

Netherlandish immigrant painters and the Dutch reformed church of London, Austin Friars, 1560-1580

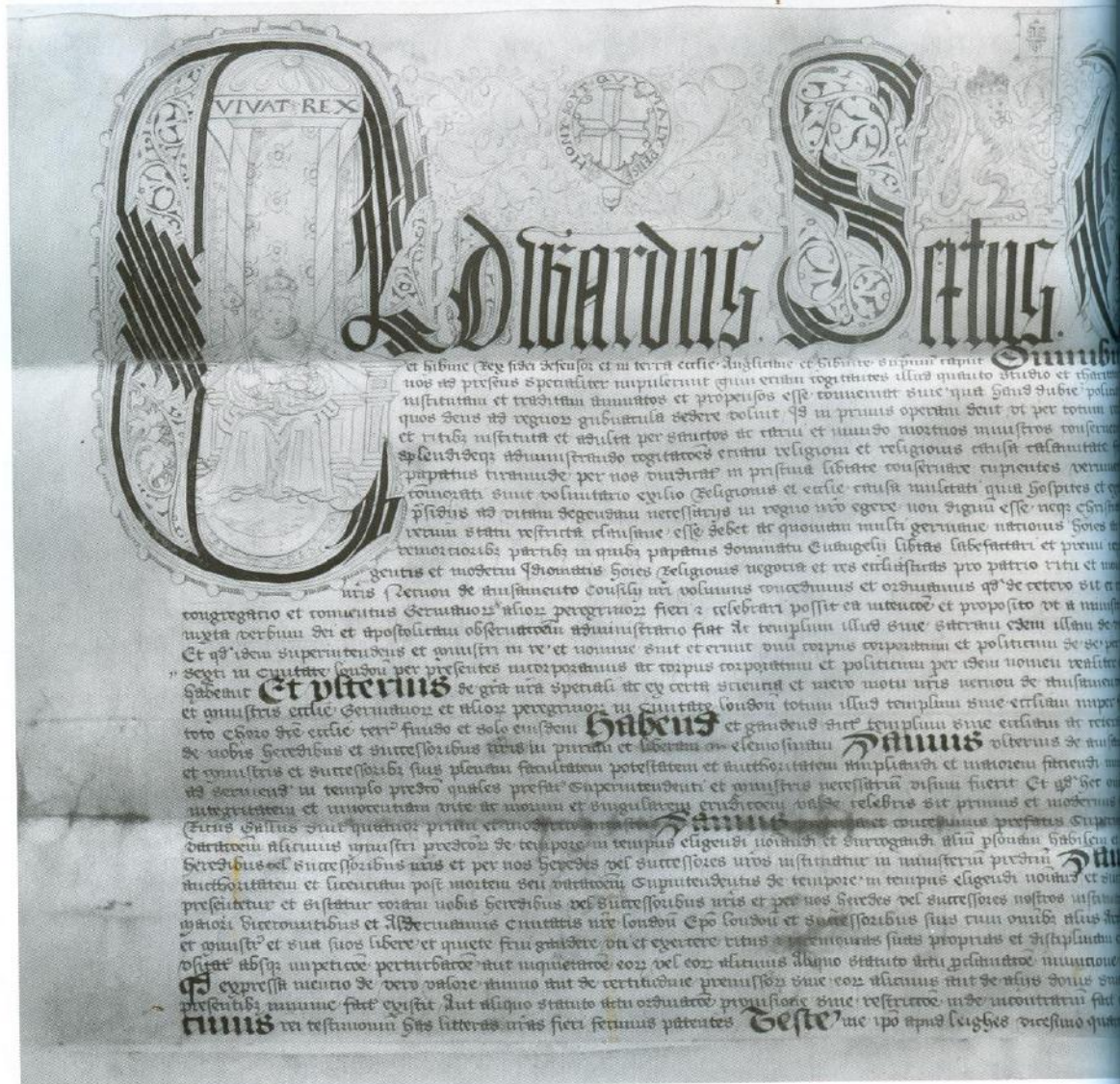
Hope Walker

On a summer's day at the end of July 1550, King Edward VI chartered the foundation of Austin Friars in the city of London. Within the church's charter (fig. 1) he expressed 'compassion for the state of the exiles and foreigners who, for some time past, have resided in our realm of England, having submitted to voluntary banishment for the sake of religion and the Church.' The King established Austin Friars – formerly an Augustinian friary – as a place where foreigners and exiles could hold 'assemblies, where, among men of their own race and their present speech, they can intelligently discuss and treat of their religious affairs and ecclesiastical business according to the rite and custom of their country'.² Initially the church was set aside for German, Flemish and French Calvinist immigrants in London, though by the late 1560s the congregation was almost entirely Netherlandish.³

Andrew Pettegree has argued that the establishment of the alien churches of London, including Austin Friars, provided Netherlandish immigrants with social and political capital as well as economic relief.⁴ And given that most new immigrants arrived in London with no real political or economic rights and most often had no social or governmental representation, Pettegree and others have suggested that a connection with a church was of significant importance to immigrants' survival within the city.⁵ How that relationship manifested itself among specific churches and trades is still an open question, however, particularly in the 1560s and 1570s when Netherlandish immigration to the metropolis was at its zenith. This contribution presents a host of new documentary evidence that sheds light on the arrival and subsequent experience of 39 Netherlandish immigrant painters in Elizabethan London. Though they were relatively few in number, their presence in London – whether for a short time or for the remainder of their lives – had an immediate and long-standing impact on the production of art in the city. I argue that the evidence suggests that, for many of these painters, Austin Friars church acted both as a site of religious unity and as an institutional locus of socioeconomic power and support – support that presented itself in a structure that in many ways mirrored that found in Netherlandish craft guilds.

The focus here upon Antwerp's Guild of St. Luke's is based on several factors. Many of the immigrant painters discussed below had some connection with Antwerp through social networks. Almost all of the Antwerpian and many of the Ghentian and Brugian painters were former members of or otherwise associated with the guild.⁶ Lastly, Antwerp's Guild of St. Luke was influential and acted as a model in the formation of other Netherlandish painting and crafts guilds.

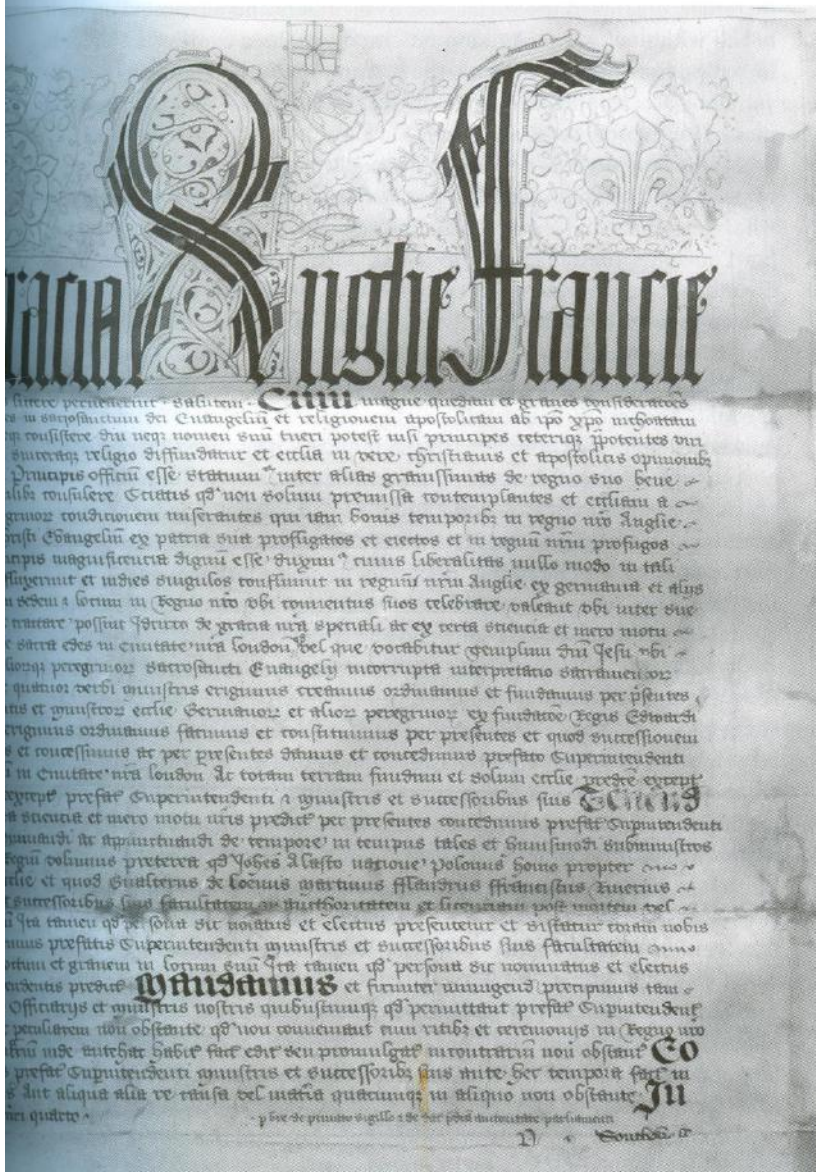
Detail fig. 1



1
Austin Friars Church Charter, 1550,
black and red ink on vellum, London,
The Dutch Church at Austin Friars
(photo: Jaap R. van Werkhoven/The Dutch
Church at Austin Friars, London).

The painters guilds of Antwerp and London

Sixteenth-century Antwerp was a metropolis humming with economic opportunity for artists and craftsmen, and its painters, both native (Antwerpian) as well as alien, flocked to the city's busy markets in order to sell their wares. Indeed, the city was flush with migrant painters. Membership in the major craft guild of the city – the Guild of St. Luke – represented an important opportunity for such individuals, and a notable number of foreign painters in Antwerp took advantage of it. According to



the guild's ledgers (Liggeren), between 1500 and 1579, 70 percent of master painters were not native to the city.⁷ Achieving registration with the guild as a master painter was a career-defining moment as well as an important first step in establishing a legitimate business in the city. It also acted as proof of the member's artistic acumen and the quality of his work. For members, the benefits were many and significant as the guild was also involved in a variety of economic, social and religious activities at the behest of its membership.⁸ The guild managed disputes, regulated prices and

materials, organized the social lives of members and advocated on their behalf with the local government. It also maintained expressions of faith, including connections to a saint, the promotion of religious ideals through various feasts, the maintenance of the guild's chapel and the saying of masses for the souls of the departed.⁹

Member painters and their families could also rely on the guild in times of personal challenges, such as those experienced by Heylken Dorhouts, wife of merchant and jeweler Nicholas Eeuwouts. In 1540, Nicholas's relative Jan Eeuwouts (better known today as portraitist and goldsmith Hans Eworth) became a master painter of the Guild of St. Luke.¹⁰ Little is presently known about their work in Antwerp, though by the summer of 1544 Hans and Nicholas had been proscribed as members of the Loistens, an Anabaptist sect founded by Loy Eligius Pruystinck.¹¹ Following the rapid spread of the sect throughout the region, Pruystinck and his followers had drawn the dangerous attentions of the Inquisition and the Catholic Court of Antwerp. Hans and Nicholas therefore fled the city and their property was later confiscated. Both were described as fugityf (fugitives) and were quite lucky to escape; at least four others were beheaded, burned alive or broken on the wheel for heresy alongside Pruystinck in September 1544. By the fall of 1545, Nicholas and Hans had immigrated to London where they established themselves in Southwark, one of the city's largest suburbs.

