



# Immigrants & Minorities

## Historical Studies in Ethnicity, Migration and Diaspora

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: [www.tandfonline.com/journals/fimm20](http://www.tandfonline.com/journals/fimm20)

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Christopher Joby

**To cite this article:** Christopher Joby (21 Aug 2024): Flemish and Walloon exile communities in sixteenth-century Norwich: a case study of local and national responses to large-scale migration from the low Countries, *Immigrants & Minorities*, DOI: [10.1080/02619288.2024.2392831](https://doi.org/10.1080/02619288.2024.2392831)

**To link to this article:** <https://doi.org/10.1080/02619288.2024.2392831>



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Published online: 21 Aug 2024.



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# Flemish and Walloon exile communities in sixteenth-century Norwich: a case study of local and national responses to large-scale migration from the low Countries

Christopher Joby

School of History, University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK

## ABSTRACT

In 1565, the Mayor of Norwich, Thomas Sotherton, proposed to his fellow aldermen that the city invite thirty master textile workers from the Low Countries and their households to Norwich to revive its flagging economy. Letters patent were issued by Queen Elizabeth and on 1 June 1566, Sotherton put his seal on an order naming the thirty masters. They would form the basis of two exile communities in Norwich, one Flemish and one Walloon. This article aims to analyse what the birth of these exile communities tells us about local and national positions and practices adopted in response to migration from the Low Countries in the mid-sixteenth century. Furthermore, it examines the role of specific individuals and groups of individuals in the establishment of these communities. These include not only civic and national leaders in England, but also members of the English and exile clergy, members of exile communities in other towns, and English and Flemish nobles. Moreover, the article analyses the prosopographies of the thirty masters, providing previously unpublished details on several masters, and allowing an evaluation of the success of Sotherton's policy. Finally, the article places the case of Norwich in a broader context by comparing it with attempts to establish exile communities in other English towns.

**ARTICLE HISTORY** Received 7 November 2023; Accepted 9 August 2024

**KEYWORDS** Norwich; Dutch revolt; Calvinism; sectarian activity; exiles; textile industry

## Introduction

In the early years of Elizabeth I's reign, there were several attempts to establish a community of Flemish textile workers in Norwich. Eventually, in June 1566, the Mayor of Norwich, Thomas Sotherton, put his official seal on an order permitting thirty masters from Flanders and their

**CONTACT** Christopher Joby  [christopherjoby33@gmail.com](mailto:christopherjoby33@gmail.com)

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households to settle and work in Norwich. The aim of this article is to examine what these developments tell us about local and national positions and practices adopted in response to large-scale migration from the Low Countries prompted by economic necessity and religious divisions.

Before analysing the case of Norwich, I place it in the broader context of the establishment of exile communities in other English towns. A common theme here is the desire to exploit the exiles' skills in producing new, lighter textiles such as says and bays to offset reduced demand for heavier cloths made in England such as worsteds. As in the case of exile communities in the Rhineland recently analysed by Jesse Spohnholz and Mirjam van Veen, both push and pull factors were at work in the establishment of the Norwich exile community.<sup>1</sup> The community was the result of the work of several actors, both English and Flemish: Queen Elizabeth, members of her Council, English and Flemish nobles, the mayor of Norwich and his allies, English clerics and exile ministers, and members of exile communities in other towns, who would settle in Norwich. I pay detailed attention to the prosopographies of the thirty masters listed in Sotherton's order. These offer insights into the motivations not only of the exiles, but also of the English civic and national leaders who invited them to settle in Norwich.

Two important conversation partners in what follows are Raingard Esser and Silke Muylaert. Esser has published articles and a monograph on the Norwich exiles or Strangers as they were known locally. These reference the prosopographies of some of the thirty Flemish masters. This article builds on Esser's work by adding prosopographical details of some of the other masters.<sup>2</sup> In 2020, Muylaert published a monograph, *Shaping the Stranger Churches*, on the collective and individual responses in exile communities in England to events in the Low Countries before and at the start of the Dutch Revolt, which began in 1568. One observation by Muylaert that will require my attention is that the 'first thirty settlers [in Norwich] came from Sandwich'.<sup>3</sup>

In short, this article analyses the forces at work in establishing the exile community in Norwich. It begins with an analysis of exile communities in England prior to 1565, before moving on to an examination of the establishment of the Norwich Flemish and Walloon communities in the mid- and late 1560s and a comprehensive presentation of the prosopographies of the thirty masters. In the conclusion, I will argue that there were similarities and differences in the practices involved in the establishment of

exile communities in late Tudor England and that the prosopographies reveal the complex set of factors at work in the establishment of the Norwich communities.

### **Exile communities in England before 1565**

Some attempts to establish exile communities in other English towns were successful, whilst others were less so. It will be instructive to examine these efforts to identify similarities and differences in policies and practices with respect to the establishment of the exile communities in Norwich.

In Edward VI's reign (1547–53), exile communities and churches were established in Canterbury and Glastonbury.<sup>4</sup> One of the prime movers in each case was Johannes Utenhove (1520–65), the son of a prominent Flemish noble family, who was both a humanist and a Reformer. He had been banished by the Council of Flanders in 1545 but welcomed in England by the reforming Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer (d. 1556).<sup>5</sup> Utenhove helped to establish Reformed communities and churches for French-speaking Walloons in Canterbury in 1548 and Glastonbury in Somerset in 1550. The key instigator of the latter project was the Duke of Somerset, who had acquired Glastonbury in a land-swap with the king.<sup>6</sup> It was established above all for Flemish weavers, whose ability to produce new lighter fabrics such as says and bays was in demand.<sup>7</sup> Both communities, however, went into abeyance in 1553 with the accession of the Catholic Queen Mary to the English throne. After the Protestant Queen Elizabeth came to the throne in November 1558, whereas the church at Canterbury reconvened, the one at Glastonbury did not.

Utenhove was also instrumental in obtaining letters patent, a form of legal instrument granting specific privileges, for the establishment of a Dutch church in London in 1550 along with other exiles including the Polish noble, Johannes à Lasco (1499–1560).<sup>8</sup> On Mary's accession, the activities of the London Dutch church were suspended. Utenhove, à Lasco, and other leaders headed for Emden in East Frisia, where exiles from the Spanish Netherlands were already gathering. Just over a year after Elizabeth's accession, on 10 December 1559, the ministers, elders, and deacons of the exile church in London asked the queen to confirm the privileges granted to them by Edward VI.<sup>9</sup> Several leaders returned from exile including Utenhove, who was appointed as the senior elder.<sup>10</sup>

Because it was located in the English capital, the London Dutch church quickly became a centre for attempts to establish exile communities and churches in other English towns, with Utenhove in the vanguard of these efforts.<sup>11</sup> As early as August 1560, the London Dutch church began negotiations for a Flemish community in Norwich.<sup>12</sup> On 1 August, several exile textile workers in London indicated that they wanted to move to Norwich.<sup>13</sup> They possibly saw an opportunity to produce their new, lighter draperies in the second city of the kingdom.<sup>14</sup> Three days later, on 4 August, the same men approached the London consistory on the same matter, asking whether support could be obtained from either the Bishop of London, Edmund Grindal (in office 1559–70), or the queen herself for them to live and work in Norwich. They were told that the queen was away and that even if she were in London, she would not act until she had consulted the Privy Council, and probably above all her secretary, William Cecil, who was at the centre of Elizabeth's policy making.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, the London consistory members said they would support the men's desire to move, with the assistance of either the Bishop of London or unnamed leading London citizens. This episode illustrates that the desire to establish an exile textile workers community in Norwich was not simply driven by civic leaders in Norwich but also by exile textile workers in London. All three men were, however, still in London in 1561.<sup>16</sup> When they left London, they did not initially move to Norwich, but to Sandwich in Kent.<sup>17</sup> Two of the men, Carel Herman and Erasmus Top, eventually moved to Norwich, where they were listed as textile workers in an official census of Strangers made in 1568.<sup>18</sup> The move by Herman and Top from London to Sandwich and later to Norwich was not uncommon, as national, civic, and exile leaders attempted to distribute the exiles amongst several towns in southern England to avoid overcrowding and minimise any local resentment towards the incomers.

By early 1561, Flemish exiles were already living in Sandwich. It was chosen as the location of a Flemish settlement because of its proximity to Flanders. In May, the settlers sought official recognition. They approached the local magistrates who sent representatives to London to negotiate terms with the Privy Council.<sup>19</sup>

In July 1561, letters patent were issued authorising the mayor and magistrates of Sandwich to admit a maximum of 'twentie or five & twentie householders' to settle in the town along with no more than twelve people in each household. They were to be drawn from the congregation of the exile church in London, to be approved by the Archbishop of

Canterbury and the Bishop of London, and were to make 'says, bay and other cloths'.<sup>20</sup> By late September 1561 if not before, the principal minister Jacobus Bucerus (*vulgo* Jacob de Buyzere) was in Sandwich. He reported that Utenhove was in town, perhaps helping to ensure that things went smoothly between the exiles and the local magistrates.<sup>21</sup>

The number of exiles in Sandwich grew quickly, so Utenhove was asked to approach the Bishop of London to use his influence to allow some of the exiles to move to two towns in East Anglia: Colchester and King's Lynn.<sup>22</sup> There is little evidence that exiles moved to King's Lynn before 1567.<sup>23</sup> However, some did move to Colchester. In October 1562, Bucerus wrote to the London Dutch church that Colchester was having difficulty coping with the number of exiles moving there from Sandwich, where they were arriving daily from Flanders.<sup>24</sup> Whilst the civic authorities in Colchester probably sanctioned the exiles' arrival, approaches to the Privy Council in 1562 and 1563 to gain its authorisation for the establishment of an exile community and church were unsuccessful.<sup>25</sup> Exiles in Colchester probably met privately for worship in the first half of the 1560s, although an exile community and church were not sanctioned at state level until 1570/1.<sup>26</sup>

One possible reason for the delay was a concern about civil unrest. In London in 1507, local workers rioted. Fiona Williamson argues that they did so not out of xenophobia or racial hatred but economic distress.<sup>27</sup> Nigel Goose argues that the earlier arrivals in Colchester may not have intended to settle permanently: they do not appear to have sought patents of denisation, and many of the names found in the earlier lists disappear from the records later in the century.<sup>28</sup> Although Colchester is geographically closer to Norwich than Sandwich, the exile communities in East Anglia seem to have had little to do with each other, especially in the mid-1560s when the Norwich community was established.

One pattern that emerges from this analysis is that the establishment of exile communities was often essentially a two-stage process. First, exiles would settle in a town but not form an officially-sanctioned community. Second, its members or leaders in other exile communities often with the co-operation of civic leaders would seek official authorisation from the monarch and her Council for the establishment of a community and church. A similar pattern can be observed in the establishment of the exile community in Norwich. Another pattern is that the communities

typically comprised Flemish weavers and their households. It is not certain whether this amounted to an official policy, but in the case of Glastonbury, Sandwich, Colchester, and indeed Norwich, weavers producing fabrics such as says and bays would form the core of the exile communities.

### **The establishment of the Norwich exile community**

Norwich had become wealthy in the late Middle Ages from the textile trade, but during the first half of the sixteenth century, demand for its worsteds was in decline.<sup>29</sup> Attempts to establish an exile community in Norwich may have begun in the middle of the century. In a postscript to a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1565, the Duke of Norfolk noted that a church had been set aside for exiles in the reign of Edward VI.<sup>30</sup> One possibility is that this was a response to Emperor Charles V's repressive anti-Protestant policies during the 1540s.<sup>31</sup> However, we have few other details. Renewed efforts to establish an official exile community in Norwich were made in the early years of Elizabeth I's reign.

