J. F. BENSE

THE ANGLO-DUTCH RELATIONS

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE DEATH OF WILLIAM THE THIRD

BEING

AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO A DICTIONARY OF THE LOW-DUTCH ELEMENT IN THE ENGLISH VOCABULARY

SPRINGER-SCIENCE+BUSINESS MEDIA, B.V.
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ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT TER VERKRIJGING VAN DEN GRAAD VAN DOCTOR IN DE LETTEREN EN WIJSBEGEERTE AAN DE UNIVERSITEIT VAN AMSTERDAM OP GEZAG VAN DEN RECTOR MAGNIFICUS Dr. OTTO LANZ, HOOGLEERAAR IN DE FACULTEIT DER GENEESKUNDE, IN HET OPENBAAR TE VERDEDIGEN IN DE AULA DER UNIVERSITEIT OP DONDERDAG 11 DECEMBER 1924 DES NAMIDDAGS TE 3 UUR

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JOHAN FREDERIK BENSE

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p. 79, l. 10 f. f. for *Court* read *Count*.

PREFACE

As volume after volume of the New English Dictionary appeared, I was struck with the large number of Low Dutch words — for convenience' sake I use the term "Low Dutch" for "Dutch and other continental Low German dialects" — which have in the course of time found either a temporary or a permanent place in the English vocabulary; a number comparatively much larger than that of such words recorded by Skeat in his Etymological Dictionary.

With the exception of Morris, who mentions fourteen of them in his "Historical Outlines of English Accidence", of Skeat, who devotes a whole chapter to them in his "Principles of English Etymology" and of de Hoog, whose "Studiën over de Nederlandsche en Engelsche taal en Letterkunde en haar wederzijdschen invloed" contains a list of 448 words, no philologist, as far as I knew, had ever given much, if any, attention to this important element in the English language.

The plan of undertaking the study of the Low Dutch element in the English vocabulary was ripening in me, when Professor Otto Jespersen's article "The History of the English Language Considered in its Relation to other Subjects" in Englische Studien (35 band, I heft, 1905), in which the learned author expressed his regret that "no specialists had made the Dutch, Italian, Spanish etc. influences subjects of monographs", determined me, and I resolved to set about the work without any further delay.

I began by collecting from the columns of the N.E.D., of Skeat's Etymological, and of the Dialect Dictionary

(1) all the words that were considered to have passed from Low Dutch into English;

(2) all the words whose origin was stated to be obscure or unknown, which seemed to me to be possible borrowings from Low Dutch; and

(3) all the words that were said to have been derived from other

sources than Low Dutch, but might, on further investigation, prove to be of Low Dutch origin after all.

As I was aware that, owing to the close affinity of English to Low Dutch, and especially for lack of evidence, it would be impossible to prove that Low Dutch words passed into Old English, I carefully excluded all words which appeared to have been recorded before the twelfth century.

Not having overmuch leisure to devote to this labour of love, I made but slow progress; yet, as I proceeded, I grew more and more interested in the subject; for I began to realize, that the ultimate results might be of more than philological interest only, as they might throw further light on the economical, social and political history of Great Britain and Ireland; especially, as I repeatedly met with words in dialects in which I had least expected them, as in those of Cumberland and Lancashire, and also, as I discovered that some words came in even before the 14th century, which is usually considered to be the earliest period in which borrowings from Low Dutch were made.

By the time I had thus got down to the words in R. in the N. E. D. and in Skeat, I found that my lists contained already more than 2500 words to be dealt with, without reckoning the large number I had collected from the whole of the Dialect Dictionary.

A few years' devotion of all my spare time, and some eight months' research work in the British Museum, have enabled me to complete the first part, containing the words in A to E inclusive, which part is now ready for the press.

In order to obtain the historical and literary evidence without which it was impossible in many cases to draw more or less positive conclusions as to the possibility or the probability of the Low Dutch origin of a word — in so far at least as such conclusions can ever be positive — I had to study the Anglo-Dutch relations, by which I mean whatever relations there have been between Great Britain and Ireland on the one hand, and the Low Dutch countries on the other.

Now from early times these relations have been many and various. Not only have they been political and commercial, as is but natural in the case of nations that live in close proximity to each other, but they have also been military, industrial, religious, liter-

ary, scientific and artistic, which points to an intercourse and contact almost unprecedented in the history of the world.

A knowledge of this age-long intercourse and contact is of the greatest importance for our purpose, for without them, there could have been no linguistic borrowings other than of technical and scientific words, which are very often appellatives. Other foreign words can only enter a language, when two nations, the borrowers and the lenders, are in close touch with each other, by which I mean, that there is much intercourse between individuals of the two nations, or that smaller or larger numbers of the inhabitants of the one country travel about or settle in the other. We may even go so far as to say, that a word used by one man travelling or settling in another country, may appeal to such an extent to the imagination of his companions, that they immediately borrow it, even though they may not be in need of a new word for the notion to be expressed; or, the traveller or settler himself may be struck with a word or expression used by his foreign companions, and carry it home with him.

The closer the contact between individuals of the two countries, the greater the chance that borrowings are made; hence, many loan-words, especially as regards non-technical words, must have found their origin in marriages between members of the two nations, whose issue was bi-lingual.

In modern times, now that the multiplication and spread of books lends its powerful assistance in enlarging as well as in fixing the vocabulary from which people derive their words in the language of every day life; now that people travel so much faster than they used to do in the early ages, the number of new borrowings can be but small. But when many, or perhaps most people, even of the upper classes, could neither read nor write; when the country was very thinly peopled — in the middle of the 14th century England had a population of hardly 4000000, more than one half of which was carried off by the plague about that time [1]); — when travellers for greater safety travelled in the company of others, and had to spend long winter evenings with their fellow-travellers in the guestrooms of inns, the chance of their borrowing words from one another was very great indeed.

Of course, the lower classes would borrow more readily than

[1]) *Gr.* 224, 248.

the upper, the less cultured from the more cultured, rather than vice versa, just as children will learn their words from their parents and teachers; and if we consider that thousands of Flemings came to England in the Middle Ages to teach their handicrafts and trades to the English, that numbers of English students went to the University of Louvain, as still larger numbers did to that of Leyden in more modern times, there can be no question as to which were the borrowers and which the lenders.

My study of the Anglo-Dutch relations from the earliest times to the death of William the Third, has taught me that

(1) one wave of Flemish and Dutch immigration after another flowed over Great Britain and Ireland from the time of William the Conqueror to that of William the Third;

(2) thousands came to stay, lived with English hosts, taught their trades to English apprentices, and married English wives;

(3) the handicrafts and industries they introduced or improved were many, in addition to the principal one, which was weaving;

(4) on many occasions British and Low Dutch soldiers fought side by side, either in Great Britain and Ireland, or in the Low Countries and elsewhere;

(5) from the Middle Ages to the middle of the 16th century, there was an almost uninterrupted trade with the Hanseatic towns; the Hanse merchants enjoyed great privileges in England, where they had their Guildhall in more than one town;

(6) the carrying trade between Great Britain and the Continent was chiefly in the hands of the Dutch until Cromwell's Navigation Act; hence the continual contact between English and Low Dutch seamen, which led to the introduction into English of several Low Dutch nautical terms;

(7) there was continual contact between English and Low Dutch fishermen;

(8) from the 14th century there were English colonies of Merchant-Adventurers in various towns of Flanders, the Netherlands and North Germany, while at various times the English or the Scotch woolstaple was in Flemish or Dutch towns;

(9) during the latter part of the 16th, and to a much greater extent during the whole of the 17th century, the English endeavoured to outvie the Dutch, who were far ahead of them in every

way, by studying and imitating their political, social, industrial, commercial and scientific methods and institutions;

(10) the thousands of religious refugees, both Dutch in England, and English in the Low Countries, had a great influence on English habits of thought in religious matters, which gave rise to the numerous sectarian churches in England;

(11) Dutch literature and art found their way to England, where several Dutch scholars, literary men and artists found either a temporary, or a permanent home;

(12) there was much contact between the English and the Dutch in the colonial settlements, especially in those which during the 17th century and later passed from Dutch into English hands.