In June 1550, Nicholas's wife Heylken, who had remained behind in Antwerp, appeared before the aldermen of the city with Jan Sanders van Hemessen, a deken of the Guild of St. Luke. She asked that Van Hemessen be permitted to aid her with the collection of rent on a house and also be empowered to act on her behalf since her husband was a fugitive.¹² It is not yet fully clear how Heylken or Nicholas were connected to the guild, though we know that Hans Eworth was a member in 1540. It is probable that Van Hemessen acted for Heylken based upon her connection with Eworth. Nicholas may have also been connected to the guild in his own right, however, since it represented many trades, including some merchants.

The experience of the Eeuwouts family is an early example of an Antwerpian painter and merchant jeweler immigrating to London due to religious persecution and the subsequent support provided to their family by a guild. Still, Hans and Nicholas were not alone in fleeing Antwerp due to religion. Following the appointment of the duke of Alva as governing captain-general of the Spanish Low Countries, some 18,000 people were executed by the Catholic Court of Inquisition for their Protestant beliefs.¹³ As a result, an estimated 30,000 Netherlandish refugees fled the Low Countries, and a large number of them flooded into London to escape the troubles abroad.¹⁴ By the late 1560s, many thousands of Netherlandish immigrants lived in the city and its suburbs, including a small but important group of 39 Netherlandish painters.¹⁵

In the sixteenth century, London was dominated by alien artisans and craftsmen, many of them Netherlandish – this was particularly true among the goldsmiths and painters, but also among other tradespeople such as weavers, tapestry-makers, and shoemakers.¹⁶ In his 1531 treatise, *The Boke named the Governour*, Sir Thomas Elyot presented a glimpse of this in his rhetorical lament when he wrote:

...For how many men be there that having their sonnes in childhode aptly disposed by nature to paynte, to kerve, or grave, to embrowder, or do other lyke thynges, wherein is any arte commendable concernynge invention, but that, as sone as they espie it, they be ther with displeased, and forthwith byndeth them apprentices to taylours, to wayvers, to towkers, and somtyme to cobblers...an be constrayned, if we wyll have any thinge well paynted, kerved, or embrowdered, to abandone our own countraymen and resorte unto straungers...⁷

Elyot's point is complicated by the politics of the age. Though he decries the 'resorte unto straungers', in the 1520s Henry VIII had instituted a series of official statutes encouraging alien migration to London, particularly among Netherlandish weavers, and many craftsmen came in search of work and trade. In fact, such statutes had been instituted by Richard III in the fifteenth century, though King Henry VIII expanded them a few decades later.¹⁸ King Henry VIII, and later his children Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I, also employed many such persons and their children within the Royal Court, acting as Serjeant Painters and Serjeant Glasiers, for example, where they had control over valuable Crown commissions and contracts.¹⁹ This Crown encouragement was not continuous, however, and was also in some ways contrary to the interests of the City of London, whose leadership was made up of elite English merchants and other high-ranking members of the citizenry. These men had a vested interest in encouraging English trade on both English and foreign goods in London, as well as in placing Englishmen in positions that allowed for Crown patronage. They were also often tied to London's many livery companies that were similarly keen for their membership to hold such power and position.

Scholars have highlighted the assertively multicultural experience of sixteenth-century London, as well as the active position of Netherlandish merchants in the wool trade, though there was also a continuous concern among Londoners about the influx of aliens.²⁰ They were suspicious of such persons mainly due to a belief that aliens were responsible for economic inflation, including the increase of rents, and the alleged lack of work among English journeymen.²¹ These complaints were a specter over the heads of Netherlanders in London, where threats of, and subsequent engagement in, xenophobia and violence were somewhat commonplace.²² The most infamous of such incidents occurred on 30 April 1517, when English apprentices and journeymen attacked aliens living in the city. Known as the 'Evil May Day' riot, nearly a thousand English youths gathered in Cheapside and looted and ransacked the homes of aliens. Though none of the aliens died, hundreds of Englishmen were arrested and fourteen were eventually executed for treason. And while this was the worst incident of the century, grumblings and complaints against aliens in the metropolis continued throughout the sixteenth century. In 1573, for example, the minister of St. Peter Cornhill, Richard Porder, preached that aliens 'eat by trade the bread out of our mouths'.²³ So while we may assume that sixteenth-century Netherlandish painters were perhaps less detested because, as Elyot highlighted, there was a demand for the uniqueness of their particular skill, the vast majority of Netherlandish aliens who arrived in London in the 1560s

and 1570s found themselves among Englishmen who, according to Emanuel van Meteren, 'despise(d)' them.²⁴

It was into this climate that, starting in 1566, the flow of aliens into the city appears to have continued unabated, causing tensions to mount. By 1568 the Privy Council had become inundated with complaints from citizens of London, the central allegation being that, as in times past, the increasing numbers of aliens in the city were taking away their livelihoods. As advocates for their membership, the foreign churches – including the so-called German or Dutch church, Austin Friars – argued that, contrary to stealing occupations, their members were providing skilled workers and secondary employment within the city.²⁵ Feeling the pressure, the Privy Council ordered three surveys of London aliens and foreigners in 1568 and 1571 in order to investigate the claims of the citizenry. The primary purpose of these surveys, better known today as the Returns of Aliens, was to act as an assessment of the demographics of London's aliens and foreigners so as to determine the reason for their presence in London and to establish whether such persons were indeed taking work from Englishmen in the metropolis and its suburbs. In many ways the Returns data is comparable to a modern census in that it variously included the individual's name, location (parish and ward), occupation, religious affiliation, city and/or country of origin, makeup of the family and the amount of time the person/family had spent in England. For our purposes, the Returns also function as a starting point for engagement with immigrant Netherlandish painters and their lives within the metropolis, particularly in the first years after their arrival.

Today we distinguish between the open-ended and fluid term 'painter', and more specific terminology such as portraitist, limner, decorative painter or herald painter. Those who created London's Returns of Aliens and other documentary records, however, were sometimes vague, describing many of the Netherlanders considered here solely as 'painters'. And due to a paucity of specificity within the records, and in many cases a lack of extant or attributed works for these individuals, for some figures the most we can ever know is that they were painters in the broadest sense of that term. They may have been painters of ships or houses, portraits or portrait miniatures, heraldry, pottery, books or prints, and/or wall hangings.

While most of the individual Returns subjects were described as painters, evidence also suggests that they sought work using a variety of skills aside from the application of paint to a surface. Lucas de Heere, for example, was described within the Returns as a painter, though we know that he was also a poet as well as a minister and an elder at Austin Friars.²⁶ Martin Teye was described in the Returns of Aliens as a 'painter of pottes' and in the Austin Friars memoranda books as a 'glaesmaekere', or glassmaker.²⁷ And still another Netherlandish painter found in the Returns, Joris Hoefnagel, was described as a merchant, though we have examples of a panel painting, an emblemata and several topographical drawings created in London by his hand.²⁸ Having multiple skills and vocations was surely a benefit to all of the Netherlandish painters who arrived in London. By being well-versed in many skills, painters were, as Ghiberti wrote, 'nowhere a stranger [even] robbed of [their] fortune and without friends [they were]

yet a citizen of every country and [could] fearlessly despise the changes of Fortuna'.²⁹

Upon their arrival in the city in the 1560s, though, many of these painters found themselves without guild support. London's livery companies were not a welcoming space for most foreigners and aliens, including alien painters. London, like Antwerp, was home to an assortment of livery companies. These ran the gamut from the humble, such as the Fruiterers and the Blacksmiths, to the larger and more influential Mercers and Drapers companies. Company membership was prestigious; liveried members were held in great esteem in the metropolis and had more access to the socioeconomic elite of society and control over patronage.³⁰ Moreover, many members were active participants in the political and cultural life of their company.³¹ With few exceptions, though, aliens were barred from full membership in the livery companies during this period.³² As a consequence, the most that many alien goldsmiths, for example, could hope for in order to make their living was to be a servant to an English member of the Goldsmiths Company; Returns of Aliens (1569-1571) data indicates that just over 40 percent of the alien goldsmiths in this period were employed in this way.³³

For Netherlandish painters the situation was more challenging. Although they were understood to be excellent artisans, and their skills were highly sought after in the metropolis, in the 1560s the London Painter-Stainers' guild nonetheless appears to have completely denied them access.³⁴ This seems likely to have been a direct response to the great regard with which Netherlandish painters' skills were held in Tudor London. In preventing alien membership, the Company limited competition by providing English members with a tactical advantage in issues of social networking, training and patronage. And, unlike the alien goldsmiths, Netherlandish painters do not appear to have acted as servants to members of the London Painter-Stainers Company to solve this problem, though for one painter – Leonard Adrianson – a partial solution was found with the Stationers' Company.³⁵

By the sixteenth century the Stationers Company had three types of guild affiliation: freemen, apprentices and brothers. Freemen were granted freedom to ply their trade within the city and were also given the right to publish and sell printed books and engravings.³⁶ Apprentices were attached to the freemen, typically for seven years. And brothers were a special, honorary category of membership established for continental craftsmen. As brothers, aliens paid 2s 4d³⁷ in quarterage to remain in good stead with the Company and were forbidden from binding apprentices, though they could employ or train one at the behest of a free member of the Company.