Lay subsidy rolls indicate that there were already exiles or 'aliens' in Norwich.<sup>32</sup> In September 1560, the London consistory received a letter from one exile in Norwich, Jorijs Valcke, although we have no details about the letter's contents.<sup>33</sup> Valcke appears in the membership register of the London Dutch church begun in 1561 and in Sandwich records, where he is described as a yarn twister from Belle (Bailleul) in the Westkwartier. He was involved in organising conventicles and clandestine Bible readings in Flanders before 1566.<sup>34</sup> He is therefore a good example of how exiles moved from one town to another, and indeed to Flanders to support fellow Calvinists, in the 1560s.

It was not until 1565, however, that the moves were made which would lead to the establishment of not one but two officially-sanctioned exile communities, one Flemish and one Walloon, in Norwich.<sup>35</sup> This time, the driving force was not the exile community in London but the Mayor of Norwich, Thomas Sotherton (d. 1583). He was a Merchant Adventurer and according to Matthew Reynolds may have wanted to invite exile textile workers to Norwich for his own commercial reasons as well as those of his allies such as John Aldrich, Sotherton's brother-in-law and the son of a former mayor.<sup>36</sup> Aldrich had recently acquired a licence over the city's wool supply.<sup>37</sup> So, by

inviting makers of new draperies such as says and bays, Sotherton and Aldrich were looking after their own commercial interests, as well as helping to revive the city's flagging textile industry.

On the face of it, Sotherton's move was successful, for Queen Elizabeth issued letters patent in November 1565 and an order was passed in the Norwich council in June 1566 listing the thirty masters who would settle and work in Norwich. However, if we dig a little deeper, we discover that there was significant opposition to these plans and furthermore by no means all the thirty men were master textile workers.

The main source here is *The Book of Orders for Dutch and Walloon Strangers (BODWS)*, which has been described as a narrative of the history of relations between the Strangers and the civic authorities.<sup>38</sup> To some extent it also functions as a book of legal record.<sup>39</sup> It begins by describing the events leading up to the admission of the thirty masters and includes a transcription of Elizabeth's letters patent.

The letters patent describe themselves as 'a lawfull and sufficiente warrente and discharge' for the settling and working of the Strangers in Norwich.<sup>40</sup> They name five masters to be admitted to settle in Norwich: John Powells, Willem Stene, Henrye Clarke, Peter van Brughen (also called Frenin), and Bartelmewe Johnson.<sup>41</sup> One striking feature of the list of thirty masters is that it only includes three of the five men named in the letters patent: Powells, Stene and Van Brughen. Some letters, such as those issued for Sandwich, did not name exiles, whilst others such as the letters patent issued for Yarmouth in 1570 did do so.<sup>42</sup>

The letters for Norwich stipulated that the masters had to be born outside England, i.e., aliens, and could not be denizens.<sup>43</sup> They do not, however, state why the masters could not be denizens. One possibility is that the letters patent for Norwich were targeting a specific group of exiles in Sandwich and excluding the significant number of denizens in the town, but this is not certain.<sup>44</sup> One positive clause in the letters states that the masters could rent property in Norwich as if they were natural-born citizens: 'in as ample manner as they maye do, unto anye of ower lieges or subiecetes naturallie borne within this ower realme of Englaunde'. However, a time limit of seven years was placed on this condition, and households were limited to ten persons.<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, restrictions were placed on which textiles the masters could produce: 'of the faculties of makege of bayes, arras says, tapesterie, mockades, stamins, kersey, and suche other owtelandishe comodities, as hath not bene used to be made within this ower realme of Englaunde . . . (they



may exercise) the sayde facultyes above mentioned, and none other'.<sup>46</sup> It had become difficult to purchase these textiles from the Low Countries.<sup>47</sup>

Sotherton initiated the process of inviting the exiles in the early months of his mayoralty, which began in June 1565. It had come to his attention that there were exiles in London and Sandwich who made 'Flaunders comodities made of woolle', who could be invited to Norwich to revive its economy.<sup>48</sup> He therefore approached Thomas Howard (1536–72), Duke of Norfolk, who was residing at his palace in the city and who was in effect the monarch's representative in the county. Sotherton asked him to request letters patent from the queen admitting thirty masters and their households.<sup>49</sup> She issued these on 5 November 1565.<sup>50</sup> Howard's relationship with Elizabeth was complex. He remained a Catholic and was later executed for his part in the Ridolfi plot. He was, however, Elizabeth's second cousin, and his closeness to the monarch may have helped to secure letters patent, which the civic leaders of Colchester had earlier failed to do.

Several months passed during which Sotherton and other civic and national leaders were busy identifying masters who could settle in Norwich. Several authors mention the role of Johannes Utenhove in this process. He may have helped identify the five masters named in the letters patent. However, he died in January 1566, so his contribution to identifying the other masters would have been limited.<sup>51</sup> On 1 June 1566, an order admitting thirty named masters in accordance with the terms of the letters patent was sealed, but not with the common seal of the council.<sup>52</sup> Rather, Sotherton had to place his own mayoral seal, which, the BODWS tells us, was a common seal, on the order. This indicates that he faced opposition to the plan from his fellow councillors. One probable reason why Sotherton signed the order on 1 June 1566 despite this opposition was that he was coming to the end of his mayoralty. He was still mayor on Saturday 15 June, but by Wednesday 19 June, his successor Henry Bacon had assumed the office.<sup>53</sup> The clock was therefore ticking.<sup>54</sup>

The records do not explicitly state why Sotherton faced such strong opposition, but there are several possibilities. First, there may have been opposition to the arrival of outsiders, who were perceived to pose a threat to the livelihoods of local workers. Such concerns had, after all, led to riots in London earlier in the century. Second, it was probably clear that one of Sotherton's motives was commercial self-interest. This may have provoked jealousy or fear of unfair advantage amongst other councillors, who were typically drawn from Norwich's

merchant classes. Third, Sotherton was a Protestant and one likely reason for his invitation was to bolster Protestantism in Norwich. Reynolds argues that some civic leaders had Catholic sympathies or were in fact crypto-Catholics. One was the alderman Thomas Whalle, whose crypto-Catholic tendencies have only recently been identified.<sup>55</sup> In 1567, he declared that he 'had no liking for the Strangers' and three years later would complain to Clement Paston that the Strangers 'did but sucke the lyvenges away from the Inglishe'.<sup>56</sup> Fourth, in the Holy Roman Empire, civic authorities often sought to regulate immigration because they associated itinerancy with disorder.<sup>57</sup> The Norwich civic leaders probably had similar concerns, for they appointed two aldermen, one of whom had to be a Justice of the Peace, to hear cases concerning the Strangers, and newcomers had to present themselves to the mayor and the two aldermen.<sup>58</sup> A few years later, when exile numbers in Norwich rose sharply in the wake of the Iconoclastic Fury (the *Beeldenstorm*, beginning in August 1566 and involving physical attacks on Catholic images and decorations in places of worship in the Low Countries), the exiles were required to select officials called 'political men' from their own ranks. They dealt with minor offences and questions of guardianship in the exile communities, and assessed the suitability of newcomers to these communities.

Arrangements were made for the establishment of wool halls and church buildings for the Flemish and Walloons.<sup>59</sup> Although he was a Catholic, the Duke of Norfolk actively sought to provide the exiles with a church, no doubt recognising the contribution they could make to Norwich's economy. On 28 December 1565, he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Norwich-born Matthew Parker, asking for a church to be set aside in Norwich for the exiles.<sup>60</sup> Parker replied that he had asked the Bishop of Norwich to make a vacant church in Norwich available for the Strangers' use.<sup>61</sup> In the event, Dutch-speaking exiles would meet for worship at the former Dominican Friary, whilst French-speaking exiles would meet at the Bishop's Chapel. The bishop, John Parkhurst (d. 1575), had been a Marian exile, and so probably had sympathy for the Protestant Strangers.

Interestingly, the Stranger printer Anthonie de Solempne recorded in a publication in 1570 that the 'Dutch church' opened for worship in Norwich on 24 December 1565, i.e., four days before the Duke of Norfolk wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>62</sup> The reason for this discrepancy is not clear. Solempne may simply have been mistaken, or,

less likely, the duke may not have been aware of the Christmas Eve service.

Another discrepancy concerns the fact that although Sotherton's order was made on 1 June 1566, city accounts indicate that the Strangers were producing textiles before this date.<sup>63</sup> Therefore, some of the masters had probably already arrived in Norwich and begun to work there. However, for our purposes the most significant discrepancy between sources is that it is unlikely that all of the thirty masters named in Sotherton's order went to Norwich and furthermore not all of those who did go to Norwich were engaged in the textile trade. Moreover, some of them were or would be involved in sectarian activities in Flanders in the prelude to the Dutch Revolt, i.e., they either advocated violence, for example in their fiery sermons, or were involved in actual violence against people or objects associated with Catholicism or crypto-Catholicism because of their affiliation to a specific pro-Reformation religious group, in this case radical Calvinism.

I now take a closer look at their prosopographies to understand why they were invited to Norwich and what this tells us more generally about the local and national positions and practices adopted in response to large-scale migration from the Low Countries in the early years of Elizabeth I's reign.

### **The Thirty Masters**

Sotherton's order listed the thirty masters as follows (my numbers added for ease of reference) (see also [Table 1](#))<sup>64</sup>:

#### **Twenty-Four Dutch Masters**

- |                         |  |                        |
|-------------------------|--|------------------------|
| 1. John Powells         | 2. John Bruninge                       | 3. Pascall Clarebote   |
| 4. George van Exham     | 5. George Vramboute                    | 6. Thomas Bateman      |
| 7. John Carrett         | 8. Romaine Debecre                     | 9. Jherhm Pottelberghe |
| 10. Peter Janson        | 11. Ffrauncis Trian                    | 12. Mychel Desanytte   |
| 13. John de Rhrode      | 14. Ffrauncis Mysedome                 | 15. Ffrauncis Dedecre  |
| 16. John Mychelles      | 17. John Looten                        | 18. John Goose         |
| 19. Christian Vrinde    | 20. Adrian van Dorte                   | 21. Lewis Spillebote   |
| 22. Gilberde Vijscheers | 23. Peter Fremin alias<br>van Brughe – | 24. Wylliam Steene     |

#### **Six Walloon masters**

- |                     |                   |                  |
|---------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 25. Robert Goddarte | 26. Ipolite Barbe | 27. John Karseye |
| 28. Noe le Turcke   | 29. John Duminie  | 30. Peter Waells |

As noted in the introduction, Silke Muylaert asserts that the thirty masters had previously resided in Sandwich.<sup>65</sup> As we shall see, whilst many did indeed come from Sandwich, we do not have evidence that all of them did so. Furthermore, the BODWS states 'These xxxti masters . . . begaune to make their comodities'.<sup>66</sup> However, not all the men worked as textile masters in Norwich.

Of the thirty men in Sotherton's order, there are only three for whom I have found no other reference in documents relating to the Strangers in Norwich, London and Sandwich: Mychel Desanytte (12), Adrian van Dorte (20), and John Karseye (27).<sup>67</sup> For the other twenty-seven 'masters', in what follows, I record, where possible, whether they went to Norwich, and if so, when; what they did in Norwich, above all whether they were employed in the textile trade; whether they were involved in sectarian activities in the Low Countries; and whether they caused trouble in Norwich.