In an introductory chapter to my work on the Low Dutch element in the English vocabulary it was my intention to deal with the individual contact incident to all this intercourse; for it is from this contact, its circumstances, its time and its place, that the indispensable historical and literary evidence has to be drawn. To avoid making it too much like a mere chronological table of doubtful interest, I have endeavoured to work the details and particulars from which this contact is evident, into a general survey of the Anglo-Dutch relations — at least as far as I have not found it impossible to do so — in such a manner as to make the nature and extent of the contact self-evident. To show that, of it were not for lack of material, we might prove that some of the Low Dutch words in English date from times before the Conquest, I have begun with the Old English period. That what was intended to be an introductory chapter has thus grown to the size of an introductory volume, may be regarded as evidence of the comprehensiveness of the Anglo-Dutch relations, as well as of the debt which the United Kingdom owes to them in addition to some hundreds of words.

It is a pleasure to me here to tender my cordial thanks to Professor A. Mawer, of Liverpool, to whom I am indebted for particulars in connexion with the names and localities of some places where there were early Flemish and Frisian settlements; to my friend Mr. F. P. Bevill Shipham, Inspector of schools under the London County Council, who supplied me with some information about Flemish and Dutch settlers and their

trades at Wandsworth in the 17th century; to my late colleague Mr. P. A. van Deinse, of Arnhem, who kindly assisted me in identifying hopelessly corrupted continental names; to my colleague Dr. Jan de Vries, of Arnhem, to whom I never applied in vain for information about Scandinavian forms and words; and especially to Prof. J. H. Kern, of Groningen, who, but for his appointment to the Chair of Dutch at Leyden, would have presented me for my degree. To this learned gentleman I am indebted for many hints and suggestions of which I have gratefully availed myself, convinced that by so doing I could only enhance the scientific value of the introductory volume. I am proud to say that Prof. Kern has generously promised to extend his scholarly assistance to the lexicographical work. In conclusion it is a pleasure to me to express my great obligation to my friend, Prof. A. E. H. Swaen, who has kindly undertaken to continue the work begun by Prof. Kern, and present me for my degree at Amsterdam University.

Arnhem, October 1924. J. F. BENSE.

BOOKS REFERRED TO

(Abbreviations used)

A.I.	*W. Cunningham.* Alien Immigrants to England. London, 1897.
Ann.	*J. Stow.* The Annales or Generall Chronicle of England .... continued and augmented .... by E. Howes, gentleman. London, 1615.
Athen.	*Athenæum.*
Beck.	*S. W. Beck.* The Draper's Dictionary. London, n.d.
B. W. M.	*British Woollen Manufacture.* A Brief Deduction of the Original, Progress, and Immense Greatness of the —. London, 1727.
C. H. E. L.	*The Cambridge History of English Literature.* Cambridge, 1907-16.
Ch. Enc.	*Chambers's Encyclopædia.* Re-issue of New Edition (1901-1903). London, Edinburgh, n.d.
D. N. B.	*Dictionary of National Biography.* London, 1898.
E.	*John Evelyn.* Diary and Correspondence. Edited by William Bray. London, 1850.
Freem.	*E. A. Freeman.* A Short History of the Norman Conquest of England. Oxford, 1887.
Frois.	*Sire Jean Froissart.* Les Chroniques .... Nouvellement revues et augmentées d'après les manuscrits. Avec Notes, Eclaircissements, Tables et Glossaire par J. A. C. Buchon. Paris, 1853.
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P. *S. Pepys.* Diary. Ed. by H. W. Wheatley; with Lord Braybrooke's Notes. London, Cambridge, 1904.

P. L. *The Paston Letters.* A. D. 1422-1509. Edited by J. Gairdner. London, Exeter, 1904.

R. *J. Ruinen.* De oudste handelsbetrekkingen van Holland en Zeeland met Engeland tot in het laatste kwartaal der XIVe eeuw. Academisch Proefschrift. Amsterdam, 1919.

Th. Rymer. Fœdera. London, 1821.

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Skeat Princ. *W. W. Skeat.* Principles of English Etymology. Oxford, 1892.

Smiles. *S. Smiles.* Lives of the Engineers. London, 1874.

Smith. *J. Smith.* Memoirs of Wool, Woolen Manufacture, and Trade. London, 1757.

Sur. *J. Stow.* The Survey of London. Everyman's Library. London, n.d.

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te W. *Dr. J. te Winkel.* De ontwikkelingsgang der Nederlandsche Letterkunde. I, II, V. Haarlem, 1908.

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te W. Gesch. *Dr. J. te Winkel.* Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde. I. Haarlem, 1887.

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OTHER ABBREVIATIONS USED

Bck.	Buckinghamshire	Lan.	Lancashire
Bdf.	Bedfordshire	Lei.	Leicestershire
Brks.	Berkshire	Lin.	Lincolnshire
Bwk.	Berwick	Mer.	Merioneth
Chs.	Cheshire	Mid.	Middlesex
Cmb.	Cambridgeshire	Mon.	Monmouthshire
Cth.	Carmarthen	Mtg.	Montgomery
Cum.	Cumberland	Nhb.	Northumberland
Der.	Derbyshire	Nhp.	Northamptonshire
Dev.	Devon	Not.	Nottinghamshire
Dnb.	Denbighshire	Nrf.	Norfolk
Dor.	Dorsetshire	Oxf.	Oxfordshire
Edb.	Edinburghshire	Per.	Perthshire
Elg.	Elgin	Rtl.	Rutland
Ess.	Essex	Rxb.	Roxburghshire
Fif.	Fife	Shr.	Shropshire
Flt.	Flintshire	Stf.	Staffordshire
Gmg.	Glamorganshire	Suf.	Suffolk
Glo.	Gloucestershire	Sur.	Surrey
Hmp.	Hampshire	Sus.	Sussex
Hnt.	Huntingdonshire	War.	Warwickshire
Hrf.	Herefordshire	Wgt.	Wigtown
I. W.	Isle of Wight	Wil.	Wiltshire
Kcb.	Kircudbright	Wm.	Westmoreland
Ken.	Kent	Wor.	Worcestershire

DB.	Domesday Book	OE.	Old English

CHAPTER I

BEFORE THE CONQUEST

The Anglo-Saxons — the Germanic forefathers of the present English nation — emigrated from the country between the Rhine and the Elbe at various times during the fifth and sixth centuries; at least, towards the end of the latter century the Anglo-Saxons or English were masters of the land, and from that time dates the development of their dialects, which together form what is now usually called Old English.

Yet we read of Low Dutch people in the British Isles long before the fifth century, even before Cæsar conquered the country, when people who lived in what is now known by the name of Flanders, were compelled by floods to emigrate, and came in sailless vessels and settled in the Isle of Wight and on the neighbouring south coast, arriving as friendly guests and remaining as invaders [1]). Agricola is said to have fought the battle of the "Grampius" — in 83 or 84 A.D. — with the aid of 8000 Hollanders and Brabanders [2]). In 285 Carausius was made Admiral of the British seas, which were "sore troubled by the pirates of the Frankes and Saxons", and in or before 292 Constantius "building ships to pass over hither [3]) first assayled luckily the Hollanders, which had revolted to Carausius". Holland was "then holden by certaine Frankes" [4]).

If these stories be true, we shall find that the continental forefathers of the Anglo-Saxons did exactly what their continental kinsmen were to do after the Conquest, when we hear of Flemish

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[1]) Th. I. 18; with a reference in *note* 1 to *Trioedd ynys Prydain* No. 6, *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* vol. II. p. 58.— Belgæ (Jul. Cæsar, de Bello Gallico).