The evidence suggests that the Stationers had a standing program of inclusion, inviting skillful craftsmen into affiliation with the Company. By doing so, the Stationers provided their membership with access to new skills and training opportunities. The positive reputation of Netherlandish painters' skills would also surely enhance the reputation of the Company as a whole while also allowing the Company to keep an eye on alien competitors. And though the English membership retained the most privileged positions as freemen of the Company, it is probable that an

association with the Company was still perceived as a benefit to men like Adrianson, who became a brother of the Company on 25 February 1563.³⁸

It is therefore significant to note that Adrianson appears to be the only Netherlander painter affiliated with the Stationers in this period. This is probably due to the nature of his work with London's printers. The Returns indicate that in 1571 he lived with two other Netherlanders who were both 'gravers of mowles for printers'.³⁹ Though it is not clear what kind of work Adrianson was engaged in, his affiliation with the Stationers and the presence of other Netherlanders involved in the printing trade in his household suggests that he may have been a limner or illuminator of printed texts or engravings.⁴⁰

Unlike the Stationers, in the 1560s the London Painter-Stainers Company appears to have been entirely closed to non-English membership, although by 1571 they may have had a change of policy. The November 1571 Returns of Aliens describes Netherlandish painters Jacob Worgos and Balthazar Kerreman as 'painter stayner', a term that implies Company membership.⁴¹ Unfortunately the member roles for the Company do not survive for this period, so we do not know if these men were indeed members – nor, if they were, why this change came about.⁴² It is possible that the Company implemented a new structure that was similar to that of the Stationers, allowing for alien membership in the form of a brotherhood, which permitted for affiliation without many of the rights given to the freemen, or English painter-stainers. By 1583 we know that alien painters were granted Company membership and paid an elevated amount in quarterage.⁴³ Though limited, the available evidence suggests a shift in policy may have occurred in the 1570s, perhaps as a direct response to the considerable influx of aliens, especially the many new and talented painters then arriving. Yet Worgos and Kerreman are the only Netherlandish painters described at this early date as painter-stainers, suggesting that few arriving foreign painters took advantage of these opportunities much before 1583. The question then remains: what of the many Netherlander painters in London without such affiliations? In order to illuminate how such men coped without such guild support in their new city, it is first necessary to describe and consider the extant documentary records that detail their lives, the most complete single source of which is the Returns of Aliens.

Painters in the Returns of Aliens

Of the 39 alien painters listed in the Returns, four out of every five are characterized as 'Douche' (Dutch), a phrase that seems to encompass Antwerpian painters like Jan Bogaerts II and Balthazar Kerreman as well as Brugian painters like Jan de Franc and Jan Benson, and Brussels-born Jacob Townce. While it is difficult to establish the origin of every painter within the Returns, a significant number of them appear to have originated from, passed through or had trade relationships with Antwerp before arriving in London. Several of the Returns painters had been in London but a few weeks or months while a few others, such as decorative painter Pengrayes Inglyes and portraitist Hans Eworth, had lived in England for more than 25 years.⁴⁴

Nine painters indicated that they were householders, a complex term that generally signifies an overall responsibility for the household, including accountability for the paying of rent and taxes.⁴⁵ Half of the Return painters were married, while a third had children. The size of the families varied; most were small, with one to three children, although 'picturemaker' Jan Benson had eight sons and daughters.⁴⁶ The Returns only rarely record the marriage of Netherlanders to Englishwomen, though we have documentary evidence suggestive of two such marriages: those of Rowland Artem and Pengrayes Inglyes.⁴⁷ Both painters also had children with their wives, though their families do not make an appearance in the Returns.⁴⁸ This is probably because such children were born in England and to an English mother, making them – in the eyes of the Crown, which organized the Returns – subjects of the Queen.⁴⁹

Not quite 20 percent of the Netherlandish painters documented in the Returns had domestic servants in the form of maids. There were also a few male servants described, among them John de Critz and Lyeuen de Vous, who were in the household of Lucas de Heere.⁵⁰ Although Hans Eworth's Return entries do not suggest he had servants, we know from other evidence that during his career in Southwark he had two 'servants' – Arnold Derickson (in 1549) and John Mitchell (in 1552).⁵¹ In the 1568 Return, Derickson was described as a painter with his own servant, one Christopher Sowlofe, resident in his household, while Mitchell worked as a decorative painter in the Office of Revels in 1571.⁵² And John de Critz would eventually become Serjeant Painter under King James I. As such, it is likely that rather than acting as household servants, some of the male 'servants' to painters in the Returns were instead themselves apprentices.⁵³ It may also be that some of these same 'servants' were blood relations. In the 1568 Return, Lucas de Heere had within his household a 'maidservant' – Ghent-born Maykin Mynshern, who may have been his sister.⁵⁴ Mynshern (probably Mijnsheeren) is a synonym for 'De Heere' and was a second surname commonly used by Lucas's father, Jan. And among Lucas's three sisters was Marie (or Mayken), who was married to Joos Bauvins.⁵⁵

Religion was a key factor in the immigration of some Netherlanders in the mid-1560s and the Returns occasionally note this detail.⁵⁶ Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder, Peter van Den, Rombold van Kersbeke, John Harrison, James van Holt and Martin Taye are all variously described as 'coming for the sake of religion'. Other painters, such as Hans Bonner and Andries Beele, indicated in May 1571 that they had lived in London for as little as three years. Although they did not definitively state that they left the continent so as to escape religious persecution, the data suggests it. And for still other painters, though the Returns are silent, we know from other evidence that they immigrated on account of religion. Lucas de Heere, for example, did not claim religion in the Returns, yet as adherents of the reformed faith, De Heere and his wife Eleanora Carboniers were proscribed and fled Ghent in 1566, arriving in London on or before December 1567.⁵⁷

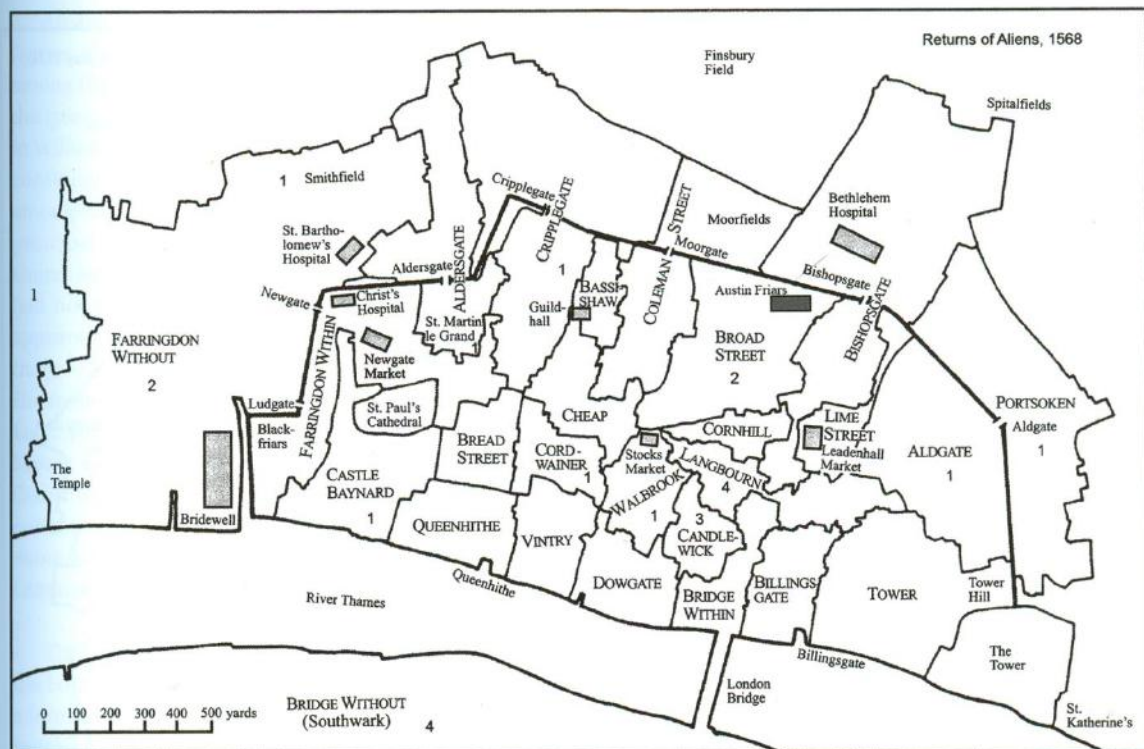
While Netherlanders fled the Low Countries due in great part to religious persecution, it is likely that their arrival in London was a choice that was rooted in more than the city's sympathetic approach to co-religionists. We know that these men and their families had choices in

fleeing the Low Countries and that many travelled to Amsterdam, Rome, Naples or elsewhere on the continent during the Great Troubles. Given this, it may be that their choice of London was related to proximity. Antwerp was only a few days' journey by sea and land from London, and for those who had lost their fortunes due to the Inquisition, the cost of travel must have been an important consideration.

In the sixteenth century London and Antwerp were also intimately tied through trade, including the trade in pictures. In December 1534, for example, English merchant and former ambassador to Denmark Sir Thomas Leigh (c. 1500-1571) hired Antwerp painter Jan Verhees to create a large altarpiece with the 'Passion of the Christ' and 'scenes from the life of Lazarus' for shipment to England.⁵⁸ While evidence is thin, this trade appears to have continued into the 1560s and 1570s. In January 1577, for example, English painting dealer and merchant Henry Payne purchased 'two boxes of paintings' by Antwerp painter Loys van Oort and had both crates shipped to England.⁵⁹ While we may never know to what extent Netherlandish painters in London participated in this trade prior to their arrival, we do know that painter Wouter Smits travelled to London in 1567 in order to 'sell the paintings that he still has' along with 'linens, shirts, cords, and similiar goods'.⁶⁰ Smits, who was made master of Antwerp's Guild of St. Luke in 1546, was a painter of wall hangings and had 'no plan to stay [in London] and [would] return to Antwerp as soon as possible'.⁶¹ Smits's behavior suggests that for at least some painters London was seen as an exceedingly brief port of call for the sake of dealing in pictures and similar goods, rather than as a refuge in times of trouble. For those who were intent upon a longer stay, the knowledge that London's markets were open to their skills and merchandise was surely significant in their choice of city.