I have not found the names of three of the men in other surviving Norwich records. This means that they probably did not go to Norwich, although this is not certain. Jherhm Pottelberghe (9), listed as Jeronimus van Pottelsberghe, was recorded as a young man (*iuuenis*) in an official census of the London Dutch church made on 22 June 1561.<sup>68</sup> Christian Vrinde (19) appears in both Sandwich and London records. In Sandwich, he was recorded as Christiaen de Vriend, a weaver from Loker in the Westkwartier. According to Marcel Backhouse, he had engaged in sectarian activities in Flanders.<sup>69</sup> He appears in both the membership list for the London Dutch church started in 1561 as Christiaen de Vriendt and the official census of the London Dutch church dated 22 June 1561, where he is listed as Christianus de Vriend, a young man (*iuuenis*), who was working in the Tower of London (operator in *Turri Londinensi*).<sup>70</sup>

The case of Peter Janson (10) is slightly more problematic. This is a common name. It occurs several times in the London records of the Dutch community although not in the two 1561 censuses. In the Sandwich records, there is an entry for Peter Janss from Antwerp, who was involved in sectarian activities.<sup>71</sup> Janss is probably a shortened form of Janszoon (lit. 'son of Jan'). This may be the Dutch form of Janson. In an official census of the Norwich Flemish church made in 1568, Petrus Janss is listed with his wife and two children.<sup>72</sup> The fact that he came from Brabant may suggest that this is the same individual who was in Sandwich. However, according to the return he only arrived in England in 1567.<sup>73</sup> At

this time, the year began on Lady Day, i.e., 25 March, so 1567 ran from 25 March 1567 to 24 March 1568. Therefore, Strangers who, according to the census arrived in 1567 May 2001 in fact have arrived in early 1568. This does not necessarily mean that this is not the same individual, for other masters may not have arrived in England until 1567, but it would mean that he was still on the Continent when Sotherton drew up his list.

Two Walloon masters, who may have gone to Norwich, are Ipolite Barbe (26) and John Duminie (29). I have not identified Ipolite Barbe in other surviving documents. A weaver, Paulus Barbe, who is recorded in the 1568 Norwich Flemish church return, arrived in England in 1565 with his wife and four children.<sup>74</sup> All the details make it possible that this is the same individual, apart, of course, from the first name. The second syllable of Ipolite sounds like 'Paul'. His first name may have been simplified, but currently I cannot say anything more concrete.

Johannes de Mey is listed in the 1568 return as a woolcomber from Valenciennes who had arrived in England in 1559 with his wife. They had five children.<sup>75</sup> There is a Johannes Mayus in the register of the London Dutch church members for 1561.<sup>76</sup> In the Sandwich records there is a Jan de Mey from Herzeele in the Westkwartier.<sup>77</sup> One of the thirty masters is John Duminie (29). As in the case of Ipolite Barbe, many of these details make it possible that all these records refer to the same individual, but the difference between Duminie and de May etc. means that this is not certain.

I now analyse the remaining twenty-two masters. There is evidence that they went to Norwich, although in one or two cases this is not beyond doubt. One of them, for whom there is no evidence of involvement in the textile trade, was John Bruninge (2). In the 1568 Norwich Flemish church return he is listed as Johannes Bruninck, a widower. He arrived in England in 1566 from northern Brabant with a maid.<sup>78</sup> As for the other twenty-one, I begin with those who seem to have been involved in the textile trade and who therefore could claim to be masters. I then analyse the prosopographies of men involved in sectarian activities. A small number of men belong to both groups.

Twelve individuals, who went to Norwich, seem to have been primarily textile workers with little or no active involvement in sectarian activities in the Westkwartier. George van Exham (also van Ixem) (4) was a woolcomber from Brabant.<sup>79</sup> He was in London in 1561 before moving to Sandwich where he registered as a master baize-maker.<sup>80</sup> He was probably in Norwich by 1566 for in that year he received a shipment of

materials that he would need for his work as a woolcomber. These included a barrel of vinegar and a hogshead of madder.<sup>81</sup> The 1568 census indicates that Van Ixem was by now living in Norwich with his wife and five children, three of whom were born in England, and a maid.<sup>82</sup>

Thomas Bateman (6) appears on the membership list of the London Dutch church begun in 1561.<sup>83</sup> He is listed as a master in Sandwich before 1566 and his birthplace is given as Belle in the Westkwartier.<sup>84</sup> He was one of two Strangers excommunicated by the minister in Sandwich. So, he went to the Bishop of Norwich asking to be restored to the church. He was already trading in cloth in Norwich in May 1566, i.e., just before Sotherton sealed his order.<sup>85</sup> In the 1568 Norwich Flemish church return he is recorded as a merchant, with a wife and seven children, two of whom were born in England, and three maids.<sup>86</sup> By 1576, he was living in the parish of St. Michael of Muspole in the Great Ward of Over-the-Water, recorded as an alien paying lay subsidy on goods worth seventeen pounds.<sup>87</sup> He had therefore done well for himself. After the Pacification of Ghent in November 1576, he returned to leper, where he initially lodged with his brother François. His wife had stayed in Norwich.<sup>88</sup>

The master recorded as John Carrett (7) in Sotherton's order is probably the Jan Caret listed in the Sandwich records as a woolcomber from the Westkwartier with a wife.<sup>89</sup> He appears again as Johannes Caret in the 1568 Norwich Flemish church return. Here, he is listed as a woolcomber (*lanificus*), who had arrived in England from Flanders in 1562 with his wife.<sup>90</sup>

Ffrauncis Mysedome (14), listed as Fransoys Misdome, was a member of the Flemish exile community in Sandwich.<sup>91</sup> He is most probably the Franciscus Misdome (possibly Misdoin) listed as a woolcomber in the 1568 Norwich Flemish church return. He had arrived in England from Flanders in 1560 with his wife. They had a son born in England.<sup>92</sup> John Mysdome, possibly Francis's son, was an alien paying lay subsidy in the parish of St. Gregory in the Great Ward of Wymer in 39 Elizabeth I (1597).<sup>93</sup>

John Looten (17) was in London, possibly as early as 1561. He is listed as Jan Looten in a membership register of the London Dutch church begun in that year.<sup>94</sup> He appears in the 1568 Norwich Flemish church census as Joannes Lote, a woolcomber with a wife and five daughters who had arrived in England from Flanders in 1560.<sup>95</sup> He turns up again in the Norwich records in 1571. Towards the end of that year, there was a new election for governors of the drapery. Two opposing parties put forward names: the existing governors and their opponents. John Lote is listed in the opponents' party. On 4 December, he took an oath as

a governor. His name is recorded as 'John Loten' in the Mayor's Court Book for 8 December 1571 as one of the 'viiij Straungers of the Duches nasion sworne to observe the lawes according to the boke for bayterie', i.e., one of the governors of the Flemish Bay Hall.<sup>96</sup>

John Goose (18) is probably the Jan Goosen listed as a woolcomber in the Sandwich records (a final 'n' is often silent in Dutch).<sup>97</sup> This notion gains weight with an entry for Johannes Goosen in the 1568 Norwich Flemish church return. He was a woolcomber who arrived in England from Flanders in 1564 with his wife, a daughter, and a maid.<sup>98</sup> In his will, proved at the consistory court in Norwich in 1582, he is named as 'Johannes Goose de Norv.' (of Norwich) and described as a worsted weaver.<sup>99</sup> Surprisingly, there is no mention of him being an alien and he left money to the poor of his local parish, St. Benet's (St. Benedict's) in Wymer, and people in the prison, but not to any Strangers nor the Flemish Stranger church.

Lewis Spillebote (21) appears in the Sandwich records as Lauwijs Speelbout.<sup>100</sup> The 1568 Norwich Flemish church return, which gives him a Latinised version of his first name, Lodovicus Spilleboudt, describes him as a fuller (fullo) who had arrived in England from Flanders in 1561. He and his wife had two sons, both born in England.<sup>101</sup> He clearly stayed in Norwich for his name turns up subsequently in lay subsidy rolls. In 1576, he was listed as Lewes Spelbet, an alien paying the basic additional rate of lay subsidy for aliens of 4d. in the parish of St. George, Colegate in Over-the-Water.<sup>102</sup> In 23 Elizabeth I (1581), he is listed as Lewes Spollabute living in the same parish paying lay subsidy on goods of twenty shillings. In 39 Elizabeth I (1597), Lewys Spillebut paid subsidy in the parish of St. Peter in the Great Ward of Wymer: this may be the master or his son.<sup>103</sup> The case of Spillebote illustrates on the one hand that the name of the same person is often rendered quite differently in the records.<sup>104</sup> On the other hand, his name is somewhat distinctive, which makes it quite easy to trace.

Despite the slight difference in first name, Gilberde Vijscheers (22) is probably the individual listed as Gisbertus Visscher in the 1568 Norwich Flemish church return. He was a tailor from northern Brabant who had arrived in England with his wife in 1566.<sup>105</sup> I have found no evidence for him residing in Sandwich or London.

In the 1568 return, Peter Fremin (23) is listed as Pieter Firmin, a woolcomber from Flanders, who arrived in England in 1564 with his wife and five children. A sixth child was born in England.<sup>106</sup> He does not however appear in the Sandwich records published by Backhouse. He also used the name Van Brugghe (lit. 'from Brugge') and as such was one of the

five masters named in the letters patent issued by Queen Elizabeth.<sup>107</sup> In 1577, as Peter Fyrmin, he was an executor of the will of another Norwich Flemish Stranger, the wealthy bookbinder, Joos de Ram.<sup>108</sup>

One of the Walloon masters who does not seem to have been actively involved in sectarian activity is Noe le Turcke (28). In the 1568 return for the Norwich Walloon church, Noe le Turcke (Noel le Turcus) is listed as a weaver (textor), who had arrived in England three years earlier with his wife.<sup>109</sup> He remained in Norwich and was an alien paying lay subsidy (as Nowell Torke) on goods of sixty shillings in the parish of St. Augustine in Over-the-Water in northwest Norwich in 23 Elizabeth I (1581).<sup>110</sup> In 1584, he served as one of the 'political men' for the Walloon community.<sup>111</sup>

Robert Goddarte (25) also appears in the 1568 Walloon church return. He was originally from Lille and had arrived in Norwich two and a half years earlier with his wife, two sons, and three daughters.<sup>112</sup> In Norwich, he worked as a dealer in cloth and bays.<sup>113</sup> In the 1568 return he is listed directly after the ministers, so he was probably a member of the consistory. In 1581, Goddarte is registered as an alien paying lay subsidy on goods of twenty shillings in the parish of St. Martin at Oak in Over-the-Water.<sup>114</sup>

No evidence has come to light that the Strangers mentioned so far caused any problems to the Norwich authorities or indeed engaged in sectarian activities in the Low Countries. Other 'Masters' were, however, troublemakers or sectarians. Whilst some were also involved in the textile trade, others were not.