[2]) Ann. 35-36. See also Hermes, Zeitschrift für Classische Philologie XVI. 553; Paulys Real-Encyclopädie *in* Cohors 251 ff, and *in* Agricola 139; Tacitus, Agricola cap. 36, where Batavi and Tungri are mentioned.

[3]) To "Brytain". — [4]) Ann. 42.

mercenaries and adventurers in every part of Great Britain and Ireland; of Flemings who sought refuge in England from the floods, and of Flemish and other Low Dutch pirates harassing the British coasts.

Before the Angles and Saxons invaded England, the trade route from the Low Countries to England lay straight across the German ocean from the mouth of the Rhine. This was the route taken by the Frisian merchants who did the import and export trade for the inhabitants of England even before the invasions of the Anglo-Saxons, who followed the same route [1]). That there must have been Frisians in various parts of England in those early times is evident from the following place-names: Firsby, East and West (Lin.) [2]), Firsby in Spilsby (Lin.) [3]), Friesthorpe (Lin.) [4]), Fri(e)ston in Caythorpe (Lin.) [5]), Frizinghall (Yks.) [6]), Fryston (Yks.) [7]), Frisby-on-the-Wreak (Lei.)[8]), Old Frisby (Lei.)[9]), Freston (Stf.)[10]), Friston (Sus.)[11]), Frizington (Cum.)[12]), Frizenham (Dev.)[13]). It is uncertain whether these names point to an individual settler known as "Fresa" or the Frisian in each case, or to a genitive plural denoting "of the Frisians" [14]). These names are the earliest known forms. Those ending in "by" must have come into existence at the time when or after the Danes, who were sometimes accompanied by Frisians, invaded Great Britain and Ireland; the others may be of an earlier date, for it is known that Frisian merchants or traders lived in England in the 8th century, and when, in the days of Liudger at York, a Frisian merchant had killed an Earl, it is said that the other Frisian residents fled from that town; and if the channel between Scotland and Ireland were really called "mare Fresicum", as Nennius calls it, this would be evidence of the early presence of Frisians in those remote parts; only, the variant reading "mare Frenessicum" in some manuscripts and Camden's translation "beyond the Frith" throws some doubt upon it [15]). There is further evidence of Frisians in England in the facts that in 855 Danes and Frisians took up their winterquarters in the island of Sheppey in the mouth of the Thames; that Ubbe

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[1]) W. 27. — [2]) DB. Friseby. — [3]) 1316 Frisebi. — [4]) 1100 Frisatorp. — [5]) DB. Fristun. — [6]) Edw. I. Fresinghale. — [7]) DB. Friston. — [8]) DB. Frisebie. — [9]) DB. Frisebie. — [10]) DB. Fresetuna; *c.* 990 Fresentun. — [11]) Edw. I. Fristun. — [12]) 1259 Fresinton. — [13]) DB. Friseham.

[14]) *Fresing* may be for *Fresinga* "of the descendants of the Frisians," or it may be *Fresing* "belonging to *Fresa* or the Frisian." — [15]) W. 27, 370.

or Ubbo, dux Fresonum, also called dux Fresciorum, besieged York in 867 with an army of Scaldingi [1]), as if they had come from the Scheldt country, though it is more likely that they came from the country between the rivers Lek and IJssel and were Frisians; and that in 896 Frisians aided the Anglo-Saxons against the Danes. We must not forget that the name of Frisian was sometimes given to leaders who had distinguished themselves with honour in their fights with Frisians [2]).

There is a story that Hengest the Saxon, on his return out of England, cast up at Leyden a very steep artificial mount, as a place to retire to in case of any sudden inundations [3]), and in his "Rise of the Dutch Republic" Motley refers to the "tower of Hengest" in that town. If this story be true, we might infer from it that Hengest, if no Frisian himself, at least lived among them for some time, though we have some idea that Hengest, as well as his fellow-leader Horsa, are mere legendary characters.

The relations between the Anglo-Saxons and their continental kinsmen appear to have been religious as well, for Irish missionaries laboured among the Frisians of the northern seas in the 7th century [4]); Boniface and Willibrod worked in Friesland and other parts of the Low Countries as well as in N. W. Germany in the 7th and 8th centuries, while Willibrod became Bishop of Utrecht. It is of importance to remember that Boniface called to his aid priests, monks and nuns from England, whom he distributed through the various countries [5]), and that Willibrod took eleven friars with him, when he went to the continent [6]), for it may be through these Englishmen in the Low Countries that were brought about the early literary relations; for they must have become acquainted with the learning and literature of the continent. We need only refer to ll.235-851 of *Genesis*, an OE. poem long attributed to Cædmon, until Sievers found out that these lines were an Anglicised version of a portion of an Old Saxon paraphrase of the Old Testament, long lost, composed by the author of the Heliand. Portions of the Old-Saxon original have since been found in the Vatican library. This work belongs to the latter part of the 9th century, and the OE. version may have been written by an Old Saxon monk, resident in England, or it may be a somewhat im-

[1]) Symeonis Historia de Sancto Cuthberto, I. 202. — [2]) W. 197-200, 393. — [3]) E. I. 26. — [4]) Gr. 23. — [5]) Ch. Enc. — [6]) de H. I. 73.

perfect translation from Old Saxon by some Old English monk [1]). In connexion with these literary relations it is also worth noting that a part of the great 10th century monument of OE. literature, Béowulf, relates events that happened on Low Dutch soil among the Frisians and Franks about the year 520 A.D. [2])

At the same time we should remember that probably the best and most intellectual part of the Low German tribes had settled in England, for how else to explain the fact that England became a centre of learning and scholarship long before we hear of such things in their former continental homes? In the early years of the 8th century strangers, among whom there may have been Low Dutch students, flocked to Bede's school of Jarrow [3]), and it was in the same century that the famous Liudger, of Frisian descent, was for four years a pupil of Alcuin's at York [4]).

The inroads and subsequent ravages of the Danes in the 9th and 10th centuries drove the learned men and learning with them to the continent, where they were heartily welcome among others to Charlemagne, who invited scholars from all parts of Europe to his courts at Aix-la-Chapelle and Nimeguen, Alcuin being one of them. Not without reason did Alfred complain "hu man útanbordes wísdóm ond láre hieder ón lond sohte, ond hú wé híe nú sceoldon úte begietan, gif wé híe habban sceoldon" [5]).

The great centres of literary culture in the Low Countries in the 10th century were Liège and Utrecht, which latter place owed its importance to Willibrod; its cathedral school was famous in the days of Charlemagne [6]). Thus we see how the centres of learning had been removed from England to the Low Countries, which for many centuries remained ahead of England in many ways, as we shall see, in spite of the endeavours made by Alfred to restore learning to his kingdom, among others by sending for the learned Grimald of St. Omer to preside over the abbey which he founded at Winchester, and by fetching, probably from the Westphalian Abbey of Corbay, John the Old Saxon to rule a monastery in the marshes of Athelney [7]).

That there must have been frequent communication between England and the Low Countries at this early time is also eviden-

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[1]) C. H. E. L. I. 46-7; te W. I. 6; Gesch. I. 48. — [2]) C. H. E. L. I. 26; te W. I. 7; Gesch. I. 29. — [3]) Gr. 39, 42-3. — [4]) te W. Gesch. I. 42. — [5]) See Alfred's Preface to *Cura Pastoralis*. — [6]) te W. I. 12. — [7]) Gr. 52.

ced by the proprietory rights conferred on ecclesiastical houses, such as the grant of Lewisham in Kent to St. Peter's at Ghent by Alfrithe, daughter of Alfred [1]). There were also two cells to St. Omer, both in Kent, one at Throwley and the other at Trewleigh[2])

In the latter half of the 10th century the foreign trade of London laid the foundations of its future commercial greatness, and it was at this time that "men of the Empire", traders of Lower Lorraine [3]) and the Rhine-land moored their vessels along the Thames and were seen in the streets of London. This is quite in keeping with the facts that among goods imported from various parts of the world was iron-work from Liège [4]) and that merchants of Tiel visited England. Tiel was at that time a great commercial centre on the trade-route from Germany to England [5]), while in the 11th century Englishmen used to travel to Tiel either on business — in order to barter goods here with the Germans — or to get their health restored to them in some miraculous way by St. Walburg [6]).