Relationships with family and friends already in the city must have also been important for those who chose to emigrate. When Joris Hoefnagel and his brothers Gielis and Jacques arrived in London in the 1560s, it must have been due in part to the presence of their sister, Margaret, and her husband Lodewyk Blommaert, a wealthy merchant who was then importing and exporting goods to and from London and Ireland.⁶² Similarly, when in 1561 Antwerpian painter Steven van der Meulen arrived in the city, he immediately sought out Londoner John Dimock.⁶³ It is likely that Van der Meulen did so due to his connection with the family of Dimock's son John, whose wife Beatrice van Cleve was born in Antwerp.⁶⁴ As the daughter of painter Jan van Cleve, she was a member of a family of painters, including Willem van Cleve (fl. 1518-1559), to whom Van der Meulen was apprenticed in Antwerp in 1543.⁶⁵

According to the Returns, Netherlandish painters were found living throughout the city (figs. 2-3), though six lived in Southwark. The parliamentary borough of Southwark had long been a popular place for Netherlandish immigrants to live, in part because the regulations on apprentices and taxes on commodities were believed to be more lax within the suburb.⁶⁶ Within the city, many painters resided in parishes near the city walls – either just outside, like Jacob Matthewssen, who lived in St. Sepulchre Parish, or immediately inside, as was the case with decorative painter Pengrayes Ingyles, who lived in Christ Church Parish.⁶⁷ Some also



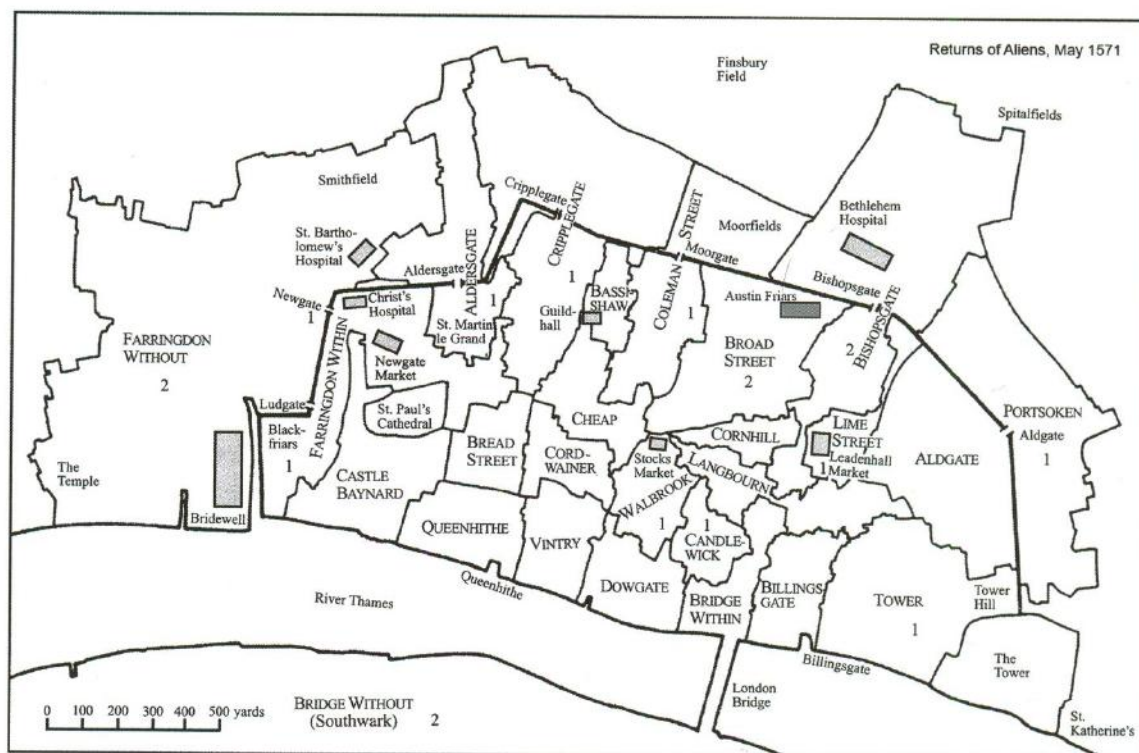
2

Netherlandish painters in the Returns of Aliens, 1568, (adapted from a map in Selwood 2010, 22).

lived in close proximity to Austin Friars, like Lucas de Heere, or to the Royal Exchange, as was the case with Henry de Campion.⁶⁸

After November 1571, some of the Returns painters, such as Andrew Fandpit, simply disappeared, perhaps returning back to the Low Countries. And others, such as Lucas de Heere, Hans Eworth and Joris Hoefnagel, traveled elsewhere abroad in search of work before the end of the decade. Some, such as Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder and Balthazar Kerreman, remained in London for a period of time, where they maintained careers until their deaths. And three – Jan de Franc, Jacob Matthewssen, and Jan Benson – died within a few short years of their arrival.⁶⁹

No matter how long they remained in London, some of the changes in culture experienced by Netherlandish painters were potentially challenging. They emigrated mainly from Antwerp and Bruges – two cities with powerful commercial and financial markets, and with guilds that were open to both natives and foreigners alike.⁷⁰ Previous scholarship has sought to address the inability of immigrant painters to connect to a guild in London by focusing instead on the dynastic connections between well-known families of painters, such as the Gheeraerts, the de Critz and the Olivers. Mary Edmond and Karen Hearn have rightly argued that the close familial bonds between such families helped to improve their practical and professional circumstances in London. Such marriages, they argue, allowed for access to an internal system of training and patronage.⁷¹ Yet by necessity, those who lacked access to such informal affinities and patronage networks required



3

Netherlandish painters in the Returns of Aliens, May 1571, (adapted from a map in Selwood 2010, 22).

alternative support systems, and Returns data suggests that for many immigrant painters this was found at church. Of the 39 Netherlandish painters described in the Returns, nearly 60 percent were members of just one church, Austin Friars.⁷³

Such affiliation to church by craft was not solely found among painters, however. Of the 23 Netherlandish tapestry and arras weavers in the 1568 Returns,⁷³ nearly 74 percent also attended Austin Friars.⁷⁴ Although similarity in language and culture must surely have been important reasons for affiliation with Austin Friars, an examination of the alien shoemakers found in the Returns proves enlightening. Though they, like the painters and tapestry weavers, were found living throughout the capital and had among them a significant number of Netherlanders, in 1568 nearly 80 percent of them chose to attend their local parish church.⁷⁵ This suggests that affiliation with Austin Friars was not simply a function of shared language or even religion, but was also related to the exercise of trade. Shoemakers worked in large part at a local level and their patrons and clients came from the community immediately around them.⁷⁶ As such, an affiliation with a local church within the parish where they lived placed them in a positive position for the cultivating of social networks that could yield future customers. For a significant number of tapestry weavers and painters, on the other hand, the ability to acquire important commissions came about through contact with wealthy city merchants as well as members of the Royal Court.⁷⁷

Austin Friars was an excellent location for association with Court figures, some of whom maintained direct relationships with the church, among the most prominent of which was William Cecil, Lord Burleigh. In the 1560s, the leadership of Austin Friars had begun to take serious interest in William, Prince of Orange, and his campaign against the Spanish on the continent, eventually raising over £1,000 and recruiting 500 men from among the church community.⁷⁸ Cecil, who was Queen Elizabeth I's principal adviser, took interest in these events and privately counseled church leadership on the best way to act, particularly in 1568 when Elizabeth had not yet determined to endorse the prince's campaign.⁷⁹ Cecil also appears to have involved himself in the personal affairs of church members. In 1576, Jacques Hoefnagel – the brother of painter and merchant Joris Hoefnagel – petitioned Cecil along with Antwerp merchant Andreas de Loo,⁸⁰ soliciting his help with what they perceived to be an unfair tax on Levant salt, a shipment of which they had laden for export to the Low Countries.⁸¹ Cecil instructed Thomas Fanshawe to 'pray you consider of this peticon and to resort to my L[ord] maior and the Customes and in my name to R[e]quire [tha]t yow shall then be mete therein to be dou because I am not my selffe ^^in case^^ to deale in Sutes as this p[oi]nt'.⁸²

Though Cecil does not himself engage with the customs officials and the Lord Mayor, he authorizes the use of his name in these events, which is a form of supportive patronage. And although Cecil may not have wished to take direct action against the City and Lord Mayor over the issue of a shipment of salt exported by Netherlandish merchants, he was nonetheless willing for his name to be used in an effort to sort out the problem.⁸³

Specific member painters of the Austin Friars community also maintained connection with members of the Royal Court through the production of portraits and other works of art. Portraitists Steven van der Meulen and Hans Eworth, as well as painter and engraver Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder and poet-painter Lucas de Heere, each maintained relationships with Court patrons in this period.⁸⁴ Several Netherlandish painters who were members of Austin Friars also worked for the Office of Revels, where they produced decorative works for Court events. Pengrayes Inglyes, for example, appears to have spent his career in London as a decorative painter for the Revels, while others such as Hans Eworth were hired for specific commissions.⁸⁵

Religious sites as socioeconomic centers for expatriate communities were not phenomena unique to London, or indeed to England. Netherlandish immigrants established expatriate communities in many cities on the continent, including Rome and Florence, where religious brotherhoods such as the Confraternity of Santa Maria dell'Anima (Rome) and the Confraternity of Santa Barbara (Florence) provided a first port of call for many Netherlanders. There, new arrivals could find legal, financial and moral support that in many ways mirrored the behavior of craft guilds in their home cities. Among painters, these sites also occasionally provided access to or direct support in matters of patronage, supplying an income stream as well.⁸⁶ Though there is no evidence that Austin Friars furnished its member craftsmen with direct patronage in this period, it seems likely

that the church was a site where in addition to the development of social networks, new immigrants could also find support in much the same way that they might have through the Guilds of St. Luke on the continent. The threads of this informal arrangement are challenging to locate at Austin Friars, but by exploring a sampling of entries from the church's memoranda books we can arrive at a greater understanding of the way the church supported some of its members, particularly its member painters.⁸⁷

Exploring the memoranda books

The sixteenth-century memoranda books of Austin Friars are presently stored within the London Metropolitan Archives and are, along with other documents, collectively known as the Archivum of the Reformed Church of London.⁸⁸ The Archivum contains records on the church's baptisms, marriages, attestations of membership, accounts and general memoranda as well as other materials, including property leases and inventories.⁸⁹ These documents date from the founding of the church in 1550 to its virtual destruction during the Blitz in 1940. They are all that remains of what is probably the oldest continuously operational Reformed church in the world.