Romaine Debecre (8) is listed in the 1568 return as Romanus de Baker. He was a woolcomber (lanificus) who had come from Flanders with his wife, two adolescent children and a maid. According to the return, he only arrived in England in 1567.<sup>115</sup> However, he appears in the London Dutch church registers begun in 1561 and lived in Sandwich before moving to Norwich.<sup>116</sup> In around 1570, a serious dispute arose between the ministers of the Norwich Flemish church. Two of them supported armed resistance against the Spanish in the Low Countries in the context of the Dutch Revolt, whilst a third opposed it. Many of the Flemish Strangers took sides and the civic authorities were concerned about civil unrest. The case was dealt with in the second half of 1571, and it was decided that all three ministers should be banished from Norwich. Other Strangers were admonished to 'go abowght ther private affaires quietelye, and not to entermeddle [...] to trouble the peace'.<sup>117</sup> One of these was Romaine Debecre. Another was Ffrauncis Trian (11). Like Debecre, Trian or Trion is listed as a woolcomber in the 1568 return. He had a wife and two children born in England.<sup>118</sup> He had



arrived in England in 1564, although I have found no mention of him in the Sandwich or London Dutch records. His involvement in the dispute within the Norwich Flemish community and the subsequent reprimand from the council may have been a turning point for him, for thereafter he caused no further trouble, but instead worked as a leader of the Stranger community. In 1571, Trian was one of four governors of the Bay Hall, who negotiated the contents of the Book of Orders for the Strangers with the leaders of the corporation.<sup>119</sup> Between 1573 and 1583, he was one of the eight 'political men' of the Flemish Stranger community.<sup>120</sup> The 'political men' were elected annually and they had to be approved by the mayor, suggesting that by now Trian had gained the trust of the civic authorities.<sup>121</sup> In 1576, Trian was an alien paying lay subsidy in the parish of St. Margaret in Wymer.<sup>122</sup>

The case of John de Rhrode (13) is more problematic. In the 1568 return, he is listed as a woolcomber who arrived in England in 1561. He had a wife and two sons, both of whom were born in England.<sup>123</sup> He may be the Jan de Roode, who appears in the London Dutch church membership register begun in 1561.<sup>124</sup> By 1571, John de Rode, who is likely to be the same individual as the master, was an elder of the Flemish church in Norwich.<sup>125</sup>

After working as an elder in Norwich for eight years, he officiated at the Flemish church in Thetford, thirty miles southwest of Norwich, where a smaller migrant weavers' community was established in around 1571.<sup>126</sup> For a time, he worked alongside the militant preacher, Karel Ryckwaert, one of the three ministers banished from Norwich in 1571.<sup>127</sup> After Ryckwaert had returned to the Low Countries following the Pacification of Ghent in 1576, De Rode worked as a minister in Thetford. In 1580, he was one of the Thetford consistory members who wrote to the London Dutch church to complain about the actions of another of the thirty masters, Pascall or Passchier Clarebote (3), of whom more below.<sup>128</sup> He worked in Thetford until at least 1584 and would later move to Halstead in Essex to work as minister to the small Flemish weavers' community there, which was an offshoot of the larger community in Colchester.<sup>129</sup> His will, dated October 1593 and made in Colchester, indicates that he bequeathed many books including several bibles and Calvin's *Institutes*.<sup>130</sup>

One problem with this version of events is, however, that the name Jan de Roo also appears in the Norwich records, and the Sandwich records. By contrast, there is no mention of Jan de R(h)rode in the Sandwich records. It may be this that leads Esser to note that 'John de Rhode' was registered in the Sandwich tax lists in 1563 and 1571.<sup>131</sup> Jan de Roo was a shearman from

Hazebrouck in the Westkwartier, who was in Sandwich with his wife.<sup>132</sup> It may also be why Backhouse equates Jan de Roo with the Norwich master John de Rhode asserting that he was a messenger for the Calvinists in the Westkwartier in 1566.<sup>133</sup> At first sight, the names 'De Roo' and 'De R(h)oodé' seem sufficiently different for them not to be confused. However, a 'd' between vowels in Dutch is sometimes lost in pronunciation.

A Jan de Roo does appear in the 1568 Norwich return. He arrived in England from Flanders with his wife and a servant, but not until 1567.<sup>134</sup> So, he is unlikely to be the Jan de Roo in the Sandwich records. This may, however, be the same Jan de Roo who would later become an elder and eventually a minister of the Dutch church in London. He represented that church at the Synod of Dordrecht in 1578 and the Synod of Middelburg in 1581.<sup>135</sup> Concluding, the master John de Rhode (13) was probably a woolcomber who arrived in England in 1561 and later became a minister in Thetford, but this is not certain.

We can be more certain of the involvement of other masters in sectarian activities. Pascall Clarebote (3), from Winnezele in Flanders, had been repeatedly fined and sentenced for sectarian activities in the Westkwartier.<sup>136</sup> In 1561, he was registered in London and two years later he appeared on a Sandwich taxlist. The 1568 Norwich return lists him as Pascasius Clarebout, a woolcomber (*lanificus*) from Flanders with a wife and two children.<sup>137</sup> Sometime later Clarebout moved to Thetford. In 1580, the consistory of the Flemish church in Thetford informed its London counterpart that Clarebout had been causing trouble. Amongst its long list of complaints against Clarebout was that he had arraigned another member of the church before the town magistrate and had asked the town's mayor to hold an election for 'political men', without the knowledge of the consistory, which had up to then always elected the 'political men'.<sup>138</sup> As in Norwich, the 'political men' were senior members of the community responsible for maintaining order and acting as a bridge between the community and the town's leaders. Clarebout left Thetford and returned to Norwich.<sup>139</sup> He died in Norwich in about 1590.<sup>140</sup>

George (Dutch: Joris) Vramboute (5) was a say-maker from Sint-Janskapelle in the Westkwartier, who lived in nearby Steenvoorde. Esser describes him as 'particularly troublesome in the Westkwartier'.<sup>141</sup> He preached there in 1559 and 1560 and organised and participated in many clandestine gatherings of Calvinists.<sup>142</sup> In 1561, he was listed as a member of the London Dutch church, and on 4 May 1562, he was

officially banned from Flanders. Nevertheless, he regularly crossed over to Flanders to visit the area around Watou and Steenvoorde in the Westkwartier.<sup>143</sup> In 1563, he was registered in the Sandwich tax list with his wife and one son. He served the Flemish church in Sandwich as a minister.<sup>144</sup> The 1568 Norwich return lists him as Jooris Vramboudt, a woolcomber from Flanders, with his wife.<sup>145</sup> It is currently not known if Vramboute preached in Norwich, but the possibility is there. Prudence Vrambute, possibly Joris's widow, was listed as an alien paying lay subsidy in the parish of St. Michael-at-Plea in Wymer in 1598.<sup>146</sup>

Ffrancis Dedecre (15) is probably the same individual as Ffranciscus de Dekeere, listed in the 1568 Norwich census as a woolcomber who arrived in England from Flanders with his wife and daughter in 1561.<sup>147</sup> He had previously lived in Sandwich, where he gained employment as a - sayworker.<sup>148</sup> There he was recorded as Mr. Fransoys de Decker, a surgeon from Hondschoote. According to Backhouse, he had been involved in sectarian activities in the Westkwartier.<sup>149</sup>

This brings us to the four remaining Masters, Wylliam Steene (24), John Powells (Dutch: Pauwels) (1), John Mychelles (Michiels) (16), and Peter Waells (Waels) (30). There is some evidence that Stene was involved in the textile trade, although I have found no such evidence for the other three men. In the 1568 Norwich census, Stene is listed as a woolcomber from Flanders who had a wife and five children and who had arrived in England in 1565.<sup>150</sup> However, in the records of Nieuwpoort in Flanders he is listed as Willem van den Steene, *deurwaarder van de Grote raad*, i.e., the official responsible for executing the decisions of the town council.<sup>151</sup> So, to what extent he was a textile master is open to question, although like Ffrancis Dedecre, he may have needed to learn a new trade to earn his living in England. Pauwels, originally from Adinkerke, had worked as a grain merchant and collector of duties in Nieuwpoort on the coast of Flanders.<sup>152</sup> Whilst living in Hondschoote, in 1546 Pauwels came to the attention of the authorities in Veurne for criticising the Catholic practice of venerating saints.<sup>153</sup>

Waels was a farmer, whilst Michiels was a former monk from Belle, who is often described as a preacher.<sup>154</sup> All four men were involved in sectarian activities in Flanders. Furthermore, they all lived in Sandwich before going to Norwich. Whilst Pauwels and Stene stayed in Norwich and were known troublemakers there, Michiels and Waels returned to the Low Countries to participate in further sectarian activities.

Pauwels and Stene were amongst the five masters named in Queen Elizabeth's letters patent, as John Powells and Willem Stene. They had been involved in sectarian activities in the Westkwartier for several years. Stene had, it seems, lived in Sandwich for some time before going to Norwich. In Sandwich in 1571, there was an enquiry into a dispute regarding breaking images that had taken place about five years earlier.<sup>155</sup> Stene had participated in this dispute and was described as 'Very troubelsome. busyeng him self with others of the same congregacion in the same quarrel'.<sup>156</sup> Pauwels had been following events in Sandwich and went there from Nieuwpoort. He left shortly afterwards for Norwich, encouraging Stene to join him in Norfolk. The fact that both were named in the letters patent and in Sotherton's June 1566 order provided them with a legal route to settling and working in Norwich.<sup>157</sup> It does, however, raise the question of why both men were named as textile masters, a point I return to below.

In Norwich, Pauwels was licenced to 'take of . . . anie howsse, messwage or tenemente within the city'. It seems that he received an especially warm welcome from the civic leaders in Norwich.<sup>158</sup> He is probably the Johannes Paulus who is described in the 1568 Flemish church return as 'studiosus', i.e., someone who is learned or devoted to study. He had arrived in England from Flanders in 1563.<sup>159</sup> Apparently, he had been moving between Flanders and Sandwich for several years before going to Norwich. There, as well as devoting himself to study, he stirred up trouble. He took part in the dispute, which led to the banishment of three Flemish ministers from Norwich. He, unsurprisingly, supported armed resistance against the Spanish. In an account of the dispute which came to a head in 1571, Pauwels was described as 'a man learned', echoing the 1568 description of him as 'studiosus', but also as the 'auctor of the trowbles and contencions', and was banished.<sup>160</sup> Esser suggests that in the early years of the Flemish community in Norwich, a group had formed around Pauwels.<sup>161</sup> In 1570, Pauwels had been appointed as an elder of the Flemish church in Norwich, although the civic leaders demanded that he be removed from this office.<sup>162</sup> After 1571, Pauwels does not appear again in the Norwich Stranger or civic records.<sup>163</sup> Strangers with this name subsequently appear in the Colchester, Sandwich, and London records. It is not, however, certain whether one or more of these records reference the same individual as the Norwich troublemaker.<sup>164</sup>

Willem Stene was involved in the same dispute as Pauwels. Initially, he was merely required to avoid causing further trouble, but eventually he too was banished from Norwich.<sup>165</sup> Pieter Waels came from Houtkerke

between Steenvoorde and Hondshoote. He is listed under the Walloon masters as Peter Waelles (30) in Sotherton's list of thirty masters.<sup>166</sup> His involvement in sectarian activities in the Westkwartier meant that by 1561 he had already been banished from Flanders.<sup>167</sup> In England, he spent time in the Flemish exile community in Sandwich before moving to Norwich, where he became a deacon of the exile congregation.<sup>168</sup> Despite his banishment, by summer 1566 he was back on the Continent, using Poperinge as a base from which to spread the 'new religion'.<sup>169</sup>