Before Tiel, Dorestad had been the greatest commercial town in the 8th and 9th centuries, when its foreign trade was chiefly carried on by the Frisians about that part of the country. In the 11th and 12th centuries the Germans of the Liège district, of Westphalia and the Lower Rhine kept up the trade between England and the more central parts of Germany, while those of the coasts between the Vlie and the Elbe carried on the trade between Scandinavia and England [7]). We must not forget that when in English documents mention is made of Hanseatic merchants, Germans, Almaynes, "homines imperatoris", "homines ducis Saxonie", those of the Low Dutch towns, such as Tiel, Groningen, Stavoren, Workum, Kampen, and those of Guelderland are included, which cannot with certainty be said of those of Utrecht, and certainly not of those of Holland and Zealand [8]).

It is from about the time of Edward the Confessor's accession that the name of Flanders appears again and again in the annals of English history. So in 1037 the Lady Emma of Normandy, the widow of two kings — Æthelred and Canute — fled to Flanders,

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[1]) I. C. I. 84-5. — [2]) Gasquet. — [3]) Now Belgium: Freem. 41. — [4]) Gr. 58, 67. [5]) Meil. 75, 242, 251. — [6]) *Ibid.* 57-8, 60, 88. — [7]) *Ibid.* 2.

[8]) *Ibid* 135-8, 253. We may add here that in the 11th and 12th centuries and perhaps even later the name "Frisians" is also given to the inhabitants of parts of Holland, of East Friesland and of the western coasts of Schleswig-Holstein (Meil. 68-9).

where she remained three years [1]), and during the Confessor's reign Earl Godwine, his lady and three sons were in banishment there, until Godwine sailed from Bruges for Kent, where he disembarked at Sandwich, while his ships made for Southwark [2]). Edward was compelled to dismiss the Normans who held bishoprics or other great offices, yet he was allowed to retain, among others, Hereman, a Fleming, as Bishop of Wilton [3]).

It was after Godwine's death, shortly after this, when the actual governor of the realm was his son Harold, that the country increased in wealth and prosperity, and that its gold work and embroidery became famous in the markets of Flanders and France [4]). And yet, in spite of this prosperity, England was left far behind the continent in matters of literature, art and religion, and thus the time was drawing near when England felt that she could only be benefited by closer contact with the continent, especially the Low Countries. But important changes were to take place first. It was in 1065 that Harold's brother, Earl Tostig, was banished and went to the court of the Count of Flanders, whose daughter he had married [5]). The next year, when he attempted in vain to land upon the eastern coast of England, his following consisted of Frisian, Dutch and Flemish adventurers [6]). What became of the Low Dutch survivors of the battle of Stamford Bridge, in which Harold of Norway and Tostig were both killed, whether they went back to their country or remained in England, we do not know, but what we do know is, that three days after the battle Harold of England was informed by a messenger that William of Normandy had landed in Sussex [7]). William not only imported a large number of Flemings, but brought a Flemish lady to share the English throne with him.

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[1]) Th. I. 171; Freem. 23. — [2]) Th. I. 187, 191-2; Freem. 29, 39; Gr. 69. — [3]) Th. I. 196. — [4]) Gr. 70. — [5]) Th. I. 201; Freem. 49-50; Gr. 70. — [6]) Th. I. 222. — [7]) *Ibid.* I. 243; Freem. 63.

CHAPTER II

1066—1272

The term "Norman" has been used to indicate the miscellaneous host of about 60.000 men [1]) which William of Normandy led to the conquest of England, just as the terms *Francus* and *Francigena* in the 11th century documents seem to refer indifferently to Bretons, Normans, Picards and Flemings who followed William to England and settled there [2]). It appears that the promises of money and booty which the Norman Duke had held out to all those who should join him in the enterprise, had allured numbers of adventurers, high and low, from all the surrounding countries[3]). King Henry of Germany, the son of the Emperor Henry, though not actually helping William, did not hinder his subjects from joining the Duke's army [4]), and the Count of Flanders, without personally joining the army, lent his son-in-law what assistance lay in his power to promote its success [5]).

As regards Baldwin's subjects who took part in the actual fighting, they obtained whatever reward they required for their services, and William promised money to one, free passage and what booty he could make to another; in fact, he is known to have given in advance a bishopric in England to a monk of Fescamp [6]). The easiest way in which William could pay them was in lands, not in money [7]), and the poorest soldier found his part of the spoil [8]).

It took William four years to conquer all England [9]), in which time he did his work so thoroughly, that he had reduced the native population to poverty and servitude [10]) and had set up as masters of the land those who had served him as soldiers; but they

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[1]) Th. I. 236. — [2]) A. I. 21. — [3]) Th. I. 230. — [4]) Freem. 69. — [5]) Th. I. 232. [6]) *Ibid.* I. 230-1. — [7]) A. I. 21. — [8]) Gr. 84. — [9]) Th. I. 336. — [10]) Freem. 4; Th. I. 269, 320-1.

held their estates of the English crown, according to English law, and thus gradually became Englishmen [1]).

As soon as William had conquered a part of the country, he divided the land among his soldiers. Large domains, castles, even whole towns were given to Norman barons [2]), while the knights and those of lower rank received larger and smaller estates and rewards in accordance with the terms on which they had accepted service; some took their pay only in money, and others had stipulated beforehand that an Anglo-Saxon lady should be given them for wife: according to the chroniclers William made them take in marriage wealthy noble ladies whose husbands had been killed in the battle-field [3]). Those Anglo-Saxon women who were not taken *par mariage* were taken *par amours*, and became the playthings of the foreign soldiers, the least and the meanest of whom was lord and master in the house of the vanquished [4]). Even the queen received her share of the spoil, for after the fall of Exeter, from which town Harold's mother Ghita, the widow of Godwine, escaped to Flanders with many others [5]), Matilda obtained the immense estates belonging to Brictric [6]), an Anglo-Saxon on whom she wanted to be revenged, because he had refused to marry her in one of his journeys to Flanders as ambassador from Edward the Confessor. To complete her revenge, he was thrown into prison [7]). It is very probable that the queen employed Flemings on these estates, especially as numbers of Flemings came to England trusting that their Count's daughter would protect them [8]).

From the first William built castles everywhere, but chiefly along the marches of Wales, which were thickly studded with them [9]), and along the eastern coasts as a precaution against the Danes, who were expected by William to come to the aid of the suppressed Anglo-Danish population of the eastern counties, and actually did so with the help of Frisians and Old Saxons [10]).

It will be clear that by the time William had completed the conquest, a large number of his soldiers were scattered all over the

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[1]) Freem. 4; Gr. 84.

[2]) One William Peverel had in Not. 55 manors, 48 houses of merchants, 12 of warriors and 8 of husbandmen in the city of that name, in addition to a castle in Derbyshire (Th. I. 298).