One of the most frequently mentioned Netherlandish painters found in the memoranda books, and a leading figure at the church in this period, is Lucas de Heere. Born in Ghent in 1534, Lucas was the son of Jan de Heere, a sculptor, and Anna Smijters, a miniaturist. In his youth he was apprenticed to Antwerp master painter Frans Floris, and by 1559/1560, De Heere had obtained employment in the Court of Catherine de' Medici, Queen of France. By 1567, De Heere and his family had settled in London after fleeing religious persecution on the continent. Although little is presently known of De Heere's daily life in London, he first appears in the memoranda books in February 1571 and is therein described as both a minister and an elder.⁹⁰

De Heere appears to have been a firm church leader and was actively engaged in church discipline. In January 1572, for example, he brought botcher (mender of clothing) Jacob Caert before the consistory for drunkenness and refusing to remove his hat in church.⁹¹ According to one entry, 'because [Lucas] had pulled his hat from his head, while [Jacob] sat in church with covered head during the singing of the psalms, even though he had been warned earlier ... [it] was decided that Jacob Caert should be brought to confess, and that two brothers should bring him to appear in council if he does not admit his wrongdoing'.⁹² After some delay, in late April Caert was brought before the consistory. At the meeting, Caert was quite upset by the allegations against him and called the church elders 'robbers', described another (unknown) member of the church as a 'puffed-up fool' and claimed that Lucas de Heere was a 'Pharisee lordship and a wicked rascal'.⁹³ Ultimately, however, Caert agreed to apologize for his 'defamatory words', De Heere for pulling the hat from Caert's head in church, and the two men shook hands.⁹⁴ De Heere would remain a leader of the church until at least 1574, when he disappears from the church archives. Given his previous training and historical reputation as a painter, however, the church record begs the question: was De Heere actively painting while he was working as an elder and minister at Austin Friars?

Today, most portraits previously attributed to Lucas de Heere, based upon the monogram 'HE', have been firmly attributed to Hans Eworth. Karl van Mander noted, however, that De Heere painted a gallery (now lost) with the costumes of all nations for Edward Fiennes Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, while he was in London.⁹⁵ In the National Museum Wales another work, *An allegory of the Tudor succession* (c. 1572), has also been attributed to De Heere by Sir Roy Strong on stylistic grounds.⁹⁶ And there is an entry in the memoranda books that makes possible reference to De Heere's activities as a painter in this period. Soon after the incident with Jacob Caert, in May 1573, De Heere met with church leaders: 'Lucas de Heere declared that he had to make a living and therefore had to give notice and serve great masters which did not sit well with some members of the community. This excuse was not considered important enough to be of any influence.'⁹⁷ This statement implies that De Heere was seeking work, probably as a painter. The church also appears entirely unsympathetic to his lack of a living, no doubt because he was such an active and prominent member of the congregation. The entry suggests that by the early months of 1573 De Heere was concerned enough about his livelihood that he sought work with 'great masters' in order to increase his fortune.⁹⁸ Given the proximity to the intense argument with Caert, it is also possible that De Heere was by this time weary of church business and felt this an opportune moment to move away from the role of disciplinarian and overseer that was a central part of his responsibilities as an elder and minister. By 1573, De Heere would have also built up a considerable amount of social capital by virtue of his role within the church, and it may have been at that point that he felt confident that such connections could be further developed so as to elevate his financial and artistic circumstances in the metropolis.

In addition to making note of De Heere's career, the memoranda books also make reference to other Netherlandish painters whose actions had the potential to draw negative attention to the church. In March 1571/1572, church member Sebastian Pietersen reported to the Consistory painters that Rombold van Kersbeke and Hans Orlens, along with other church members, visited the Royal Exchange where they played 'trick-track [backgammon] over pints of beer'.⁹⁹ After an investigation by church leadership, another member would later report that 'the ones not belonging to the community mock the brothers who come there, saying things like, "Those are folks of the German church, they go in a day or two to communion and now they come here to drink"'.¹⁰⁰ The response on the part of the consistory was swift. Both Van Kersbeken and Orlens were brought before the church and asked to confess. Van Kersbeken appears to have done so willingly, though no confession of guilt was recorded for Orlens.¹⁰¹ Painter Hans Orlens seems to have been a fairly problematic member for the consistory, even from his initial contact with the church, when he came seeking membership. After he attempted to join the congregation in June 1571, the memoranda books record an investigation called for by the eldership and allegations of excommunication were raised. The claim was that, while living in Antwerp, Orlens and his wife had both been expelled by the Calvinist church there for theft of property.¹⁰² Elder Centurio van den Berghe and Deacon Hans van den Cruyce, who were both visiting London,

testified that Orlens and his wife had been involved in stealing two cups, a platter and certain linens from the church altar. While Orlens protested, claiming that he knew 'a craft to decently earn his living' and therefore had no reason to steal, ultimately he admitted his role in the theft and also implicated his wife by noting that she later sold some of the stolen linens. The church was unusually lenient with them, remarking that Orlens would be punished for 'his not having said the truth, and also exhorted him that he should behave in a Christian and godly way. And if such could be detected to him and his wife for a while, then the Consistory shall do as is required to do with a penitent'.¹⁰³ The allegations against Orlens and his wife were serious and had the support of an elder and deacon from the Calvinist church at Antwerp. Yet the appearance of mercy and a reputation for forgiveness were squarely in step with the congregation's system of beliefs, and their lenient response was one that also helped to bolster the reputation of the congregation in the metropolis.

The memoranda books also highlight the uglier side of personal relationships. In 1572, painter Hans Orlens was again found to be 'drinking until drunk', though this time he was subsequently found to be 'hit[ting] his wife'.¹⁰⁴ Both were again called before the consistory, where they were questioned about a rumor that Orlens had separated from his wife. Orlens's wife, who is not named, responded to the allegation by claiming that she has not left her husband.¹⁰⁵ This must have been a terrifying moment for her. If the allegations were true, admitting them may have brought about serious church censure and also damage to her reputation within the Netherlandish community in London. As a place of socioeconomic support, alienating the church would have been truly dangerous. Without their advocacy, and in a place where she had only had a drunk and abusive husband by her side, Orlens's wife would have had few options in London. Even so, Orlens seems to have gone to great lengths to try to separate from her. The memoranda books note that he 'did not want to recognize her' and she does not appear as a member of his household in the 1568 Returns, which suggests that they may have been living separate lives long before this intervention by the church.¹⁰⁶ In her statement before the church, Orlens's wife claimed that 'what is written is written', a likely reference to her marriage vows and a sign of her desire to retain at least the appearance of marriage.¹⁰⁷ Ultimately, the church appears to have sided with her, as Orlens was reproached for his behavior and in the absence of other confirmation of their separation the entire matter appears to have been dropped.

Church leadership also involved itself in disagreements between members and important figures in English society, as was the case with baize seller Gheraert van Hille and London Painter-Stainer and merchant Henry Alward in 1573.¹⁰⁸ In late June or early July 1573, Van Hille had been arrested for failure to pay Alward for an unknown debt. Not long afterward, Minister Jan Covus loaned Van Hille 23s 4d in order to repay Alward. By October 1573, however, Corvus had called upon the church, reporting that although he had waited five months and his money had released Van Hille from prison, he had yet to be repaid.¹⁰⁹ By loaning Van Hille the funds to repay Alward and get out of prison, Corvus took steps to keep the peace

between a church member and an important figure in London society. Though Corvus may have lost patience with Van Hille, by stepping in to pay the debt and obtain his release from prison he had also taken preemptive action so as to keep the incident from becoming a public issue that had the potential to damage the reputation of all church members, making it instead a problem that was internal to and solely involving the Austin Friars community.

While a significant number of Netherlandish painters attended Austin Friars, a small number attended the French or Italian churches, their local parish church or no church at all. Though Henry de Campion was a member of Austin Friars in July 1568, for example, by December of that same year he could be found attending the Italian church, and by November 1571 he had switched to the French church.¹¹⁰ Without explicit documentary evidence it is difficult to know why De Campion changed churches, though in the 1560s the French and Dutch church consistories met as one body, with a further coetus overseeing the French, Dutch and Italian churches.¹¹¹ Given this, it may be that affiliation with the French or Italian churches was simply a matter of his liturgical or personal preference. And for others, it may be that the protection and support provided by the Dutch and French churches were not necessary to their success. By 1571, painter Rowland Artem had lived in London for more than 25 years, though he does not appear to have ever been affiliated with any of the foreign churches. The kinds of contacts and support that these churches could have provided Artem with were conceivably less useful than affiliation with his parish church and association with its English members in the continued advancement of his career. It has also been argued that some aliens chose to attend their parish church simply because of the 'relative liberty' provided by the English Church in comparison with the stranger churches.¹¹² As we have seen, Austin Friars was particularly concerned with the public behavior and reputation of its members, going to great lengths to protect individuals as well as the larger congregation from negative scrutiny and to discipline those whose behavior could reflect negatively upon church membership. For some Netherlandish painters this was perhaps too great a burden in relation to their personal preferences.

The concerns expressed within the Austin Friars memoranda books, whether related to drinking and gambling, abuse, theft or commerce, was one of an ordered body managing the affairs of its membership so as to secure a positive reputation within the greater metropolis. Craig Muldrew has noted that reputation was of critical importance in Tudor London as it had 'definite competitive implications'.¹¹³ Those with a poor reputation, Muldrew argues, were less able to obtain the credit necessary for the purchase of materials and the basic items needed to maintain a household in the metropolis. Access to such materials was also furthered through social networks that were themselves constructed upon a foundation of order, harmony and trust. Reputation was also a central issue for individual continental and English guild members. It had the ability to propel their career or, in the case of a poor reputation, damage it. Yet guild leadership, much like church leadership, were also concerned with the honor and reputation of the entire community and therefore engaged in establishing

and maintaining carefully regulated structures that included conduct rules. Such regulations, as Maarten Prak has noted, included concerns for ‘mutual solidarity, social homogeneity, and cohesion among members’ so as to defend and perpetuate a positive reputation within the broader community.¹⁴ For those who arrived from the continent in the 1560s and 1570s, and particularly those with few if any systems of support, affiliation with Austin Friars provided them with a relatively instant form of social capital – not only in terms of association with important patrons, but also because it gave them membership within a group that maintained a positive reputation in the metropolis. And during the first decade of their arrival in the metropolis, Austin Friars was a particularly important institution whose sheltering and ordered hand provided support and the potential for contacts with some important figures in English society. Evidence suggests that Austin Friars, a place where members shared the same religion and language, offered many Netherlandish painters a vehicle for many of the same kinds of socioeconomic connections and development of social capital that the Guild of St. Luke provided them with on the continent.

Notes

The author would like to thank Barend Beekhuizen, Kim Butler-Wingfield, J. Stephan Edwards, Jason Howard, Peter Petré, Robert Tittler, Edward Town and Bhumi Vanderheyden for their kind support during the research and writing of this essay.