The former monk, Jan Michiels, is listed as 'John Mychelles' (16) in Sotherton's list of thirty masters.<sup>170</sup> In Flanders, he had been a member of the Hondshoote consistory, one of the principal clandestine consistories in the Westkwartier.<sup>171</sup> Subsequently, he was a member of the Sandwich Flemish community, often described as lame.<sup>172</sup> Michiels was a preacher, although we do not know for certain whether he preached in Norwich.<sup>173</sup>

At a meeting in Sandwich in 1567, members of the Norwich and Sandwich Flemish church consistories signalled their support for the insurgency of the *bosgeuzen* (lit. wood beggars) and decided to invade the Westkwartier and murder the clergy and law officers there. Financial support was received from sympathetic merchants. In September 1567, they made an attack at St. Sixtusbossen near Poperinge. Both Jan Michiels and Pieter Waels participated in the attack, in which a band of some 200 *bosgeuzen* pillaged churches and murdered priests.<sup>174</sup>

A few months later, on 11 January 1568, a band of *bosgeuzen* gathered at Spangnaertsdale near Poperinge. The event was planned to culminate in a sermon given by Michiels to address Calvinists from Belle, Poperinge, Steenwerck, Hondshoote, and other places in the Westkwartier.<sup>175</sup> They would then launch a surprise attack on Poperinge. However, an extraordinarily heavy rainfall meant that the meeting could not take place. On 12 January, the band under Michiels entered the village of Reningelst, a few miles southeast of Poperinge, armed with halberds, arquebuses, and pistols. They entered the church, robbing it of valuables, then seized the priest, Judocus Hughesonius, and the two chaplains, Robertus Ryspoort and Jacobus Panneel, at the altar and took them away. A few days later, at eleven o'clock at night on a hill between Belle and Nieuwkerke, they killed the priests barbarously: vengeance for the priests denouncing the sectarians. After this, Michiels may have returned to England for a short while. However, on 20 February 1568, the lieutenant of the bailly of Ieper, George (Joris) van den Halle, wrote to Hondshoote that Michiels was back on the Continent.<sup>176</sup>

In the spring of 1573, Pieter Waels arrived in Meteren in the Westkwartier where a meeting had been organised in the house of co-religionist Cristian Parmentier with a dozen or so other rebels, amongst whom was Jacob Baert, a captain of the *watergeuzen* (lit. sea beggars). A plan to attack Nieuwpoort was discussed in detail, though this would never be put into effect.<sup>177</sup> On 16 February 1574, Waels was condemned to death for murdering Catholic priests and executed in front of the town hall in Hondshoote.<sup>178</sup>

## Analysis

The results of this survey of the prosopographies of the thirty masters can be summarised as in [Table 1](#). This tells us which of them went to Norwich, whether they worked in the textile trade, whether they were involved in sectarian activities in Flanders, and whether they were identified as troublemakers by the civic authorities in Norwich.

**Table 1.** The activities of the thirty masters.

Names as they appear in NRO, NCR, 17d/9, fol. 18 r.	In Norwich?	Textile worker?	Involved in sectarian activities in Flanders?	Caused trouble in Norwich?
1. John Powells	Y	N	Y	Y
2. John Bruninge	Y	N		
3. Pascall Clarebote	Y	Y	Y	Y (Thetford)
4. George van Exham	Y	Y		
5. George Vramboute	Y	Y	Y	
6. Thomas Bateman	Y	Y		
7. John Carrett	Y	Y		
8. Romaine Debecre	Y	Y		Y
9. Jherhm Pottelberghe	N	N		
10. Peter Janson	?	?		
11. Ffrauncis Trian	Y	Y		Y
12. Mychel Desanytte	N	?		
13. John de Rhrode	Y	Y	?	
14. Ffrauncis Mysedome	Y	Y		
15. Ffrauncis Dedecre	Y	Y	Y	
16. John Mychelles	Y	N	Y	
17. John Looten	Y	Y		
18. John Goose	Y	Y		
19. Christian Vrinde	N	Y	Y	
20. Adrian van Dorte	N	?		
21. Lewis Spillebote	Y	Y		
22. Gilberde Vijscheers	Y	Y		
23. Peter Fremin alias van Brughe	Y	Y		
24. Wylliam Steene	Y	Y	Y	Y
25. Robert Goddarte	Y	Y		
26. Ipolite Barbe	?	?		
27. John Karseye	N	N		
28. Noe le Turcke	Y	Y		
29. John Duminie	?	?		
30. Peter Waells	Y	N	Y	
TOTALS	<b>Y = 22</b>	<b>Y = 19</b>	<b>Y = 8</b>	<b>Y = 4</b>

First, twenty-two of the thirty masters did go to Norwich.<sup>179</sup> I have suggested that three others may have gone to Norwich, but this is not certain. Second, there is evidence that nineteen of the thirty masters were involved in the textile trade. Another five masters may have been involved in this trade, although this depends on whether they are the same individuals as others whose names are rendered a little differently. There is evidence that eighteen or sixty per cent of the thirty masters went to Norwich and were involved in the textile trade. To look at things from another perspective, forty per cent of those listed in Sotherton's order did not work in the textile trade in Norwich.

On the one hand this may seem like a relative failure. After almost seven months, Sotherton could not attract even two-thirds of the permitted thirty masters to help revive Norwich's textile industry. On the other hand, these eighteen were perhaps sufficient to get the industry going. As the 1568 census illustrates, several hundred textile workers and merchants went to Norwich in 1567.<sup>180</sup> Most of them left Flanders in the wake of the *Beeldenstorm*, which began in August 1566, and the Duke of Alva's subsequent arrival in Brussels where he established the Council of Troubles (Raad van Beroerten). By this time, the city council had fitted out the deconsecrated church of St. Mary-the-Less as a Bay Hall and was renting it out to the Flemish bay-makers 'to search and seal their bayes'.<sup>181</sup> The infrastructure was therefore in place for other textile workers to use when they arrived in 1567. So, although eighteen is not a large number, it was probably sufficient to get things going.

This is not, however, the whole story. Eight of the thirty masters were involved in sectarian activities in Flanders. Furthermore, two of these, Jan Pauwels and Willem Stene, were also named as troublemakers in Norwich, along with two other 'masters', Romaine Debecre and Ffrancis Trian.<sup>182</sup> Before concluding, I want briefly to explore why these men were included in Sotherton's order and to what extent he and other civic leaders may have known about their activities in the Low Countries and their potential to cause trouble in Norwich.

One reason that some members of the Flemish community in Sandwich, including Pauwels and Stene, moved to Norwich was that they were in favour of resistance and found more support there for their views.<sup>183</sup> As Raingard Esser observes, the town leaders in Sandwich were probably glad to see the back of some of the Strangers.<sup>184</sup> It may be that Johannes Utenhove and subsequently other leaders of the London Dutch church and Flemish church in Sandwich facilitated the transfer of

these pro-resistance exiles to Norwich to ease tensions in Sandwich, which was much smaller than Norwich.

Esser raises the interesting question of whether the disputes that had arisen in Sandwich were known to the Norwich magistrates.<sup>185</sup> A corollary to this is whether the mayor, Thomas Sotherton, and his supporters in the city council or the Duke of Norfolk knew about the activities of Pauwels, Stene, and others such as Dedecre, in Sandwich and in Flanders. One hint that Sotherton might have known about the sectarian activities of some of the exiles comes in two letters that a Flemish Stranger in Norwich wrote to a friend in Ieper in early November 1567. We do not know the identity of either the author or addressee of these letters as pseudonyms were used for both. The author identifies himself merely as Typer, which probably stands for 'Te Ieper' 'at Ieper', i.e., someone from Ieper. The first letter concerns the receipt of a large sum of money for the sale of hops, so we may presume that Typer was wealthy. The second letter confirms this but provides other important details.<sup>186</sup> Typer describes the house in which he was living in Norwich, possibly with family members or other Strangers. The house is clearly one of Norwich's finer townhouses and Typer even suggests that there was no finer house in all of Ieper. It belonged to 'mester Thomaes'. The description of the house, its location and reference to 'mester Thomaes' tells us that Typer was staying in the house now called Strangers' Hall, owned then by Thomas Sotherton, the mayor who invited the Strangers. For our purposes, these details are important for they illustrate that Sotherton was willing to rent rooms to an exile who felt obliged to hide his identity in communicating with a friend in Ieper.

On the other hand, it may have been timing that led Sotherton to include troublemakers in his list of thirty masters. He signed the order less than three weeks before his term as mayor finished. It would have been at the very least embarrassing for him, having proposed the idea of inviting masters from the Low Countries to Norwich, and having obtained letters patent from the queen, if he had been unable to compile a complete list of masters. Three of the masters on his list did not go to Norwich and several of them were troublemakers, but Sotherton may have considered that to be a price worth paying to save his own political reputation and to get official authorisation for inviting *bona fide* masters to Norwich to revive its faltering economy, even in the face of opposition from other councillors, as well as probably lining his own pockets and those of his allies such as John Aldrich.



## Conclusion

It is safe to say that the council did not know which of the thirty masters had arrived in Norwich. Two months after Sotherton sealed the order, on 10 August 1566, the *Beeldenstorm* broke out in Flanders, beginning a chain of events which would lead to thousands of Calvinists moving to English towns such as Norwich. Sensing that the number of exiles in Norwich was growing, the council tried to count them several times, but without success.<sup>187</sup> Eventually, in 1568, concerned about heretics amongst their ranks, the monarch asked the Archbishop of Canterbury to order the Bishop of Norwich to conduct a census to determine how many Strangers were in Norwich and who they were. The results, sent back in early August 1568, more than two years after Sotherton's order, indicated that there were nearly 2000 Strangers in the city, i.e., more than six times the number originally permitted.<sup>188</sup> Just as Norwich had in some sense acted as a safety valve for Sandwich, so other towns in Norfolk acted as a safety valve for Norwich. Some Norwich exiles, above all from Zeeland, moved to Great Yarmouth, where a community was officially established by letters patent issued in 1570. A year or so later, several textile workers moved to Thetford, probably following Karel Ryckwaert there after his banishment from Norwich. King's Lynn, too, attracted exiles from Norwich, although others went to Lynn directly from London or Sandwich.<sup>189</sup> New chapters were therefore opening in the story of communities of Low Countries exiles in late Tudor England.

The aim of this article has been to analyse what the birth of exile communities in Norwich tells us about local and national positions and practices adopted in response to large-scale migration from the Low Countries. One result is that there were similarities and differences in the practices involved in establishing exile communities in England. Typically, this was a two-stage process, with exiles initially settling without official authorisation, followed by attempts to seek official authorisation for the establishment of a community and church. In Norwich, there were already exiles, who may even have been meeting for worship before Queen Elizabeth issued letters patent in November 1565. She issued letters patent for other exile communities such as the ones established in London, Sandwich and Yarmouth. In the case of Thetford, by contrast, no warrants were issued at state level and I have not yet identified any warrants issued locally.

A striking feature of this story has been the range of actors involved in the establishment of exile communities. In Norwich, the mayor Thomas Sotherton was instrumental in this process. The Duke of Norfolk, too, played an important role, obtaining letters patent from the queen and approaching the Archbishop of Canterbury to secure a church in which the exiles could worship. Indeed, nobles played an important role in the establishment of exile communities in general. The Duke of Somerset had been instrumental in establishing a community at Glastonbury, whilst William Cecil, Lord Burghley, the queen's foremost councillor, would later encourage the establishment of an exile weavers' community at Stamford in Lincolnshire.<sup>190</sup> Exiles in Sandwich probably pushed for a move to Norwich and leaders in the Dutch church in London such as the Flemish noble, Johannes Utenhove, may have facilitated this move.

