 'Beeldenstorm en Bosgeuzen', 62-9; M. Backhouse, 'Bijbelezingen', 62-3, 74.

(10) M. Backhouse, 'Hagepreken in het Vlaamse Westkwartier (mei-december 1566)', De Franse Nederlanden (1984), 128-9, 136-9.

But instead King Philip II insisted that his religious policy remain unchanged. The Reformed felt cheated. As attending crowds at the preachings increased in number so did the tension. On Saturday 10 August 1566 the minister Sebastiaan Matte, returned from exile, in the company of Jacob de Buyzere, and delivered a rousing sermon at St.Laurent near Steenvoorde. Thereafter some of his followers, headed by Jacob de Buyzere, entered the nearby monastery and smashed the images. The Iconoclastic Fury had commenced and within a matter of weeks spread over the entire Netherlands. Between August and September 1566 the iconoclasts sacked and pillaged more than 130 churches and monasteries in the Westkwartier alone. However the radicals did not reach their goal and in December the Calvinist consistories of the Westkwartier and members of the confederated nobility assembled at Nieuwkerke and decided upon direct armed resistance. An army was raised but defeated at Wattrelos and Lannoy (11).

But the resistance was not yet extinguished. In the autumn of 1567 - a few months after the arrival in the Netherlands of the Duke of Alva - Jan Camerlynck and his Wood Beggars appeared on the scene. This gang of guerilla-fighters, created and produced by the lower gentry, terrorised the Westkwartier for nearly a year with their barbarous exploits. Churches were pillaged and burned down, priests and law officers tortured and murdered, private houses burgled and looted and their residents often molested or even killed. The final goal of these atrocities, i.e. to start a general revolt in the Westkwartier in order to launch an unrealistic and desperate military invasion of the region, came to an end in 1568 when the leaders and gang members were arrested and executed (12).

(11) M. Backhouse, 'Beeldenstorm en Bosgeuzen', 73-115.

(12) Ibid., 116-154.

In spite of the continuing severe repression in the Westkwartier the Beggars' invasion plan of the area had not evaporated. When in the spring of 1571 they co-ordinated with the Huguenots, and after the Sea Beggars' successful surprise attack on Den Briel on 1 April 1572, hopes were raised for another attempt to attack the Westkwartier. The target: the port and town of Nieuwpoort, where heavily armed troops controlled the town in an endeavour to prevent rebel infiltration. In the spring of 1573 rebels made preparations to attack Nieuwpoort on Easter Day. Once again the attempt failed (13).

After an endeavour by the Duke of Aerschot to intrigue against the authority of the Prince of Orange in 1577, the former was arrested in Ghent by two local magistrates. Immediately thereafter they organised a coup, thus originating its 'Calvinist Republic'. Before long the Westkwartier, where Calvinism - albeit on a much more reduced scale - was still active, came in its grip. In 1578 Ieper, Poperinge, Bergues-Saint-Winoc, Veurne and Nieuwpoort were captured by the Ghent Republic, which now ruled the towns. This Calvinist rule, however, was soon to be crushed. In 1582 the troops of Anjou and Parma appeared on the scene. The same year Bailleul was recaptured and Hondschoote burned to the ground. Poperinge was pillaged. The following year the Spanish troops reconquered Poperinge, Dunkirk, Bergues-Saint-Winoc, Diksmuide, Veurne and Nieuwpoort. Ieper fell in 1584. Active Calvinist resistance in the now poverty-stricken and desolate Westkwartier had finally been broken (14).

(13) D. van der Bauwhede, 'Vier rebellen voor de Nieuwpoortse schepenbank, april 1573', WGJ (1987), iv, 7-16.

(14) J. Briels, Zuidnederlanders, pp.35-44.

1. The events prior to 1566.

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From its earliest days the central figure in the Sandwich Strangers community was the radical minister Jacob de Buyzere (15). As stated in chapter I above (16) by the term 'radical' we understand those refugees who believed that it was permissible to use force to resist religious persecution. This does not automatically imply that 'radicals' were those banished from the Westkwartier or elsewhere in Flanders and those who took part in the Troubles of 1566-7. As we will see below, this, however, does not exclude the fact that some radicals had indeed been banished and participated in the Troubles.

Jacob de Buyzere was born in or about 1525 in Hondegheem in the Westkwartier, and was a monk in Ieper until 1560. Wanted by the authorities for his 'heretic' views, in November of that year he fled to London, where in April 1561 he became assistant minister of the Dutch Refugee Church. On 24 August he married Catharina de Raedt, sister of Franchois de Raedt of Nieuwkerke (17) and widow of co-religionist Pieter Buen. The following month the London Dutch Church sent him to Sandwich as minister of the newly authorised Strangers' church. In July 1566 Jacob de Buyzere returned to the Westkwartier and became one of the driving forces behind the Iconoclastic Fury. He was also closely connected with the battles of Wattrelos and Oosterweel. In the beginning of 1567 he had joined Brederode's troops. After the defeat at Wattrelos he fled to Antwerp using the name of Jacobus de Bailleul. Later that year we find him in Amsterdam and in 1570 he was back in Sandwich after an absence of four years. He died presumably in the Cinque

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(15) See Ch.II, p.82, 88.

(16) P.31 n27.

(17) For more details about him, see below in this chapter, pp.303-4.

Port in June 1572 (18).

The progressive increase of violent incidents against the clerical and secular authorities in the Westkwartier in 1561 and 1562 gave rise to fierce ideological discussions in the English refugee churches, which threatened to destroy their unity. As early as March 1561 moderate minister Godfried van Wingen - at that moment in time active in Nieuwkerke and its neighbourhood - requested the Dutch church in London on behalf of some Flemish brothers to answer the following principal issues:

- was it permissible to carry arms against the enemy for self-protection or at least to strike terror into them?

- could prisons be burst open to free co-religionists?

- could one arrest inquisitor Pieter Titelmans, as he did not belong to the authorities?

Asked for its advice the French refugee church in the capital strongly opposed the use of violence against any authority (19).

The Stranger community at Sandwich was itself divided on the issue of resistance. When on 5 November 1561 Jan Hacke was forcibly delivered from his cell in Mesen, the question was raised anew and led to an open conflict within the consistory. The opposition against violence by the majority of the Sandwich consistory is highlighted in the sworn statement of Pieter Heuzeck or Heyseeck, a shearman-become baize worker from Nieuwkerke, who having resided in London in 1561 and in Sandwich in 1562, was captured when he returned to the Westkwartier in early 1563. The Hacke

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(18) See vol.II, no. 336, p.58.

(19) J. Decavele, 'Jan Hendrickx en het Calvinisme in Vlaanderen (1560-1564)', Handelingen van het Genootschap "Société d'Emulation" te Brugge (1969), cvi, 19-20; E. Johnson (ed.), Actes du Consistoire de l'Eglise Française de Threadneedle Street, Londres, vol.1, 1560-1565 (PHS, 38, London, 1937), p.38; A. Pettegree, Foreign Communities, pp.239-40; A.A. van Schelven, Kerkerads-protocollen, p.146.



prison-breaking prompted some elders to call a meeting of the consistory. This meeting, held in the house of Jacob de Buyzere, was also attended by minister Pieter Hazaert and Jan de Meldere, who lived in Flanders. A discussion was held on the subject 'omme niet gheorloft en was huerlieden ghevanghenen met ghewelde te verlossene'. Jacob de Buyzere, Pieter Hazaert and Jan de Meldere argued in favour, but the majority of the elders opposed and the radicals lost the argument. As a result of this verdict a furious Pieter Hazaert left Sandwich and Jan de Meldere returned to Flanders (20). But this did not close the debate.

Early in 1562 a synod of the Reformed ministers was assembled in Antwerp and the matter was raised again. Adriaen Daneels and Jacob van Acken, two members of the local consistory at the time, were summoned as witnesses to London in 1570, where the same controversial issue was debated once more. Daneels stated that at Antwerp the synod had decided that 'Christians' were free to liberate captive 'Christians' with appropriate means though resorting to violence. According to Jacob van Acken the synod, having considered advice received from London, Geneva and Emden, determined that it was justified to free prisoners arrested because of their religious beliefs either by force or by prison-breakings (21).

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(20) Coussemaeker, i, 347; A. Pettegree, Foreign Communities, pp.240-1; vol.II, nos.801, 1950 (a), pp.124, 295.

(21) 'zeyde, hoe dat hij in een Synodus gheweest es tAndtwerpen daer diversche predicanten waren,....daer besloten was, dat den Christenen vrij stondt met bequamen middel, sonder ghewelt, de ghevanghenen Christenen te helpen; zecht dat hij oock in de voorghemelden Synodus was, omtrent den jaere 1562... Zecht dat daer besloten was, up tadvys ende onder correctie van die van London, Geneven ende Embden, dat men de ghevanghenen om de religie der hueverheit mocht uyten handen nemen, tzij met ghewelt ofte

The consistories of the refugee churches in England were clearly split into two wings: a more pacific and moderate wing which opposed all forms of violence, and a more radical wing which believed that the authorities would only recognise Calvinism if they were forced to do so. But in spite of de Buyzere's 'defeat' in the Jan Hacke affair he and other members of the Sandwich consistory continued to favour the radical view which led to conflict with the moderates in London. Nevertheless, in Sandwich the view of the minority, militant radicalism, would triumph. And whenever the opportunity occurred Jacob de Buyzere would express his opinions. And circumstances which gave strength to his views did certainly arise. On 27 April 1562 he wrote to Petrus Delenus in London about the capture in Flanders of Gillis Ente (22), brother of Frans Ente (23), member of the Sandwich congregation. De Buyzere stated that in a letter smuggled out of his prison cell Gillis expressed the wish that the Council of Sandwich or the Bishop of London and other leading men would write to the Council of Flanders in Ghent on his behalf. In de Buyzere's opinion this course of action would be futile. He could easily persuade Sandwich Town Council to write, he said, but this would be in vain: the town of Sandwich was hardly known in Flanders and was hated because of the presence of the refugee church and community. Furthermore, a despicable man, sent by the attorney-general of Flanders to spy on their church had been imprisoned at Sandwich for some time (24).

Indeed, spies and intimidators did arrive in Sandwich. On 30 March 1562 Maillaert Zoete, a turncoat Protestant from Hondschoote, appeared before the Mayor and Jurats of Sandwich as he had been committed to ward upon suspicion.

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upbraeken' (A. Kuyper (ed.), Kerkeraads-Protocollen, pp.261, 267-8).

(22) See vol.II, no. 620, p.100.

(23) Ibid., no. 618, p.100.

(24) Hessels, ii, pp.195-7.

Questioned about the purpose of his presence in the Cinque Port Zoete confessed that he

'was sente hyther to Sandwich by comyssion from the procurator generall of Fflanders ro examyn a Flemishe woman of this towne, the wydowe of one Andree Sterlyng (Andries Teerlynck), upon certen articles gyven hym by the seyd procurator generall...and confessithe that he hathe spoken with the same wydowe sens his commyng hyther. And seid unto her yf she wolde go over sea unto the seyd procurator, she shulde go saffe for the space of one monethe. Wherto she answered that she wolde not go. And then he sayd to her shuld be a lettre procured from the Quene that she shall come over. And furthermore, he sayed to her that he hadd certen articles to examyn her upon, which he wolde do to morrowe or the nexte daie' (25).

On 7 April Maillaert Zoete was banished for life from Sandwich upon pain of losing his ears (26). Whoever had reported him to the Mayor and Jurats had observed well and was justified in doing so. In a letter to the Council of Flanders dated 16 April 1562 the attorney-general Jan de Brune confirmed that he had persuaded Maillaert Zoete, inn-keeper of 'The Swan' in Hondschoote, to travel to England with a sergeant of Jan de Visch, lieutenant of the sovereign bailiff of Flanders, to bring the widow of Andries Teerlynck safely to him for questioning; if she refused to leave, then to examine her in Sandwich (27).

A similar event occurred seven months later. Having arrived in Sandwich four days earlier without any particular reason, on 14 November a certain Karel van Dale from Dunkirk, suspected of being a spy, was questioned by the Mayor and Jurats of the Cinque Port: 'And for that he

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(25) KAO, Sa/Ac4, fo.203-vo.

(26) Ibid., fo.204.

(27) Coussemaker, i, p.94; iv, pp.65, 69, 302.

was not appoynted heare to dwell by the order of the Quenes  
Maiestie and her most honorable councell, and also is lyke  
a suspected person, yt is ordered that the same Calle van  
Dalle shall departe this towen forthwith upon payne of  
losing his heyers' (28).

Such circumstances undoubtedly reinforced the stand of Jacob de Buyzere and other radicals: no negotiations or compromises, but action. To prevent further possible infiltrations into the community organised by the authorities in Flanders, de Buyzere built his own 'intelligence-office' in Sandwich in order to monitor the events on the other side of the English Channel very closely. A striking example of the efficiency of this information network is illustrated by the case of Hansken Huens. On 17 October 1563 the latter, an inhabitant of Nieuwpoort, was arrested in Ieper and soon thereafter transferred to the castle of Nieuwpoort. Within days his capture was known to Jacob de Buyzere. During the night of 23-24 October Hans Broiteur (29) and a group of co-religionists left Sandwich and managed to free their brother from his Nieuwpoort jail (30).

We were able to identify 182 Flemish refugees who were involved in turbulent occurrences in Flanders before 1566. They participated in secret gatherings and conventicles organised by the Reformed in Flanders at the end of the fifth decade and the early years of the 1560s of the sixteenth century, in violent prison-breakings, the notorious sermon at Boeschepe or 'sectarian' activities in general. A detailed breakdown exposes the facts that at least nineteen Sandwich Strangers attended the preaching at Boeschepe, nineteen took part in conventicles, five were involved in prison-breakings and 139 in general 'heretic' activities.

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(28) KAO, Sa/Ac4, fo.203-vo.

(29) None of the other participants could be identified.

(30) D. van der Bauwhede, Nieuwpoort in de Geuzentijd

(Torhout, 1986), p.28.

## a. The ministers.

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It is very significant that of the twelve Calvinist ministers, hulppredikanten and proponenten who resided in Sandwich before 1566 only three belonged to the moderate and pacific tendency, viz. Willem de Schilder, Erasmus Top and Godfried van Wingen (31). The other nine, maybe with the exception of the controversial Andries Baerdeloos, were all inclined to militancy. Besides Jacob de Buyzere of whom we have already spoken we should include here Hans Broiteur, Pieter Hazaert, Jooris Vrambout, the brothers Damman, Jan Hendrickx, Adriaen Obri and Gillis de Queekere (32).

After having resided in London in 1560 Hans Broiteur returned to the Westkwartier during the first half of the following year and was active in Nieuwkerke, where he converted fellow countrymen to the new religion and encouraged them to settle in England. In June 1561 he was back in London. Two months later he arrived in Sandwich, where he was trained as a preacher. Very soon he became hulppredikant to Jacob de Buyzere. As we have seen above, he led the group who liberated Hansken Huens from prison in Nieuwpoort in 1563.

Gheleyn Damman, the preacher at Boeschepe, was described as a man who remained in England against his wishes as he longed to depart to Flanders to preach, for he claimed that the Holy Spirit had inspired him to undertake this work.

His brother Willem abandoned his priesthood in or about 1558. In 1560 he, together with Pieter Hazaert, was the minister at Hondschoote. Willem Damman was less well known for his sermons - for which he wrote his own music - than for his rescue from prison in Ieper and his lifestyle: he had a wife and a concubine in Flanders.

Jan Hendrickx came in contact with Pieter Hazaert whilst

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(31) See Ch.II above, pp. 83-4.

(32) Ibid., p.82-4.

the latter was active in Flanders just before 1560. From that moment onwards Hendrickx became Hazaert's companion on his travels and sermons. In June 1564 he was arrested near Ghent after having smashed a statue of Our Lady. Two months later he was burned at the stake.

In the 1550s Adriaen Obri was operating in Lampernisse. In 1561 he was in London and by 1563 had moved to Sandwich. After September of that year the consistory of the Flemish refugee church sent him to the Westkwartier. He settled in Hondschoote as a say weaver whilst he became a preacher in the town. He soon moved to Nieuwpoort where he continued his propagandist activities. He left the town in the beginning of 1564.

Gillis de Queekere and his wife, Martine Salomé, arrived in Sandwich in 1562. The following year he returned to the Westkwartier, more specifically to Hondschoote, to preach the new religion. But it was in 1566 that he demonstrated his extreme radical views to the limit.

In 1559 and 1560 Jooris Vrambout regularly held conventicles in Steenvoorde and its neighbourhood. In 1561 he was in London and between July and December of that year he arrived in Sandwich recommended by the consistory of the Dutch refugee church in London. Despite being banished from Flanders in 1562 he frequently returned to the Westkwartier.

Apart from Jacob de Buyzere Pieter Hazaert indisputably was the most influential minister during his stay in Sandwich. After he left the monastery in 1557 he took it upon himself to commence preaching the new religion. In or about 1560 he was very active in Hondschoote and its vicinity and in Belle-ambacht, where he held inciting sermons in private dwellings. In August 1561 he arrived in Sandwich to arrange the organisation and establishment of the Flemish refugee church. Contemporary sources described him in 1563 as about 40, corpulent, usually wearing a tall silk hat, a cloak, a long say tabard and blue loose-fitting garters of the sort also worn by the other brothers. He was

very unpopular among the Strangers in England because of his vehement style of preaching (33).

The figure of Andries Baerdeloos was a more isolated character. Wanted by the authorities he was prevailed upon to flee to London, where he married in 1562. The following year the newly-weds moved to Sandwich, where he underwent further training as a preacher. Although he originally was a radical he gradually accepted more moderate views.

b. The elders.

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We know of only two Flemish refugees who had been elected as elders of the consistory of the Flemish refugee church before 1566: Gillis Ente and Joannes Beaugrand (34). In the latter case we can demonstrate that he expressed militant views and actions. As early as 1558 Joannes Beaugrand's name was on the Flemish authorities' wanted-list because of his 'sectarian' activities. He escaped to Antwerp and in 1560 arrived in London where soon he became elder of the consistory of the Dutch church. In or about August 1561 he arrived in Sandwich with his wife on recommendation of the Dutch church. In the Cinque Port again he was elected elder. In May of the following year he returned to the Westkwartier to participate in the exploit of freeing minister Willem Damman and returned safely to Sandwich.

c. The deacons.

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We were able to identify three Flemish exiles who became deacons of the Flemish refugee church before the Troubles

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(33) Coussemaker, i, p.349.

(34) Ibid., pp.90-1.

of 1566: Jooris Boeye, Franchois Bolle and Willelmus de Huussere (35). Jooris Boeye was a radical described as of short stature. A deacon of the Dutch refugee church in London in 1561, he settled in Sandwich on the recommendation by the consistory of the former. The audacious prison-breaking of Jan Hacke, an event in which he participated in person, was thought to have been his brainchild.

d. The masters.

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The table below contains the names of eighteen Strangers who were masters in Sandwich before 1566 (those who were also elders or deacons are not included). Those marked (B) were banished from Flanders.

Pieter Basset (B)	Joannes Lieven (B)
Thomas Bateman	Joannes Looten (B)
George Bavelare (B)	Gherard Matte
Victor Bouden	Franchois de Raedt (B)
Jacobus van Broukerkce (B)	Judocus de Roo
Joannes van Eke (B)	Mattheus de Rycke
Pieter Hacke	Joannes van der Slaert
Joannes Heyseeck (B)	Petrus van der Slijpe
Georgius van Ixem	Franciscus Walewyn

It is Gherard Matte and Franchois de Raedt who particularly catch our attention. Gherard Matte, brother of the notorious minister Sebastiaan Matte, fled to London in November 1560. A radical Reformed, he fervently advocated the use of violence against the authorities in Flanders. He sought to persuade his co-religionists in Sandwich to return to the Westkwartier to drive the attorney-general and his assistants out of Flanders by force.

Franchois de Raedt, brother-in-law of Jacob de Buyzere,

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(35) Ibid., pp.97-8.



fled to London in or about 1560. The following year he became deacon of the Dutch refugee church in the capital. He arrived in Sandwich after July 1561. Franchois de Raedt was strongly linked with the Jan Hacke adventure.

e. The members.

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We were able to identify no less than 431 Strangers who settled in Sandwich as ordinary members of the Flemish congregation before 1566. Particularly worthy of note are among others, Franchois Achte, Pieter van der Cleye, Frans Ente and Jacob Macelis (36).

Franchois Achte, a say worker from Winnezeele who later moved to Hondschoote, became one of the key figures of the secret Reformed movement in the Westkwartier. Despite a 150 florins fine in 1560 he continued his 'sectarian' activities and attended secret nocturnal preachings, organised and held conventicles in his own dwelling and protected co-religionists from persecution by the Inquisition. Two years later he was arrested again. On 4 July 1562 he was fined 150 florins and sentenced to the galleys for six years. However he managed to escape from prison and fled to Sandwich with his wife.

Pieter van der Cleye was a 'farmer'/shoemaker from Reningelst. In 1561 he fled to London with his wife and two children. It is not known when he arrived in Sandwich but in 1563 he was employed in the Cinque Port as a baize worker. We could not establish if he came from London or Sandwich but in July 1562 he was in the Westkwartier and attended the sermon at Boeschepe.

Frans Ente, a weaver from Nieuwkerke, fled to England in 1561 and arrived in Sandwich in or about April of the following year. He was one of the main suspects to have participated in the prison-breaking of Jan Hacke.

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(36) See vol.II, nos. 618, 1064, pp.100, 163.

Jacob Macelis was a 'farmer'/sawyer from Boeschepe. In 1560 he was in London and in 1562 in Sandwich. The same year he returned to the Westkwartier to participate in the jail-breaking of Willem Damman.

To state that the above mentioned thirteen ministers, elders, deacons, masters and ordinary members of the Flemish refugee church were the only radicals in Sandwich would be unrealistic. However our main handicap to further elaborate this matter is the fact that we could not trace any specific details of the activities in Flanders before 1566 of the remaining number of identified Flemish refugees. Nevertheless, it has become apparent that - besides the ministers - the hard core of Calvinist militants in Sandwich formed a minority, the greater number of them being textile workers and some artisans. So basically the radicals were people with little or no 'academic' education nor theological background. They have been described as people who 'lacked humanist education, Calvinists of shortstanding, new recruits of a young creed' (37). They were 'captained or "generaled" by men whose personality, style of dress or speech, and momentary assumption of authority mark them out as leaders. They are fixed...by present grievances or hopes of material improvement' (38). It is significant in this context that all the ministers - with the exception of Willem de Schilder - trained by Jacob de Buyzere became or were active militants. Moreover, neither the moderates from London nor Sandwich could convince the radicals to alter or re-assess their views on violent actions against the authorities in their native country. The crucial question is to what extent were these radicals involved in the organisation of the events in Flanders and the Westkwartier in the early 1560s?

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(37) A.C. Duke, 'The Calvinist exiles from the Southern Netherlands: a neglected community in Elizabethan England', Revolt and emigration (1988), 115.

(38) G. Rudé, The Crowd in History, pp.5-6.

## 2. The organisation.

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a. Conventicles and clandestine Bible-readings.

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From the moment Queen Elizabeth I reconstituted the refugee churches after her succession 'the geographical proximity of England to Flanders, combined with the leniency of the English ecclesiastical authorities, made England an ideal centre for revolutionary agitation', thus Phyllis Mac Crew (39). This was particularly true of the Strangers church at Sandwich. In 1559 and 1560 ministers such as Godfried van Wingen, Sebastiaan Matte, Willem Damman had travelled to and from London and therefore had permanent contact with the English capital and its Dutch refugee church. After July - August 1561 radical, and sometimes over-zealous Sandwich preachers like Hans Broiteur and Jooris Vrambout were sent by the consistory of the Flemish refugee church to the Continent not only to spread the new religion but also with the instruction to construct local consistories within the Reformed movement; undoubtedly the inter-local organisation in the region played an efficient role in the spreading of Calvin's doctrine. Conventicles were organised in various private dwellings and farms. It is surely no coincidence that during these early years of the 1560s Reformed Protestantism made its breakthrough in the Westkwartier. Of course the character and personality of the ministers are not to be ignored. We wholeheartedly support Phyllis Mac Crew's conclusion that the preacher's capacity for discipline and dedication was probably the chief reason for the success of the new religion in the years before 1563, and for their ability to sustain a clandestine movement in the months before the Troubles (40). In fact, between 1560

(39) P.M. Crew, Calvinist Preaching, pp.99-100.

(40) Ibid., p.79.

and 1562 the work of the pastors had increased by such intensity that they were no longer able to sustain the pressure. Immediately help was sent from the refugee churches in England (41). Between July 1561 and July 1562 Pieter Hazaert, Willem Damman, Godfried van Wingen, David Cambier, Jooris Vrambout, Hans Broiteur, Sebastiaan Matte and Hansken van Brugge preached in Hondskoote, Nieuwkerke, Steenwerck, Bailleul, Wulvergem, Steenvoorde, Veurne, Armentières and Ieper and simultaneously continued the organisation of the local movement (42).

One immediately observes that the conventicles and Bible-readings were concentrated in two areas: Hondskoote and its neighbourhood, the economic centre of the Westkwartier where adherents of the new religion could hide in the anonymous crowd, and the triangle Steenvoorde - Ieper - Armentières, where the declining textile industry and coincident economic fluctuations caused a very high level of unemployment, poverty and even starvation. These localities were not chosen haphazardly but had been selected very carefully. And with effect. Of 625 persons who originated from the Westkwartier and of whom it has been ascertained that they were condemned as adherents of the new religion between 1559 and 1562-3, about two-thirds originated from or inhabited the Hondskoote area and Belle-ambacht, as the table below demonstrates:

| | | | | |
|--------------|----|-------------|----|------|
| Nieuwkerke : | 96 | Steenwerck: | 34 | |
| Hondskoote: | 82 | Mesen : | 34 | |
| Reningelst : | 43 | Westouter : | 28 | |
| Bailleul : | 35 | Nieppe : | 25 | |
| Kemmel : | 35 | Méteren : | 24 | (43) |

b. The prison-breakings.

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(41) J. Decavele, 'Jan Hencrickx', 19.

(42) M. Backhouse, 'Bijbellezingen', 74.

(43) J. Decavele, Dageraad, ii.

On the evening of 6 November 1561 between fifty and 200 reformed militants gathered at Wijtschate dressed in long dark cloaks and armed with sticks, pistols and lanterns. Around midnight they arrived in the Langemeers just outside Mesen. From there the group marched to the monastery where prisoners were held. Whilst a group of besiegers threw stones at the windows to prevent local inhabitants witnessing what in fact was happening, the others hewed a hole in the wall of the prison, battered the cell door and liberated Jan Hacke. The group immediately returned to the Langemeers, stripped Hacke of his chains and still found the time for saying a prayer of thanksgiving. By the time the gaoler could raise the alarm the group had disappeared. Thus Johan Decavele describes the detailed course of events (44).

The gathering at a chosen spot, armed men, the diversion of the local inhabitants of Mesen by throwing stones at the monastery windows, the hewing of the prison wall and the quick disappearance of the liberators and the liberated after the successful raid all point to a well thought out and carefully-prepared action. We know that at least two Sandwich Strangers participated in the prison-breaking: Jooris Boey and Franchois de Raedt. A third participant, Frans Ente, fled to England in 1561 but did not arrive in Sandwich until about April 1562. He returned to the Westkwartier before the event. The whole occurrence therefore appears to have been a combined effort between the local movement and their brothers of the Flemish refugee church in Sandwich. Moreover, everything points in the direction that the prison raid had been planned in Sandwich with previous knowledge, approval and probably help from other radicals, not at least Jacob de Buyzere himself because those involved included members of some authority: a deacon and master-baize worker of the Flemish refugee church.

The above mentioned prison raid was the first in a

(44) J. Decavele, Dageraad, i, pp.418-9.

number of similar breakings which were to follow in the Westkwartier. With the freeing of Willem Damman, the audacity of the Reformed had reached new limits. The whole operation was probably planned and organised in Sandwich. After having received the news of Willem Damman's capture and imprisonment after a clandestine sermon at Hondschoote in February 1562, his liberation became an important issue with the Strangers. Considering his reaction to Damman's smuggled letter from prison requesting help it would come as no surprise that the operation was Jacob de Buyzere's initiative. A few months after the arrest of Willem Damman a group of Flemish refugees, amongst whom Joannes Beaugrand and Jacob Macelis, disguised with beards, left Sandwich for the Westkwartier. Knowing that their 'brother' was imprisoned in the ecclesiastical court at Ieper they headed for the town during the night of 11-12 May 1562. They arrived at the prison before daylight. Under the cover of wanting to buy grain they entered the ecclesiastical court, grabbed the gaoler by the throat and freed Damman from his cell. All were armed with pistols and other weapons. The rescued and rescuers fled back to England at once (45).

Despite the repression after the sermon at Boeschepe another prison raid was carried out in October 1563, this time in Nieuwpoort. Hansken Nuens from Nieuwpoort, responsible for carrying correspondence between the refugees in England and the Calvinist communities in Flanders, had been arrested at Ieper on charges of heresy. On 17 October he was transferred to the prison at Nieuwpoort. The dilapidated condition of the prison and the fact that the prisoner sang 'various scandalous songs about the Catholic priests and the Roman Catholic ceremonies for all who wanted to hear' impelled the Council of Nieuwpoort to transfer him to the town's castle. Within days Jacob de Buyzere had been informed of the transfer. Headed by assistant minister Hans Broiteur a group of activists immediately left Sandwich. During the night of 23-24

(45) Ibid., pp.425-6; Coussemaker, iii, p.74.

October they arrived at Nieuwpoort. They managed to cross the castle moat unseen in a small boat, succeeded in digging a hole in the four feet thick wall and freed Hansken Nuens (46).

Again the evidence demonstrates that this adventure had been carefully prepared in much detail in Sandwich. Such an important courier and messenger had to be liberated at all cost. After Boeschepe the Reformed resistance had been severely dented, to say the least, and the persecutions had made it virtually impossible for the local movement to organise and carry out the operation (47). So the initiative had to come from the outside. Jacob de Buyzere and his radicals did not hesitate and once more the action was successful.

It seems that Sandwich Town Council must have been aware that some of the Cinque Port's fugitive guests did occasionally return to their native country not just to buy linen, cotton or yarn but were also entailed in activities involving arms. The Mayor and Jurats certainly knew that the Strangers had weapons in their possession. On 26 March 1562, only about six weeks before the freeing of Willem Damman, the Sandwich local authorities ordered that all Flemings inhabiting the town were to be registered 'as also the armoure and weapons of the same Fflemings' (48). Unfortunately the outcome of this count is unknown but it certainly did not prevent the radicals of freeing Willem Damman. We did not find any sources indicating how the weapons were brought into Sandwich although it would appear quite obvious that refugees fleeing directly to the Cinque Port could have brought some with them; those who carried out exploits in the Westkwartier no doubt returned arms to

(46) J. Decavele, 'Jan Hendrickx', 26, n.47; D. van der Bauwhede, Nieuwpoort, p.15.

(47) An attempt to free Jan Hendrickx from his cell in Rupelmonde after his arrest in 1564 failed (J. Decavele, 'Jan Hendrickx', 26-7.

(48) KAO, Sa/Ac4, fo.202.

Sandwich and we are quite convinced that some of the Stranger merchants who travelled to the Westkwartier for yarn, etc. did not always bring back textile material only...

c. The sermon at Boeschepe: 12 July 1562.

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In a previous study of this event we came to the conclusion that, although the local consistories of the Westkwartier were not involved in the organisation, the documentary evidence did show that the entire operation was planned in England (49). Since the publication of this article in 1980 we have seen no reason to change our opinion.

The facts speak for themselves. The minister, Gheleyn Damman, who had travelled directly from England, was already in the vicinity of Boeschepe a few days before the sermon. He himself informed co-religionists of the approaching event. To one of these he handed over a list containing the names of people to be informed in the neighbourhood. At least twenty-one were contacted but the number must have been larger, for rumours about the impending sermon circulated at the market of Steenvoorde and during a wedding. Damman took careful precautions. Only at the last moment was it disclosed that the sermon would be held 'by a learned man who had come from England'. Originally the rumour was put about that the Bishop of Ieper or his chaplain would preach, presumably a rumour to persuade non-Calvinists to attend. Clearly the many co-religionists, who were involved in the dissimulation of the information knew each other extremely well and were warned to keep silent lest the authorities and the inquisitor scotched the occurrence.

There is little doubt that the initiative must have come from Gheleyn Damman himself. It is more than likely that the freeing of his brother Willem in May 1562 influenced

(49) M. Backhouse, 'Boeschepe', 198-226.

the decision to challenge the authorities openly. There is no evidence that the decision to hold the sermon was taken by the consistories at either Sandwich or London. The moderates would not have agreed to an action which openly showed approval of and gave encouragement to those who resisted religious persecution. The decision was taken by a pressure group of radicals acting on their own initiative.

The role of the radicals at Sandwich finds confirmation in the decision of Gheleyn Damman to go directly to Sandwich when he left the Westkwartier. Moreover at least fourteen persons who had attended the sermon fled to the Cinque Port within fourteen months of the event. They were

| Name | Date of arrival at Sandwich |
|-------------------------------|--|
| CLAEIJS, Franss | July - December 1562 |
| COGHELARE, Mahieu | July - December 1562 |
| CRUUCE, Caerle van der | July 1562 - September 1563 |
| CRUUCE, Frans van der | July 1562 - September 1563 |
| GRAVE, Frans de | July 1562 - September 1563 |
| GUELEN, Colaert van | After July 1562 |
| KERSTEMAN, Jan | July 1562 - September 1563 |
| LAMOOT, Christiaen | July 1562 - September 1563 |
| LAIJREIJS, Willem | July 1562 - September 1563 |
| RYCKE, Jacob de | July 1562 - September 1563 |
| SCHERRIER, Willem | September 1563 |
| SMALBEEN, Jan and
his wife | July - December 1562
July - December 1562 |
| WULGHE, Vedast van de | July - December 1562 |

We have already seen the movements of Pieter van der Cleye, but those of Jehan van de Walle, a baize worker from Steenvoorde (50), and Jan Lamoot, a weaver from Reningelst

(50) See vol.II, no. 1824, p.274.

(51) are also significant. Jehan van de Walle had gone from London to participate in this venture (52). Jan Lamoot, elder of the consistory of the Dutch refugee church in London, also crossed the English Channel especially to attend the preaching. This is clear proof that at least some members of the consistory in the capital and some of its ordinary members had been informed in advance and approved of this venture. We cannot tell how many refugees returned to Flanders from London and Sandwich with the express purpose of attending the Boeschepe preaching, but the presence of several of them there confirms that the decision to hold and organise the sermon was made before Gheleyn Damman left England for the Westkwartier. We may therefore conclude that the plans to hold the sermon at Boeschepe were known in London and Sandwich before 12 July 1562.

'Although incidents of armed resistance had occurred already before 12 July 1562, the provocative sermon at Boeschepe represented the first official recognition by the consistories of such resistance. In that sense the opening phase of the forthcoming struggle against the Inquisition, and ultimately the government of Philip II, can be said to have been officially launched at Boeschepe', was the conclusion I reached eleven years ago (53). The above new analysis of the facts makes us re-assess this conclusion. There is no doubt that the seeds of the disturbances which imperceptibly led to the Revolt were sown at Boeschepe. Nevertheless, radicals, acting on their own initiative in England, were solely responsible for the sermon, not the consistories. The intention of those involved in the Boeschepe preaching was far more limited than the overthrow of the government: they only wanted the persecution and inquisition to be halted and to receive the same degree of

(51) A.A. van Schelven, Kerkeraads-protocollen, pp.41, 43, 201-2; J. Decavele, Dageraad, i, pp.409-10.

(52) After his return to England he moved to Sandwich.

(53) M. Backhouse, 'Boeschepe', 212.

tolerance granted to the French Protestants at that time.

d. Crossing the English Channel.

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To travel to and fro between England and the Westkwartier, when a mistake or misfortune could result in arrest by the Flemish authorities, required very skilful planning and organisation, especially in these cases where exiles carried with them their movable possessions. The Flemish Westkwartier had three major ports: Gravelines, Dunkirk and Nieuwpoort. According to inquisitor Titelmans Nieuwpoort was the principal port from which the sectaries could sail to England without much hindrance, for this crossing only took a few hours (54). Much of course depended on the weather. When Jacob de Buyzere and his company left Nieuwpoort for England in November 1560 an unfavourable wind forced them to return to the mainland (55).

During his interrogation Pieter Heuzeck revealed in detail how the organisation worked. In many cases exiles were contacted by Pieter Marquet, alias de Roo, from Bailleul, manservant to preacher David Cambier and messenger between the refugees in England and the Reformed communities in the Westkwartier, who brought them safely to Nieuwpoort. On arrival in the town he took them to the dwellings of co-religionists Jan Willaert or Jan Hassele, ship masters, where they remained until favourable sailing conditions prevailed: some refugees remained at Jan Willaert's house between eight and ten days (56). Another

(54) Coussemaeker, i, p.87; D. van der Bauwhede, Nieuwpoort, p.15; J. Decavele, Dageraad, i, p.584.

(55) J. Decavele, Dageraad, i, p.414; see Hessels, iii, p.405.

(56) J. Decavele, 'Jan Hendrickx', 25 n.43; Coussemaeker, i, p.350.

such messenger was Hansken Nuens as set out above (57). Presumably after these revelations in 1563 the organisation in Nieuwpoort was seriously compromised.

Although we have little information about the organisation in Sandwich itself, there is no evidence that any Strangers, even the wealthy, owned their own vessels. We can therefore only assume that those Strangers who returned or travelled to Flanders awaited the boats of Jan Willaert, Jan Hassele and other such skippers to arrive, and occasionally must have hired or sailed on English vessels.

3. Hedge preachings, Iconoclastic Fury and direct armed resistance (May 1566 - March 1567).

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In the Flemish Westkwartier the first hedge preaching in 1566 was held by minister Sebastiaan Matte near Roesbrugge during the night of 26 May, only seven weeks after the confederates had presented the Request of the Nobility. From June onwards the sermons took place in broad daylight. Fugitive ministers returned from England, and preachers in the Westkwartier immediately went into action. The leading pastors were Pieter Dathenus from Nieuwkerke, Jacob de Buyzere, Sebastiaan Matte, Anthonis de Zwarte, alias Algoet, from Bailleul, Karel Ryckewaert from Nieuwkerke, Gillis Hoevenaghel from Nieuwkerke, Pieter Hazaert, Mahieu Platevoet and Gillis de Queekere. Although the precise contents of these sermons is unknown, the atmosphere at the gatherings became more and more hostile and the number of attendants, many of whom were armed, increased significantly. Although contemporaries' estimates should be treated with some scepticism, we are told that between 4 and 5,000 persons attended a sermon preached by Sebastiaan Matte at Hondschoote. The pastors were now accompanied by armed bodyguards and their sermons habitually ended in

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(57) Pp.309-10.

disturbances and riots (58). On Saturday 10 August, the feast of St. Laurence, a procession was held at the monastery of St. Laurence near Steenvoorde to mark the occasion. Sebastiaan Matte appeared on the scene surrounded by a heavily armed bodyguard and accompanied by Jacob de Buyzere. He immediately commenced to preach, whereupon Jacob de Buyzere led a group of followers to the local chapel and smashed its images. Ten days later the Iconoclastic Fury reached Antwerp, on 22 August Ghent and soon spread to the Northern Provinces, where in early September the image-breaking was still raging. Meanwhile the destruction in the Westkwartier had not ceased. During September, although essentially concentrated in Bergen-ambacht, Sebastiaan Matte set up his headquarters in Hondschoote and continued to lead the destruction and pillage of churches (59).

The disturbances in the Westkwartier did not represent a spontaneous reaction of the oppressed masses; they were the result of a well-organised and carefully executed plan: the itinerary (60), the method of image-breaking, the means of transport of the iconoclasts, the choice of leaders and bodyguards, the payment of image breakers, the presence of these in other towns in the Low Countries, the several attempts to capture a walled town, the movement of the same group of iconoclasts, the role of the consistories and their inter-local contacts and of the lower gentry in the Troubles in the Westkwartier all point to a definite strategy (61). Unquestionably the ministers played a fundamental role, with the radicals being to the fore even after the Iconoclastic Fury. We have identified thirty-five ministers who preached in the Westkwartier between May and December 1566. Fifteen of them were radicals, in the sense that they incited to or participated in the image-breaking;

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(58) Coussemaker, iv, p.74.

(59) Ibid., iii, pp.92-5, 96-8, 102-4.

(60) See M. Backhouse, 'Beeldenstorm en Bosgeuzen', 83-4.

(61) Ibid., 78-98.

seven were moderates, while no evidence about the opinions of the remaining thirteen could be found. On the basis of the gathered information it is clear that the radicals had the upper hand: of 155 identified sermons held during the same period 103 were preached by radical ministers and only fifteen by moderates (62).

The Iconoclastic Fury did not achieve its aims (such as the conquest of a walled town, freedom of religion...). Therefore, when the government decided to lay siege to the rebellious town of Valenciennes, the consistories in the Westkwartier decided on armed resistance to relieve the Calvinist rebels. On 15 December 1566 the consistories of Mesen, Bailleul, Poperinge, Ieper, Steenwerck and Warneton proclaimed a general mobilisation in the Westkwartier and its neighbouring areas. On 28 December 200 mobilised troops arrived at Wattrelos to join the main body of the Beggar's army, which was advancing near Tournai. On 27 December the government troops defeated the 200 recruits at Wattrelos and the main body at Lannoy two days later. On 2 January 1567 Tournai fell. The Beggar's leader Hendrik van Brederode organised a final attempt to defeat the government troops. On 13 March 1567 some 3,000 men, led by Jean Marnix, lord of Thoulouse, were defeated at Oosterweel. Ten days later Valenciennes surrendered (63).

We identified 353 members of the Flemish community at Sandwich who participated in the Troubles in the Westkwartier and the Low Countries in general during the period May 1566 - March 1567:

ministers	13
attending hedge preachings (armed or unarmed)	107
armed bodyguards of ministers	13
members of a local consistory	14
those described as 'Calvinist leaders'	17

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(62) M. Backhouse, 'Hagepreken', 112-5.

(63) Coussemaker, iv, p.20; G. Parker, Dutch Revolt, pp. 94-8.

iconoclasts	30
close contacts with ministers	12
collecting money for the 'three million guilders', construction of Calvinist temples, alms for the poor of the Reformed community	16
marrying in the Calvinist way	2
participation in the failed siege of Veurne in October 1566	5
signatories of the agreement with the count of Egmont on 20 September 1566	10
signatories of the Ieper agreement in April 1567	2
fighting at Wattrelos and/or Lannoy	10
joining Brederode's army	4
fighting at Oosterweel	3
activities unknown	191

Of these 353, the Council of Troubles condemned 270 to eternal banishment with confiscation of their goods and seventeen were executed.

Of the same 353 at least ninety-seven were refugees who had settled in Sandwich before 1566 and returned to Flanders after 5 April 1566. Twelve of them were ministers: Andries Baerdeloos, Pieter de Bert, Hans Broiteur, Jacob de Buyzere (Iconoclastic Fury, Wattrelos, Oosterweel), Robert Flameng, Pieter Hazaert (Iconoclastic Fury), Adriaen Obri, Mahieu Platevoet, Gillis de Queekere (Iconoclastic Fury, siege of Veurne, Beggar's army), Willem de Schilder, Erasmus Top and Godfried van Wingen; four were elders of the consistory of the Flemish refugee church: Joannes Beaugrand, Pieter de Broucker, Jan de Brune and Jan Camphen; one was deacon: Jacob de Brune (Calvinist leader, hedge preachings, close contacts with ministers, collection of money for the 'three million guilders'); four masters: Jan de Brune, Mattheus de Rycke, Pieter van de Walle (hedge preachings, Iconoclastic Fury) and Carel Weecsteen (deacon local consistory, hedge preachings, Iconoclastic Fury). Of the remaining seventy-five members of the Flemish refugee community many attended hedge preachings, some became

Calvinist leaders, others participated in the Iconoclastic Fury, etc. Of these ninety-seven at least forty-eight returned to Sandwich after 1566: five ministers (Pieter de Bert, Jacob de Buyzere, Robert Flameng, Adriaen Obri and Mahieu Platevoet), the same four elders, deacon, four masters and thirty-four members of the Strangers' community.

Of the 230 Strangers who participated in the Troubles but only settled in Sandwich after the 'Year of Wonder' six became members of the consistory, nine deacons, seven masters and the remaining 208 members of the Flemish refugee community.

Of the 296 identified Walloons thirty-nine took part in the Troubles of 1566:

ministers	1
attending hedge preachings (armed or unarmed)	3
members of a local consistory	1
iconoclasts	5
fighting at Wattrelos and/or Lannoy	3
joining Brederode's army	1
activities unknown	25

Of these thirty-nine the Council of Troubles condemned thirty-five to eternal banishment with confiscation of their goods. Five of the fifteen Walloons known to have settled in Sandwich before 1566 returned to the Westkwartier and all five travelled back to Sandwich after the 'Year of Hunger'. Of the remaining 280 who settled in Sandwich during or after the Troubles six became elders of the consistory, ten deacons and one master.

In view of the above there is no doubt that the Sandwich Strangers played an important role in the Troubles in Flanders and the Westkwartier in particular. The question which arises immediately, was the the Iconoclastic Fury planned in England and more specifically in Sandwich? In the nature of things the evidence is sparse and fragmentary. There is, however, one important document which casts light on the events of 1566.



It would appear that in 1570 and the early days of 1571 a dispute arose within the Flemish refugee community concerning the subject of image-breaking. We do not know why this deposition was made at that time but it is possible that it took place as a result of the enquiries which occurred in the Dutch refugee church in London (64). On 27 January 1571 seven members of the Strangers' community were summoned before the Mayor and Jurats to clarify the matter. The delegation consisted of Matthy Janss, deacon before 1573, Jooris Kycke, a weaver from Nieuwkerke, Claeypont, in Sandwich since 1562, and Jacob de Meyer, a master from Nieuwkerke (65). Matthys Janss stated that

'wher abowt 5 yeares past some question or quarrel did growe and arryse among the Dutch congregacion in and abowt images wherin one Willem Stone (Steen?) was very troublersome, busyeng him self with others of the same congregacion in the same quarrell' (66).

The dispute was further highlighted by a letter sent from Nieuwpoort by a certain Jan Pawle (67), who had written to Sandwich about the subject. Soon thereafter the said Jan Pawle in fact arrived in the Cinque Port to discuss the problem with the consistory. But during the discussion

'sodenly he arose and went forth of the place and answered nothing but left them (= the consistory) and forsooke the Towne

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(64) For more details of the discussion in London see A. Kuyper, Kerkerdaads-Protocollen, p.175 sqq.

(65) See vol.II nos. 920, 964, 1149 and 1303, pp.142, 148, 175 and 199.

(66) KAO, Sa/Ac5, fo.69. For the full text of these statements see vol.III, appendix IV, p.63.

(67) To be identified with Jan Pauwels, a grain merchant and receive of excises of Nieuwpoort (J. Decavele, Dageraad, i, pp.433, 544, 572).

and left the rest of his mynde unto them' (68).

After Pawle's departure Willem Stone endeavoured to convince the members of the congregation to leave Sandwich and to move to Norwich. Jooris Kycke added to this statement that

'Stone ymediately after Paules departure from the seyd concystary went to some which were commytted for that cause (= image-breaking) and willed them not to submytte themselves to thorder of the seyd congregacion' (69).

The other five delegates confirmed these statements

We know the names of the thirty Flemings from Sandwich who settled in Norwich in 1565. They were of course not all radicals, but we find amongst them Pieter Waels, who became deacon of the exile congregation at Norwich and was later involved in the activities of the Wood Beggars, Jan de Roo, who in 1566 was a messenger of the Reformed in the Westkwartier, and minister Jooris Vramboud (70). And there is no doubt that John Pawle and William Stone were radicals. Would they find more support for 'the cause' in Norwich?

Clearly in 1566 the Strangers' community and consistory at Sandwich were divided on the subject of image-breaking, as it had been before concerning the use of violence against the authorities. Despite attempts by letter and personal intervention from co-religionists from the mainland (who undoubtedly were instructed by the Reformed churches to do so), it appears that the majority of the consistory of the Flemish refugee church remained unconvinced and ordered the members of the congregation not to get involved in the matter. As we already established the radicals of the community ignored such orders.

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(68) KAO, Sa/Ac5, fo.69.

(69) Loc. cit.

(70) I am grateful to Miss Raingard Esser, who at present is preparing a doctorate on the subject of the Strangers in Norwich, for sending me this list.

The second and most crucial issue is when exactly in 1566 did this dispute take place? If we take Matthys Janss' statement literally we might infer that the quarrel occurred in or before January 1566. Although such a hypothesis cannot be totally excluded, it would seem unlikely that iconoclasm would have been the subject of controversy three months before the presentation of the Request of the Nobility. There remain two options: the dispute, possibly about the legitimacy of actions such as image-breakings, took place either between 5 April and 10 August or after the outburst of the Iconoclastic Fury. If the debate took place after 10 August we might ask why the consistory of the Flemish refugee church should need to be persuaded and members of the community recruited if the event had already taken place and within a matter of ten days spread over the entire Netherlands? Furthermore, August 1566 and later is not approximately five years away from 27 January 1571 but less than four and a half years. We therefore must accept the view that the quarrel in Sandwich occurred between April and July 1566, i.e. a maximum of four months before the image-breaking commenced. We are led to conclude that the idea of removal of images from churches and other religious buildings in the Westkwartier to make room for Calvinist worship was born among the radical refugees who had settled in England before 1566, probably those of Sandwich and Norwich, and possibly was inspired by the events in France in May 1535 when Guillaume Farel led the image-breaking in the Duchy of Savoy. It must be emphasized, however, that such organisation of the Iconoclastic Fury is limited to the Westkwartier. There is no evidence whatsoever that the iconoclastic riots were planned throughout the Netherlands.

#### 4. Guerilla war and banditry: the Wood Beggars (1567-8).

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At the end of September 1567 a group of approximately 200 mainly Flemish rebels, some having arrived from England

and Wesel, gathered at the St.Sixtusbossen outside Poperinge. They awaited the arrival of Jacob van Huele, a nobleman and confederate who had fled to England (71). Poperinge was to be attacked under his command. But Huele did not turn up and the operation was cancelled. Six weeks later Jan Camerlynck, a say worker born in Hondschoote in 1528 and a fervent adherent of the new religion, who had been present in the St.Sixtusbossen, was visited in Hondschoote by Pieter Waels. Sent by Jacob van Huele, Waels explained that the former had arranged to go to Flanders with a strong company to pillage churches and kill priests and officers of justice, and required Camerlynck's assistance. The latter agreed without hesitation.

A few days later Huele set up his headquarters near Hondschoote; his presence triggered the rebellion and nearly a year of terrorist activities. Catholic priests were tortured and murdered in a barbaric manner, churches were pillaged and set on fire, law officers ambushed and killed, individuals robbed and murdered. Nevertheless, because of the authorities' increasing persecution, the net was closing in and early in 1568 Jacob van Huele returned to England. The majority of the rebels left the scene of their operations and fled to Boulogne, Calais or Sandwich (72).

The guerilla warfare was not the final objective of the nobles and the rebels, who came to be known as the Wood Beggars. All the events between November 1567 and February 1568 were intended to prepare the way for an invasion of the Westkwartier and the Southern Netherlands. The reign of

(71) For more details about him see L. Vandamme, 'Een Brugs edelman in de beginfase van de Opstand: Jacob van Heule (1566-1571)', Liber Amicorum Dr. J Scheerder (Leuven, 1987).

(72) M. Backhouse, 'Guerilla War and Banditry in the Sixteenth Century: the Wood Beggars in the Westkwartier of Flanders (1567-1568)', ARG (1983), 74, 234-7.

terror was seen as a means to destabilise the population. While members of the refugee churches in England would gradually infiltrate the Westkwartier, an army of between 1,200 to 1,500 Huguenots would gather in Boulogne and 300 troops would be raised in the Pays de l'Alleu. Camerlynck would command an equal number of men in the Westkwartier. All would assemble in the neighbourhood of Poperinge. The Wood Beggars would create a diversion by capturing some nobles in Ieper: while Alva's soldiers would be enticed to Ieper, Poperinge could be taken, from where the further conquest of the Westkwartier might be prepared. However the project would never be carried out: on 9 February 1568 the leader of the invasion, the lord of Hannecamps (73), was arrested and under torture confessed the invasion plan (74).

In June - July 1568 a number of Wood Beggars - without Camerlynck, who remained in Sandwich - returned to the Westkwartier and once again disturbances flared up. Again priests were murdered, law officers ambushed and killed, houses burgled and their inhabitants robbed and churches set on fire. The objective of this new agitation remains an enigma: it disappeared as quickly as it occurred (75).

During the night of 20 September 1568 a ship sailed from Dover and landed in the port of Ostend. On board were Jan Camerlynck and sixteen of his accomplices. However spies sent to England had already informed the authorities in the Westkwartier on 16 September of an eventual come-back by the Wood Beggars, and the necessary precautions had been taken. In the morning of 28 September Camerlynck was ambushed and captured with nine other rebels near Caëstre. The prisoners were taken to Ieper where they were tried and

(73) Henry de Nédonchel, lord of Hannecamps (in Artois), was a confederate. He was executed in Brussels on 14 April 1568 (Coussemaker, ii, pp.33-41).

(74) M. Backhouse, 'Guerilla War', 237.

(75) Ibid., 238-9.

executed between 6 October and 14 December 1568 (76).

If the exploits of the Wood Beggars were aimed to trigger a general revolt in the Westkwartier, they misjudged the situation badly. The fear created by Alva's 'Blood Council' - even in an area as defiant as the Westkwartier - and the increasingly resolute counter measures taken by the local and central authorities denied the Wood Beggars a popular base: sooner or later they would be forced to close the reign of terror (77).

We know of at least twenty-six Wood Beggars and some of their supporters who at one stage belonged to the Flemish community in Sandwich:

| Name | Arrival in S. | Departure S. |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| BAERT, Jacob | 1568 | - |
| BELLS, Clais | before July 1573 | - |
| BOEYE, Franchois | 1568 | Leiden 1589 |
| BOEYE, Marten | 1568 | - |
| BUYZERE, Pieter de | August 1568 | September 1568 |
| BUUCHAVE, Jacques van | 1568 | - |
| CAMERLYNCK, Jan | February 1568 | September 1568 |
| CHERF, Jan de | before July 1573 | - |
| CONYNCK, Jan de | 1571 | - |
| COTS, Jan de | 1566-7; February
1568 | 1567, then
September 1568 |
| DAMMAN, Pieter | summer 1568 | September 1568 |
| EBRECHT, Jacques | summer 1568 | September 1568 |
| GHYSELEN, Martin | after Easter 1566;
August 1568 | September 1568
September 1568 |
| GRAEFSCHPEPE, Pieter
van de | before July 1573 | - |
| HAZAERT, Pieter | - | - |
| LANGHE, Clais de | 1567 | - |
| MARTEN, Pieter | 1573 | - |

(76) Ibid., 239-41.

(77) Ibid., 237-8.

| | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| MEESTER, Marcx de | before July 1573 | - |
| MUUS, Frans | before September
1563 | Flanders 1566 |
| OOST, Pieter van | 1568 | 1568 |
| PEENE, Jan van | 1568 | September 1568 |
| QUEEKERE, Gillis de | 1562 | Flanders 1566 |
| SMEEKAERT, Mahieu | 1568 | - |
| VISAIGE, Jacob | 1567 | 1568 |
| WINNEBROODT, Joos | May 1568 | September 1568 |

We immediately note that a large number of the Wood Beggars did not reside in Sandwich for a long time, a few months at the most. They used the Cinque Port as a safe hiding place and at the same time as an operational base from where they might plan their next exploits. For information about how the terrorists were received in Sandwich, to what extent the Flemish community as a whole knew about their activities and which part the refugee churches in general in England played in the organisation of the project, we have to rely on two confessions made by the arrested Wood Beggars Jacob Visaige and Jan de Cots. The latter stated that even before the Wood Beggars commenced their operations he and Jan Camerlynck were maintained by the community when they resided in Sandwich at the beginning of 1567. The testimony of Jacob Visaige, arrested in January 1568, reveals some quite important information about the Wood Beggars and their activities in England. Visaige states categorically that it was the gemeenten vander nieuwe religie (the congregations of the refugee churches) of Sandwich and Norwich - undoubtedly the radicals - who had formally decided on the violent actions in Flanders and that in fact money was sent to the Wood Beggars in the Westkwartier to finance their activities. Sandwich and Norwich had prepared the invasion plan and decided to murder the clergy and law officers in conjunction with the gentry at a meeting in Sandwich. The presence of minister Jan Michiels, who resided in England, and Pieter Waels in the St.Sixtusbossen provide sufficient evidence that the

invasion was planned before September 1567. Financial support was received from sympathetic merchants (78).

In or about April/May 1568 rumours were spread about in Kent 'of passing on of Strangers with furnyture of armure and weapons towards the Low Countries in ayde or succoure of the factions there' (79). The meeting place was Sandwich. The Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports ordered his lieutenant William Crispe (80) to investigate the matter. The latter reported the results of his enquiries in a letter to Lord Cobham dated 21 June 1568. He assured the Lord Warden that after discussion with the appropriate authorities the rumours were false and that, to his knowledge, the port of Sandwich was not used for that purpose (81)!

However the same authorities reported an incident which had occurred two weeks earlier, namely on 7 June. That day a group of young armed Flemings and Walloons who had come from Norwich, London and Maidstone appeared in the town. They immediately contacted the local refugees, amongst whom they recruited followers to a number of about thirty persons. Thereafter they withdrew from Sandwich in muster order to about one mile from the town, but only after some of the Sandwich refugees had provided them with weapons. 'To which sight a good number of the Strangers inhabitant of Sandwiche did reasort', thus William Crispe reported (82).

As soon as the Mayor of Sandwich was notified he left the town and not only did he manage to disperse the armed group but he forbade them ever to enter his town again. The group went back to the localities from where they had come.

(78) Coussemaker, i, pp.205-6; M. Backhouse, 'Beeldenstorm en Bosgeuzen', 126-7.

(79) PRO, SP12/46/79.

(80) William Crispe was Jurat of Sandwich and Commissioner of the Cinque Ports.

(81) PRO, SP12/46/79.

(82) Loc. cit.

It was reported that they had come to Sandwich to hire a ship to travel to Emden.

It is difficult to establish the truth between this report and the statement of William Crispe to the effect that the rumour was false. There is no doubt that armed Calvinist activists did use the port of Sandwich to travel to the Netherlands where they took part in the resistance against Alva's regime. Furthermore, it is difficult to suppose that a group of approximately thirty young refugees armed with rapiers, daggers, etc, was on its way to Emden just like that, while at the same time they were recruiting co-religionists, some of whom provided them with weapons.

Two possibilities need to be kept in mind. We must not overlook the fact that when in June - July 1568 the word of the siege of St.Valéry, held by the Huguenots, reached England, members of the Flemish nobility there immediately started to recruit troops to help the besieged town. When news came that St.Valéry had fallen, the army did not depart but three ships, with Flemish and Walloon refugees on board, immediately left London for Emden. It is therefore very possible that these ships carried reinforcements for the army of Louis of Nassau which was defeated at Jemmingen in July 1568. Might not the group at Sandwich have had the same intentions?

But there is a second possibility. At the same time as the siege of St.Valéry the activities of the Wood Beggars in the Westkwartier started again after the disaster of February 1568. We should therefore ask ourselves whether the meeting of 7 June was connected with the razzia's the Wood Beggars carried out during the summer of 1568 at Rubrouck, Houtkerque, Kemmel, Nieuwkerke, Westouter, Steenvoorde, Oudezeele, Morbecque, Hazebrouck, Méteren, Wormhoudt and Winnezele? And was the route to Emden used as a cover (83)?

(83) M. Backhouse, 'Beeldenstorm en Bosgeuzen', 148-9.

5. Sympathy for the cause of the rebels and Orange.

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As the Dutch Revolt progressed the role of Sandwich as an operational base for the rebels decreased considerably and became more and more intermittent, especially after the success of the Revolt in Holland and Zeeland. The Cinque Port was too far away to maintain the role it had established during the 1560s. Nevertheless, the Strangers' community was affected by and participated in the Revolt.

The arrival in the Netherlands of the Duke of Alva with 10,000 Spanish troops in August 1567 and the establishment of the 'Council of Blood', which executed many of those who had taken a leading part in the Calvinist activity and who had taken up arms against Philip II, ensured the pacification of the country. Hundreds of Protestants fled the Low Countries or were banished. The prince of Orange, the undisputed leader of the Revolt after the death of Hendrik van Brederode in February 1568, became convinced that in these circumstances a successful invasion of the Netherlands could only come from the outside (84).

In the Spring of 1568 such an invasion took place under the command of Orange's brother, Louis of Nassau, and after a few small successes, in May his troops started the siege of Groningen. Ships were needed to provide the army with victuals and ammunition to prevent Alva's soldiers to cut off the supply line and to intercept merchant shipping which endeavoured to reach Groningen. Within a short time the naval squadron consisted of nine ships and kept growing (85). When in June captains were commissioned to attack Spanish ships and troops: the Sea Beggars were born. On 10 July the fleet already numbered some seventeen ships. This notwithstanding, on 21 July the weakened army of Nassau suffered a crushing defeat by Alva's troops at Jemmingen.

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(84) J.C.A. de Meij, De Watergeuzen en de Nederlanden 1568 - 1572 (Amsterdam/London, 1972), p.5.

(85) Ibid., pp.6-8.

Although the Sea Beggars' fleet continued to increase, after August 1568 it no longer had a base which the Beggars could control directly. Since it also lacked a clear strategic purpose, the captains and crews became in effect adventurers, intent on loot (86). Between September 1568 and June 1569 neither Orange nor Nassau had in fact real authority over them: the Sea Beggars now acted more as pirates than as privateers. In the Netherlands fruitless attempts were made to drive the Sea Beggars away but they continued to operate along the northern Dutch and German coasts.

In the summer of 1569 the prince of Orange hired new ships in England for the purpose of building a new fleet but as he had no money to pay, the crews resumed their privateering activities and preyed on merchant shipping. 'It was here that the consistories came in. The Dutch colonies of refugees in England provided an ideal market for the prizes taken by the Beggars, and they soon became the centres of a highly efficient contribution network', thus states Geoffrey Parker (87). From the late 1560s the Cinque Ports, especially Sandwich and Dover, had become the main lairs of the Sea Beggars, and despite proclamations made by the Queen from October 1571 onwards prohibiting them from assisting the privateers and freebooters, they continued to do so (88). In fact Lord Cobham himself did not hesitate to support them because of the financial advantages; for some time his brother Thomas, MP, acted as the privateers' agent: he bought prized goods and often transacted them to other merchants (89)!

Dover had also become an important kind of 'slave market' where Spanish prisoners were sold to the highest

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(86) Ibid., pp.12-3.

(87) G. Parker, The Dutch Revolt, p.121.

(88) G. Mayhew, Tudor Rye, pp.79-80.

(89) J.A.C. de Meij, Watergeuzen, p.78.

bidder (90). Similar practices still existed as late as 1573. In the beginning of that year a certain Coryn van Grieken, enlisted in Orange's army, arrived at Dover. On board his vessel were some papist prisoners for whom he demanded ransom money. As no reaction came he threatened to execute them if £40 were not paid soon. Franchois Boeye and Willem Seys, both members of the Flemish refugee congregation at Sandwich, were commissioned to deal with the matter. They travelled to Dover and managed to obtain the money, one half from the English inhabitants, the other from the Strangers' community at Dover (91).

In London the debate about resistance in the Low Countries provoked unsavoury rows among the Dutch refugee community. The majority of its members were radicals (defined by J.C.A. de Meij as the 'new party'), but the majority of the consistory belonged to the moderate wing (the 'old party'). In the autumn of 1570 the latter protested strongly when the Sea Beggars demanded that all refugees should contribute financially to Orange's actions and they accused the moderates of being rebels and enemies of the fatherland (92).

The Flemish church at Sandwich also received requests for help. On 26 April 1572 the ghemeente of Flushing - a tiny part of the anti-Spanish movement in the town - wrote to all Flemish/Dutch refugee communities in England for assistance. So far, they said, the town had been able to repel the Spanish troops, but they needed more help if they were to succeed. They begged them not to desert them and to supply the necessary monies and soldiers, provided they were experienced and not pirates (93). In fact two days earlier Flemings were preparing to go to the Netherlands at

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(90) J.B. Black, 'Queen Elizabeth, the Sea Beggars, and the capture of The Brille', EHR, xlvii (1931), 37.

(91) Hessels, iii, p.213 sqq.

(92) J.C.A. de Meij, Watergeuzen, p.167.

(93) Hessels, ii, p.397.

Sandwich and elsewhere, and by early May the Flemish rebels were collecting arms and money from their friends in support of the soldiers in Den Briel. In early April a contingent of 250 Flemings left London for the defence of the captured port. La Marck had written to the Dutch congregation in London to send him 1,000 casks of powder and 1,000 arquebuses and promised prompt payment on the security of 400 to 500 refugees (94).

But the refugees did not support the cause of the rebels and Orange by military and financial means only. They also expressed their sympathy by holding days of general fasting and prayer. In February 1578, for instance, the Sandwich refugee congregation decided to hold such a day for protection against the persecution of tyrants and other enemies of the true religion especially in their native country: on 17th they requested London to set a date (95). Other fast days were held also on 25 March 1585 and 25 April 1595 (96).

#### 6. Continued contact with the Calvinist churches in Flanders.

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Besides help and assistance for the rebels the refugee churches in England did not forget the situation of their brothers' communities in Flanders and thus established a very strong link.

In 1575 the Flemish refugee church at Sandwich sent messengers to Flanders to investigate the condition of the struggling brothers' churches there. When they learned of their poor state, the Sandwich Strangers held a collection which raised twelve Flemish pounds groot and they sent the money to the Antwerp church by one of their merchants. On

(94) J.B. Black, 'The Brille', 43-4.

(95) Hessels, iii, p.495.

(96) J.B. Black, 'The Brille', 43-4.

18 April 1575 the Sandwich consistory informed the London Dutch church of their action and expressed their surprise as they had not expected to collect such a large amount from their own poor community. They expressed the hope that Norwich and the other refugee communities would organise a similar action (97).

A few months later the churches of Nieuwerkerke, Comines and Wervik wrote to Sandwich for help to prevent the collapse of their services because of their great poverty. On 25 November 1575 Roland de Carpentier, elder of the consistory of the Flemish refugee church at Sandwich, informed the Dutch community in London of their proposals for help and also wanted the other refugee churches to contribute (98).

Two years later the churches of West Flanders found themselves in desperate straits. On 9 November 1577 they wrote to all the refugee churches in England for help to finance the maintenance of their ministers so that they could preserve the will of many people who were seeking the true word of God and defend them against the Anabaptists who spared neither cost nor labour to spread their enticing doctrine in West Flanders. Ieper and its neighbourhood was in need of urgent assistance (99).

Three months before the capture of Antwerp in August 1585 its Calvinist church again asked for help. Sandwich hoped to assist as much as they could (100). At about the same time Ostend was also crying out for help. In May 1585 the governor, captains and minister of the town wrote to the Flemish refugee church at Sandwich for assistance because of the great need and poverty of the citizens. Sandwich was willing to help the brethren in Ostend but had doubts about the garrison as the request had not come from the States of Holland and Zeeland, thus recognising the

(97) Hessels, iii, p.301.

(98) Ibid., pp.355-6.

(99) Ibid., ii, p.603.

(100) Ibid., iii, p.791.

authority of the latter (101).

7. Military involvement: the Sea Beggars and the planned attack on Nieuwpoort (January - April 1573).

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The table below contains the names of Sandwich Strangers who became Sea Beggars, together with the place of origin, the year they arrived in Sandwich, the year they joined the Sea Beggars, under what capacity and their fate.

Jacob Baert	Bailleul	1568	before 1573	captain	-
Jan van der Beke	Antwerp	1563	1568	crew	E
Pieter Bolle	Bailleul	1571-3	before 1573	crew	-
Daniel Godschalck	Poperinge	1567	before 1573	crew	-
Caerle Olivier	Tournai	1567	before 1572	crew	died in S. 1585
Jacques de Visch	St.Omer	1567	1571	crew	E

It is quite remarkable how few Sea Beggars can be traced in the Stranger communities at Sandwich; just six in the Flemish community and no Walloon. We found little or no source material on what happened within the Sandwich Strangers' community during that period. Perhaps the shady character of the privateers' dealings explains why so little is known. Perhaps the fact that so few refugees came from coastal towns could explain the absence of Sea Beggars at Sandwich.

Despite the capture of Den Briel in April 1572 the Sea Beggars did not yet have secure ports and landing places. Their ships continuously passed the Flemish shores and

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(101) Ibid., p.798.

often blocked the ports - occasionally resulting in economic hardship for the affected town - , one of which was Nieuwpoort. The heavily armed town was a thorn in the eye for the Sea Beggars as it was virtually impossible to capture her by attack from the sea. Moreover, Nieuwpoort had still a significant value as a port of embarkation for England. In short, Nieuwpoort was strategically of great importance (102).

In the spring of 1573 Pieter Waels (103) arrived in Méteren where a meeting had been organised in the house of co-religionist Cristian Parmentier with some twelve or thirteen other rebels, amongst whom Sea Beggar captain Jacob Baert. A plan to attack Nieuwpoort was discussed in detail, though this would, however, never be put into effect (104).

From the confessions of eight rebels arrested at Nieuwpoort and Hondskoote after the collapse of the operation we can reconstruct the whole plan. The captured prisoners were Panch Thibault, a say worker from Armentières, Anthonis de Pape, born in Chièvres in Hainaut, Guillaume Manteau of Valenciennes, Anthonie Bomber, born in Conchole in Hainaut and soldier in the army of Anjou, Philippe de Vos, a surgeon from Méteren, Jan Cherue, a say weaver born in Chose near Cambrai, who in 1567 or 1568 had moved to Diksmuide, Jacob Wyck, a bauwercker from Wulvergem, and Pieter Waels himself.

According to Jan Cherue the whole enterprise had been originally planned in Diksmuide in or about 1573, but the preparations only began to take shape two months later. On 16 March Jacob Wyck left England, where he had resided since 1565, for Calais from where he travelled to Cassel and Nieuwpoort. At about the same time Anthonie Bomber, who had arrived in Diksmuide, was sent to Nieuwpoort by a certain Jan Morue, an acquaintance, and told to seek

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(102) D. van der Bauwhede, 'Vier rebellen', 8.

(103) See above in this chapter pp.323.

(104) Coussemaker, iv, pp.226-7.



accommodation in an inn called Den Croone. Morue told him further that the following day a ship which he had hired would arrive in Nieuwpoort to take him to England. The same Jan Morue also instructed Jan Cherue to go to England. Whilst the latter was walking along the dyke at Diksmuide he met Anthonie Bomber and together they went to Nieuwpoort. On arrival in the town the two travellers and Jacob Wyck, who was already there, met Pieter Bolle, who was filling flasks with gunpowder. Bomber helped him to load them in a ship during which time Bolle informed him that more men would come with ammunition and weapons. Pieter Bolle and Daniel Godtschalck, who had just arrived from England, further let Wyck know that they in fact had left England in order to serve under Jacob Baert and that other captains such as a Hans Ghysele from Steenvoorde and Pieter Clarisse from Nieuwkerke were at that moment in England to recruit people in the name of William of Orange. They were waiting for Jacob Baert to arrive, the signal for the attack on Nieuwpoort. The following Tuesday Jacob Wyck, after having been told that he would find Baert near Nieuwkerke, where he was recruiting, travelled to Mesen and went in search of the Sea Beggar captain. He stayed with a contact, a draper, for two or three days but when Jacob Baert did not turn up he returned to Nieuwpoort. Again he met Pieter Bolle, whom he saw communicating with various other people.

During the second half of March Philippe de Vos was contacted by a certain Hans Ouveaghle from Steenwerck and was vaguely informed about the approaching action. On Easter Day the latter again visited him at his home and told him to go to Méteren where he would meet the other rebels. The following day he arrived in the village and found Pieter Bolle, Jacob Wyck and two Walloons in an upstairs room in an inn still waiting for Jacob Baert, who did indeed attend the meeting at Méteren with other accomplices. Unfortunately we do not know if Jacob Baert attended the meeting at Diksmuide in January, but we do know that at that meeting the attack on three possible

ports was discussed: Nieuwpoort, Dunkirk or Ostend, which indicates that no final decision of which port had yet been made. The meeting chose Nieuwpoort (105).

On the evening of Easter Saturday between thirty and seventy rebels, armed with pistols, rapiers and other weapons, gathered in Nieuwkapelle to prepare the attack. The whole operation miscarried when the bailiff of Nieuwpoort discovered the ship on which Pieter Bolle had been hiding the weapons and ammunition, confiscated them and raised the alarm. The group in Nieuwkapelle were warned by other rebels and the operation was abandoned.

The conspirators had in fact intended to recruit some 300 rebels. These would have travelled to Nieuwpoort clandestinely, where they would have assembled in a brewery just outside the town to make the final preparations during the course of the night. They planned to attack the town guard at dawn and open the gates. They would use all the weapons they could find as well as those hidden in the ship. In this way they hoped to capture Nieuwpoort by surprise. Then they would have attempted to flood the surrounding countryside so that the town could not be besieged, whilst Sea Beggar ships would protect the port (106). Had the plan succeeded other towns in the Westkwartier could have been taken, thus forcing the Spanish army, at that time still engaged in Holland and Zeeland, to fight on two fronts.

Jacob Baert was undoubtedly the key figure in the enterprise. He, like Pieter Bolle and Daniel Godtschalck who had gone from Sandwich, were all members of the Flemish church there. Once more the Strangers at Sandwich played a leading role in the organisation. We would not be surprised if this scheme to capture a Flemish port had been hatched in the Cinque Port. Had it succeeded, who can say what the effect on the Revolt would have been, for the Spanish

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(105) D. van der Bauwhede, 'Vier rebellen', 13.

(106) Ibid., 10-4; Coussemaker, iv, pp.217-9, 222.

relied heavily on these Flemish ports for their supplies. At the very least the Westkwartier would have been drawn into the Revolt at an early stage and here, unlike Holland, the Protestants would have enjoyed widespread popular support from the inhabitants.

#### 8. The refugees, England and the Dutch Revolt (1576-1603).

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From the beginning Elizabeth I protected the Sea Beggars by allowing them access to English ports. Admiral La Marck, for instance, had set up his headquarters at Dover. William of Orange issued commissions to the Sea Beggars and the Queen recognised him as an independent prince at war (107). But as time progressed the rebels no longer limited their commission to attack enemy ships outside English territorial waters but plundered vessels indiscriminately, enemy, English and neutral alike. In September 1571 the Privy Council instructed Lord Cobham and Sir Edward Horsey, captain of the Isle of Wight, to arrest certain captains so-called in the service of the prince of Orange, for plundering ships belonging to the merchants of the Steelyard, and to seize their ships and goods (108). With some result. On 31 October Henry Crispe, one of the commissioners of the Cinque Ports, informed the Privy Council that he had been to Sandwich and had chosen fifteen of the best freebooter-prisoners who were to remain in the Mayor's ward (109); the remaining sixty-five were to be removed from the realm. The same occurred at Dover where he chose ten prisoners and forty-five were to be ousted. The goods had been seized, unshipped and were in safe custody, and a Fleming who had swum from his ship to the shore had

(107) J.B. Black, 'The Brille', 38.

(108) Ibid., 39; J.C.A. de Meij, Watergeuzen, p.83.

(109) In 1571 the Mayor of Sandwich was Mathew Menes (W. Boys, Sandwich, p.419). He was Jurat of the 8th ward (M. Backhouse, 'Sandwich 1573', 258).

been captured and ransomed (110).

Despite these measures the Sea Beggars continued their actions indiscriminately. The severe damage they had caused to the shipping of Emden forced the latter to send an ambassador to England and France in November 1571. 'Queen Elizabeth was already besieged by Hanseatic merchants who complained of the substantial losses which had been inflicted on their trade by the privateers who frequented her ports. The Privy Council also realized that the Sea Beggars had gone too far in attacking neutral shipping' (111). The following month the Queen ordered La Marck to leave Dover, but bad weather prevented him from doing so and in January 1572 he in fact plundered vessels in the river Thames and returned with the booty to Dover (112). On 10 February the Privy Council ordered Sir Henry Crispe to summon La Marck and his companies before them and commanded them to leave the English shores and on 1 March the Sea Beggars were expelled. It is not known when exactly La Marck left Dover but on 25 March he was back in English waters, from where his fleet sailed to the Low Countries: on 1 April 1572 the Sea Beggars captured Den Briel.

In the autumn of 1575 the army of Requesens attacked the islands of Duivelland and Schouwen and cut the communications between Holland and Zeeland. By October Requesens had both islands under his control. For Orange the military situation had become desperate and in the autumn he requested Queen Elizabeth's help, proposing that she take Holland and Zeeland under her protection and lent money for his military campaign. In March 1576 the Queen, who since 1572 had refused to lend military assistance to Orange because she favoured peace by mediation, declined once more.

That same month of March an incident occurred which soured relations between Elizabeth and Orange that

(110) PRO, SP12/81/61.

(111) G. Parker, The Dutch Revolt, p.122.

(112) G.H. Overend, 'Dover', 107.

hostilities between the protagonists seemed a distinct possibility. An English ship coming from Antwerp was seized by Zeeland cruisers and taken to Arnemuiden. The Queen immediately ordered the arrest of Dutch ships at Falmouth, and in turn the admiralty of Zeeland arrested vessels of the Merchant Adventurers at Flushing (113).

In a series of letters written mainly by the Privy Council to Lord Cobham we learn of a similar incident which occurred between August and December of the same year, but apparently with less intense international consequences. In or about August 1576 William Holstock, the comptroller of the navy, whilst at sea, impeached some vessels from Holland and Zeeland, captured some prisoners from Flushing and brought them to England, where he committed them to prison in Sandwich and Dover. On 19 August the Privy Council instructed Lord Cobham to remove some of them to Canterbury as the costs of keeping these prisoners would be too hard to endure for both Cinque Ports. The Lord Warden was further informed to 'take some order that the Straingers resident in Sandwich, Caunterbury and Maidestone and in other places within his Lordships charge, may be contributaries towards the relief of the said prisoners till further order be taken with them'. The Privy Council had judged correctly (114). In or about August the inhabitants of Sandwich complained about the heavy burden they suffered by the presence of the prisoners. On 7 September the Council told Cobham to release most of them, keeping just ten or twelve leaders. He was to procure sufficient shipping at reasonable prices for those who departed, and the Flemish refugee church was to provide men to secure their safe conduct to Flushing (115). By December the matter was still not entirely resolved. Cobham had

(113) J.B. Black, The Reign of Elizabeth 1558 - 1603

(Oxford, 1976, 2nd edition), pp.338-9.

(114) APC, ix, p.191.

(115) Ibid., p.200.

written to Secretary Walsingham requesting what 'shold be come to the Flusshingers that not long sithe were taken by the Queen's shippes and imprysoned at Dover, Sandwich and Canterburie'. The Privy Council ordered him to set free all those who had not yet been charged (116).

Despite the tensions, the incidents did not result in further conflict and confrontation between Elizabeth I and William the Silent. In fact, on 7 September 1576 the Privy Council wrote to the comptroller of the navy, Holstock, that Orange had promised the Queen that her ships would no longer be troubled and plundered by those commissioned by him. The Council therefore requested the admiral no longer to impeach any ships belonging to the prince, unless there was sufficient evidence to prove that they had attacked the Queen's subjects or were a danger to others travelling at sea. He was to inform his captains to observe this order accordingly (117).

We are here especially concerned with the involvement in Kent of the Strangers, particularly those at Sandwich. In March 1576 the refugee communities in England found themselves in a dilemma. The Privy Council then instructed the Strangers in the country to have no more contact with Orange until the dispute had been brought to an end. In effect they had to choose between William of Orange and fidelity to the English sovereign. The refugee churches opted for the latter. The Strangers at Sandwich, Norwich and Maidstone hoped indeed they would not be compromised by the prince's action (118). But in August 1576 the Privy Council not only wanted the Sandwich and Dover Strangers to contribute to the costs of the maintenance of the Flushing prisoners (119) but the Sandwich community was also called

(116) Ibid., p.251.

(117) Ibid., p.201.

(118) A. Pettegree, Foreign Communities, p.268.

(119) This was not the only occasion Strangers' communities were requested for financial contributions. In 1586, for example, the Dutch

on to provide escorts to accompany the released prisoners back to Zeeland (120).

In a letter to Lord Cobham dated 10 September 1576 written at Canterbury, Richard Barrey, lieutenant of Dover, informed the Lord Warden that the 'Congregacion of Sandwich do refuse to put in bande with the shipp and maryners that should transport residue of the prisoners to Fflusshinge' (121). They gave several reasons. In the first place they did not trust what the prisoners and mariners might do with the ship once they arrived at Flushing. Secondly they feared that the ship might be attacked by vessels from Dunkirk, Nieuwpoort and Ostend. Attached to the letter was the petition to Lord Cobham drafted by the consistory of the Flemish refugee church and signed by Isbrand Balk, minister, Joannes Beaugrand, elder, and Roland de Carpentier, who had drafted the petition (122). As we do not hear of any response to or even repercussions against the Sandwich Strangers as a result of their refusal, we may assume that their arguments were accepted by Cobham and the Privy Council.

Although England had given the Dutch sporadic financial aid and volunteers in their fight against the Spaniards, it was not until the assassination of William of Orange and the fall of Antwerp that Elizabeth became directly involved on the side of the Dutch rebels. The Queen's councillors had at last persuaded her that a victorious Spanish army

refugee church in London had to pay for the transport of a regiment for the relief in the Low Countries; in 1589 they were to pay towards the expenses of the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom (W. Page, Denization, pp.xl-xli).

(120) We have no evidence to prove if the members of the Flemish refugee church in fact made payments for these expenses.

(121) PRO, SP12/109/5.

(122) Loc. cit.

would be a great threat to the nation (123). But the soldiers sent to the Low Countries were not always fervent defenders of 'the cause' and sometimes returned to England without licence. Many were arrested on their return. On 13 July 1587, for instance, the Privy Council required Lord Cobham and his commissioners, presumably those of the Cinque Ports or Kent, to work out a procedure at their next meeting in Canterbury against such soldiers concerning their imprisonment, trial and execution; if the law did not allow the latter, then to punish them severely at their discretion (124).

But such matters did not diminish the English support, and troops continued to be sent to the Low Countries. Again the town and port of Sandwich played her part. In 1591 Nicholas Erington, the Queen's captain in Flushing and one of the forts near the port, was ordered to take 1,500 soldiers and their captains to Flushing for service in the Netherlands as relief for an equal number. They were to be shipped from London, Harwich and Sandwich to meet at sea and then set course for Flushing (125). Ten years later victuals and men were still transported to the Netherlands from the Cinque Port. In July 1601 the Privy Council ordered Lord Cobham to organise the provision of shipping and food for 300 men to be transported to the other side of the English Channel (126). Without any doubt the town and Cinque Port of Sandwich, although not always enthusiastically, played her part in hosting the Strangers and in the Dutch Revolt until the end...

(123) G. Mattingly, The Defeat of the Spanish Armada
(London, 1983, 2nd edition), p.51.

(124) APC, xv, p.154.

(125) Ibid., xxi, pp.23-5.

(126) Ibid., xxxii, pp.72, 79, 89.

CONCLUSION

When Daniel Defoe visited Sandwich during his tour of Great Britain between 1724 and 1726 he commented on the town in rather disparaging terms:

'Sandwich is the next town, lying in the bottom of a bay, at the mouth of the river Stour, an old, decay'd, poor miserable town, of which when I have said that it is an antient town, one of the Cinque Ports, and sends two members to Parliament, I have said all that I think can be worth any bodies reading of the town of Sandwich' (1).

There is no doubt that had he visited the town some hundred and fifty-years earlier his observations would have been more positive to say the least, as Sandwich was then a flourishing Kentish port. True, the prosperous medieval port of export, with established economic links with Flanders, had declined by the first half of the sixteenth-century as a result of economic and, to some extent, geological factors. The settlement in the Cinque Port of the Strangers from July 1561 onwards, which made Sandwich the oldest refugee colony outside London brought renewed prosperity for some period of time.

The origin and size of the Flemish and Walloon communities at Sandwich had their specific characteristics and pattern. The vast majority of the Flemish and Dutch-speaking community originated from the Westkwartier of Flanders, where in the first half of the sixteenth century the 'new' and light draperies', manufactured with weaving techniques peculiar to that region, developed into a

(1) D. Defoe, A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain, ed. G.D.H. Cole (London, 1983), i, p.136.

thriving industry. But the economic decline evident throughout the Westkwartier, apart from Hondskoote and its neighbourhood, from the mid-1550s made its population very susceptible to the Reformed religion. The inhabitants saw Calvinism as a means of improving their material position in society. Their arrival in England as religious refugees coincided with the Elizabethan economic policy of introducing skills and trades until then unknown in the country.

Although some Walloons had settled in Sandwich before 1566 a separate French-speaking community was not established until the second half of the 1560s. Most Walloons in Sandwich came from French Flanders and Hainaut, where towns like Tournai were important outposts of the 'new' and light draperies'. The decline of the urban textile industry resulted in inhabitants of French Flanders moving to the Westkwartier and the Pays de l'Alleu in search of employment, some of whom took the Reformed religion with them. This explains the presence of a significant minority of Walloons from both areas.

Whilst the native population of Sandwich remained relatively stable between the 1560s and 1580s the size of both Stranger communities increased rapidly during the 1560s, when religious persecution in the Low Countries was most severe. During that decennium the Sandwich Stranger community became the third largest in the country behind London and Norwich, and the only one where the number of refugees exceeded the local population. This imbalance resulted in the Walloon exile community being transferred to Canterbury in 1575. The 1580s saw a sharp fall in the number of refugees at Sandwich: the unstable economic situation in England and the success of the Dutch Revolt in Holland and Zeeland persuaded many exiles to leave for the Northern Provinces of the Low Countries, whilst a small number settled elsewhere in England. Although a substantial number of Strangers continued to live in Sandwich in the first half of the seventeenth century, the community never recovered its former importance.

From the end of the 1560s the large number of Strangers in the Cinque Port caused great concern to the Town Council. But despite various local decrees intended to control the influx of refugees, such as the removal from the town of all Strangers who did not belong to the congregation and the exclusion of those convicted of misdemeanour, this discriminatory policy only started to have some success in the 1580s. With the benefit of hindsight one wonders how Sandwich and other towns in South East England would have been able to control the immigration of refugees into the country if there had not been an economic upheaval and crisis in England in the 1580s and 1590s and/or if the Revolt in Holland and Zeeland had failed. Our research has revealed that a large number of non-members of the Calvinist church or indeed of any church, managed to enter the Cinque Port. Many exiles were not even wanted or persecuted by the authorities and the Council of Troubles in Flanders. We therefore conclude that, although a majority of Flemish and Walloon Strangers had fled to England for religious reasons, many others must have been unemployed workers who came to England in search for work. Some of these joined the Reformed church in order to obtain the necessary credentials to find employment in England; others were religious dissidents who did not wish to belong to the congregation of the Flemish and Walloon refugee churches.

As was the case in all other exile communities in England as well as on the Continent, at Sandwich the Reformed church was the pivot and pillar of the Strangers' daily life. The refugee churches in England had unique characteristics. The local congregations enjoyed a far greater degree of autonomy than was normal in Presbyterian churches. They functioned as gathered churches, not as parish churches unlike the Reformed churches in the Low Countries, which combined features of parish church and gathered church. They were free-standing - Sandwich did not recognise any other Stranger churches as having authority over it, although the Dutch church in London served as a

model and as a source of counsel - yet operated within a broadly Presbyterian framework, which lacked superior church courts on account of the English political situation. In fact the four-tier hierarchy of consistory - classis - provincial synod - national synod was not established until the beginning of the seventeenth century. Instead, the Stranger churches were subject to the authority of the loose-knit system of the colloquia, which bears some resemblance to the classis. But whereas the typical classis in the Low Countries met several times a year the colloquium assembled only once a year; in that sense the colloquium approximated to the provincial synod. Nevertheless, the colloquia adopted most decisions and directives of the national synods of the Calvinist churches in the Low Countries and France.

Church discipline was indispensable to the religious daily life of the refugees. Through the instrument of the consistory discipline was preserved with an iron fist, first and foremost to maintain order amongst the members of the congregation but also to avoid jeopardising the reputation of the congregation in the host community. At Sandwich the consistory, which exerted a very strong power and authority over its members, and the local magistrates worked closely together to call to account and punish members of the Stranger community guilty of dishonesty and breaches of public order.

The church discipline or order also regulated the liturgy and catechism. In the refugee churches communion was administered more frequently than in the Calvinist churches in the Netherlands, where the small size of the congregation and geographical factors prevented monthly communions. In England frequent communion in the Stranger churches served to emphasize the importance of the consistorial discipline, thereby reinforcing the special character of the refugee churches.

The Sandwich Stranger church had two further distinctive features. Firstly, its endogamous character which the consistory was able to maintain in a small town like the

Cinque Port because the large size of the community ensured a sufficient choice of marriage partners. Secondly, there was the choice of Scriptural names for the children as required by the church order. At Sandwich, although traditional Flemish saints names did not completely disappear, they became less popular than names to be found in the Old and New Testament; some of their children were even given unusual Biblical names for which there was no precedent before the Reformation.

The reasonable wealth of the elders and deacons at Sandwich is also worthy of note. But even more important is the position of the ministers there. With only a few exceptions none of the self-taught preachers served in the Reformed ministry in Sandwich or in any other refugee community in England. Inevitably there developed a prejudice against these charismatic hot-gospellers in the established Stranger churches.

The importance attached to education and the administration of the orphans are indicative of the Strangers' concern to uphold their culture and prosperity in the host country, thereby emphasizing the security of the children's future and the entire community.

Without doubt the Strangers at Sandwich made an important contribution to the faltering local economy, partly caused by the beginning of the silting up of the harbour and of the River Stour. As early as December 1561 the settlers had introduced their weaving techniques, when their first work, a gift from the Mayor and Jurats of Sandwich, was presented to Lord Burghley. Two years later the Strangers' 'New Draperies' were effectively organised in groups of baize and say workers with their masters, and in accordance with the organisation of the textile industry in the Flemish Westkwartier, and Hondschoote in particular; they also manufactured similar types of cloth. At Sandwich these were originally produced with wool, yarn and cotton, bought by Strangers who regularly returned to the markets in their native country for that purpose.

Meanwhile, Sandwich Town Council, concerned to promote the economic recovery of their town and port, assisted the Strangers in various manners, e.g. by allowing them a place for the selling and buying of their products, by allowing a limited number of occupations outside the baize and say industry and by permitting a few newcomers to open a shop. The revival of Sandwich began in earnest during the latter part of the 1560s and the entire 1570s. The noticeable increase in the number and tonnage of ships using the harbour, and the increase of imports and exports provide proof of the town's recovery. Even the deterioration of the port could not halt Sandwich's temporary new importance, which would last well into the seventeenth century. Although the manufacture of baize cloths had virtually ceased by the 1580s, say and other cloths continued to be produced. In fact, the Strangers manufactured, albeit with a reduced workforce, their textile products in the Cinque Port until the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, by which time the struggle to keep the harbour open was finally abandoned (2).

But the Strangers' success was not without its problems. long before the sixteenth century the English had a dismal reputation as xenophobes. During the Middle Ages some violent actions had been organised against aliens in certain areas of the country. As in the other refugee communities in England in the second half of the sixteenth century the heartfelt welcome the Strangers initially received at Sandwich was soon to turn sour as a result of local envy. This resentment increased after 1567, when, as a result of the events in the Netherlands, the influx of exiles into the Cinque Port reached an unprecedented level. Many of these newly-arrived refugees could not find employment in the established textile industry and commenced to exercise occupations outside both the 'New Draperies' and the terms set out in the Letters Patent of 1561; some even became retailers, thus threatening the

(2) C.W. Chalklin, Kent, p.170.

livelihood of the natives. The local and central authorities had no other option than to issue decrees to counter the occupational and commercial initiative of the Strangers. At first these achieved little, but in time these ordinances became steadily more restrictive as the 1580s wore on. In this period of economic recession and international tension the central government also became less protective towards the Strangers and on occasions supported such decrees. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that the friction between the Strangers and the native population at Sandwich never became as acute as in London and Norwich. We know of only two incidents in which burgers of Sandwich used violence against the Strangers in their midst. And as in the other refugee communities in England there is no evidence that any Strangers themselves retaliated forcefully against the local inhabitants.

During the Troubles in the Netherlands in the 1560s a wide cross section of the social hierarchy of the Westkwartier sympathised with or adhered to the new religion. Many of them, amongst whom unskilled and skilled workers as well as intellectually emancipated sympathisers, did so not less because of their enthusiasm for Calvinism, than because of their intense hatred of the Catholic clergy.

At Sandwich too all groups of Flemish society were present: labourers, artisans, 'farmers', the lower middle class, the better off and even some members of the wealthy upper class. Here too the textile workers also made up the bulk of the population. A small group of better-off refugees in the Cinque Port even succeeded in maintaining a level of wealth similar to that which they had enjoyed on the Continent. Some managed to bring part of their wealth with them, some of them had maids and servants in Sandwich, some of them later became denizens because of their prominence in the Stranger community and they all paid relatively high rates, taxes and additional 'cesses' in accordance with their means.

The majority of the members of the Sandwich exile community, however, were persons of modest means. They managed to exist just on the breadline or above the minimum standard of living. In Sandwich from the beginning of the 1560s to the latter part of the 1590s the wages of the skilled artisans and unskilled labourers increased between 50 and 200% though with long periods of stagnation, while the price of consumables rose between 40 and 50% above the national average. It must also be emphasized that during the same period the average price of consumables rose by nearly 15% in the country as a whole, while the average real or nominal wage of a building craftsman, one of the highest paid artisans in England, decreased by over 13%. The recession of the 1580s and especially the crisis years of the 1590s had a devastating effect, and Sandwich did not escape. During these disastrous two decades there are references to poverty in the Cinque Port among the native inhabitants as well as among the Strangers. This made the native English population more restive. But for many Strangers the recession, exacerbated by the mounting resentment against them and the discriminatory decrees, affected them more severely. Although a large number were exempt from taxes because of their very modest income, many were still assessed for payment of their rates and taxes. Although most of these were assessed within the two lowest categories, they were obliged to pay double the amount of the native English, of whom only a small number were assessed. Furthermore, in this time of economic crisis Sandwich Town Council frequently sought to burden some of the Strangers, mostly denizens, with extra taxes 'to contribute to the continuing maintenance of the town and port'. In these circumstances, amongst other reasons, it comes as no surprise that many Flemish refugees decided to leave the Cinque Port from the mid 1580s for the United Provinces, which was now to become their new host country and where they hoped to find prosperity.

Although some historians will perhaps question whether the Sandwich Strangers' community deserves its reputation

as a centre for militants in the 1560s, the evidence suggests that Sandwich indeed became the main base for Calvinist militants who from the early 1560s supported, organised and participated in violent actions against the authorities in the Low Countries, and the Westkwartier in particular. They moved from London to the Cinque Port because they were out of sympathy with the moderate exile leaders in the capital, which encouraged other activists to travel to Sandwich directly from Flanders. And although the moderates in the Cinque Port, a majority, opposed their ideas, they could not control the leading radicals. Radicalism was not the policy of the consistory but the work of individual ministers, elders, deacons, masters and ordinary members of the Sandwich congregation. They played a leading part in organising such actions as springing Reformed prisoners in the Westkwartier and the notorious first armed public sermon in the Low Countries at Boeschepe, which undoubtedly raised the temperature in Flanders. And although the iconoclasm provoked a dispute at Sandwich, as in London, image breakers were apparently still being recruited by some inhabitants of the Westkwartier. Leading Sandwich radicals played a primary role in the local organisation of the Iconoclastic Fury in the Westkwartier and especially in the reign of terror instigated by the Wood Beggars in the Westkwartier. At least one third of the known terrorists behind this unrealistic plan for the invasion of the Southern Netherlands, spent some time in the Cinque Port.

After the débâcle of 1568 and the death of the radical minister Jacob de Buyzere in 1572, the involvement of the refugee community at Sandwich in the Revolt declined dramatically, not least because the Revolt succeeded in Holland and Zeeland, too far away from Sandwich to serve as a useful operational base. Nevertheless, the Strangers' community remained affected by the development of the events in the Low Countries. The community showed its sympathy for the cause of the rebels and Orange for instance by organising fast days and collections of money.

Sandwich harbour and nearby Dover served as ports for freebooters and privateers. The refugee community in the Cinque Port kept in continued contact with the struggling Calvinist churches in the Westkwartier and offered help whenever possible. But until the assassination of William of Orange in 1584 and the fall of Antwerp in 1585, Queen Elizabeth's desire to remain aloof posed serious problems for the Strangers. The Sandwich community's last military involvement in the Revolt - apart from the recruitment of members for the Sea Beggars - occurred in 1573. In that year Sea Beggars, members of the Sandwich Stranger community, planned in Sandwich an attack on the town of Nieuwpoort, in what proved to be a last attempt to invade the Westkwartier!

'Though less famous than that of the Huguenots, the sixteenth-century migration from the Netherlands had a great impact on early modern European history. In terms of socio-economic and socio-cultural development one might even argue that it was of greater importance than the Huguenot migration...the transitional character of sixteenth-century Europe offered real chances to introduce innovations without state controls. The refugees from the Netherlands were therefore able to influence the direction of economic, religious and social change more directly' (3). We could not agree more. The Strangers left their mark on the local economy at Sandwich: market gardening, which they introduced during the 1580s and 1590s, as well as their textiles. The memory of the Flemish Strangers survives in the local placenames - Beagrams and The Poulders bear witness to their endeavours; the houses of Sandwich with their 'Dutch' gables and Flemish brickwork and pantiles owe much of their charm to the skill of foreign craftsmen, while Flemish family names, garbled by English scribes and ignorant pronunciation almost beyond recognition, still litter the local telephone directory.

(3) H. Schilling, 'Innovation', 8-9.

GLOSSARY

-
- bouwwerker : building craftsman
- bemiddelaar : intermediary
- carolusgulden : sixteenth-century money of account in the Low Countries mainly used by the government in Brussels
- classis : meeting of ministers and elders supervising Reformed churches in a certain district
- cleyne luden : people of small means
- coetus : meeting of Reformed ministers (Emden) or of the Reformed ministers of the Dutch, French and Italian refugee congregations (London)
- Den Croone : inn in Loker where the Wood Beggars assembled; the building which is still standing, is now a private house
- gemeente : members of a Calvinist congregation
- hulppredikant : Reformed assistant minister
- kasselrij : administrative district in Flanders
- Langemeers : small area of woodland outside Mesen
- minnebroeder : Franciscan monk
- Nederduits : term used increasingly in the sixteenth century to distinguish 'Dutch' from 'German'
- notabele poorter : freeman of high position in a town, normally involved in the administration
- pond groot Vlaams : Flemish sixteenth-century currency
- poorterboeken : register of the freeman of a town
- predikant : Reformed minister
- procureur : lawyer, solicitor
- proponent : used in the Reformed churches of a candidate-minister, also known as a licentiate
- rijksdaalders : rix-dollars, sixteenth-century

- currency in the Netherlands,
equivalent to 2 1/2 guilders
- schepen : town magistrate, at the same time
a criminal and civil judge
- St.Sixtus : woods just outside the town of
Poperinge, a small part of which
survives
- wezerij : administration of the orphans
- wezerijkamer : the official administrative body
concerned with the inheritance of
orphans