- 1 Lindeboom 1950, 200–201.
- 2 Lindeboom 1950, 200–201.
- 3 During the reign of Queen Mary I, many Protestants fled England for the continent. Upon Queen Elizabeth I’s accession, the returning (and remaining) Netherlandish aliens petitioned the crown for the return of Austin Friars under their original patent. By February 1560/1561 they had recovered the church. See Spicer 2005, Pettegree 1986, 36–37, and Oldenberg 2009.
- 4 Pettegree 1986, ch. 8.
- 5 Grell 1989, 17.
- 6 Hans Eworth, for example, became a member of Antwerp’s Guild of St. Luke 1540, Jan Benson in 1550, Steven van der Meulen in 1552, and Jan Bogaerts II in 1575. See Rombouts 1872, 139 (for Eworth), 171 (for Benson), 179 (for Van der Meulen) and 260 (for Bogaerts). We also know that painters Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder and Jan de Franc were both *vinder*, or officers, of the Bruges Guild of St. Luke in 1558/1559 and 1564/1555, respectively. See Vanden Haute 1913, 221–223. It appears that Gheeraerts joined the guild the same year that he became *vinder*. De Franc was made master of the guild in 1560. See Vanden Haute 1913, 50. Some painters also appear to have joined more than one guild. Both Jan Benson and Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder joined the Bruges and Antwerp guilds. Benson and his father, Ambrosius Benson, joined the guild in Bruges in 1553. See Vanden Haute 1913, 87. Gheeraerts the Elder joined the guild in Antwerp in 1577. See Rombouts 1872, 263.
- 7 Peeters 2010, 139.
- 8 Ogilvie 2004, 288.
- 9 For more on the guild’s religious functions see Peeters 2010, 139–148. The religious dimension of the guild was further reflected in the structure of its leadership; its leaders were called ‘*deken*’ or deans, which is markedly similar to ‘*deacons*’ or church stewards. Both guild deans and church deacons were leaders within their respective institutions and provided a guiding hand as well as support in times of crisis.
- 10 For more on Hans Eworth and his connection with Nicholas Eeuwouts see Walker 2014 and Walker & Cooper 2015.
- 11 See Frederichs 1891, 49–50, Braekman 1983, 191–204, and Christman 2005, 305–315. There were other artists proscribed as *Loistens* who fled Antwerp at this same time, including painters Jan and Cornelis Massijs, engraver Cornelis Bos and painters Jacop Spuerbolle, Hendricken Smeets and Jacop Walschaert (Cocx). See Van der Stock 1998, 51–52. Little is known about Spuerbolle or Smeets, but a Jacop Cocx was active in Bruges in the mid-sixteenth century and may have been the same person. For more on Cocx see Meulemeester 1983, 65–105.
- 12 SAA Cert. 15, fol. 15r, dated 7 June 1550. I am grateful to Guido Marnef for his assistance in locating this document.
- 13 Finlay 1981, 67.
- 14 Luu 2005, 90.
- 15 Luu 2005, 92.
- 16 Fagel 2001, 12.
- 17 Elyot 1880, bk. 1, ch. 14, fol. 54v.
- 18 Yungblut 2005, 70–80.
- 19 John de Critz is an excellent example. See Town 2012, 482–486.
- 20 Selwood 2010, ch. 1.
- 21 Luu 1995, 162.
- 22 In 1468, for example, an English skinner – William Shawe – made plans to cross London Bridge into Southwark and there to ‘*flee*’ Netherlandish craftsmen on account of the view that such persons had taken ‘away the living of English people’. See Bolton 1998, 1.
- 23 Quoted in Archer 1994, 756.
- 24 Van Meteren 1614, fol. 262r. Emanuel van Meteren was born in Antwerp in 1535 and was the nephew of the cartographer Abraham Ortelius. He lived in London from 1550 on and off until his death in the metropolis in April 1612. During his time in the metropolis Van Meteren recorded a series of chronicles of his experiences, providing us with a firsthand account of the Netherlandish experience in the city.
- 25 Luu 1997, 38–39.

- 26 LMA CLC/180/MS07397, bk. 3, fol. 35r (minister), and LMA CLC/180/MS07397, bk. 2, fol. 223r (elder). For more on De Heere as a poet and his general versatility as an artist see Ramakers 2010, 165-192.
- 27 Kirk & Kirk 1902, 68 ('painter of pottes'), and LMA CLC/180/MS07397, bk. 3, fol. 39r ('glaesmaekere').
- 28 Vandenbroeck 1981, 34.
- 29 Quoted in Wittkower 2007, 186. There is some evidence that Netherlanders obtained new trades upon their arrival in England. In September 1567, for example, Norwich resident alien Gilles Navegeer sent a letter to his grandmother, who was then in Ypres. Within he noted that after having lived in the city two years he had trained as a bookbinder for six months. He found, however, that the occupation was not profitable and therefore made plans to learn a new (unidentified) trade. See Mœns 1888, 224.
- 30 May 2010, 25, and Berlin 1997, 75.
- 31 Selwood 2010, 34.
- 32 There were occasional 'special conditions' for aliens seeking entrance into the London guilds. Jacob Selwood notes that aliens had to pay higher rates of quarterage for membership in the Armourers, that they had to be denizens to gain entrance into the Blacksmiths and that they paid a special fee to join the Dyers. There was no 'standard policy toward admission of aliens into the guilds ... [though] the number of strangers admitted to a guild was small. See Selwood 2010, 41.
- 33 In the Returns of Aliens (July 1569-November 1571), 41 percent of the listed goldsmiths described themselves as 'servants', and in many cases the Englishmen to whom they were affiliated were also listed. For more on alien goldsmiths in London see Luu 2005, 235-255.
- 34 The Painter-Stainers were not, in any case, a chartered company until 19 July 1581, though they were established as a company in 1467 and were permitted, even in the fifteenth century, to manage company affairs and control training and patronage. See Hazlitt 1972, 573-575 and Borg 2005. By the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the Painter-Stainers began to charge 12d (twelve pence) in quarterage for alien membership. See Englefield 1950, 78.
- 35 Sometime between 1577 and 1583 John de Horse, who 'useth selling of pictures and making of brushes' to make his living, was also admitted to the Stationers. See Kirk & Kirk 1902, 309.
- 36 Arber 1875, 23.
- 37 2s 4d, or two shillings and four pence.
- 38 Ward 1992, 86. Adrianson obtained his entrance at 2s 6d quarterage, which was the standard rate for foreign craftsmen. See Arber 1875, 94(b).
- 39 They were Malyarde Deterys and William Mullins. See Kirk & Kirk 1900, 436. 'Mawls' or mauls were hammers used by printers when pressing woodblocks to paper. Though these men are described as 'gravers', they were probably carvers of these tools.
- 40 Adrianson also attended his local parish church. See Kirk & Kirk 1900, 436.
- 41 Kirk & Kirk 1902, 57 (Worgos) and 42 (Kerremans).
- 42 When this occurred is slightly easier to determine. In July 1568 and May 1571, Kerremans was described simply as a 'painter'. By November 1571, however, both men are described as painter-stainers, which suggests that the policy toward alien membership may have shifted sometime in the summer or early fall of that year.
- 43 Kirk & Kirk 1902, xi. In the 1583 Returns of Aliens, three alien painters were described as having paid quarterage to the Company over the previous six years.
- 44 Feuillerat 1963, 207. For his length of stay in London see Kirk & Kirk 1900, 413. For more on Hans Eworth's length of stay see Walker 2014 and Kirk & Kirk 1900, 422.
- 45 Vanessa Harding, personal communication, 24 February 2009.
- 46 Benson is described as a 'picturemaker' in LMA P69/DUN1/A/001/MS07857, unpaginated, but vide 14 December 1573. His children were John, Barnard, Joseph, Labiana, Anne, Suzan, Sara, and (born two months after his death) Katherine. See Kirk & Kirk 1902, 131, and LMA P69/DUN1/A/001/MS07857, unpaginated, but vide 27 December 1573.
- 47 Artem married Elizabeth Berriman in May 1542. See LMA P69/MIC3/A/001/MS1367, unpaginated, but vide 7 May 1542. Elizabeth died of the plague in August 1586. See LMA P69/MIC3/A/001/MS1367, unpaginated, but vide 22 August 1586. Pengrayes Inglyes married Anne Strange in October 1578. See LMA P69/CTC/A/001/MS09264, fol. 95v.
- 48 Rowland Artem's children: LMA P69/MIC3/A/001/MS1367, Leonard (fol. 4r), Jane (fol. 6v), Suzan (fol. 8r), Adrian I (unpaginated, but vide 10 November 1563), Adrian II (unpaginated, but vide 12 May 1565) and Mawlden (unpaginated, but vide 9 December 1563). Pengrayes Inglyes's children: LMA P69/CTC/A/001/MS09264, Pengrayes II (fol. 121v) and Anne (fol. 124r).
- 49 While the Crown viewed such persons as English and therefore entitled to all of the rights and privileges of such, London's livery companies and civic authorities did not. This would become a significant problem, particularly after 1574 when London's Court of Common Council passed an act that limited the rights and access of children born to aliens to apprenticeship in London's guilds. This Act effectively cut off their ability to rise in the ranks of the companies, thereby limiting competition between Englishmen and children born to aliens. There is, however, little evidence that this act was any more than sporadically enforced, though the foreign churches did (unsuccessfully) press the Crown for parliamentary intervention. See Yungblut 2005, 105, and Pettegree 1986, 289. This problem was finally addressed in 1608 when the adult children of Scottish immigrants brought a petition before the King's Bench asserting that they were, in fact, English citizens. The case, known today as Calvin's Case, ultimately resolved on the side of the plaintiffs. See Price 1997, 73-145.
- 50 Kirk & Kirk 1907, 394 (Lyeuen de Vous, 1568), and Kirk & Kirk 1902, 40 (John de Critz, 1571). Lyeuen de Vous is probably Lieuen de Vos, who may have been related to a painter of the same name who was made deken of Ghent's Guild of St. Luke in 1533. See De Busscher 1859, 215.
- 51 For Derickson see Kirk & Kirk 1907, 399. For Mitchell see Feuillerat 1963, 160.
- 52 Kirk & Kirk 1907, 399.
- 53 To what extent alien painters could have functioned autonomously in London is unclear, though Jacob Townce is described in the May 1571 Returns as having 'wrought jorney work in an about London the space of five yeares'. See Kirk & Kirk 1900, 405.
- 54 See Kirk & Kirk 1900, 394. For more on De Heere's sisters see Cust 1894, 62. This may have also been true for Jacob Matthewssen. In the 1568 Returns, a

- 'Katheryne Mynkyns' is described as a maid in his household, and his sister's name, as recorded in his will, was Katherina Matthewssen. See Kirk & Kirk 1907, 340, and TNA PROB 11/52/357.
- 55 See Miedema 1994, vol. 4, 145-147 for more on the sculptor Jan de Heere.
- 56 Luu 2005, 95.
- 57 According to the Returns, Eleanora's sister, 'Boys Carkoners', was also among the party, along with a young boy of five named 'Markus Cupen'. See Kirk & Kirk 1902, 40.
- 58 SAA NA 3233, fol. 118v-119r. The altarpiece was to be 10 ft. w x 9 ft. h. and include gold leaf. Verhees had approximately five months to complete and deliver the work.
- 59 SAA Cert 38, fols. 125r and 125v. Payne is described as a 'koopman in schilderijen'.
- 60 SAA Cert. 26, fol. 66r.
- 61 Rombouts 1872, 156.
- 62 For more on Lodewyk Blommaert see TNA PROB 11/78/102.
- 63 Stevenson 1867, 220.
- 64 Page 1969, 86. Beatrice is described as the 'daughter of John Van Cleve ... born in Antwerp in Brabant'. John the Younger, her husband, was also born in Antwerp; they purchased their letters of London denization in 1542. Little is known about John the Younger, though his father was an important figure in the Royal Court, acting as an agent for the Crown under Henry VIII and Edward VI, and was particularly involved in the purchase of goods for the Crown from the Low Countries. John the Elder was also a Gentleman Usher under Henry VIII and maintained a correspondence with William Cecil. See, for example, TNA SP 68/6, fol. 62. For a genealogical chart of the Van Cleves of Antwerp that includes Beatrice, see SAA, Historic Notes of J.F. Van Den Branden [Artists], RIJ1, 5, non-foliated.
- 65 For Steven van der Meulen's training under Willem van Cleve see Strong 1969, 119.
- 66 Browner 1994, 42.
- 67 Kirk & Kirk 1900, 340, and Kirk & Kirk 1902, 413.
- 68 Kirk & Kirk 1902, 441, and Kirk & Kirk 1900, 352.
- 69 Jan de Franc was buried on 18 September 1570 in the parish of St. Botolph Aldgate (LMA P69/BOT2/A/015/MS09222/1) and Jacob Matthewssen's will was probated in London the same day (TNA PROB 11/52/357). Jan Benson was buried on 17 September 1573 in the parish of St. Dunstons in the East (LMA P69/DUN1/A/001/MS07857).
- 70 Honing 1997, 4.
- 71 Edmond 1978, 140-155, and Hearn 2001.
- 72 Of the 39 painters, 59.4 percent attended Austin Friars while 10 percent attended their local church and a further 10 percent attended an as-yet unknown church. Compare this to 24.6 percent of foreign goldsmiths who attended Austin Friars and 7.9 percent who attended their parish church or an as-yet unknown church. Some also attended first the Italian or French church and then later joined Austin Friars or their parish church, among them Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder, Hans Eworth, Jan Benson and Balthazar Kerreman.
- 73 Thomas Campbell has argued that arras was a particularly high-quality form of tapestry. See Campbell 1995.
- 74 Seventeen attended Austin Friars, three their parish church, two the French church and one had no church affiliation.
- 75 In the Returns, 92 individuals are described as shoemakers. Of these, 73 attended their parish church, 12 attended Austin Friars, 6 the French church and 1 the Italian church.
- 76 The Cordwainers Company accepted aliens as members by 1562. See Willcocks 2008, 27-28.
- 77 For more on the connection between Netherlandish tapestry weavers and the Royal Court see Hefford 2000, 43-62.
- 78 Grell 1989, 28.
- 79 Grell 1989, 28.
- 80 Van Mander made note of Andreas de Loo: 'In London there lived a keen lover of our art called Andries de Loo who bought up everything by Holbein's hand that he could find'. Miedema 1994, vol. 1, 150 (Van Mander, fol. 223r). For more on De Loo see his will: TNA PROB 11/76/112, proved on 24 August 1590.
- 81 Netherlanders appear to have been particularly involved in the trade of salt. By 1615, for example, Robert Kayll (alias Tobias Gentleman) published his *The Trades Increase*, which includes a series of complaints about the Dutch monopoly on herring fishing and salt in England. See also Jack 1977, 86-90.
- 82 TNA SP 46/30, fol. 249r. See also Walker 2014. 'Master Fanshawe' was Thomas Fanshaw (1533-1600), a lawyer and the Queen's Remembrancer. His wife, Joan, sat for Cornelis Ketel in 1579/1580. See cat. London 1996, 110.
- 83 Cecil was not the only high-ranking figure involved with Austin Friars. Though the specifics of the case are not recorded, in 1571 several member-joiners found themselves in legal trouble. The church records note that they had been involved in the case but were asked (by unknown officials) to refrain from further interference in these events. As a response they called upon Sir Frances Russell, 2nd Earl of Bedford (c. 1527-1585), and a member of the Queen's Privy Council, who agreed to keep an eye on the case on behalf of their membership. See LMA MS 7397, bk. 4, fol. 4r (2 December 1571).
- 84 The Cecils were also great patrons of the arts. See Croft 2002.
- 85 Feuillerat 1963, 181.
- 86 For more on the Confraternity of Santa Barbara in Florence, see Boninger 2006. For more on the Confraternity of Santa Maria dell'Anima in Rome, see Maas 1981.
- 87 A large portion of the *Actaboeken* has been transcribed, though little of it has been translated into English. See Boersma and Jelsma, 1993. Most of the entries related to Netherlandish painters, however, have been translated into English by this author; see Walker 2014.
- 88 See LMA MS 7397 for the memoranda books. The broader collection of Austin Friars records – the *Archivum* – can be found in LMA CLC 180.
- 89 In 1571 the decision was made to record nuptials in their own (separate) book of record, though the memoranda books still make occasional reference to member marriages even after this date. See Möens 1884.
- 90 LMA CLC/180/MS07397, bk 3, fol. 35r (minister), and LMA CLC/180/MS07397, bk. 2, fol. 223r (elder).
- 91 For more on Caert see Boersma & Jelsma 1993, 160.
- 92 LMA CLC/180/MS07397, bk. 3, fol. 8v.
- 93 This occurred on 23 April 1573. LMA CLC/180/MS07397, bk. 3, fol. 18v.
- 94 LMA CLC/180/MS07397, bk. 3, fol. 18v.
- 95 Cat. London 1996, 82 and 154. See also Miedema 1994, vol 4., 152.
- 96 Strong 1987, 71-77. See also Hopkins 2006, 442-444. As there are presently so few extant pictures attributed to De Heere, Karen Hearn has argued that this attribution should remain speculative. See cat. London 1996, 82.
- 97 LMA CLC/180/MS07397, bk. 3, fol. 19v.

- 'Lucas de Heeren gaf an dat hij moste zijn kosten winnen ende, met groote meesters verkeerende, hebbelicke moste gaen om hen te dienen, waerduer hij sommeghen van de gemeente onstichten mochte. Dese excusatie niet gewichtich gevonden en waren om in 't lot te staen. This occurred on 3 May 1573.
- 98 le., great and wealthy men of the realm.
- 99 27 March 1572. LMA CLC/180/MS07397, bk. 4, fol. 20v. 'Zecht dat se tycketacken om potten biers'.
- 100 27 March 1572. LMA CLC/180/MS07397, bk. 4, fol. 20v. 'Zecht dat deguene die van de ghemeinte niet zijn, spotten mette broeders die daer commen, zegghe: Dit sijn de luyden van de Duutsche kereke; zij waren over eenen dach of twee ten nachtmale ende nu commen se hier dryncken'.
- 101 28 January 1571/1572, LMA CLC/180/MS07397, bk. 4, fol. 11v.
- 102 24 June 1571, LMA CLC/180/MS07397, bk. 3, fol. 190r-191v.
- 103 24 June 1571, LMA CLC/180/MS07397, bk. 3, fol. 190r-191v.
- 104 2 March 1571/1572, LMA CLC/180/MS07397, bk. 4, fol. 15v. 'drynct daghelics dronke ende slaet zijn wijf'.
- 105 14 February 1571/1572, LMA CLC/180/MS07397, bk. 4, fol. 13r.
- 106 Kirk & Kirk 1900, 362. 28 January 1571/1572, LMA CLC/180/MS07397, bk. 4, fol. 11v. 'dewelke hij niet bekennen en wilde'.
- 107 14 February 1571/1572, LMA CLC/180/MS07397, bk. 4, fol. 13r. 'het ghescreeven es, moet ghescreeven blijven'.
- 108 For Alward's trade in salt see Smits 1928, 1209-1210; for his trade in cloth from Antwerp, see London Port Book 1567-1568, in Dietz 1972, 46 (fol. 80, January-March 1568/1569), where he imported 40 pieces of striped canvas with thread, and 88 (fol. 161, May-June 1568), where he imported 24 pounds of Oudenaarde thread. Alward's wife was also a member of the congregation; see Kirk & Kirk 1900, 342. Elizabeth had three children from a previous marriage: John (probably Jan), Mary and Syne. Also living in the Alward household was a Pawles Vanhewhan, who was probably a relative, and who arrived in London c. 1568. By occupation a weaver, Vanhewhan 'camme to soiourne with ... Henry Alwoode'. See Kirk & Kirk 1907, 342.
- 109 11 October 1573, LMA CLC/180/MS07397, bk. 4, fol. 16r.
- 110 Kirk & Kirk 1907, 352 (July 1568); BL Lansdowne 10/61, fol. 177v (December 1568); Kirk & Kirk 1902, 51 (November 1571).
- 111 Coetus is a Latin word that means a meeting or assemblage.
- 112 Boersma & Jelsma 1993, 6.
- 113 Muldrew 1998, 149.
- 114 Prak 2006, 197.

Bibliography

- Arber 1875
E. Arber (ed.), *A transcript of the registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640*, vol. 1, London 1875.
- Archer 1994
I. Archer, 'Responses to alien immigrants in London, c. 1460-1650', in: S. Cavacchiochi (ed.), *Le Migrazioni in Europa*, Florence 1994, 755-774.
- Berlin 1997
M. Berlin, "Broken all in pieces": artisans and the regulation of workmanship in early modern London', in: Geoffrey Crossick (ed.), *The artisan and the European town, 1500-1900*, Hants 1997, 75-91.
- Boersma & Jelsma 1993
O. Boersma & A.J. Jelsma (eds.), *Acta van het consistorie van de Nederlandse gemeente te Londen 1569-1585*, The Hague 1993.
- Bolton 1998
J. Bolton, *The alien communities in London in the fifteenth century, the subsidy rolls of 1440 and 1483-4*, Stanford 1998.
- Boninger 2006
L. Boninger, *Die Deutsche Einwanderung nach Florenz im Spätmittelalter*, London 2006.
- Borg 2005
A. Borg, *The history of the worshipful company of painters otherwise painter-stainers*, London 2005.
- Braekman 1983
E.M. Braekman, 'Un cas de dissidence a Anvers: Eloy Pruystinck', in: M. Lienhard (ed.), *Les Dissidents du XVIe Siècle entre l'Humanisme et le Catholicisme*, Baden-Baden 1983, 191-204.
- Browner 1994
J.A. Browner, 'Wrong side of the river: London's disreputable South Bank in the sixteenth and seventeenth century', *Early History* 34 (1994), 42.
- Campbell 1995
T. Campbell, 'Tapestry quality in Tudor England: problems of terminology', *Studies for Decorative Arts* 3 (1995), 29-50.
- Cat. London 1996
Cat. London, Tate Britain, *Dynasties: painting in Tudor and Jacobean England, 1530-1630* (Karen Hearn, ed.), New York 1996.
- Christman 2005
V. Christman, *Orthodoxy and opposition: the creation of a secular inquisition in early modern Brabant*, Tucson 2005 (unpubl. diss. University of Arizona).
- Croft 2002
P. Croft (ed.), *Patronage, culture and power: the early Cecils*, London 2002.
- Cust 1894
L. Cust, 'Notice of the life and works of Lucas d'Heere', *Archaeologia* 54 (1894), 59-80.
- De Busscher 1859
E. de Busscher, *Recherches sur les peintres gantois, des XIVe et XVe siècles*, Ghent 1859.
- Dietz 1972
B. Dietz (ed.), *The port and trade of early Elizabethan London: documents*, London 1972.

Edmond, 1978

M. Edmond, 'Limners and picture makers—new light on the lives of miniaturists and large-scale portrait-painters working in London in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *Walpole Society Journal* 47 (1978-1980), 140-155.

Elyot 1880

T. Elyot & H.S. Croft (eds.), *The Boke named the Governour*, London 1880, 2 vols.

Englefield 1950

W.A.D. Englefield, *The history of the painter-stainers company of London*, London 1950.

Fagel 2001

R. Fagel, 'The Netherlandish presence in England before the coming of the stranger churches, 1480-1560', in: R. Vigne & C. Littleton (eds.), *From strangers to citizens: the integration of immigrant communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550-1750*, Brighton 2001, 7-16.

Feuillerat 1963

A. Feuillerat, *Documents relating to the Office of the Revels in the time of Queen Elizabeth*, Vaduz 1963.

Finlay 1981

R. Finlay, *Population and metropolis: the demography of London 1580-1650*, Cambridge 1981.

Frederichs 1891

J. Frederichs, *De secta der Loisten of Antwerpsche libertijnen 1525-45*, Ghent 1891.

Grell 1989

O.P. Grell, *Dutch Calvinists in early Stuart London: the Dutch church in Austin Friars, 1603-1642*, London 1989.

Hazlitt 1972

W. Hazlitt, *The livery companies of the city of London*, London 1972.

Hearn 2001

K. Hearn, 'Insiders or outsiders? Overseas-born artists and the Jacobean court', in: Randolph Vigne & Charles Littleton, eds., *From strangers to citizens: the integration of immigrant communities in Britain, Ireland, and colonial America, 1550-1750*, Huguenot Society of London 2001, 117-126.

Hefford 2000

W. Hefford, 'Flemish tapestry weavers in England: 1550-1775', in: Guy Delmarcel (ed.), *Flemish tapestry weavers abroad: emigration and the founding of manufactories in Europe*, proceedings of the International Conference held at Mechelen, 2-3 October 2000, 43-62.

Honing 1997

E. Honing, *Painting and the market in early modern Antwerp*, New Haven 1997.

Hopkins 2006

L. Hopkins, '"In a little room": Marlowe and the allegory of the Tudor succession', *Notes & Queries* 53 (2006), 442-444.

Jack 1977

S. Jack, *Trade and industry in Tudor and Stuart England*, London 1977.

Kirk & Kirk 1900

R.E.G. Kirk & E.F. Kirk (eds.), *Return of aliens dwelling in the city and suburbs of London, part I (1525-1571)*, vol. X, part 1, Huguenot Society of London 1900.

Kirk & Kirk 1902

R.E.G. Kirk & E.F. Kirk (eds.), *Return of aliens dwelling in the city and suburbs of London, part II (1571-1597)*, vol. X, part 2, Huguenot Society of London 1902.

Kirk & Kirk 1907

R.E.G. Kirk & E.F. Kirk (eds.), *Return of aliens dwelling in the city and suburbs of London, part III (1522-1625)*, vol. X, part 3, Huguenot Society of London 1907.

Lindeboom 1950

J. Lindeboom, *Austin Friars: history of the Dutch reformed church of London*, London 1950.

Luu 1995

L. B. Luu, 'Assimilation of segregation: colonies of alien craftsman in Elizabethan London', in: R. Vigne & G. Gibbs (eds.), *The strangers' progress; integration and disintegration of the Huguenot and Walloon refugee community, 1567-1889*, Huguenot Society of London 1995, 160-172.

Luu 1997

L.B. Luu, '*Skills and innovations: a study of the working stranger community in London, c.1550-1600*', London 1997 (unpub. diss. University of London).

Luu 2005

L.B. Luu, *Immigrants and the industries of London, 1500-1700*, London 2005.

Maas 1981

C.A. Maas, *The German community in Renaissance Rome, 1378-1523*, Rome 1981.

May 2010

E. May, *For the good order to be had thereby: civic archives and the creation of conformity in late medieval London, c. 1475-1585*, Montreal 2010 (unpubl. diss. Concordia University).

Meulemeester 1983

J.L. Meulemeester, 'Jacob Cocx en zijn oeuvre in Brugge', in: *Van middeleeuwen tot heden*, Bruges 1983, 65-105.

Miedema 1994

H. Miedema (ed.), *Karel van Mander's the lives of the illustrious Netherlandish and German painters*, Doornspijk 1994, 6 vols.

Möens 1884

W. Möens, *The marriage, baptismal, and burial registers, 1571-1584, and monumental inscriptions of the Dutch reformed church*, Lymington 1884.

Möens 1888

W. Möens, *The Wallons and their church at Norwich*, London 1888.

Muldrew 1998

C. Muldrew, *The economy of obligation; the culture of credit and social relations in early modern England*, London 1998.

Ogilvie 2004

S. Ogilvie, 'Guilds, efficiency, and social capital: evidence from German proto-industry', *The Economic History Review, New Series* 57 (2004), 286-333.

Oldenberg 2009

S. Oldenberg, 'Mid-Tudor England: the queen's royal entry circa 1553, the interlude of wealth and health, and the question of strangers in the reign of Mary I', *English Literary History* 76 (2009), 99-129.

Page 1969

W. Page, *Letters of denization and acts of naturalization for aliens in England, 1509-1603*, London 1969.

Peeters 2010

N. Peeters, 'The guild of Saint Luke and the painter's profession in Antwerp between c. 1560 and 1585: some social and economic insights', in: H.P. Chapman & J. Woodall (eds.), *Envisioning the artist in the early modern Netherlands*, Zwolle 2010 (= *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 59 [2009]), 137-163.

Pettegree 1986

A. Pettegree, *Foreign protestant communities in sixteenth-century London*, Oxford 1986.

Pitman 1906

W.H. Pitman, *The worshipful company of painters, otherwise painter-stainers: its hall, pictures, and plate*, London 1906.

Prak 2006

M.R. Prak et al. (eds.), *Craft guilds in the early modern Low Countries: work, power and representation*, Burlington (Vt.) 2006.

Price 1997

P. Price, 'Natural law and birthright citizenship in Calvin's Case (1608)', *Yale Journal of Law and the Humanities* 9 (1997), no. 74, 73-145.

Ramakers 2010

B. Ramakers, 'Art and artistry in Lucas de Heere', in: H.P. Chapman & J. Woodall (eds.), *Envisioning the artist in the early modern Netherlands*, Zwolle 2010 (= *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 59 [2009]), 165-192.

Rombouts 1872

P.H. Rombouts, *De Liggeren der Antwerpsche Sint Lucas Gilde, 1453-1615*, Antwerp 1872.

Selwood 2010

J. Selwood, *Diversity and difference in early modern London*, New York 2010.

Smits 1928

H.J. Smits (ed.), *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van den handel met Engeland, Schotland en Ierland*, The Hague 1928.

Spicer 2005

A. Spicer, 'A place of refuge and sanctuary of a holy temple': exile communities and the stranger churches', in: Nigel Goose (ed.), *Immigrants in Tudor and early Stuart England*, Brighton 2005, 91-109.

Stevenson 1867

J. Stevenson (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, in the reign of Elizabeth I (1562)*, London 1867.

Strong 1969

R. Strong, *English icon: Elizabethan and Jacobean portraiture*, New York 1969.

Strong 1987

R. Strong, *Gloriana, the portraits of Queen Elizabeth*, London 1987.

Town 2012

E. Town, 'Whilst he had his perfect sight'—New information on John de Critz the Elder', *Burlington Magazine* (July 2012), 482-486.

Vandenbroeck 1981

P. Vandenbroeck, 'Het schildersgeslacht Verbeeck: voorlopige werkkatalogoog', in: *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, Antwerp 1981, 31-60.

Vanden Haute 1913

C.H. vanden Haute, *La Corporation des Peintres de Bruges*, Bruges 1913.

Van der Stock 1998

J. van der Stock, *Printing images in Antwerp: the introduction of printmaking in a city*, Rotterdam 1998.

Van Meteren 1614

E. van Meteren, *Belgische ofte Nederlandsche historie*, Delft 1614.

Walker 2014

H. Walker, *Netherlandish painters in Tudor London, 1560-1580*, London 2014 (unpub. thesis Courtauld Institute of Art).

Walker & Cooper 2015

H. Walker & T. Cooper, 'Talent and adversity: a re-assessment of Hans Eworth of Antwerp and London', in: *Painting in Britain 1500-1630—production, influences and patronage*, London 2015 (forthcoming).

Ward 1992

J.P. Ward, *London's livery companies and metropolitan government, c.1500-1725*, Stanford 1992 (unpub. diss. Stanford).

Willcocks 2008

C. Willcocks, *Cordwainers: shoemakers of the City of London*, London 2008.

Wittkower 2007

M. Wittkower & R. Wittkower, *Born under Saturn; the character and conduct of artists*, New York 2007.

Yungblut 2005

L.H. Yungblut, 'Strangers settled here amongst us': policies, perceptions, and the presence of aliens of London, 1500-1700, *Burlington (VT)* 2005.

Art and Migration

Netherlandish Artists on the Move, 1400-1750

Kunst en migratie

Nederlandse kunstenaars op drift, 1400-1750

Editors / Redactie:

Frits Scholten

Joanna Woodall

Dulcia Meijers



BRILL

LEIDEN . BOSTON

2014