As with exile communities in the Rhineland, both push and pull factors were at work in the establishment of the Norwich community. Push factors include the desire for advocates of armed resistance such as Jan Pauwels and Willem Stene to leave Sandwich but also a desire for other less bellicose exiles to practise their trade freely. Another push factor was a concern about the size of the exile community in Sandwich and the desire to minimise the possibility of civil unrest. Pull factors include Sotherton's desire to attract makers of the new draperies for the benefit of both the city and himself and his allies such John Aldrich. They also wanted to attract exile Protestants to Norwich to bolster the Protestant population and provide a model for English Protestants to follow. More broadly, there seems to have been a policy, official or unofficial, of establishing exile communities of textile workers to improve the economic conditions of English towns. This policy would continue for several years with the establishment of the exile weavers' community in Stamford.

A significant aspect of this article has been the analysis of the prosopographies of the thirty masters named in Sotherton's order. Whilst many of the masters had previously resided in Sandwich, we currently lack the evidence to support Silke Muylaert's assertion that the first thirty settlers in Norwich came from the port town in Kent.<sup>191</sup> Twenty-seven of the masters are named in other records written in Norwich and elsewhere in England and in the Low Countries. Of these, eighteen went to Norwich and undertook work connected to the textile trade. This suggests that what happened differed from what the official records, especially the

BODWS, tell us. Nevertheless, I have argued that their presence together with the infrastructure that the city council provided, above all the Bay Hall, were sufficient to get what became known as the new draperies going and to attract other textile workers to Norwich who contributed to the town's economic revival. In this sense, Sotherton's policy was a success.<sup>192</sup>

On the other hand, eight of the masters had been involved in sectarian activities in the Low Countries. Two above all, Pauwels and Stene, caused trouble in Norwich, and were eventually banished from the city. The question of the extent to which the city's authorities, above all the mayor Thomas Sotherton, knew that some of those invited to Norwich had caused trouble in the Low Countries and might do so again in Norwich, is a difficult one to answer. I have suggested that the fact Sotherton rented out rooms to someone who had probably caused trouble in Flanders indicates that he might have had an inkling about some of their activities. He may have viewed them as fellow Calvinists, who could strengthen the position of Protestantism in Norwich, and who were less likely to cause trouble in their new home than in the Low Countries where they were confronted directly with their Spanish and Catholic enemies.

Placing these results in a broader context, they illustrate how civic and national authorities responded to events in the Low Countries. They viewed them as opportunities, both to improve the local economy and to bolster the nascent Protestant movement in England. Furthermore, Norwich offered a new hub for exiles, allowing those who had overstayed their welcome in Sandwich to move to a new home. Further investigation may reveal precisely how it was determined which exiles should go to Norwich.

Concluding, this article is part of a broader project to understand the role of exile communities in East Anglia in the events before and at the start of the Dutch Revolt. It has illustrated that Norwich provided a place of refuge for exiles from the Low Countries. Whilst some merely wanted to earn a living and support their families, in some cases learning new trades, others used Norwich as a stopping off point, before returning to the Low Countries to engage in further sectarian activities, which were the prelude to the Dutch Revolt. Further investigation of exile communities in East Anglia such as those in Colchester, Great Yarmouth, and King's Lynn will add to our understanding of this region's role in these events.

## Notes

1. Spohnholz and Van Veen, *Dutch Reformed Protestants*, 10. See also <https://labs.wsu.edu/religiousexiles/project/book-1/16>. July 2024, and Gorter, *Gereformeerde migranten*, for an analysis of the Dutch Reformed exile communities in Frankfurt am Main, Aachen, and Cologne.
2. Esser, "The Norwich Strangers"; Esser, "Strangers within the Gates"; and Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten*, 45–51.
3. Muylaert, *Shaping the Stranger Churches*, 108.
4. Magen, *Die Wallonengemeinde in Canterbury*; Cowell, *The French Walloon Church at Glastonbury*.
5. In the 1561 return of the Dutch church in London, Utenhove is described as a *municeps*, which can be translated as a citizen or leader. Kirk and Kirk ed., *Returns of Aliens*, I, 275. In December 1559, he wrote to Queen Elizabeth informing her that he had been expelled fifteen years earlier by Emperor Charles V. MS, The National Archive (TNA), SP 12/7, no. 63.
6. Cowell, "The French Walloon Church," 485–6. See also Cowell, *The French Walloon Church*.
7. MS, TNA, SP 10/13, nos. 70–77. See also SP 10/14, no. 2.
8. MS, TNA, SP 10/10, nos. 15 and 16, dated 24 July 1550. Letters Patent in Latin with French translation granted by King Edward VI for the establishment of the Dutch church in London.
9. MS, TNA, SP 12/7, no. 62.
10. Joby, *The Dutch Language in Britain*, 59.
11. Utenhove was obviously comfortable enough with power to write directly to the queen on 11 December 1559, seeking her help in recovering 700 Flemish pounds owing to him. MS, TNA, SP 12/7, no. 63.
12. Muylaert, *Shaping the Stranger Churches*, 108. The lay subsidy return for 5 Elizabeth I (1563) lists fourteen aliens in Norwich. Some such as 'Henry Ducheman' were probably from the Low Countries, although others may have come from elsewhere. Moens, *The Walloons*, II, 160–1. This is not however a complete list of aliens in Norwich. One omission is Martin van Kurnebeck from Flanders and his wife, Johanna, whose father was born in Germany. Martin was a physician who had lived in London since 1553 and by 1560 was living in Norwich. Kirk and Kirk ed., *Returns of Aliens*, I, 281. Richard Wilson, 'The Textile Industry', 221, asserts that Flemish weavers settled in Norwich in the late 1540s. Quoted in Joby, *The Dutch Language in Britain*, 29. Finally, I describe the church in Norwich as Flemish as most of its members came from Flanders. The Dutch church in London was, by contrast, reluctant to call itself Flemish. Muylaert, *Shaping the Stranger Churches*, 72.
13. Latin: De fratribus flandris Norvicum petituris. Peter Clarebut, Carel Herman ende Rastop; fratres neque suadent neque dissuadent predictis Norvicum profecturis [Of the Flemish brothers who are seeking to go to Norwich. Peter Clarebut, Carel Herman and Rastop i.e., Erasmus Top; The brothers neither persuade nor dissuade the aforesaid from departing for Norwich]. Van

Schelven ed., *Kerkerads-protocollen*, 25, 26. See also Muylaert, *Shaping the Stranger Churches*, 108.

14. There is disagreement amongst scholars regarding the extent to which production of the new draperies was already underway in Norwich before the arrival of the thirty textile masters in 1565. See Meeres, *The Welcome Stranger*, 20.
15. Williamson, *Social Relations*, 97. See also Alford, *The Early Elizabethan Polity*.
16. In an official census of the London Dutch church conducted in 1561 (MS, TNA, SP 12/17, no. 33), Clarebut is listed as Petrus Claerbout, a gardener (hortulanus) with a wife and children. In the same year, he is listed in a register of members of the London church as Peeter Clarebot. Kirk and Kirk ed., *Returns of Aliens*, I, 276, 283. Herman is listed as 'Carolus Hermanus, textor, sine liberis' [C.H., weaver, without children]. Kirk and Kirk ed., *Returns of Aliens*, I, 273. Top was listed as Erasmus Top, a weaver (textor), in an official return of the London Dutch church made in 1561, and Raes Top in a register of members of the London church begun in the same year. Kirk and Kirk ed., *Returns of Aliens*, I, 274, 283.
17. In the Sandwich records, Caerle Herman was listed as a weaver from Dranouter in the Westhoek. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, II, 127. Erasmus Top from Hondshoote worked as a weaver or say worker in Sandwich. He was a moderate who lived in Sandwich possibly between 1562 and 1566 before going to Norwich. Additionally, he was recorded as a minister in Sandwich. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, I, 84; I, 300; II, 250. Top returned to Flanders after 5 April 1566 (I, 318). Petrus Clarebout came from Warneton in Flanders. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, II, 70.
18. The entry for Herman runs, 'Carolus Herman lanificus [woolcomber] cum uxore et tribus pueris in Anglia natus ex Flandria venit huc 1560<sup>o</sup>'. MS, Norfolk Record Office (NRO), DN/DIS 10, 20. The entry for Top runs 'Erasmus Top lanificus cum uxore et tribus liberis ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567<sup>o</sup>'. MS, NRO, DN/DIS 10, 8. Moens, *The Walloons*, II, 210, 215. See also Reynolds, *Godly Reformers*, 52.
19. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, I, 25–6.
20. MS, TNA, SP 12/18, no. 9. This is a warrant issued on 6 July 1561 for the preparation of letters patent.
21. Hessels, *Ecclesiae*, II, 175. Another London minister, Petrus Delenus, also visited Sandwich to assist in the setting up of the exile church and community. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, 142.
22. In his history of the Dutch in England, Simeon Ruytinck gives a date of 1560. This is an error. Van Toorenenbergen ed., *Gheschiedenissen*, 43 (fol. 28); Moens, *The Walloons*, I, 18; Hessels, *Ecclesiae*, II, 175, n. 1. Utenhove is not mentioned in MS, NRO, NCR 17d/9 (the BODWS).
23. Joby, "The Dutch exile community in King's Lynn."
24. Hessels, *Ecclesiae*, II, 208.
25. MS, Essex Record Office, D/B 5 R5, Liber Depositionum et Ordinacionum (1561–1573), November 1562; fol. 94 r. Moens, *Register of the Dutch Church, Colchester*, ii.

26. Roker, "The Flemish and Dutch Community in Colchester," 19–20. Moens, *Register of the Dutch Church, Colchester*, ii-iii, gives the date of 24 March 1571.
27. Williamson, *Social Relations*, 98
28. Goose, "The 'Dutch' in Colchester," 266.
29. Some authors do, however, argue that the revival in Norwich's textile industry had begun before the arrival of the Strangers. Meeres, *The Welcome Stranger*, 20.
30. MS, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 114A: Matthew Parker's Correspondence, Volume 1, 115. Moens, *The Walloons*, II, 253.
31. Spohnholz and Van Veen, *Dutch Reformed Protestants*, 9.
32. Moens, *The Walloons*, I, 19; II, 160–1. Lay subsidies were national taxes on land and goods. For our purposes they are useful as they indicate who was an 'alien'. Furthermore, unlike the native English, all aliens had to pay at least the basic rate of 4d. regardless of the value of their land and goods. These rolls therefore provide the most comprehensive record of Strangers living in Norwich in the late 1500s. They allow us to identify which of the masters continued to live and work in the town after 1568.
33. 'Jorijs Valcke scrijft aen die ghemeente uut Norwijce van Nortforke' [Joris Valcke writes to the (London) congregation from Norwich in Norfolk]. Van Schelven ed., *Kerkerads-protocollen*, 43. Valcke is not listed in 1568 return of the Norwich Flemish Strangers.
34. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, II, 253.
35. Moens, *The Walloons*, II, 160–1; Meeres, *The Welcome Stranger*, 8–11.
36. Reynolds, *Puritanism*, 32–5.
37. *Ibid.*, 37.
38. MS, NRO, NCR 17d/9. See also Rickwood, "The Norwich strangers."
39. Rickwood, *The Norwich Dutch*, I, 150–4.
40. MS, NRO, NCR 17d/9, fol. 17 v.
41. MS, NRO, NCR 17d/9, fol. 17 v. MS, TNA, C. 66/1010, membranes 28–9. 5 November, 7 Elizabeth I (1565), Letters Patent. These are transcribed in Hessels, *Ecclesiae*, III, i, 41–2. Bartelmewe Johnson may be the same individual as Bartholomeus Janss (Janss is an abbreviated form of Janszoon, i.e., Johnson), who arrived in England from Holland in 1566. He had a wife and five sons, one of whom was born in England. In the 1568 census, he is described as a 'faber', which means 'smith' but also more generally an artisan: 'Bartholomeus Janss faber cum uxore et quinque pueris quorum unus hic natus est, ex Hollandia huc venit anno 1566<sup>o</sup>'. MS, NRO, DN/DIS 10, 17. I have not found any further reference to Clarke. The names of Powells, Stene and Van Brughen are rendered slightly differently in the ms. versions of the letters patent.
42. MS, NRO, COL 6/2. Like the letters patent for Norwich, these granted leave to settle and work to 30 Dutch and their families, not exceeding 300 in total.
43. The letters patent stipulated that the men 'ammountynge in the whole to the nombre of thirtey Duchemen of the Low Countries of Flaunders [must be] alyens borne (not Denizens) beinge all houssholders or master workemen'. MS, NRO, NCR 17d/9, fol. 16 v.
44. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, I, 176.