[3]) Th. I. 270-1. — [4]) *Ibid.* 273. — [5]) *Ibid.* 289-90. — [6]) See an enumeration of them in Th. I. 544-6. — [7]) Th. I. 290-1. — [8]) I. C. I. 186. — [9]) Freem. 93; A. I. 27. — [10]) Th. I. 312.

country [1]), either as landholders or as soldiers planted out in military colonies or garrisoning the castles, and that there should have been Flemings among them in various parts of the island, is not surprising. Thus we find that a Fleming, named Gherbod, was the first Earl of Chester [2]); Gilbert of Ghent was one of the two commanders at York in 1069, when the city was attacked and taken by the Danes and Anglo-Saxons [3]); Walcher of Lorraine, who had already been made Bishop of Durham, became Earl of Northumberland, when in 1076 his friend Waltheof had been put to death [4]) — many of Walcher's retainers were Flemings [5]); Dreux de Beveren, chief of Flemish mercenaries, obtained Holderness in 1070. He married a relation of the King's, whom he killed in a fit of rage. He went to William before the latter knew of the murder and asked him to give him money in exchange for his domain, as he wanted to return to Flanders. William agreed and did not know of the crime until after Dreux' departure [6]).

Not only were lands, estates and commands given to Flemings, but more than one bishopric fell to their share [7]), in addition to those which were held by naturalized Lorraines at the death of Edward the Confessor, such as Hereman, a Fleming, who was Bishop of Wilton in 1045, of Sherborne in 1048 and, by the direction of the Conqueror, of Salisbury, where he laid the foundations of the cathedral; Giso, a native of St. Trudo, who had been one of the chaplains of the household of Edward the Confessor, was Bishop of Wells from 1060 to 1086; and Walter, Bishop of Hereford [8]). We may add here that Geoffrey of Louvain, Bishop of Bath, was in 1135 succeeded by Robert, a Fleming, born in Normandy [9]).

No wonder that the conquest was followed by a large immigration from all those parts of the continent from which William's soldiers had come, since the poorest adventurers that had gone before, had become men of high rank and illustrious barons: names, mean and obscure on one side of the Channel, were noble and famous on the other, and among those favourites of fortune the

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[1]) A. I. 18. — [2]) Th. I. 331; A. I. 26. — [3]) Th. I. 315; Freem. 101. — [4]) Freem. 116. — [5]) Th. I. 404; I. C. I. 646. — [6]) Th. I. 322. — [7]) Freem; 96.

[8]) Th. I. 349; *Saxon Chronicle*, 1045; William of Malmesbury, *de Gest. Pontif.* 250; Giso's autobiographical sketch in the *Historiola de Primordiis Episcopatus Somersetensis*, quoted by Joseph Wright. *Biographia Britannica Literaria I.* (*1842*). *514-7.*

[9]) Ann. 142.

Flemish weavers are mentioned specially[1]). When William wanted reinforcements in 1085, he again applied to the countries which had furnished him with troops for the invasion, with the result that they now furnished garrisons to defend the conquered country[2]). Domesday Book tells us how far the land had passed into the hands of Normans and other strangers[3]), but some idea of it can be got from the fact that, when in the same year of the Survey a general meeting was held by William at Salisbury, or, according to some, at Winchester, of all the conquerors or the sons of conquerors, there were 60.000 men present, all "possesseurs au moins d'une portion de terre suffisante pour l'entretien d'un cheval ou d'une armure complète"[4]).

The great rise in value of many estates between the time of the Confessor and the taking of the Survey in 1086, is evidence that among William's soldiers there must have been many labourers who, in the intervals of fighting, devoted themselves to the tillage of the soil, though they may have been assisted by new-comers, for it was not only ecclesiastics, soldiers and traders, who emigrated from all parts of western Europe, but whole families came over[5]), and we have evidence of Flemish rural settlements in the names of Flempton in Suf., formerly Flemingtuna[6]), and Flendish Hundred[7]) in Cmb., Fleming Hall[8]) in Gosforth in Cum.; Flimby[9]) in Cum. and Flimwell[10]) in Sus., if not rural settlements, were possibly held by a single lord whose family was ultimately of Flemish origin, as seems very probable in the case of Fleming Hall, which was owned in 1250 by Ricardus Flandrensis.

It would be interesting to know if there are other place-names indicative of Flemish influence, for there is some evidence that, apart from Flemish mercenaries in William's army, there were thousands of Flemish immigrants in his reign, chiefly weavers' families: "On raconte.... que nombre de gildes flamandes, frappées coup sur coup par la Comtesse Richilde de lourdes amendes et d'impôts de guerres non consentis, résolurent d'émigrer. Elles envoyèrent à la reine Mathilde des fondés de pouvoirs, qui lui exposèrent la commune détresse et réclamèrent sa protection....

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[1]) Th. I. 278. — [2]) *Ibid.* 425-6. — [3]) Freem. 125. — [4]) Th. I. 430. — [5]) *Ibid.* I. 328-9. — [6]) A. I. 22; DB. Flemingtun.

[7]) DB. Flamingdica, so named from the earthwork now known as Fleam Dike.

[8]) *c.* 1300 Flemynghall (St. Bees Chartulary). — [9]) 1281 Flemingby (Charter Rolls). — [10]) 1309 Flemyngwell (Close Rolls).

A peine débarqués, au nombre de quinze mille environ, nos tisserands de toile, nos drapeurs, et nos mégissiers furent conduits comme des malfaiteurs vers les frontières du nord de l'Angleterre" [1]).

It may be that, when William gave his consent, he did not expect such a flood of immigrants, and as the north of England had been badly devastated and depopulated, William may well have tried to serve a double object in sending them there. We shall hear more of them in the next century, but this may suffice to prove that it is probably owing to these Flemish weavers and those brother-artisans who had been among William's soldiers and returned to their old avocation, that with the Conquest an art was introduced into England, which was well established in Flanders, having been introduced into Ghent by Baldwin the Young a century before [2]).

That Flemish weavers settled in various parts of the kingdom is evident from what we have said before as well as from the facts that, when William had built Battle Abbey on the site of his victory at Hastings, there were settlers around it of the names of Gilbert the Weaver, Baldwin the Tailor [3]), names and trades which point to a Flemish origin; that, about the time the Flemish weavers are supposed to have settled in England, that is immediately after the Conquest, sheep-farming began to be practised, chiefly by the Cistercian monks [4]); that Gilbert of Ghent used a small piece of land in Lincolnshire, which had hitherto been under plough, for his flock of sheep [5]); that Drogo of Bruere, a Fleming, is known to have obtained a large tract of land from William the Conqueror at Beverley, where there was an early settlement of Flemish weavers, their presence there at some time being evidenced by the name Flemingate; that in 1280 there were shops mentioned in the streets of Douay and Ypres on St. Giles' Hill without the city of Winchester [6]). Thus we see at the same time how the Flemish weavers who emigrated to England in the 11th century, did much to develop English industry and commerce [7]).

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[1]) Quoted by Cunningham (A. I. 35) from Rahlenbeck's *Du Principe d'association* in "Messages des sciences historiques" (1863) p. 19.

[2]) I. C. I. 647, 655. — [3]) Gr. 92. — [4]) A. I. 42-4, 47, Monk 67. — [5]) I. C. I. 647. — [6]) A. I. 38. — [7]) I. C. I. 143.

Flemish Influence on Art and Trade

In a new country as England then was, just emerging from her isolation, there were openings for all sorts of arts and trades: this explains why the military conquest was so soon followed by a more peaceful invasion of artisans and traders from the continent [1]); and in nearly every art and trade we can trace Flemish influence. There were few stone castles in England at William's arrival, and there was a great demand for building castles and churches. Now in connexion with this it is noticeable that small brick was used in England, called Flanders tile, "such as hath been here used since the Conquest, and not before" [2]), while there is evidence of Flemish masons and builders in the next century.

Another thing which points to Flemish influence after the Conquest, is the springing up of fairs in England; in the Low Countries they date from the 10th century [3]). These early English fairs were first frequented by foreign merchants with imported goods[4]). The English taste for imported cloth of fine make was developed by the foreign merchants, who were glad to purchase English embroidery, and as at all times William provided for the security of the traders, there was nothing to hinder them from coming [5]). There seems to be no doubt that these traders soon obtained a certain amount of civic status in the localities they visited, and the families of those who prospered, would grow up as English townsmen. Thus they contributed much towards the fusion between the races [6]), and the Flemings among them, like the weavers and agricultural labourers, must have been absorbed in the English nation.

A kind of industrial organization with which the Flemings on the continent had long been familiar, was introduced by Flemings into England and led to the establishment in the 12th century of weavers'-, bakers'- and fullers' gilds. Baking, like brewing and laundry-work, and the trades of carpenter, smith, saddler and shoemaker had been household occupations before the Conquest, just as homespun cloth had been woven by the women of the household, but had not been an article of trade [7]).

In connexion with tapestry, we read that up to the latter end of

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[1]) Gr. 92. — [2]) Sur. 29. — [3]) I. C. I. 652. — [4]) *Ibid.* 646-7. — [5]) Th. I. 382; I. C. I. 647; A. I. 40 *note* [2], 58. — [6]) A. I. 41-2. — [7]) A. I. 42-4, 47.

the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century all such works were probably laboriously worked with the needle. The first workmen using the loom were called Sarazins or Sarazinois, which has led to the supposition that the improvement was due either to its introduction into Europe by the Saracens of Spain, or was acquired by the Flemings, among whom it was first developed during one of the Crusades against the Saracens in the East [1]).

It would seem that of the non-Norman elements in William's army, the Flemings made themselves very useful and became one with the English nation, unlike the Bretons, who, when the last of them left England, were referred to by Lanfranc in a letter to King William in the following terms: "Gloria in excelsis Deo, cujus misericordia regnum vestrum purgatum est spurcitia Britonum" [2]).

Apart from the Flemish immigrants who were sent to the north of England, as we have seen before, there do not seem to have been many Flemings in that part of the country or in Scotland in the 11th century. The first time William went north of the Tweed with his army was in 1072-3, when he came to terms with King Malcolm and went back to Durham [3]). Queen Margaret, Edgar's sister, encouraged traders from various countries to visit Scotland [4]); it is very likely that there were traders from the Low Countries among those who were induced to come.

In the reign of Rufus there was civil war in Wales, and one of the parties drew a company of mercenaries to Glamorgan under Robert, fils d'Aymon. The Welsh appear to have been greatly impressed by the warlike appearance of his armoured men and horses, and this induced Robert to invade Glamorgan with a larger force, in order to conquer it for himself, which he succeeded in doing. Like William, he divided the conquered land among his mercenaries, who thus became the first of a race of noblemen and powerful barons. One of these is known as John, the Fleming [5]), from which it is evident that there must have been Flemings among Robert's soldiers.

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[1]) Beck *in* Tapestry.
[2]) Quoted by Thierry from *Lanfranci opera* p. 318 (Th. I. 388).
[3]) Th. I. 376. — [4]) A. I. 30. — [5]) Th. II. 18.

As regards other relations with the Low Countries before 1100, we may refer to the fact that many Anglo-Saxon refugees went to the Teutonic countries at the time of the Conquest [1]). An Anglo-Saxon who settled there, was the famous Hereward who, when he heard from such fugitives of the death of his father, the insults and injury done his mother, and the occupation of his patrimonial estates by the Normans, travelled back to England, and with the help of armed compatriots took his heritage at Brunn, now Bourn, in the south of Lincolnshire, from the Normans [2]).

Edgar went from Scotland to the Count of Flanders to solicit help against the Normans, but had to go back without having met with any success [3]).

Flemings in Wales

It is not easy to say what Flemings were deported to Pembrokeshire in the early years of Henry I.'s reign, for some chroniclers speak of a large number of Flemings who had been driven to England by floods, being first sent to the country east of the Tweed and within four years from there to Wales [4]); some state that those who had come in Queen Matilda's time were also deported, as the country was "sore pestered" with them, so that by Henry's action the country was "cleansed of such noysome people" [5]); some that a few years later there seems to have been another descent of immigrants, whom Henry directed to the mouth of the Tweed, but transferred in 1111 to Ross and Haverford West, where their companions were already settled [6]), and some that a force of Normans, Flemings and Englishmen followed the Earl of Clare (Richard Strongbow), as he landed near Milford Haven, and settled a "Little England" in Pembrokeshire [7]).

To us it seems very unlikely that those who came in Queen Matilda's time, should more than twenty years later — the queen died in 1083 — have become so disorderly and troublesome, that Henry contemplated sending them away. We rather think that they and their children had become peaceful and industrious inhabitants of their adopted country, but that the immigration of Flemings had been going on all the time and had brought such

[1]) Th. I. 336-7. — [2]) *Ibid.* 365. — [3]) *Ibid.* 380. — [4]) I. C. I. 187; Ann. 136. — [5]) I. C. I. 187; Ann. 137. — [6]) I. C. I. 649; A. I. 26. — [7]) Gr. 164-5; Th. II. 20.

large numbers in Henry's time — whatever the cause of their emigration may have been — that Henry did not quite know what to do with them, until he hit upon the plan of planting them out as a kind of military colony in South Wales, which he reinforced once or twice; for we have found that such deportations took place in 1105, 1106 and 1111 [1]). It is quite possible that Henry sent the Flemings to Wales to keep the Welsh in check, for he and his successors seem to have had constant fighting with them [2]).

Though it does not appear that he used them against the Welsh, Henry had, at an earlier date, Flemish mercenaries sent to him by Count Robert of Flanders, as is evident from a convention made between him and the Count in 1101, by which the Count was in certain circumstances to send 500 soldiers, for which the Count was to receive 500 silver Marks every year [3]). There is still a marked difference between the men of Tenby and Gower and their Celtic neighbours [4]); those of Gower or Gwyr yet preserve to a great extent their distinctiveness in dress, custom and language [5]), their language being a barbarous English spoken by the mixed posterity of the English, Flemish and Norman soldiers who conquered the country in the 12th century [6]); the names Milford and Haverford are evidence of the towns having been founded by those Flemings [7]). That those Flemings in Wales were not all fighting men is evident from the pages of Giraldus Cambrensis, who calls them "gens cambrensibus inimicissima", but adds "gens (inquam) lanificiis" and "gens mercimoniis usitatissima" [8]).

Flemish and Brabant Mercenaries in England in the 12th Century

Those early twelfth century immigrants seem to have been the last of the stream which had apparently been pouring in since the Conquest, for not before nearly twenty years later do we again

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[1]) I. C. I. 187, 649; A. I. 26; Ann. 136-7.

[2]) A. I. 26, where the years 1111, 1116, 1140, 1167 and 1193 are mentioned.

[3]) Rymer, Fœdera. Tom. I. A. D. 1101. "Cirographum Conventionis, inter H. I. Regem Angliæ et Robertum Comitem Flandriæ: Per quam dictus Rex tenetur dare Comiti, singulis annis, in Feodo, 400 Marcas Argenti: Et dictus Comes, pro isto Feodo, tenetur mittere 500 Milites in Servitium Regis". Rymer opens with a copy of this convention, which was made at Durham on the 16th of June.

[4]) I. C. I. 187. — [5]) Cassell's Gazetteer *in* Glamorganshire. — [6]) Th. II. 361. — [7]) *Ibid.* 352. — [8]) I. C. I. 187.

hear of Flemings and Brabanters, but in an altogether different way. It was after the death of Henry I., when the country was so to say rent in twain by the adherents of Stephen and those of the widowed Empress Matilda, that the leaders of both parties called in the help of auxiliaries from all parts of France and Flanders. Stephen promised high pay, consisting of the lands to be taken from their antagonists, and the mercenaries came in large numbers, especially theFlemings and the Bretons [1]). Even before this, however, in 1136 it appears that Flemish mercenaries laid siege to Exeter, which at last for lack of provisions was compelled to compound [2]). In 1138 Stephen called William of Ypres out of Flanders, who came with a number of mercenaries and became Stephen's all-powerful general, while in the same year Matilda's brother, Robert of Gloucester, returning with her and a great army from the continent, arrived at Portsmouth [3]). In 1139-40 new troops of Brabanters were engaged by both parties on promises of lands belonging to the other party [4]).

As many of these mercenaries must have remained in England after these civil wars, it will be interesting to trace their movements as mercenaries, especially as, even more so than had been done in Henry's reign, large numbers of castles were built and garrisoned by Stephen. So we find either the one party, or the other, or both at the following towns between 1136 and 1154: Exeter, Portsmouth, Wallingford, Gloucester, Marlborough, Arundel, Bristol, Malmesbury, Worcester, Oxford, Salisbury, Reading, Ely, Nottingham, Lincoln, Stobbridge, Winchester, Rochester, Wilton, Northampton, York, Ipswich, Canterbury, Dover and of course London [5]). In 1141 Stephen's troops were disbanded at Lincoln [6]).

The Flemish leader, William of Ypres, built Ipres Inn in London, where more than two hundred years afterwards one of his descendants, John of Ypres, entertained to dinner John, Duke of Gaunt, and Henry Percy (1377) [7]). William also founded Boxley Abbey in Kent in 1145 [8]).

In 1154 the Flemings conspired with Stephen's younger son William to murder Duke Henry who, with King Stephen and a number of noblemen, had been to Canterbury and Dover to con-

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[1]) Th. I. 491-2. — [2]) Ann. 143-4. — [3]) *Ibid.* 144; Sur. 220-1. — [4]) Th. II. 27. — [5]) *Ibid.* 26-36. — [6]) *Ibid.* 31. — [7]) Sur. 220-1. — [8]) *Ibid.*; Ann. 146.

fer with the Count of Flanders; it was on the way back from Dover at Barham Downe that the conspiracy was discovered by William [1]).

One of the first things Henry II. did when he had succeeded Stephen in 1154 was, as might be expected and was only natural after all the havoc and ravages [2]) wrought by the followers of Stephen's all-powerful Flemish leader, to send them all out of the kingdom and to raze the castles [3]), as had been arranged by the Treaty of Wallingford [4]). Hundreds of castles had been built since the Conquest [5]), especially in Henry I.'s and, with even greater facility, in Stephen's reign. No fewer than 375 — some say more than 1000 — castles were pulled down, but royal castles were carefully repaired and strengthened, so that at the close of Henry II.'s reign there were 657 castles in England and about 300 in Wales [6]).

The work of expelling the mercenaries is said to have been done so thoroughly and effectively, that "they passed away like a dream" [7]), which seems mere rhetoric beside Ralph de Diceto's statement that the Flemings were driven from the castle to the plough, and from camps to workshops [8]). So the expulsion cannot have included all the Flemings in England at the time, but of this presently.

Nevertheless, the time had not yet come when the English kings and barons could do without Flemish mercenaries, for in 1165 Henry II. tried in vain to overcome the Welsh with an army of Flemings, Scots, Picts and Angevins [9]); and, knowing the reputation of the Flemings and Brabanters as soldiers — the best infantry of Europe [10]), as brave as the best of them, better disciplined, and faithful [11]) — we need not be surprised to hear, that Henry II. crossed with them from France to Southampton, when he heard that his eldest son and the Count of Flanders were preparing to descend upon England [12]), that he recalled William of Ypres, who, with his old possessions recovered the king's favour [13]), that he levied "scutage" or shield money, not only to deal

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[1]) Ann. 148.

[2]) Among their outrages there was even the looting of churches and burial-grounds (I. C. I. 648).

[3]) Th. II. 46. — [4]) Gr. 104, 106. — [5]) A. I. 56. — [6]) *Ibid.* 28; Th. II. 17. — [7]) I. C. I. 648. — [8]) A. I. 28-9. — [9]) Ann. 152. — [10]) Th. II. 20. — [11]) *Ibid.* 186-7, 189-90. — [12]) *Ibid.* 190. — [13]) Sur. 221.

a blow at the baronage, but to be enabled to maintain a force of mercenaries instead of "tenants" [1]), that during the rebellion of Hugh Bigod, the Earl of Leicester arrived at Walton with 3000 Flemings, who were defeated at St. Edmundsbury in 1073, after ravaging great parts of East Anglia, and that another army of Flemings succeeded in occupying Norwich the next year [2]).

We are told that Henry II. was liberal to strangers, so we cannot well believe that he drove all the Flemish mercenaries from England at his accession; we could more easily have believed it of his son, Richard I., who was a grievous enemy to them [3]), though he did not despise the assistance of Flemish mercenaries against France [4]).

Scotland

We have seen that there were but few Normans in Scotland in William the Conqueror's time, and yet, the waves of immigration after the Conquest seem to have rolled on into Scotland; first, when the Normans who were dissatisfied with William's decision as to their share of the spoil in England in the year of the Survey, or who were banished by their chiefs, left the country and offered their military service to Malcolm of Scotland, who received them favourably as he had received the Anglo-Saxon refugees before them [5]); secondly, when his queen, Margaret, encouraged traders from various countries to visit Scotland, and they came "by land and sea" [6]), which means that they also came from England; thirdly, in the early years of the 12th century, when Henry I. deported the Flemings from the Tweed district and other parts of England to Pembrokeshire, it is quite possible that some of them refused to be sent to Wales and took refuge in Scotland; and lastly, in the middle of the same century, when the Flemish mercenaries were expelled from England by Henry II., many probably went to Scotland [7]). The clearest proof of this is seen in the facts that (1) at the battle of the Standard in 1138, in which a son of Gilbert of Ghent took a leading part [8]), David of Scotland had a great many Flemings in his army [9]); (2) in 1155, that is at the time when the Flemings "passed away like a dream" from England,

[1]) Gr. 109. — [2]) I. C. I. 648; A. I. 25; Gr. 109. — [3]) Ann. 148, 158. — [4]) Gr. 113-4. — [5]) Th. I. 424; II. 2. — [6]) A. I. 30. — [7]) *Ibid.* 29. — [8]) I. C. I. 648. — [9]) Th. II. 11-4; A. I. 25.

the banks of the Clyde were "thickly studded" with them [1]); (3) when in 1173-4 William the Lion crossed the border and won the castles of Appleby, Brough and Pridehow [2]), he had many Flemings with him, and (4) the Flemish element in the early Scottish towns was very large, which may be inferred from a writ which is addressed "Francis et Anglis et Flamingis et Scotis" [3]). In the reign of William the Lion there were Flemings among the inhabitants of St.Andrews; two Flemings settled at Perth, one of them a goldsmith; at Edinburgh a Fleming became a burgess of the town; St. Andrews boasted a Flemish provost in the reign of David, and Perth a Flemish saddler [4]).

Wales and Ireland

We have already seen that Flemings formed an important part of the population of Pembrokeshire in the early years of the 12th century [5]), a fact which is evident from the name "The Flemish Way (Via Flandrensica), given to an ancient road running along the top of the Presceley Range, which divides Pembrokeshire into its northern and southern halves. It may have been a Roman road, or perhaps a medieval cattle track, but it must have been used a good deal by the Flemings from South Pembrokeshire to get to Cilgerran on the Teivy, where they had a settlement [6]).

Encouraged by the example of Richard Strongbow, other adventurers came over sea and landed in Cardigan bay, invaded the territory of Kemeys, and one of them, a certain Martin de(s) Tours, took the title of Lord of Kemeys, and then offered land and estates to any Frenchman, Fleming or Englishman who would "wage war on the Welsh" [7]). Thus not only Pembroke, but part of the western coasts of Wales contained a pretty strong Flemish element in the 12th century [8]); here those Flemish and Norman adventurers became large landowners and great lords, and their posterity formed the race "des nouveaux riches et des nouveaux nobles" of the land [9]).

Irish travellers and traders told wonderful tales, when they

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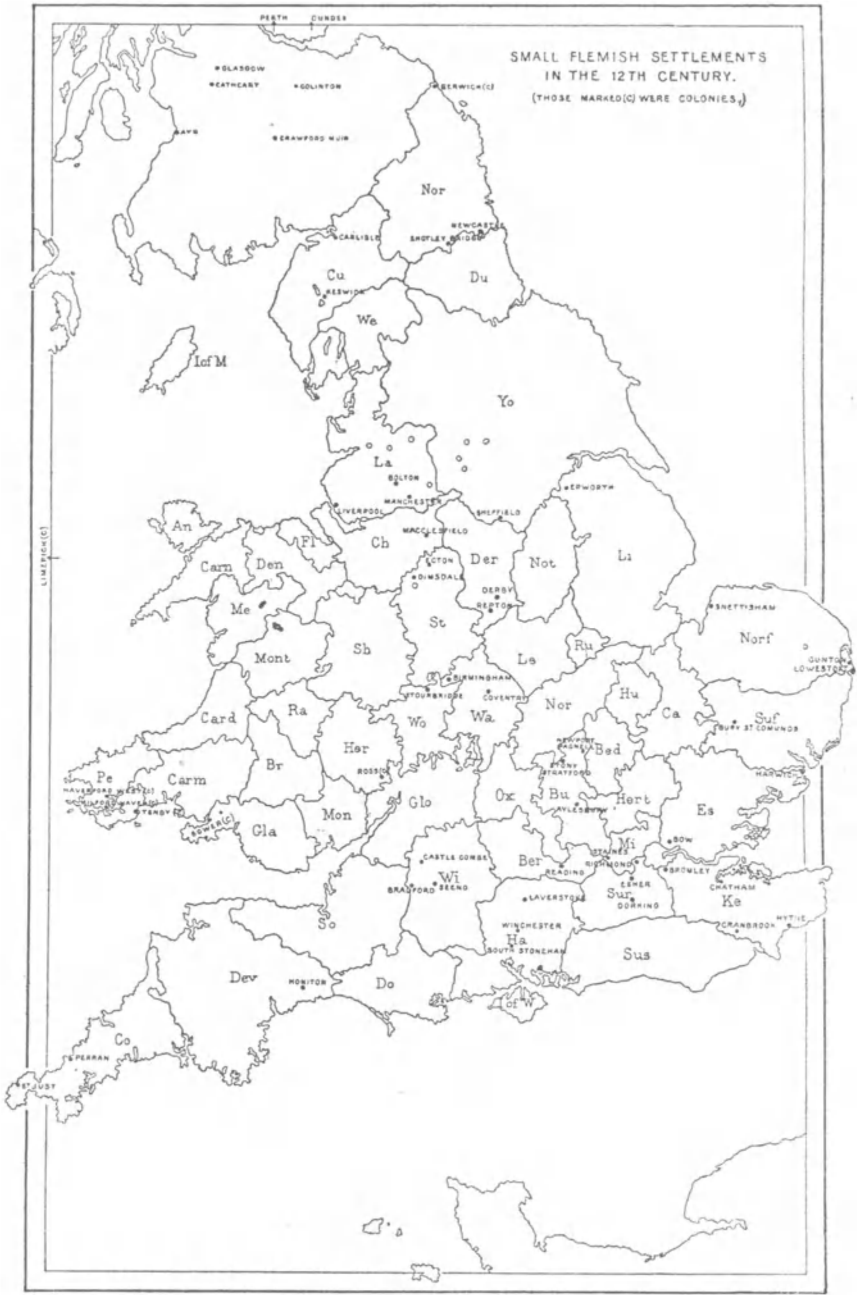
[1]) A. I. 26. — [2]) Ann. 153; A. I. 25. — [3]) A. I. 40. — [4]) *Ibid.* 29 *note* [2].

[5]) In King John's reign, a century later, we hear of the Flemings of Pembroke being forced to do homage to Llewellyn (Gr. 166).

[6]) Th. II. 20-1. The particulars we owe to the kindness of Prof. A. Mawer and Dr. R. Paterson.

[7]) *Ibid.* 21; Gr. 165. — [8]) Th. II. 154. — [9]) *Ibid.* 20.


SMALL FLEMISH SETTLEMENTS
IN THE 12TH CENTURY.
(THOSE MARKED (C) WERE COLONIES.)
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came home from Wales, of the coats of mail and the large Flemish horses, of the strength and the fighting power of Strongbow's companions; and when about the year 1169 Dermot Mac-Morrogh, King of Leinster, overcome by neighbouring chiefs and dethroned by his own subjects, was granted permission by Henry II. to try and find assistance in any part of England, in order to recover the kingdom, he at last succeeded in Pembrokeshire. The Normans and Flemings of that country made arrangements with Dermot as to pay in money and in lands, and to the number of 400, commanded by Robert Fitz-Stephen, they sailed to Wexford, which they took. The whole county of Leinster was recovered for Dermot, who invited his auxiliaries to remain with him, and offered them more lands than they possessed elsewhere. The town of Wexford and two districts between Wexford and Waterford were given to the leaders. As the intrusion of foreigners into Ireland alarmed the neighbouring tribes, nearly all of them made war on Dermot. His Norman and Flemish friends sent for what adventurers and vagabonds they could get in England, and the poorest among them became rich and powerful barons on the east coast of Ireland. But Dermot's old friends from Wales refused to march under him and invited Richard Strongbow, the grandson of the first Earl of Pembroke, to come and assume command over them. Strongbow's reputation and his rank procured him numerous companions, with whom he landed near Wexford. He joined his troops to the Norman colony and led them to the attack of Waterford, which town fell into their hands. Having left a garrison there, they marched upon Dyvlin or Dublin, which they also seized. After the arrival of King Henry II., who had crossed to Ireland to take possession of the country conquered by Strongbow, from the coast of Pembroke, the united troops marched as far as Caskell; the Irish fled in large numbers, and southern Ireland was occupied by the Norman-English troops, the lands divided among them, Norman garrisons left in the towns, and the whole kingdom of Cork given to Robert Fitz-Stephen. Henry then went to Dublin, where all the chiefs of southern and eastern Ireland, from the mouth of the Boyne to that of the Shannon, swore fealty to him [1]).

A few years later the Normans invaded Ulster and occupied

[1]) Th. II. 154-164; Gr. 445-6.

the naval towns and the plains. Meanwhile Connaught was invaded from the south, and when its king had submitted to Henry II., the Anglo-Normans occupied only small parts, owing to the marshy and mountainous nature of this part of Ireland. Only a small number of them settled there [1]), but, following the example of their chief, Hugh de Lacy, who married the daughter of the king of Connaught, they married Irish women, and gradually giving up their own habits and customs, they were quite absorbed in the native population, "degenerated" as the conquerors of the other parts of Ireland said [2]).

After all this the reader will not be surprised to hear that, as far as we know, there were more than fifty small Flemish settlements in Great Britain and Ireland in the 12th century. For their names and situation we refer the reader to the map, which will enable him at a glance to form an idea of the distribution of the Flemish immigrants all over the country [3]).

Industrial Relations

We have already seen how the Flemish immigrants in the latter half of the eleventh century introduced some new trades into England, the chief of them being the weaving trade. Its rapid development during the 12th century is evidenced by the rise of weavers' gilds in various towns. These gilds were organized as independent communities within the towns, and the earliest of them were the weavers' and fullers' gilds at Winchester, organized in 1131. Weavers' gilds also existed about that time at London, Marlborough, Oxford, Lincoln, