

The Dutch Exile Community in King's Lynn: A Forgotten Moment in Anglo-Dutch Contact

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Abstract

Before, during and after the start of the Dutch Revolt, thousands of people, principally Calvinists, left the Low Countries for England. They established communities in more than twenty towns including the borough of King's Lynn in west Norfolk. Exiles from Flanders and Holland began arriving in Lynn in 1567, and they soon established a Calvinist church community there. A 1571 census indicates that the exile community had more than 200 members, many of whom worked in the textile trade. In 1572, in the early months of the Dutch Revolt, the minister returned to the Low Countries. Thereafter, we have little information on the exile church in Lynn, although exiles did continue to produce textiles, which were sealed in Norwich. This article analyses the history of the exile community and church in Lynn. It addresses questions such as where the exiles came from, why they moved to Lynn and the practices and positions they adopted and networks they created. Furthermore, it explores the relationship between the exile communities in Lynn and Norwich. Several of the church leaders returned to the Low Countries. The article therefore explores their role in building the Reformed Church there. Finally, it challenges previous historiography on Calvinist exiles in Norfolk by suggesting that attention should be paid not only to the exile communities in Norwich but also to those in other Norfolk towns such as Lynn.

I

In the prelude to and at the start of the Dutch Revolt (or Eighty Years' War), thousands of people, principally Calvinists, left the Low Countries for England.¹ They established communities in more than twenty towns, mainly in eastern England.² Four of these were in the county of Norfolk: Norwich, which had both Flemish and Walloon exile communities; Thetford, an offshoot of the Norwich Flemish community; Great Yarmouth, many of whose members came from Zeeland; and the port of King's Lynn. Each community established a Calvinist church. The aim of this article is to analyse the history of the exile community and church in King's Lynn.

Lynn, an important port in eastern England, had a long history of contact with the Low Countries, and throughout the late Middle Ages, people from the region, typically merchants, spent time in the town. In the 1560s, this contact intensified as Calvinists sought refuge to escape the Catholic Spanish authorities in the Low Countries and be able to practise their faith freely. In 1567, the borough council invited exiles to settle and work in the town. By late 1567, a Calvinist minister had arrived in Lynn, and by the following year, there was a significant exile worshipping community.

After analysing the first moves in establishing this community, I shall use official returns made in 1568 and 1571 to identify who was in the community, where they came

¹ Scholars differ on precisely when the Dutch Revolt began. I follow Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 169–70, who gives the date of 1572, and who calls the attack on Den Briel on 1 April the trigger for the Revolt.

² Christopher Joby, *The Dutch Language in Britain (1550–1702)* (Leiden, 2015), p. 22.

from, what practices and positions they adopted and what networks they created. An important element in this story is the relationship between the authorities in Lynn and Norwich and the exile communities in each town. Lynn was in some sense following the example of Norwich, whose civic leaders had invited exiles to settle and help revive its economy a few years earlier.³ Finally, a small number of the leaders of the Lynn exile church returned to the Low Countries to help build up the nascent Reformed Church there. Whilst their contribution was somewhat limited, I shall nevertheless argue that the exile community in Lynn provided a place of refuge for many exiles at a critical moment in the history of the Dutch Revolt and that they contributed to the revitalisation of the town's economy. This provides a necessary corrective to the historiography of exile communities in Norfolk, which tends to focus almost exclusively on the communities in Norwich.

For literature on and further archival references to aliens from the Low Countries residing in Lynn in the late medieval period, the reader is advised to consult Susan Maddock's article in this special issue.⁴ As for the exile church in King's Lynn, to date, it has received little academic attention. The Dutch scholar A.A. van Schelven mentions the Lynn exile community briefly in his study of exile communities in sixteenth-century England and Germany, first published in 1909.⁵ Twenty years later, in 1929, Van Schelven published a short article on the Lynn exile church.⁶ One problem with Van Schelven's article is that he transcribed the entries in the 1568 return not from the manuscript but from a published version of the manuscript.⁷ This led to several errors.⁸ Nevertheless, the article contains useful details about members of the exile community. More recently, I made several references to the exile church in Lynn in my history of the Dutch language in early modern Britain.⁹

Other authors have published work on communities of exiles from the Low Countries and their churches elsewhere in early modern England. An exile community was established in Sandwich in Kent in 1561, which Marcel Backhouse has studied in detail.¹⁰ This is useful for our purposes as several of the Lynn exiles had previously resided in Sandwich. Raingard Esser has examined the positions and practices of groups and individuals in the Flemish exile community in Norwich.¹¹ In 2020, Silke Muylaert published a monograph, *Shaping the Stranger Churches*, on the collective and individual responses in exile communities and above all Reformed worshipping communities in England to events in the Low Countries before and at the start of the Dutch Revolt. Both Esser and Muylaert make brief mention of the Reformed exile community in Lynn but do not analyse its membership or

³ Christopher Joby, 'The Norwich exile community and the Dutch Revolt', *History*, 109/384–5 (2024), pp. 59–91.

⁴ Susan Maddock, 'Livelihoods and Liberties of Low Countries Immigrants in Late Medieval Lynn', *History: The Journal of the Historical Association*, published in Early View on 12 December 2024, <<https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-229X.13436>> [accessed 27 January 2025].

⁵ A.A. van Schelven, *De Nederduitse vluchtelingen kerken der XVIe eeuw in England en Duitschland in hun betekenis voor de Reformatie in de Nederlanden* (The Hague, 1909 [republished 2008]), p. 202.

⁶ A.A. van Schelven, 'Een Noord-Nederlandsche kolonie te King's Lynn (Norfolk)', *De Nederlandsche Leeuw*, 47 (1929), cols 217–9.

⁷ Walter Rye, *Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, III, i (Norwich, 1885), pp. 228–35.

⁸ For example, he gives the name of the church minister as Gerardus Gallus Gallicanus, whereas the third element in the name should be Gallinaceus.

⁹ Joby, *The Dutch Language in Britain*, esp. pp. 179–80.

¹⁰ Marcel Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities at Sandwich during the Reign of Elizabeth (1561–1603)*, 2 vols. (PhD thesis, University of Southampton, 1991).

¹¹ Raingard Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten im England des 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1996). Additionally, Andrew Spicer has analysed the contribution to the Dutch Revolt of individuals in the mainly Francophone exile community in Southampton. Andrew Spicer, 'Southampton, sea beggars and the Dutch Revolt, 1567–1573', in Theo Hermans and Reinier Salverda (eds), *From Revolt to Riches Book Subtitle: Culture and History of the Low Countries, 1500–1700* (London, 2017), pp. 54–60.

activities.¹² Andrew Pettegree and Ole Grell have analysed the positions and practices of groups and individuals in the Dutch exile church in London.¹³ Pettegree in particular demonstrates how the exiles in London not only contributed to shaping the city's confessional landscape but also to the local and national economy. Pettegree has also written a monograph on the exile community at Emden in East Frisia. There, he observes that many of the ministers in exile churches had taken part in the *Beeldenstorm* or Iconoclastic Fury in 1566 and that they returned to the Low Countries very soon after the start of the Dutch Revolt in 1572. As a consequence, the Calvinist communities in the Low Countries were often led by men who advocated radical Calvinism.¹⁴ I shall analyse whether my findings on the Lynn exile church confirm or challenge this picture.

Finally, local histories of Lynn make little or no reference to the Dutch exile community. The Georgian chronicler and Baptist minister, William Richards (1749–1818), gives an extensive account of the Reformation and its aftermath in Lynn but makes no mention of the Dutch exile community or church.¹⁵ In their histories of Lynn, neither Vanessa Parker nor Paul Richards mentions them, whilst in his extensive two-volume history of the town, H. J. Hillen affords one paragraph to the community's textile-making activities.¹⁶ Therefore, apart from Van Schelven's publications early last century, there is little scholarship on the Lynn exile community and church. One possible reason for this is that little evidence of this community survives beyond the handful of primary sources that I now analyse.

II

The principal source for this study is a census in Latin of members of the King's Lynn exile community made in 1568. It appears in the same binding as a census of the members of the Norwich exile community organised by the Bishop of Norwich, John Parkhurst (r. 1560–75). At the behest of Queen Elizabeth, the Archbishop of Canterbury Matthew Parker wrote to Parkhurst on 16 May 1568, asking for a complete census of the Flemish and Walloon Stranger churches in Norwich. One aim was to establish how many 'Strangers'—the name given to immigrants from continental Europe—there were in the town. Another aim was to identify whether there were any individuals amongst them whom the authorities might view as 'heretics'. Parkhurst returned the results of the census on 4 August 1568.¹⁷ He probably decided to organise a census of the Lynn exile community at the same time. The ministers and elders of the Lynn exile church signed the Lynn census on 12 June 1568. A published 1885 edition of the entire census of Norwich and Lynn exiles contains several errors, which Van Schelven's work reproduces.¹⁸ I shall reference the original manuscript in this article.¹⁹

¹² Silke Muylaert, *Shaping the Stranger Churches: Migrants in England and the Troubles in the Netherlands, 1547–1585* (Leiden, 2020), p. 19; Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten*, p. 12.

¹³ Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford, 1986); Ole Peter Grell, *Dutch Calvinists in Early Stuart London: The Dutch Church in Austin Friars 1603–1642* (Leiden, 1989); Ole Peter Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart England* (Aldershot, 1996).

¹⁴ Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt* (Oxford, 1992), p. 196.

¹⁵ William Richards, *The History of Lynn*, 2 vols. (King's Lynn, 1812).

¹⁶ Vanessa Parker, *The Making of Kings Lynn: Secular Buildings from the 11th to the 17th century* (London, 1971); Paul Richards, *King's Lynn* (Chichester, 1990); H. J. Hillen, *History of the Borough of King's Lynn*, 2 vols. (Wakefield, 1978 [1st ed. Norwich, 1907]), ii, p. 734.

¹⁷ Frank Meeres, *The Welcome Stranger* (Norwich, 2018), p. 27. For the letter, see Rye, *Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, III, i, pp. 198–9. The first letter is dated 16 May but lacks a year. Rye notes that the next letter in the collection is dated 19 June 1568, so this letter was most probably written in 1568.

¹⁸ Rye, *Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, III, i, pp. 200–35 (for the Lynn census, see pp. 228–35).

¹⁹ Norfolk Record Office (NRO), DN/DIS 10, pp. 59–74.

The State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth I, include a census of the Strangers living in Lynn in May 1571.²⁰ Unlike the 1568 return, the 1571 census did not aim to identify the exiles' religious affiliation. Rather, it simply recorded those living in Lynn, who were 'Duchemen and not denisons'. Some of those listed may, therefore, not have been members of the exile church. The census also recorded how many years they had been living in Lynn and their occupation.

Unfortunately, no letters written by the consistory of the Lynn exile church have subsequently been identified. However, published letters from the consistories of exile churches and churches in the Low Countries, which reference the Lynn church or concern its leaders, will be a useful source.²¹ The same is true of the King's Lynn Hall Books. They record key decisions taken by the borough authorities such as an agreement to invite the exiles to settle and work in Lynn.²² Finally, the parish registers for St Margaret's church in Lynn include records of baptisms, marriages, and burials of exiles.²³ Some potentially useful records in the Low Countries have not survived. For example, several exiles in Lynn came from the Flemish town of Eeklo, which suffered heavily during the Dutch Revolt and was uninhabited between 1586 and 1599. When people returned, they found that the town hall had been completely plundered, with documents from before 1586 having disappeared.²⁴ Municipal archives of other towns in the Low Countries have so far yielded few details about the exiles in Lynn.

III

Like Norwich, Lynn had suffered economically in the first half of the sixteenth century. Demand for its stuffs had declined, and the dissolution had led to the closure of many religious houses.²⁵ In November 1565, master weavers had been invited to Norwich to help revive its economic fortunes, and more people from the Low Countries, many of whom were skilled textile workers, arrived in 1567 to escape the Spanish persecution of Calvinists following the 1566 *Beeldenstorm*. These events had not gone unnoticed in nearby Lynn, and, like Norwich, it would soon be home to exiles from the Low Countries. On 4 August 1567, the mayor, Robert Gervys, aldermen, and common council agreed to approach the Duke of Norfolk to accept a request by 'Straungers' to settle and work in Lynn.²⁶

Things moved quickly. On 7 August, two civic leaders, Mr Grebby and Mr Spence, were chosen to visit the Duke of Norfolk, who was probably in his palace in Norwich,

²⁰ The National Archives (TNA), SP 12/78 fols. 47v.-48r. Walter Rye (ed.), *The Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, I (Norwich, 1877), pp. 196-8.

²¹ Johannes H. Hessels (ed.), *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1887-97).

²² King's Lynn Borough Archives (KLBA), KL/C 7/6, *King's Lynn Hall book, 1543-69*, fol. 483r. See also KL/C 7/31, which is a transcript of KL/C 7/6 made in the 1920s.

²³ NRO, PD 39/1, Baptisms 1559-1693; PD 39/2, Marriages, 1559-1653; Burials, 1559-1678. Other records that I consulted, but which did not yield any relevant data for this article, all from the King's Lynn Borough Archives, are KLBA, KL/C 39/93, draft and other accounts 1555-1577; KLBA, KL/C 48/2, surveys, terriers and rentals 1568-9; and KLBA, KL/C 52/1, Corporation estates: registers of leases, 1553-1599.

²⁴ One set of documents from before this date that survive are the town's accounts from 1402 onwards, which were kept in the *Rekenkamer* (Counting Room) of the castellany of the Brugse Vrije [Liberty of Brugge]. These include a couple of references to King's Lynn exiles or family members. I thank Freddy Pille of the Stadsarchief Eeklo for this information.

²⁵ Richards, *King's Lynn*, p. 92.

²⁶ KLBA, KL/C 7/6, fol. 483r. Monday, 4 August 1567, 'Mr. Maior Aldermen & common counsell haue condescended & agreed that there shalbe sute made to the Duke of Norffolk his grace upon the articles of request made by the Straungers to come & inhabit here of sevrall occupacions'. Van Schelven, *De Nederduitsche vluchtelingen*, p. 202, writes that the Lord Mayor, Thomas Bonneel, was originally from Ieper and promoted the establishment of a colony in Lynn. However, Thomas Bonneel was never mayor of Norwich.

to communicate the council's decision and formally invite Strangers to Lynn.²⁷ The Duke had played an important role in obtaining letters patent from the Queen permitting thirty textile masters and their families to settle in Norwich.²⁸ He was therefore a key figure in facilitating the arrival of Strangers in Norfolk in general. The Lynn Hall Books do not tell us the outcome of the visit to the Duke of Norfolk, but this was not the end of the matter. One week later, on 14 August, two other civic leaders, 'Mr Shaxton & William Judy', were chosen to go to London to persuade the Privy Council to permit Strangers to settle in Lynn.²⁹

As we shall see, some Strangers who would settle in Lynn had previously lived in other English towns with exile communities. The question of when precisely they arrived in Lynn is difficult to answer as the available sources such as the Hall Book are silent on this matter. One further entry in the Hall Book requires attention. On 21 January 1568, Mr Kynne and Mr Spence were appointed to visit the Duke of Norfolk to gain a licence to produce 'tappestere & bayes' in Lynn.³⁰ There is no explicit mention of the Strangers here, but several of them were skilled textile workers. Furthermore, Strangers in Norwich were already making bays, and it seems that Lynn was trying to replicate the success of the Norwich Strangers in breathing new life into their adopted city's textile industry.

The 1568 census indicates that Queen Elizabeth had permitted up to 300 households (*usque ad 300 familias*) to settle in Lynn.³¹ The actual number that settled in Lynn was much smaller. The 1568 census also indicates that many of the exiles had already arrived in England by August 1567. Some of them were probably amongst the exiles, who, according to the Norwich-born minister of the London Dutch Church, Simeon Ruytink (d. 1621), in his history of the Dutch in England, had previously been living in Sandwich. The move to Lynn was part of an attempt to reduce the number of exiles in Sandwich, who at one time constituted more than half of the town's population.³²

The Reformed exile congregation met for worship in the church of St Margaret, also known as Lynn Minster, first built in about 1100 by the Bishop of Norwich, Herbert de Losinga.³³ Rood-lofts in Lynn were removed in Edward VI's reign, re-installed during Mary's reign and in 1559 removed once more along with 'the images that were upon them'. In 1561, many 'popish' relics and mass books were burnt in

²⁷ KLBA, KL/C 7/6, fol. 483v. 'Mr. Mayor aldermen and common counsell have elected & chosen Mr Grebby & Mr Spence to travaill to the Duke of Norffolk his grace for to make sute for the brynging hither of the Straungers'.

²⁸ Joby, 'The Norwich exile community', pp. 89–90; Christopher Joby, 'What does the birth of the Flemish and Walloon exile communities in Norwich tell us about local and national positions and practices adopted in response to large-scale migration from the Low Countries?' *Immigrants & Minorities*, Early View access 21 August 2024, <<https://doi.org/10.1080/02619288.2024.2392831>> [accessed 26 January 2025].

²⁹ KLBA, KL/C 7/6, fol. 484r., 14 August 1567. 'Mr Mayor aldermen and common counsell have this daye elected Mr Shaxton & William Judy to travaill to the Lords of the Counsell in the sute for [...] the Straungers to inhabit here'.

³⁰ KLBA, KL/C 7/6, fol. 488r., 21 January 1568. 'Mr. Kynne and Mr. Spence [have] ben appointed to travaill to the Duke of Norffolk for his flavor for the perteynyng (sic) licens to have the makynge of the tappestere & bayes in this town'. For numbers in the Sandwich exile community, see Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, I, pp. 40–59.

³¹ NRO, DN/DIS 10, p. 60; Rye, *Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, III, i, p. 228. This number does seem high, compared to the number of exiles permitted to settle in other English towns.

³² Simeon Ruytink et al., *Gheschiedenissen ende Handelingen die voornemelick aengaen de Nederduytsche Natie ende Gemeynthen, wonende in Engeland, ende in 't bysonder tot Londen*, ed. by J.J. van Toorenenbergen (Utrecht, 1873), p. 43, records that an elder of the London Dutch Church, Johannes Utenhove (d. 1566), had worked with the Bishop of London to facilitate the move to Lynn. The dating here is uncertain. Ruytink writes this in a section dated 1560. There is, however, no evidence that any exiles moved to Lynn in that year. He also references the founding of the Norwich Flemish Stranger community in 1565 in this section. One possibility is that a plan to relocate Strangers from Sandwich to Lynn in that year was discussed, but it did not come to fruition until later in the decade.

³³ Strictly speaking, St Margaret's church was not formally made a minster until 2011. Therefore, it is interesting that it is referred to as a minster in the 1568 census. NRO, DN/DIS 10, p. 60.

the marketplaces.³⁴ The Calvinist exiles therefore probably found little to offend their religious sensibilities as they worshipped in St Margaret's.

Van Schelven argues that the exile church must have met for the first time between 16 January and 6 March 1567.³⁵ He gives the earlier date as the 1568 census states that one of the exiles, Lucas Theodorici, arrived in England, and probably Lynn, on that date, and resided in the town before the exile church was established. The latter date is the one on which, according to the census, the next exiles arrived in England. They were Nicolaus Joannis and his wife and son and Gulielmus Joannis, probably one of Nicolaus's relatives. As the return does not mention that Nicolaus and Gulielmus arrived before the establishment of the exile church, Van Schelven concludes that it was functioning by then. One problem with this view of things is that the principal minister, Gerardus Gallus, did not arrive in Lynn until October 1567.³⁶ Another minister, Vincentius de Pedue, did not arrive in England until 6 September 1567. Furthermore, the town council only extended an invitation to the exiles in August 1567, again making a date of January–March 1567 for the establishment of the exile church unlikely. Given these facts, a date towards the end of 1567 seems much more likely. The exiles who arrived before then might, however, have met informally for prayers and psalm singing.³⁷

Gallus is listed in the 1571 return, so we may presume that the exile church was still active. By September 1572, however, he had returned to the Low Countries. Thereafter, there is little reference to the worshipping community in town or exile records. A letter in the London Dutch church archive may, nevertheless, indicate that the Lynn exile church continued to function until 1576. In that year, the Flemish church at Sandwich was required to arrange the forthcoming colloquium of the Dutch-speaking exile churches in England. On 29 April, it informed the London Dutch church that it had sent invitations to the churches in Colchester, Norwich, Yarmouth and Thetford asking them to notify other communities including the one at Lynn (Lyn) about the colloquium.³⁸ This does not of course prove that the Lynn exile church was still active at this date, but it may suggest that it at least continued to function beyond September 1572.

As for the broader exile community, it is unlikely that this continued to function in any meaningful way without the presence of a church structure headed by a minister. There were certainly still exiles in Lynn. On 24 July 1574, Paule Pope 'a Duche boye' was buried at St Margaret's.³⁹ Children of 'Dutchmen' were baptised in St Margaret's as late as 1576. Furthermore, in 1579 the borough paid the sum of 20*s.* to William Mason for the lodgings of certain poor Strangers.⁴⁰ These may have been poor members of the exile community left behind by others who returned to the Low Countries. Finally, the Strangers are not mentioned often in the Hall Books, so probably behaved themselves, realising that to do otherwise might result in their ejection from Lynn.

³⁴ Richards, *King's Lynn*, p. 92.

³⁵ Van Schelven, 'Een Noord-Nederlandsche kolonie', p. 219, n. 8.

³⁶ NRO, DN/DIS 10, p. 60.

³⁷ Typically, ministers would administer the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper. However, there were exceptions. For example, at the Flemish church in Norwich, an elder Jan de Roode baptised seven children in the absence of the minister, Karel Ryckwaert: Hessels, *Ecclesiae*, III, i, p. 867.

³⁸ Hessels, *Ecclesiae*, III, i, pp. 366–7.

³⁹ NRO, PD 39/2, p. 31. Other Dutchmen and women were buried in St Margaret's. On 17 October 1572, Havonse Myere was buried at St Margaret's and on 6 March 1573, Barbara Cornelys was buried in the church. She may have been married to the tailor Johannes Cornelis (51, 62) from Leiden (the same individual, Johannes Cornelis, is listed twice). NRO, PD 39/2, pp. 26, 28.

⁴⁰ KLBA, KL/C 7/7, *King's Lynn Hall book 1569–91*, fol. 169r.

IV

Let us now take a closer look at the exile community to answer questions such as who led the exile church, how many people attended it, where they came from, what they believed, what occupations they practised and how long they stayed in Lynn.

The full Latinised name of the principal minister was Gerardus Gallus Gallinaceus (Table 1, entry 1). Van Schelven identifies him by his vernacular names, Gerard Martensz. or Gerard de Haan.⁴¹ He was born in Utrecht and lived as a monk in Middelburg before abjuring his faith. By 1561, he was in London, and a year later, he married Maria Stercke.⁴² In May 1563, he was in Brugge, from where he wrote to the London Dutch church consistory about internal divisions in the Brugge consistory.⁴³ According to the 1568 Lynn return, at some point, Gerardus moved north with Maria to work as a preacher (*concionator*) for Hendrik van Brederode, Lord of Vianen (1531–68) near Utrecht. Brederode was the latest member of his family to ignore directives deliberately issued by the central authorities in Brussels.⁴⁴ On 5 April 1566, he had led several hundred nobles to Brussels and presented the Governor of the Habsburg Netherlands, Margaret of Parma, with a Petition of Compromise denouncing the Inquisition and demanding that she immediately abolish it and suspend the strict heresy laws.⁴⁵ Van Schelven does not mention Gerardus's work in Vianen. One possibility is that Gerardus is the same person described as 'Scheele Gerrit' in the *Utrecht Chronicle*. *Scheel* means squinting or cross-eyed. The *Chronicle* describes 'Scheele Gerrit' as a former monk in Middelburg who was born in Utrecht, which matches the details we have about Gerardus Gallus.⁴⁶ Furthermore, it states that he advanced the cause of the *Beeldenstorm* in Utrecht in August 1566. The government in Brussels eventually took control of Vianen on 3 May 1567.⁴⁷ Gerardus clearly felt that he was a marked man and returned to London, arriving on 16 May.⁴⁸ Apart from Gerardus, Brederode had gathered and offered protection to several advocates of the 'new religion'. Another one, Albert Christiaensz., was a printer of forbidden religious literature. He would eventually move to Norwich, where he helped Anthonie de Solempne to run a printing press that printed anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish literature.⁴⁹

Gerardus spent several months in London, probably working out his next move. On 16 October, along with Maria and a servant girl, he moved to King's Lynn to become

⁴¹ A.A. van Schelven, 'Gerardus Gallinaceus', in: *Nieuw Nederlands Biografisch Woordenboek* (NNBW), vol. 6, pp. 541–2.

⁴² In a return of the Dutch church in London begun in 1561, he is listed as Gerard Martens de Hane. Maria is listed in the same return as Mayken Sterck. R.E.G. & E.F. Kirk, *Returns of Aliens Dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London From the Reign of Henry VIII to that of James I*, 4 vols. (Aberdeen, 1900–1908), I, pp. 280, 286.

⁴³ Johan Decavele. *De Dageraad van de Reformatie in Vlaanderen (1520–1565)*, 2 vols (Brussels, 1975), I, p. 349, esp. n. 133.

⁴⁴ Paul Valkema Blouw, 'A printer in four countries, Albert Christiaensz in Vianen, Sedan, Emden and Norwich 1565 to 1570', in Ton Croiset van Uchelen & Paul Dijkstra (eds), *Dutch Typography in the Sixteenth Century: the Collected Works of Paul Valkema Blouw* (Leiden, 2013), pp. 753–90, at p. 755. Vianen was a quasi-independent lordship. Brederode even claimed to be the Count of Holland.

⁴⁵ Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p. 145, gives the number as some 200 nobles. Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (Harmondsworth, 1985), p. 148, on the other hand, references some 300 confederates. The Petition is also called the Compromise of Nobles (Dutch: *Eedverbond der Edelen*), or 'Appeal of the Nobles' (*Smeekschrift der Edelen*).

⁴⁶ Otto Jan De Jong, *De Reformatie in Culemborg (proefschrift)* (Assen, 1957), pp. 110–1.

⁴⁷ Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten*, p. 131.

⁴⁸ Latin: 2 idus Maij Anno 1567.

⁴⁹ Joby, 'The Norwich exile community', pp. 74–5. For further reading on Christiaensz, see Rebecca Feakes, 'A Familiar Sight: 'Dutch Type' and the First Printer of Norwich', *History: The Journal of the Historical Association*, Early View access 22 January 2025, <<https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-229X.13441>> [accessed 26 January 2025].

Table 1 Heads of household in the exile community of King's Lynn

Name (1568 return)	Occupation	Place of birth	Province	Date of arrival in England	Census May 1571 name; yrs in Lynn; occupation NB: The number is the exile's position in the 1571 census
I Leaders					
Minister					
1. Gerardus Gallus Gallinaceus	Minister	Utrecht	(The Lordship of) Utrecht	16 May 1567	15. Gerardus Martinson 4 years, preacher
Elders					
2. Justus Junius	Schoolmaster	Brugge	Flanders	18 May 1567	26. Joyes de Yong 3 years, kelemaster
3. Middardus Trion	Textile worker	Kemmel	Flanders	18 July 1567	
4. Petrus Joannis	Cutler	Delft	Holland	18 May 1567	
5. Franciscus De Spieghel	Linen textile worker	Eeklo	Flanders	17 May 1567	
6. Samson	Smith	Ieper	Flanders	18 May 1567	
7. Theodoricus de Haue	Merchant (architect)	Delft	Holland	16 October 1567	28. Theodorus de Hayve, 3 years, merchant
Deacons					
8. Cornelius Joannis	Tailor	Haarlem	Holland	16 July 1567	27. Cornelius Johnson 3 years, tailor
9. Arnoldus Joppen	Tailor	Delft	Holland	26 November 1567	
10. Joannes Theodorici	Merchant	Delft	Holland	26 November 1567	1. John Dericson, 2 years, merchant
11. Andreas Martini	No occupation	Delft	Holland	26 November 1567	
12. Joannes De Speghele	Linen weaver	Eeklo	Flanders	17 May 1567	
13. Daniel Wante	Tailor	Eeklo	Flanders	26 August 1567	
II Church members					
14. Judocus Sartoris	Linen weaver	Aalter	Flanders	24 September 1567	
15. Arnoldus De Loo	Adolescent	Velzeke	Flanders	26 October 1567	
16. Hendricus de Walme	Cooper	Zottegem	Flanders	6 June 1567	38. Henry Outswell?, 3 years, cooper
17. Margareta Oudmarck	Young woman	Velzeke	Flanders	16 October 1567	
18. Simon de Weghere	-	Oostwinckel nr. Eeklo	Flanders	16 October 1567	23. Simon Aleyar? 2 years, labourer
19. Petrus de Cuyf	Textile worker	Eeklo	Flanders	16 October 1567	
20. Vincentius de Pedue	Minister	Eeklo	Flanders	6 September 1567	
21. Ancomera Hendrici	Linen and cloth worker	Breda	Brabant	14 September 1567	

(Continued)

Table 1 (Continued)

Name (1568 return)	Occupation	Place of birth	Province	Date of arrival in England	Census May 1571 name; yrs in Lynn; occupation NB: The number is the exile's position in the 1571 census
22. Joannes Coene	Tailor	Ghent	Flanders	15 October 1567	42. John Coome, 3 years, tailor
23. Joannes Anthony	Tailor	Ghent	Flanders	4 April 1567	5. Joes Antones, 3 years, dyer
24. Jacobus De Ecke	No occupation	Ghent	Flanders	15 October 1567	36. Jacob Vienheke, 3 years, twister of yerne, that is, Van Heke
25. Martinus Allardi	Bricklayer/ mason	Ghent	Flanders	15 October 1567	41. Martin Holland (sic), 3 years, mason
26. Gulielmus de Grinwelhuys	Potter	Eeklo	Flanders	1 September 1567	35. Willm Wanternelis? 3 years, potmaker
27. Pascharius Martier	Textile worker	Dranouter	Flanders	6 November 1567	
28. Herperus Judoci	Tailor	Delft	Holland	26 November 1567	14. Harbert Joston? 2 years tailor
29. Arnoldus de Bondt	No occupation	Delft	Holland	16 May 1567	
30. Mattheus Theodorici	Carpenter	Delft	Holland	26 May 1567	37. Mattias Dericson, 3 years, carpenter
31. Guilielmus Baudinini	Textile worker	Leiden	Holland	26 March 1567	
32. Cornelius Simonis	No occupation	Zierikzee	Zeeland	16 September 1567	
33. Anthonius Launerencij	Surgeon	Den Briel	Holland	17 September 1567	13. Antony Lorance, 4 years, surgeon
34. Adrianus Buese	Woolworker	Wulvergem	Flanders	13 June 1567	
35. Salomon Jacobi	Wool and cloth worker	Zierikzee	Zeeland	13 October 1567	
36. Joannes Weddelinck	Textile worker	Steenwerck	Flanders	9 April 1567	
37. Joannes Anthoni	Carpenter	Leiden	Holland	6 April 1567	20. John Antony, 3 years, joiner
38. Jasperus Beemensis	Carpenter	The Hague	Holland	16 June 1567	
39. Dionisius Iudoci	Linen worker	Delft	Holland	15 May 1567	
40. Franciscus Derkel	Gardener	Eeklo	Flanders	16 October 1567	7. Dionise Joyse, 4 years, weaver
41. Thomas de Smit	Not given	Antwerp	Brabant	16 September 1567	
42. Jasperus De Banneir	Linen worker	Den Briel	Holland	15 May 1567	
43. Jacobus De Vliegher	Textile worker	Waarschoot	Flanders	16 April 1567	17. Jacob De Fleggar, 4 years, weaver
44. Adrianus De Waldeghem	No occupation	Eeklo	Flanders	16 June 1567	
45. Jacobus Hendrici	Cutler	Breda	Brabant	16 June 1567	19. Jacobus Harrison, 3 years, cutler
46. Petrus De Brune	Gardener	Oudzeele	Flanders	16 September 1567	

(Continued)

Table 1 (Continued)

Name (1568 return)	Occupation	Place of birth	Province	Date of arrival in England	Census May 1571 name; yrs in Lynn; occupation NB: The number is the exile's position in the 1571 census
III Not yet received into church but being catechised					
47. Johannes Boosman	Tailor	Hulst	Flanders	26 April 1567	
48. Renuerus Gerardi	Not given	Dordrecht	Holland	2 April 1567	
49. Cornelius Hendrici	No occupation	Delft	Holland	26 March 1567	
50. Joannes Leonardi	No occupation	Den Briel	Holland	3 May 1567	
51. Johannes Cornelij (possibly same individual as 62)	Tailor	Leiden	Holland	18 April 1568	
52. Petrus Wadde	Coppersmith	Den Briel	Holland	6 March 1567	
53. Erasmus Parasis	No occupation	Eeklo	Flanders	15 May 1567	
54. Johannes de Hunt	Gardener	Eeklo	Flanders	18 April 1567	
55. Petrus de Hunt	Tailor	Eeklo	Flanders	18 May 1567	
56. Martinus de Groote	No occupation	Waarschoot	Flanders	26 April 1567	
57. Petrus Rycquaert	No occupation	Oostwinckel	Flanders	16 April 1567	
58. Hendricus Allardi	Textile worker	The Hague	Holland	17 May 1568	29. Henricus Alirts, 3 years, vinegar maker
IV Not accepted into the church					
59. Lucas Theodorici	Merchant	Delft	Holland	16 January 1567	16. Lucas Dericson, 9 years, merchant
60. Nicolaus Joannis	60 years old	Delft	Holland	16 May 1567	
61. Gulielmus Joannis	Courier/carter (Latin <i>vehetor</i>)	Delft	Holland	16 March 1567	
62. Joannis Cornelij	Tailor	Leiden	Holland	18 April 1568	
63. Cornelius de Vos	Blacksmith	Diksmuide	Flanders	16 May 1567	
					Total 21

(Continued)

Table 1 (Continued)

Name (1568 return)	Occupation	Place of birth	Province	Date of arrival in England	Census May 1571 name; yrs in Lynn; occupation NB: The number is the exile's position in the 1571 census
V Exiles not listed in the 1568 census but listed in 1571 state papers					
2. John Williamson	Locksmith	Years in Lynn by 1571			
3. Peter Watersey	Cooper	3 years			
4. Bartholomew Johnson	Courier	3 years			
6. Peter Knise	Sawyer	4 years			
8. Hugh Adamson	Turner	4 years			
9. George Skepper	Weaver	4 years			
10. Peter Brewne	Gardener	3 years			
11. Jasapar Baronson	Joiner	3 years			
12.... Baker	Tiler	3 years			
18. Levin Brakinman <i>recte</i> Brakelman	Merchant	3 years			
21. Willem Bowen	Ropemaker	3 years			
22.... Danyell	Shoemaker	3 years			
23. Simon Alegar	Labourer	2 years	18. Simon de Weghere?		
24. Adrian Johnson	Shoemaker	25 years!			
25. Jheram Solomon	Tailor	2 years			
30. Corvin Tomson	Labourer	3 years			
31. Reginaldus Girdes	Shipmaster	3 years			
32. Peter Johnson	merchant	8 years			
33. John Lenardes	merchant	3 years			
34. Willus Townex	Weaver	3 years			
35. Willm Wanternelis	Potmaker	3 years			
39. Matthias Harrison	Smith	17 years			
40. Peter Johnson	Cutler	4 years			
43. Harupan Colman	Hatmaker	3 years			
44. Harbert Quars	Potmaker	3 years			

the minister of the exile church.⁵⁰ The May 1571 census lists him as the ‘preacher Gerardus Martinson’, Martinson being an Anglicised version of Gerardus’s Dutch patronymic, Martenszoon. Eleven months later, on 1 April 1572, the *watergeuzen* or ‘Water Beggars’ attacked Den Briel, heralding the start of the Dutch Revolt. By September 1572 Gerardus was working as a minister in Delft. He therefore fits the picture described by Andrew Pettegree of ministers who had participated in the *Beeldenstorm* being amongst the first exiles to return to the Low Countries after the attack on Den Briel.⁵¹ From Delft, Gerardus wrote to the Dutch church in London expressing joy that God had opened ‘so large a door everywhere, but especially in Holland, to allow for the preaching of his Holy Word’.⁵²

By May 1573, Gerardus had left Delft, and after a short stay in Dordrecht, moved to Den Briel, where he worked as a minister alongside Andreas Cornelius (*vulgo* Cornelisz).⁵³ Like Gerardus, Andreas Cornelius had been an exile, in his case in Emden, and so their exile experiences probably shaped their working relationship and ministry at Den Briel.⁵⁴ Gerardus continued to work at Den Briel until 9 October 1574, when he passed away shortly after attending that year’s Provincial Synod of the Churches of Holland and Zeeland in Dordrecht. He left behind translations of Reformed literature. His Dutch translation of John Calvin’s *Harmony of the Gospels, Matthew, Mark and Luke*, was published posthumously in 1582.⁵⁵ However, his translation of Heinrich Bullinger’s *Homiliae* on the Book of Daniel probably remained unpublished.⁵⁶

Vincentius de Pedue (no. 20 in Table 1) from Eeklo arrived in England on 6 September 1567 with his wife and two sons.⁵⁷ Although the 1568 return describes him as a minister, it does not list him with the other church leaders. Furthermore, I have not found his name in any other records. The 1568 return lists six elders and six deacons, all of whom had moved to England in the previous year, 1567. One deacon was Daniel Wante (13), a shoemaker from Eeklo, who adopted the new religion in about 1560. He arrived in England with his wife and two daughters on 26 August 1567.⁵⁸ In Lynn, he worked as a tailor (*sutor*). We do not know precisely when he

⁵⁰ He is recorded in the 1568 return as follows: ‘Gerardus Gallus Gallinaceus cum Maria uxore sua et ancilla, verbi Dei in Ecclesia Peregrinore quae est in Lyn Minster Oriundus ex Hollandia ciuitate Ultraiect profugus cum Domino suo de Brederoode cuius erat Concionator (haranguer/preacher) ex Ciuitate Viana profectus Londinium 2 idus Maij Anno 1567° et inde ab ecclesia Belgica 16 Octobris ad verbi Dei ministerium ad oppidum Lynn vocatus, ibique cum Summa puritate Doctrine et pia conversacione ecclesie seruiens’.

⁵¹ Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt*, p. 196.

⁵² Hessels, *Ecclesiae*, III, i, pp. 176, 183.

⁵³ Gottfried Wingius, who was also a minister at Delft, wrote that the leaders at Dordrecht had gone behind his back to entice Gerardus to work there. Van Schelven asks whether he might have left Dordrecht quickly having come into conflict with the town’s mayor but does not answer his own question. Hessels, *Ecclesiae*, III, i, pp. 217–8, 228–9; Van Schelven, ‘Gerardus Gallinaceus’, p. 542.

⁵⁴ Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt*, p. 195.

⁵⁵ *Harmonia, dat is, een tsamenstemminghe gemaect uut de drie Evangelisten, Mattheo, Marco, ende Luca, met de Uytlegginge van Jean Calvin; overgheset by Gerardum Gallinaceum*. The USTC lists three versions of this work. 428882 printed in Leiden by Andries Verschout and in Antwerp by Iasper Troyen; 428883 printed in Leiden by Verschout and in Antwerp by Nicolas Soolmans; and 422079 printed in Leiden by Verschout.

⁵⁶ Jan Pieter de Bie and Jakob Loosjes, *Biographisch woordenboek van protestantsche godgeleerden in Nederland*, vol. 3 (The Hague, 1919–1931), pp. 171–2.

⁵⁷ NRO, DN/DIS 10, p. 64.

⁵⁸ According to A.A. van Schelven, ‘Wante, Daniel’, *NNBW*, III, pp. 1390–1, Daniel’s father was Pieter Wante, who arrived in England in 1567, but moved not to Lynn, but Norwich, where he worked as a woolcomber. In NRO, DN/DIS 10, p. 18 (W.J.C. Moens, *The Walloons and their Church at Norwich*, 2 vols. (Lymington, 1888–9), II, p. 216), he is listed as Petrus Wante who went to England with his wife and sister. In 1571, he served as an elder in the Flemish church in Norwich. Hessels, *Ecclesiae*, III, i, p. 143. A Daniel Wante was one of the Eekloonaars banished *in absentia* forever by the Council of Troubles on 1 September 1568. However, his father was called Daniel. Therefore, either Van Schelven has made an error, or the Daniel Wante who was banished did not go to Lynn. A. de Vos, ‘Godsdienstberoerten te Eeklo tijdens de XVIe eeuw’, *Appeltjes van het Meetjesland*, 12 (1961), pp. 1–80, at pp. 77–8.

left Lynn, but at some point, he returned to the Low Countries, where he served as a minister for twenty-five years until his death in 1603.⁵⁹ Between 1578 and 1580, he served the Reformed community in Oostburg in Zeeland. By early May 1580, he had moved to St-Kruis near Aardenburg, but his work was hampered by the actions of the Catholic nobles known as the Malcontents.⁶⁰ By 1582, he was preaching at Groede near Oostburg.⁶¹ In 1585, he moved south to Oostende in West Flanders, from where he made a journey to England to seek financial help for the Reformed church there.⁶² His time in Lynn probably allowed him to learn some English. He was still in Oostende in August 1586.⁶³ However, in 1587 he moved back to Zeeland, to Elkerzee where he took care of the Reformed communities at Noordgouwe and Kerkwerve. From 1588 until his death, he worked at Zonnemaire in Zeeland. He therefore helped to build up the Reformed Church in Zeeland alongside other former exiles such as Gelein d'Horne and Jan Migrode, who had led the exile churches at Great Yarmouth and Colchester, respectively.

Other exiles stayed longer in Lynn. Justus Junius was an elder in the Lynn church. He had previously worked as a schoolmaster in Breda.⁶⁴ In the first half of the 1560s, Calvinism was practised quite openly in Breda, and many inhabitants were actively involved in the *Beeldenstorm*. However, by autumn 1566, Margaret of Parma had taken control of Breda, and Calvinism was suppressed. Justus arrived in England on 18 May 1567 with his wife Maria and their three children and worked in Lynn as a schoolmaster (*ludimagister*), probably running his own school.⁶⁵ Justus appears in the 1571 census under his vernacular name, although somewhat mangled by the English clerk as 'Joyes de Yong' (Junius means young).⁶⁶ He was still in Lynn on 12 May 1573, when his son, Josias, was baptised in St Margaret's church.⁶⁷

Above, I mentioned that some of the Lynn exiles may have stayed in Sandwich before moving to Norfolk. I have identified two Lynn exiles who may have made this journey. First, Middardus Trio(e)n (3) was another church elder. He was a textile worker from Kemmele in Flanders who arrived in England on 18 July 1567. He is listed in the 1568 census but not in the 1571 return.⁶⁸ One of the exiles in Sandwich is listed as Carle Trioen. He came from Kemmele, so may be related to Middardus, or indeed be the same person, for Middardus is an extremely unusual name.⁶⁹ Interestingly, Carle was involved in sectarian activities in the Low Countries, so if this were the same person, it would explain why he had moved to Sandwich and then Lynn.⁷⁰ Second, Jacobus De Vliegheer (43) was a textile worker from Waarschoot

⁵⁹ The name Daniel Wante does not appear in the 1571 return. However, there is a Danyell listed as a shoemaker who had lived in Lynn for three years (22). This may be Daniel Wante, although this is not certain.

⁶⁰ H.Q. Janssen, *De Kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II (Arnhem, 1868), pp. 82, 101.

⁶¹ Janssen, *De Kerkhervorming*, p. 54.

⁶² Hessels, *Ecclesiae*, III, I, pp. 796–7.

⁶³ Hessels, *Ecclesiae*, III, I, pp. 839–40.

⁶⁴ NRO, DN/DIS 10, p. 60. The 1568 Lynn return states that Junius was 'ex Ciuitat. Burgensi in Flandria'. This is probably a scribal error for 'ex civitate Brugensi', that is, Brugge, although this is not certain.

⁶⁵ NRO, DN/DIS 10, p. 60. He is probably the Justus de Jonge mentioned in A.J.M. Beenakker, *Breda in de Eerste Storm van de Opstand: van Ketterij tot Beeldenstorm, 1545–1569* (Tilburg, 1971), p. 43. William of Orange was Baron of Breda. Initially, he was hostile to underground Protestants (1545–60), but from 1560 became less so, seeing political advantage in contact with Calvinists.

⁶⁶ The 1571 return identifies Junius as a *kelemaster*. This is most probably schoolmaster but is clearly an unusual spelling of the word.

⁶⁷ NRO, PD 39/1, fol. 7v. Justus is listed as 'Joas the Young, a Dutchman'.

⁶⁸ NRO, DN/DIS 10, p. 61.

⁶⁹ He may have been named after Medardus or Medard (French: Médard or Méard) (ca. 456–545), the Bishop of Noyon in northern France, and co-incidentally, the birthplace of John Calvin.

⁷⁰ Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, II, p. 253. Men with this surname appear in the London returns of aliens including those for the London Dutch church. None of them is, however, called Middardus: Kirk and Kirk,

in Flanders who, according to the 1568 census, arrived in England on 16 April 1567.⁷¹ He may be the same individual as Jacques de Vlieghere who lived in the Sandwich exile community for a while. One problem with this view of things is, however, that Jacques de Vlieghere first appears in the Sandwich records in 1566.⁷² There are several possible explanations for this. The date in one or other record may be incorrect; he may have arrived in Sandwich in 1566 but returned to the Low Countries to participate in sectarian activities; or Jacobus De Vliegheer and Jacques de Vlieghere may be two different individuals. The Sandwich exile records are incomplete, so other exiles may have moved from Sandwich to Lynn, although currently I can say nothing more concrete.

Another elder is listed as Theodoricus de Have (7) in 1568 and Theodorus de Hayve in 1571.⁷³ The 1568 return records that he came from Delft and that he was a merchant. Some scholars identify him with an architect called Theodore Haveus originally from Cleves, who designed an elaborate sundial for Caius Court at Gonville & Caius College in Cambridge.⁷⁴ At first sight, the connection seems tenuous. De Hayve was a merchant from Delft, whilst Haveus was an architect from Cleves. However, the same individual may have been born in Cleves but resided in Delft before moving to England. Furthermore, he may indeed have worked as a merchant to keep himself and his family (he was married with three children) but also practised architecture when the opportunity afforded itself. Artists in the Dutch Republic often had a 'day-job' to provide a steady income, whilst they sought artistic commissions. Furthermore, Lynn is quite close to Cambridge, and historically there were strong links between Gonville & Caius and Norfolk, so this may well be the same individual.⁷⁵

V

The 1568 census lists sixty-three heads of household and 176 exiles in total.⁷⁶ Forty-two of the male heads of household were married. Furthermore, there were twenty-three adolescents and other men who were not married, and 111 of the 176 were under the age of sixteen. This probably provided plenty of work for the schoolmaster, Justus Junius. By 1571, the total number of 'foreigners' in Lynn had risen to 226. This figure breaks down to 67 men, and 159 women, children and servants, occupying 44 households. The population of Lynn at this time was about 5000, so the exiles would have had a small but noticeable presence.⁷⁷ No more than twenty-one of the exiles in the 1568 return are listed in the 1571 census (see Table 1). One difference between the two returns is that the first one is written in Latin and the second in English. The names in the 1571 census are therefore Anglicised. This makes a comparison of the two censuses a little difficult. Whilst the deacon and

Returns of Aliens, IV, p. 332. Likewise, several men in the Norwich Stranger records have this surname, but none is called Middardus or indeed Carle.

⁷¹ NRO, DN/DIS 10, p. 68.

⁷² Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, II, p. 268–70.

⁷³ NRO, DN/DIS 10, p. 61; TNA, SP 12/78, fol. 47v.

⁷⁴ Tom Nickson, 'Moral Edification at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge', *Architectural History*, 48 (2005), pp. 49–68; Leonard Forster, *Janus Gruter's English Years* (London, 1967), pp. 10–11.

⁷⁵ Gonville Hall was founded in 1347 by a Norfolk rector, Edmund Gonville (d. 1351). In the sixteenth century, the Norwich-born physician, John Caius (*vulgo* Keys) refounded the college as Gonville & Caius. Furthermore, many students from Norfolk studied at the college.

⁷⁶ The census was probably not complete. For example, Van Schelven suggests that one exile who should have been included was Jan Willems from Utrecht, who married in Lynn: Van Schelven, 'Een Noord-Nederlandsche kolonie', col. 218.

⁷⁷ Lynn's population in 1524–5 was about 4500, and in 1603, it was about 6000. John Patten, 'Population distribution in Norfolk and Suffolk during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 65 (1975), pp. 45–65, at p. 49.

Table 2 Origin of exiles (heads of household) in 1568 return by town/village and province

S/N Netherlands	Province	Town	No. of exiles from town
Southern Netherlands	Flanders 32	Eeklo	11
		Ghent	4
		Oostwinckel	2
		Velzeke	2
		Waarschoot	2
		Aalter	1
		Bruges	1
		Diksmuide	1
		Dranouter	1
		Hulst	1
		Ieper	1
		Kemmel	1
		Oudzeele	1
		Steenwerck	1
		Wulvergem	1
		Zottegem	1
		Brabant 3	Breda
Antwerp	1		
Total 35 (56%)			
Northern Netherlands	Holland 25	Delft	13
		Den Briel	4
		Leiden	4
		The Hague	2
		Dordrecht	1
		Haarlem	1
		Zierikzee	2
		Zeeland 2	
Utrecht 1			
Total: 28 (44%)			

tailor Cornelius Joannis (8) from Haarlem in the 1568 return was clearly the same individual as Cornelius Johnson a tailor listed in the 1571 return, Jacobus De Ecke (24) from Ghent of no occupation in 1568 was probably the same individual as Jacob Vienheke (i.e., Van Heke), a twister of yarn in 1571, although this is not beyond doubt.⁷⁸

The exiles came from five provinces: Flanders and Brabant in the southern Netherlands and Holland, Zeeland and Utrecht in the northern Netherlands. Thirty-two heads of household came from Flanders, twenty-five from Holland, three from Brabant, two from Zeeland and one from Utrecht (see Table 2). Therefore, thirty-five (56%) came from the southern Netherlands and twenty-eight (44%) from the north. It is therefore surprising that Van Schelven asserts that the exile community in Lynn had a 'strong north-Netherlandish hue' and describes it as 'a North-Netherlandish colony'.⁷⁹ The point that he may be making, however, is that the Lynn exile community had a larger North-Netherlandish element than other exile communities in England. Even this is only partially true for whilst some exile communities, such as the Flemish and Walloon communities in Norwich, were predominantly from the southern Netherlands, the case of Great Yarmouth where the exile community had a large Zeelandic contingent indicates that this is not the whole story.

⁷⁸ The 'h' was probably silent. Flemish authors often added an 'h' where there was none and removed an 'h' where there was one.

⁷⁹ Dutch: 'sterk Noord-Nederlandsch gekleurd moet zijn geweest', 'een Noord-Nederlandsche kolonie'.

Twenty-four of the sixty-three heads of household came from two towns, Delft in Holland (13) and Eeklo in Flanders (11).⁸⁰ Four each came from Leiden and Den Briel in Holland and Ghent in Flanders. On the other hand, fifteen heads of household were the only ones from their hometown. Exiles came from sixteen different towns and villages across Flanders and twenty-six towns across the Low Countries overall (Table 2). This may add to the notion that they had gathered in another English town before moving together or in groups to Lynn, but this is not certain.

Questions such as why many Lynn exiles came from Delft, whether the large number of exiles from Delft played a role in Gallus's move to the town and, indeed, whether any of them followed him back there are interesting ones but ones that I cannot currently answer. The case of Eeklo is slightly different. In the early 1560s, when the Low Countries were still under Spanish Catholic rule, Calvinists met secretly for worship. Itinerant Calvinist preachers travelled across the region, seeking to win new converts and give spiritual strength to the nascent clandestine Calvinist communities. Eeklonars visited other towns such as Ghent to listen to hedge preachers.⁸¹ At least two fiery Calvinist preachers delivered sermons in Eeklo. One was Pieter Hazaert from the *Westkwartier* in Flanders.⁸² He had been a Catholic priest, but in 1557 abjured his faith and joined the Calvinist exile community in Emden. In the years before the *Beeldenstorm*, he spent time in London and Sandwich and preached on the Continent in Antwerp and smaller towns such as Oostende, Nieuwpoort, Axel, Casuele, Veurne and Eeklo.⁸³ The other firebrand Calvinist preacher who preached at Eeklo was Hermannus Moded (*vulgo* (de) Strycker) (c. 1520–1603) from Zwolle in the Northern Netherlands. He had been a priest and theologian in Cologne before abjuring Catholicism and becoming a Calvinist preacher. He preached the 'new religion' across Flanders and Brabant. On 8 August 1566, Moded preached to a large crowd at Eeklo. He was due to preach outdoors but because of heavy rain preached instead in the parish church.⁸⁴ Two days later, on 10 August, the *Beeldenstorm* broke out in the *Westkwartier*. News of it spread quickly, and Calvinists in other towns across the Low Countries followed suit by going into churches and smashing up images and statues. Eeklo suffered badly in the *Beeldenstorm*. On 5 September 1566, the Ghent chronicler Marcus van Vaernewijck wrote in his journal that Calvinist violence flared up in Eeklo. He recorded that a Calvinist preacher pointed to an image of Christ in a churchyard and said to his listeners, 'which madman is hanging there? Tear him down!'. They did so immediately and did the same to crucifixes in the churchyard.⁸⁵ Such scenes were repeated across the Low Countries. When the Duke of Alva arrived in Brussels in the following year and established the Council of Troubles, many Calvinists who had taken part in the *Beeldenstorm* feared for their freedom or indeed lives, so left the Low Countries. This explains why some Eeklonars went to England. As for why they went to Lynn, it may simply be that by 4 August 1567,

⁸⁰ Several exiles in Lynn were amongst fifty Eeklo Calvinists who had their property confiscated in the late 1560s. One of these was the elder, Ffranciscus De Spiegehele (5). Algemeen Rijksarchief (ARA), Brussels, fonds *Rekenkamer*, no. 1173 *Confiscatierekening*. Quoted in De Vos, 'Godsdienstberoerten te Eeklo', p. 83. Here, he is listed as Frans de Spiegehele.

⁸¹ De Vos, 'Godsdienstberoerten te Eeklo', p. 65.

⁸² Hazaert was born in Belle or possibly Dadizele in around 1518.

⁸³ Decavele. *De Dageraad*, I, p. 397. Hazaert is probably the unnamed *bosgeus* or 'Wood Beggar', who, according to Marcel Backhouse, between 1562 and 1566 preached across Flanders in Nieuwpoort, Axel, and Eeklo: Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, II, p. 125.

⁸⁴ Pieter Serrien, *In Opstand! De Geuzen in de Lage Landen, 1565–1578* (Antwerp, 2022), p. 76.

⁸⁵ 'Op het Kerkhof zag een predikant een beeld van Christus staan. Hij zei tot zijn gezellen: "Welke gek hangt daar? Werp hem neer!" Dat deden ze onmiddellijk, ook met de andere kruisen op het kerkhof'. Marcus van Vaernewijck & Herman van Nuffel, *Van de beroerlijke tijden in de Nederlanden en voornamelijk in Gent (1566–1568)* (Hasselt, 1966), p. 47. Quoted in Serrien, *In Opstand!* p. 94. See also De Vos, 'Godsdienstberoerten te Eeklo', pp. 66–9.

several of them had gathered in Sandwich or London, and it was decided that they should remain together and be relocated to Lynn where there was demand for their skills. One other possibility relates to Hazaert and Moded. Both men preached in nearby Norwich, although Hazaert only did so in 1567. Their presence in Norfolk may have encouraged the Eeklonaars to move there.

A prerequisite for being accepted into the exile church was religious orthodoxy and leading a virtuous life. Most of the entries in the 1568 census indicate that the church members had gone to England on account of the Gospel (*propter Evangelium*), ascribed to pure doctrine and led a pure life (*purae doctrinae et purae vitae*). Twelve of these had not yet, however, been accepted into the church. They were nevertheless being catechised (*pro Catechumenis habentur*), most probably in Dutch. One possibility is that they were using a catechism printed in Dutch in 1568 by the Brabant exile, Anthonie de Solempne, in Norwich, probably with the help of Albert Christiaensz., mentioned above. This catechism was bound with the Dathenus psalter also in Dutch, which the Lynn exiles may have used for worship.⁸⁶ The use of the catechism would help to ensure that new members of the church held orthodox beliefs. Five exiles were excluded from the church. One, Nicolaus Joannis, was excluded because he believed that children should not be baptised and that Christians could not hold public office. Importantly, however, he opposed the doctrines of the Anabaptists, whom the English church authorities considered to be heretics. Cornelius de Vos, on the other hand, was excluded because he had been involved in an unspecified scandal. Nevertheless, he was now trying to lead a more holy and 'Christian' life.⁸⁷

Eight or possibly nine of the heads of household listed in the 1568 census had children baptised in St Margaret's church, where the exiles met for worship (see Table 3). Four of the children were baptised before or in 1571, and so probably by Gerardus Gallus.⁸⁸ The other children were baptised after 1571, and so possibly by another minister of the exile church, an elder, or even by an Anglican minister. Finally, most of the heads of household were men. However, one or two were women, such as Margareta Oudmarck (17) from Velzeke in Flanders and Ancomera Hendrici (21), a linen and cloth worker from Breda in Brabant who arrived in Lynn with her sister.

The exiles had various occupations. Those listed in the 1571 return included cutlers (*faber cultorum*), smiths, carpenters, masons, gardeners (*olitor*) and a surgeon. Ten of the sixty-three had no occupation. They might have survived on alms but would no doubt have been actively encouraged to learn a trade to support themselves. Overall, the community was not well-off, leading the Lynn aldermen to observe that the Strangers were 'for greatest part pore' but, importantly, 'of good behaviour'.⁸⁹ The 1568 return lists fourteen exiles working in textiles or linen in Lynn. There were also

⁸⁶ *De C.L. Psalmen Davids, wt den franchoyischen dichte in nederlantschen ouerghesett door Petrvn Dathenvm. Mitsgaders den Christelicken catechismo, ceremonien, en[de] gebeden. Item, hier is bygheuoecht op die cant den duytschen text, ouerghesett wt den hebreuschsen van veerse tot veerse, naer wtwijtsen [sic] t[oe] ghetal: en[de] na elcken Psalm een gebet: mitsgaders een cort fundament vander musica. Van nieu ouersien ende ghecorrigeert* (Tot Noorwitz: gheprint by Anthonium de Solempne, anno M. D. LXVIII [1568]). ESTC: S90843; STC (2nd ed.): 2741; USTC 506764.

⁸⁷ NRO, DN/DIS 10, p. 72.

⁸⁸ On 25 December 1567, Esaias Dirickson, son of Eves 'a Dutchman', was christened in St Margaret's church in Lynn. NRO, PD 39/1, fol. 10v. Two of the exiles listed in the 1568 return have the surname Dirickson, although neither is named Eves. This may be a scribal error for Lucas (59) or another name for Mattias (30). On 15 August 1570, Sampson the son of Sampson Morrisis 'a Dutchman' was christened in St Margaret's. NRO, PD 39/1, fol. 13r. The surname is not clear. It may be Mowisis. This is probably 'Samson' (6), a smith from Ieper who arrived in England on 18 May 1567 and is listed as an elder in the Lynn exile church.

⁸⁹ TNA, SP 12/78, fols. 47v.–48r. The figures are given in Roman numerals: lxxvij for men and clxiv for women, children and servants. Rye gives the latter figure incorrectly as clvix: Rye, *The Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, I, p. 198.

Table 3 Christenings of the children of Dutch exiles in St Margaret's church, King's Lynn 1567–76

Date	Child's name	Father's name	Father in 1568 census	Father in 1571 census
1. 25 December 1567	Esias Dirrickson	Eves	?Joannes Theodorici (10) Mattheus Theodorici (30)	
2. 24 May 1569	Moyses Johnson	Peter	Lucas Theodorici (59)?	Peter Johnson (32 or 40)
3. 15 August 1570	Sampson	Sampson Morrisis	Petrus Joannis (4) Samson (6)	
4. 11 February 1571	Josiah	John Lenardson	-	John Lenardes (33)
5. 8 March 1571	Zacharias	Hugh Arnoldson		Hugh Adamson (8)?
6. 8 March 1571	Jonas	Levin Brakelman		Levin Brakelman (18)
7. 1 April 1571	Abraham Peterson	Peter Johnson	Petrus Joannis (4)	Peter Johnson (32 or 40)
8. 16 July 1572	Joas	John Derickson	Joannes Theodorici (10)	John Dericson (1)
9. 27 July 1572	Volpart	Riger Rigar	-	-
10. 28 September 1572	Sara Barnes	Jaspar	Jasperus Beernensis (38) or Jasperus De Banneir (42)	-
11. 9 March 1573	Barbara Isbrand	Garrett	-	-
12. 12 May 1573	Josias	Joas the young	Justus Junius (2)	Joyes de Yong (26)
13. 15 August 1574	Nathanyell	James Haryson	Jacobus Hendrici (45)	Jacobus Harrison (19)
14. 5 September 1574	An Isbrand	Garrett	-	-
15. 8 January 1576	Judyth Isbrand	Garrett	-	-
16. 31 March 1576	Elyas Arnoldson	Hugh	-	Hugh Adamson (8)?
17. 4 November 1576	Henrick vander Swalmah	Henrick	Hendricus de Walme (16)	Henry Outswell (38)?

ten tailors. Hillen notes that in the 1560s, 'many Walloon and Dutch artisans [in the textile trade] found their way to Lynn', which may suggest that this number is low, but he does not provide evidence to support this assertion.⁹⁰ In 1568, three exiles were described as merchants.⁹¹ In 1571, three other exiles were working as merchants. One or more of these may have sold the textiles produced in Lynn.

VI

The textile industry formed the core of the exiles' activities in Lynn. The borough leaders had seen the success that exile textile workers in Norwich had achieved and hoped for similar success in Lynn. Indeed, Hillen observes that 'ere long the people of Norwich evinced a feeling of jealous annoyance' at Lynn for having had the temerity to allow these artisans to operate in the town.⁹²

Nevertheless, the textile industry in Norwich, where the Stranger communities were much larger than in Lynn, continued to produce much more cloth than the weavers of Lynn. One type of fabric that the Norwich Strangers produced on a large scale was mockados, a wool velvet. Indeed, Norwich made many more mockados than other English towns, including Lynn. On 10 February 1572, the Norwich Stranger Antony de Potter, a dyer, appeared before the Mayor's Court in Norwich to request that the wardens of the Walloon Wool Hall or *cangeauntrye* in Norwich search and seal all the mockados made in Lynn and stated that the Lynn textile workers would pay their dues for this service.⁹³ The request was granted.⁹⁴ This move could be interpreted in more than one way. On the one hand, it would allow Lynn textiles to be treated in the same way as Norwich textiles. Indeed, two years later, it was ordered that every cloth in Norwich that reached the required standard should have a seal of lead marked 'Norwiche Dye', which suggests that the Norwich mark had gained a high status in the textile market.⁹⁵ On the other hand, Hillen may be right when he suggests that De Potter's aim was rather to create an insurmountable barrier for Lynn-made stuffs, by excluding them from the Norwich market to ensure a monopoly.⁹⁶

Eighteen months later, in September 1573, Lynn council tried to entice Stranger baymakers from Norwich with a loan of £200, which was a considerable amount of money. One year after that, in August 1574, the council agreed to allow 'Stranger Artificers' in Norwich to settle in Lynn.⁹⁷ Whether or not these were the same Strangers who had borrowed money from the council is not recorded. This does, however, indicate that the exile-led textile industry in Lynn was still vibrant and the council was seeking to expand it. Furthermore, as the number of Strangers in Norwich was rising and there were fears of civil unrest, Lynn in some sense functioned as a safety valve for the Norwich exile community.⁹⁸

⁹⁰ Hillen, *History of the Borough of King's Lynn*, ii, p. 734.

⁹¹ Lucas Theodorici had been living in Lynn working as a corn (*frumentum*) merchant before the exile church was established. He arrived in England, possibly Lynn, on 16 January 1567.

⁹² Hillen, *History of the Borough of King's Lynn*, ii, p. 734.

⁹³ Antony de Pottere is listed in the 1568 Norwich Flemish Strangers return as a dyer who had arrived in England in 1567. Moens, *The Walloons*, II, p. 213.

⁹⁴ NRO, NCR 17d/9, fol. 75v. Eric Kerridge, *Textile Manufactures in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 1985), p. 69.

⁹⁵ NRO, NCR 17d/9, fol. 79v. John Southerden Burn, *The History of the French, Walloon, Dutch, and other foreign Protestant Refugees settled in England...* (London, 1846), p. 68; Moens, *The Walloons*, I, p. 36.

⁹⁶ Hillen, *History of the Borough of King's Lynn*, ii, p. 734.

⁹⁷ KLBA, KL/C 717, fols. 86r. & 105r.

⁹⁸ On 22 September 1574, one of the leaders of the Norwich Flemish Stranger community, Jan Ruytinck, wrote to the consistory of the London Dutch Church pleading with it not to send any more Strangers to Norwich as their number had far exceeded the number originally permitted by Queen Elizabeth in 1565. Hessels, *Ecclesiae*, III, i, p. 268.

VII

In his comprehensive account of inscriptions in Lynn Minster, where the Dutch exile community met for worship, the eighteenth-century Norwich antiquarian Benjamin Mackerell, himself a descendant of Flemish Strangers in Norwich, identifies none that relates to the Dutch use of the building.⁹⁹ In some sense, this reflects the community's position in histories of Lynn, which make little or no mention of the presence of these Calvinist exiles in the town for several years in the second half of the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, using primary sources and secondary sources such as Van Schelven's publications, I have tried to recover the history of the Lynn exile church and community, and evaluate its importance to Lynn, to events before and at the start of the Dutch Revolt, and to the building up of the Reformed Church in the Low Countries.

The importance of the exiles to Lynn was that they seem to have contributed to the revitalisation of the local economy, although it is difficult to assess the precise extent to which they did this. The fact that the borough council was prepared to lend exile textile workers in Norwich £200 to move to Lynn highlights the importance of the industry to the town's economy. The relationship between Norwich and Lynn and specifically between the exile communities in the two towns has formed an important part of this story. The aldermen of Lynn had seen the success of the exile textile workers in Norwich and hoped they could replicate this success to revive Lynn's economic fortunes. The textile industry in Lynn may have created some envy in Norwich and led to attempts to hinder Lynn's success, such as the move to require Lynn mockados to be sealed in Norwich. On the other hand, Lynn functioned in some sense as a pressure valve for Norwich as its exile population far exceeded permitted numbers.

Lynn also functioned as a pressure valve at the start of this story in 1567, when its invitation to exiles already in England helped to reduce the pressure above all in Sandwich where the number of exiles at one point exceeded the number of local people in the population. Apart from a few entries in the Lynn Hall Books and other local records, most of what we know about the Lynn exile community occurs in two censuses, one in 1568 and the other in 1571. Whilst these are probably not a complete record of exiles in Lynn, they do tell us that there was a high turnover of exiles but also that other exiles stayed in the town for at least three years. Lynn offered a safe haven to Calvinists such as the minister Gerardus Gallus, the elder Justus Junius and deacon Daniel Wante and perhaps individuals involved in sectarian activities such as Carle Trioen. The extent to which the Lynn exiles contributed to the Dutch Revolt and to shaping the emerging confessional landscape in the Netherlands was limited. Gallus returned to Holland but died a few years after the start of the Revolt. Wante, on the other hand, became a minister and served several Reformed communities across the Low Countries. Gallus fits the picture painted by Andrew Pettegree of exile ministers who were active during the *Beeldenstorm* being amongst the first exiles to return to the Low Countries after the attack on Den Briel. The case of Wante adds to our understanding of the contribution of exiles to the building up of the Dutch Reformed Church by illustrating how they could gain experience in exile as elders or deacons and possibly as occasional preachers, which they would put to good use on their return to the Low Countries. One Norwich exile who followed a similar path was Cornelis van Hille, who was an elder in the Norwich Flemish church but later worked as a minister in Zeeland and Holland.¹⁰⁰ Finally, there was a Calvinist community in Eeklo for

⁹⁹ Benjamin Mackerell, *The History and Antiquities of the Flourishing Corporation of King's-Lynn in the County of Norfolk* (London, 1738), pp. 8–89.

¹⁰⁰ Joby, 'The Norwich exile community,' p. 83.

several years after the Pacification of Ghent.¹⁰¹ Some of the Eeklonars may have returned there, although the lack of documents on Eeklo from this period makes it impossible to confirm this.

Nevertheless, this article has helped to recover a lost chapter in the history of Lynn. It has illustrated how primary sources, which for many years have been neglected, can be used to construct a story that is not only important in the history of Lynn but more broadly in the history of the period before, during and after the start of the Dutch Revolt. It therefore adds to the literature that internationalises the Revolt, contributing to what the Dutch historian Judith Pollmann has referred to as the 'internationalization' of the historiography on the Revolt.¹⁰² Moreover, it can function as a case study of how previously overlooked or neglected archival material can be recovered and used to deepen our understanding not only of an exile community but also of the role of these communities and their members in a seminal event in early modern European history: the Dutch Revolt.

¹⁰¹ Hessels, *Ecclesiae*, III, I, pp. 496, 512.

¹⁰² Judith Pollmann, 'Internationalisering en de Nederlandse Opstand', *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review*, 124(4) (2009), pp. 515–35.