45. MS, NRO, NCR 17d/9, fol. 16 v-17 r. The letters patent also stipulate that if any Strangers died, they could be replaced.
46. MS, NRO, NCR 17d/9, fol. 17 r.
47. The Walloons made a range of cloths collectively called 'caungeantry'. Reynolds, *Godly Reformers*, 49.
48. The BODWS gives the date of 1564. However, Sotherton was mayor from June 1565 to June 1566. One can only speculate as to why this error occurred, but it may suggest that this section of the Book was written sometime after the events that it recorded. Norwich's economic fortunes had suffered because of Kett's Rebellion in 1549, a reduction in demand for Norwich worsteds, and a harsh winter in 1564–5.
49. MS, NRO, NCR 17d/9, fol. 16 r.
50. MS, NRO, NCR 17d/9, fol. 16 r.-16 v.
51. Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten*, 45, states that, by contrast, the authorities in Norwich had no control over who appeared on the list.
52. MS, NRO, NCR 17d/9, fol. 17 v.
53. MS, NRO, NCR 16a/8, 411–13.
54. Cozens-Hardy and Kent, *The Mayors of Norwich*, 58.
55. Reynolds, *Godly Reformers*, 52.
56. Reynolds, *Puritanism*, 39–40.
57. Sponholz and Van Veen, *Dutch Reformed Protestants*, 60.
58. MS, NRO, NCR 17d/9, fol. 18 v.
59. MS, NRO, NCR 17d/9, fol. 18 r.
60. MS, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 114A: Matthew Parker's Correspondence, Volume 1, 115. Moens, *The Walloons*, II, 253.
61. MS, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 114A: Matthew Parker's Correspondence, Volume 1, 117. This letter is undated but was probably written in early 1566.
62. Dutch: 'ende den 24 December is de Duytsche Kercke open ghedaen'. De Solempne, *Calendier Historiael, Slachtmaent* (November). It may be that the Dutch or Flemish met for worship informally in Norwich before this date. Germain Schoonaert reports that already in late 1562 Pieter Waels was deacon of the Norwich exile church. Schoonaert, 'Bijdrage', 131. Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, 110, writes that in September 1565, the consistory of the Dutch church in Norwich along with those of the exile churches in London and Sandwich organised a group of *bosgeuzen* to go to Flanders to engage in sectarian activities. However, unfortunately, Parker does not provide a primary source for this assertion.
63. The accounts for the Flemish Bay Hall begin on Lady Day, 25 March, 1566, i.e., more than two months before Sotherton sealed the order. Admittedly, this does not necessarily mean work began on or around Lady Day and it may merely reflect the fact that the financial year, and indeed, the calendar year began on the Feast of the Annunciation. MS, NRO, NCR 17d/10, 2. Nevertheless, the accounts for the first quarter ending at 'Midsomer', i.e., 22 June, indicate that the 'Company of Strangers' had made 162 bays, which the corporation had taxed. As the average number of bays made in the next three quarters was 224,

things probably got going before 1 June. Meeres, *The Welcome Stranger*, 25. In the Chamberlain's accounts, the New Hall granary in the former Dominican Friary complex was fitted out as the Walloon wool hall or caungeantry (also Camiant Hall) from at least 22 February 1566, i.e., more than three months before 1 June 1566. MS, NRO, NCR 18a/8, fol. 332 v.

64. MS, NRO, NCR 17d/9, fol. 18 r.
65. Muylaert, *Shaping the Stranger Churches*, 108.
66. MS, NRO, NCR 17d/9, fol. 18 r.
67. There is a slight possibility that John Karseye (an unusual name) is listed as Johannes de Keyser in the 1568 return. He was a weaver with a wife and five adolescent children, who arrived in England in 1567. However, he is listed amongst the Flemish Strangers and not the Walloon Strangers, although that would not *per se* exclude this possibility. MS, NRO, DN/DIS 10, 19: "Johannes de Keyser textor cum uxore et quinque adolescentibus ex Flandria huc venit anno 1567°."
68. Kirk and Kirk, *Returns of Aliens*, I, 276. He is recorded as Jeronimus Pottelbergh in a list of members of the London Dutch church begun in 1561 (*ibid.*, I, 281).
69. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, II, 271.
70. Kirk and Kirk, *Returns of Aliens*, I, 273, 279.
71. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, II, 142.
72. The census was organised by the Bishop of Norwich, John Parkhurst. 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 Stranger churches in Norwich. Parkhurst returned the results of the census on 4 August 1568.
73. MS, NRO, DN/DIS 10, 27. "Petrus Janss cum uxore et duobus pueris ex Brabantia huc venit Anno 1567°." The 1568 return does also mention 'Petrus Jass'. This is probably a variant spelling of Pieter Janszoon. He arrived in England from Zeeland in 1562 with his wife. They had a son born in England and a maid. However, he is listed as a bookseller (*bibliopola*), so it is probably not the master. MS, NRO, DN/DIS 10, 23. "Petrus Jass bibliopola cum uxore et puero hic nato et ancilla ex Zelandia huc venit 1562°."
74. MS, NRO, DN/DIS 10, 50. "Paulus Barbe Flander textor venit ante tres annos uxor 4 liberi."
75. MS, NRO, DN/DIS 10, 53. "Johannes de Mey Valencenianus criminator lane venit ante 9 annos uxor quinque libri°."
76. Kirk and Kirk ed., *Returns of Aliens*, I, 281.
77. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, II, 175.
78. MS, NRO, DN/DIS 10, 12, "Johannes Bruninck viduus cum ancilla ex superiori Brabantia huc venit anno 1566°."
79. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, II, 142.
80. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, I, 303; Kirk and Kirk ed., *Returns of Aliens*, I, 282; Esser, "The Norwich Strangers," 73.
81. Esser, "News across the Channel," 143. Quoted in Meeres, *The Welcome Stranger*, 23.



82. MS, NRO, DN/DIS 10, 18. 'Georgius van Ixem lanificus cum uxore et quinque pueris quorum tres in Anglia nati sunt cum ancilla ex Flandria huc venit. Anno 1561<sup>o</sup>. A return of Strangers in 1622 lists John Vanixon as a junior hosier 'borne of parents strangers' and John Vanixon, a senior hosier 'borne beyond the seas'. Moens, *The Walloons*, II, 190. One or both may have been descendants of Georgius van Ixem.
83. Kirk and Kirk ed., *Returns of Aliens*, I, 283.
84. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, I, 303; II, 25.
85. Meeres, *The Welcome Stranger*, 23.
86. MS, NRO, DN/DIS 10, 31. "Thomas Bateman mercator cum uxore et septem pueris quorum duo in Anglia nati sunt et ancillis tribus ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1561."
87. MS, NRO, NCR 7i/20.
88. Papin, "Teruggekeerde vluchtelingen," 101.
89. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, II, 64.
90. MS, NRO, DN/DIS 10, 24. "Johannes Caret lanificus cum uxore ex Flandria venit huc 1562<sup>o</sup>."
91. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, II, 178.
92. MS, NRO, DN/DIS 10, 32. "Franciscus Misdom (Misdoin?) lanificus cum uxore et puero hic nato ex Flandria venit in Angliam Anno 1560."
93. Moens, *The Walloons*, II, 176.
94. Kirk and Kirk, *Returns of Aliens*, I, 281.
95. MS, NRO, DN/DIS 10, 32. "Joannes Loote lanificus cum uxore et quinque filiabus venit ex Flandria in Anglia a<sup>o</sup> 1560."
96. Moens, *The Walloons*, I, 35–6. MS, NRO, NCR 16a/9, 208.
97. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, II, 115.
98. MS, NRO, DN/DIS 10, 12. "Johannes Goosen lanificus cum uxore et filia et ancilla ex Flandria huc venit anno 1564<sup>o</sup>."
99. Moens, *The Walloons*, II, 194; MS, NRO, NCC will register Moysse 488.
100. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, II, 238.
101. MS, DN/DIS 10, 16. "Lodovicus Spilleboudt fullo (fuller) cum uxore et duobus pueris hic nati ex Flandria venit huc Anno Domini 1561<sup>o</sup>."
102. MS, NRO, NCR 7i/20.
103. Moens, *The Walloons*, II, 171, 177.
104. Spohnholz and Van Veen, *Dutch Reformed Protestants*, 16, faced similar problems with the names of Low Countries exiles in the Palatinate, for German-speaking scribes sometimes Germanised Dutch names and Dutch-speaking scribes sometimes Dutchified German names. The identification of individuals is also complicated by the use of Latinised versions of names in some records.
105. MS, DN/DIS 10, 2. "Gisbertus Visscher cum uxore sartor cui unus in Anglia natus est venit ex superiori Brabancia in Angliam Anno Domini mill[es]imo quingen[tesimo] sexagesimo sext[o]."
106. MS, DN/DIS 10, 8. "Petrus Ffirmin lanificus cum uxore et sex pueris quorum unus in Anglia natus est ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1564<sup>o</sup>." Moens, *The Walloons*, II, 209.
107. MS, NRO, NCR 17d/9, fol. 16 v.

108. MS, NRO, NCC will register Cawston 261. Forster, *Janus Gruter's English Years*, 131.
109. MS, NRO, DN/DIS 10, 50. "Noel le Turcus Flander, textor, venit ante tres annos cum uxore."
110. Moens, *The Walloons*, II, 170.
111. MS, NRO, MC 189/1, 634X3(a), fol. 17d.
112. MS, NRO, DN/DIS 10, 46. "Robertus Godardus Insulensis Drappier des draps des bayes venit ante duos annos cum dimidio (2 ½ years ago) cum uxore filijs duobus et tribus filiabus."
113. Esser, "The Norwich Strangers," 74.
114. Moens, *The Walloons*, II, 169.
115. MS, NRO, DN/DIS 10, 24. "Romanus de Baker lanificus cum uxore et duobus adolescentibus et ancilla ex Flandria huc venit 1567°."
116. He appears as Romeyn de Backere in the London church membership register. Kirk and Kirk ed., *Returns of Aliens*, I, 283. He is listed in the Sandwich records as Romeyn de Backer. See Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, II, 16.
117. MS, NRO, NCR 17d/9, fol. 47 v.
118. MS, NRO, DN/DIS 10, 24. "Ffranciscus Trion lanificus cum uxore et duobus pueris in Anglia natis ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1564°."
119. Moens, *The Walloons*, I, 28; MS, NRO, NCR 17d/9, fol. 31 r.
120. Esser, "The Norwich Strangers," 78.
121. The Dutch for "political men" is *politicke mannen*, and the French, *hommes politiques*.
122. MS, NRO, NCR 7i/20.
123. MS, NRO, DN/DIS 10, 25 "Joannes de Roode lanificus cum uxore et duobus pueris in Anglia natis venit ex Flandria Anno 1561."
124. Kirk and Kirk ed., *Returns of Aliens*, I, 281. De Roode later wrote that he was appointed as an elder in Flanders in 1561. He could of course have left for London after this appointment, but that is not certain.
125. MS, NRO, NCR 17d/9, fol. 48 v.
126. Joby, *The Dutch Language in Britain*, 57.
127. Hessels, *Ecclesiae*, III, i, 371.
128. *Ibid.*, 575.
129. *Ibid.*, 750; 867–8.
130. Forster, *Janus Gruter's English Years*, 132.
131. Esser adds that he "obviously did not like Norwich" and preferred to return to Sandwich sometimes between 1565 and 1571. See Esser, "The Norwich Strangers," 73; and Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten*, 46.
132. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, II, 217.
133. *Ibid.*, I, 321.
134. MS, NRO, DN/DIS 10, 38. "Johannes de Roo cum uxore et famulo (servant) ex Flandria venit anno 1567°."
135. Hessels, *Ecclesiae*, III, i, 311, 520. In 1575, the Reformed consistory in Antwerp wrote to the London Dutch consistory, addressing the letter to "Hans van Roo". I take this to be Jan de Roo. De Roo died in 1581. Hessels,

- Ecclesiae*, III, i, 687, 688. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, I, 77.
136. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, II, 70. Paeschier Claerbout is listed in the London Dutch church register of members for 1561. Kirk and Kirk ed., *Returns of Aliens*, I, 283. Esser, "The Norwich Strangers," 74.
  137. MS, NRO, DN/DIS 10, 24. "Pascasius Claerrebout lanificus cum uxore et duobus pueris hic natus in Anglia ex Flandria venit Anno 1561."
  138. Hessels, *Ecclesiae*, III, i, 573.
  139. Hessels, *Ecclesiae*, III, i, 636.
  140. Clarebout's will was proved at the Archdeacon's Court on 14 November 1590 as "Paschier Clarebout". MS, NRO, ANW will register Burre, fol. 23 r. Moens, *The Walloons*, II, 200.
  141. Esser, "The Norwich Strangers," 73–4.
  142. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, I, 289; II, 268.
  143. Decavele, *De Dageraad*, I, 407–8.
  144. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, I, 84, 321.
  145. MS, NRO, DN/DIS 10, 8. "Jooris Vramboudt lanificus cum uxore in Anglia venit Anno 1565 ex Flandria." This indicates that he arrived in England in 1565. As noted above, other records indicate that he was in England before 1565.
  146. Usually in the lay subsidy rolls, widows are listed as such, for instance Widdowe Cropp, so this is not certain. Moens, *The Walloons*, II, 177.
  147. MS, NRO, DN/DIS 10, 28. "Franciscus de Dekeere lanificus cum uxore et filia ex Flandria huc venit anno 1561."
  148. Esser, "The Norwich Strangers," 74.
  149. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, II, 91.
  150. MS, NRO, DN/DIS 10, 5. "Guellemis Steen lanificus cum uxore et quinque liberis ex Flandria huc venit anno domini mill[es]jimo quingen[tesimo] sexagesimo quinto," i.e., 1565.
  151. Decavele, *De Dageraad*, I, 179, 433.
  152. Dutch: "graanhandelaar en ontvanger van de accijnzen te Nieuwpoort." Decavele, *De Dageraad*, I, 433, 544, 572.
  153. Decavele, *De Dageraad*, I, 490.
  154. Moens, *The Walloons*, I, 11, calls Waels 'an agriculturist'. For Michiels, see De Meij, *De Watergeuzen*, 44.
  155. The dispute reflected a collision 'between the ideal of obedience to the civil authorities and the harsh reality of persecutions'. Muylaert, *Shaping the Stranger Churches*, 153, 234.
  156. MS, Kent Archives Office, Maidstone, Sa/Ac5, fol. 69. Quoted in Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, I, 320. Stene's name does not, however, appear in the list of Strangers in Sandwich compiled by Marcel Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, II.
  157. MS, NRO, NCR 17d/9, fol. 18 r.
  158. MS, NRO, NCR 17d/9, fol. 17 v.-18 r.
  159. MS, NRO, DN/DIS 10, 5. 'Johannes Paulus ex Flandria studiosus venit huc Anno mill[es]jimo quingen[tesimo] sexagesimo tertio'.

160. Esser, "The Norwich Strangers", 78. An entry in the BODWS (MS, NRO, NCR 17d/9, fol. 43 r.) runs 'the seide byshoppe (i.e., of Norwich) comaunded [Johannes Pawlus] to avoyde the citey the xiiijth of Febrwarij laste paste (i.e., 14 February 1571)'. A later entry (fol. 47 r.) runs: 'Item we do order and decree that one Johannus Pawlus sometyme of the congregation of Sandewiche, do immediatlye departe the citey of Norwiche, accordinge to the decree made the xxij<sup>th</sup> of the monethe of decembre 1570 and whatsoever he be that shall contynue kepe secrate or maintayne the seide Paule contrarie to the order aforesaide, that he and theye do not onelye forfeit twentye pounce the pece, but also be enpresoned accordinge to the discretion of the Maior of the citey'. See fols. 41 r.-42 v. for the initial moves that led to Pauwels being called the 'auctor of the trowbles and contencions'. His grievances seem to have been not only directed against those who opposed violent resistance, but also against the city authorities for restrictions that they placed on the Flemish textile workers. See fol. 41 r. for the description of Pauwels as 'a man learned'.
161. Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten*, 47.
162. MS, NRO, NCR 17d/9, fol. 41 v.
163. Esser, 'The Norwich Strangers', 78. An entry in the BODWS (MS, NRO, NCR 17d/9), fol. 47 r. runs: 'Item we do order and decree that one Johannus Paulus sometyme of the congregation of Sandewiche, do immediatlye departe the citey of Norwiche, accordinge to the decree made the xxij<sup>th</sup> of the monethe of decembre 1570 an whatsoever he be that shall continue keep secrate or maintayne the seide Paule contrarie to the order aforesaide, that he and theye do not onelye forfeit twentye pounce the pece, but also be enpresoned according to the discretion of the Maior of the citey'.
164. Jonas Powles is listed as an alien in Colchester in 1571–2. See Moens, *Register of the Dutch Church, Colchester*, 113. In the return of aliens in Sandwich for 1571–2, John Powles had been living in the town for one year. Most of the other Strangers listed had been living there for several years. MS, TNA, SP 12/78, fol. 188 v. John Pauwels was a Stranger living in London 'of no church' in 1581. Kirk and Kirk ed., *Returns of Aliens*, II, 214. However, a John Pauwels is listed in the State Papers Domestic: Elizabeth I c. 1568 working as a brewer in Southwark, so this is unlikely to be the Norwich Pauwels.
165. 'Item we do decree and charge all theis followenge and othersuche in that congregation: viz. Romaine de Becke, John Cuttman, Peter Obrye, Ffrancis Trian, William Stenne, Peter de Camere, Charles Harmen, beinge translated of their owne auctorite from one church to another to indeavoure themselves (prin-cepallye) to go abowght ther private affaires quietelye, and not to entermeddle (beinge exiled from the ghospell as they pretende) to trouble the peace'. MS, NRO, NCR 17d/9, fol. 47 v. The phrase 'beinge translated of their owne auctorite from one church to another' is intriguing. One possibility is that it means that those named including Stene were required to leave the Dutch church community and join the Walloon church community. This is not, however, certain. Later in 1571, Stene appeared on a list of names 'of the disordered persons to be avoided the citey'. MS, NRO, NCR 17d/9, fol. 69 v.
166. MS, NRO, NCR 17d/9, fol. 18 r.

167. Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten*, 46.
168. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, I, 321. As noted above (n. 62), Schoonaert suggests that Waels was already deacon of the Norwich exile church as early as 1562; Schoonaert, "Bijdrage," 131.
169. Schoonaert, "Bijdrage," 131.
170. Rickwood, *The Norwich Dutch*, II, 11. Esser, "The Norwich Strangers," does not identify Michiels.
171. Backhouse ed., 'Dokumenten', 93. See also *ibid.*, 108–10 for Michiels.
172. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, II, 175 (no. 1159).
173. Muylaert, *Shaping the Stranger Churches*, 162, calls Michiels 'the Norwich preacher'. De Coussemaker ed., *Troubles religieux*, I, 63, also places Michiels in Norwich. Although Michiels probably did spend time in Norwich, beyond the list of thirty masters, I have not found his name in the Norwich Stranger records. On the other hand, after this list, the earliest surviving record is the Flemish church return made in 1568, by which time Michiels was back on the Continent.
174. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, I, 323, 326–7; Muylaert, *Shaping the Stranger Churches*, 149; Moens, *The Walloons*, I, 11.
175. De Coussemaker, *Troubles religieux*, I, 208.
176. De Coussemaker, *Troubles religieux*, I, 339. Quoted in Moens, *The Walloons*, I, 12. Van den Halle reported that two other men were back on the Continent: Pieter Hazaert, who had also preached in Norwich and Pierre or Petrus Bert.
177. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities*, I, 335.
178. Schoonaert, "Bijdrage," 135–6.
179. Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten*, 45; and "The Norwich Strangers," 73, identifies seventeen of the thirty masters in other records. Of these, twelve had been in England for more than two years and ten had been in Sandwich or London before going to East Anglia.
180. The census lists 318 Flemish and 90 Walloon names with their households. Most of the named individuals were involved in the textile trade. See Meeres, *The Welcome Stranger*, 29, 31.
181. The Strangers rented this building from the council from Michaelmas 1566. The council had spent £43 on fitting it out for use as a Bay Hall. Meeres, *The Welcome Stranger*, 22.
182. Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten*, 46, identified six men as sectarians. To these I have added John Mychelles (Jan Michiels) and placed Francis Dedecre in Norwich.
183. Esser, "The Norwich Strangers," 75; Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten*, 47.
184. Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten*, 48.
185. *Ibid.*
186. Janssen, "De Hervormde Vlughtelingen," 240–1.
187. MS, NRO, NCR 16a/8, 521, 27 August 1567; 526, 17 September 1567; 530, 27 September 1567.
188. MS, NRO, DN/DIS 10.
189. Joby, "The Dutch exile community in King's Lynn."
190. MS, TNA, SP 12/85, no. 76. Joby, *The Dutch Language in Britain*, 69. Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, 142, notes that Cecil had raised the

possibility of establishing an exile community at Stamford at the time of the establishment of the community in Sandwich.

191. Muylaert, *Shaping the Stranger Churches*, 108.
192. The benefits that the Strangers brought to Norwich were listed in an official document written in about 1575. Apart from reviving the city's economy, they repaired many derelict houses and employed local people. Moens, *The Walloons*, II, 262.

## Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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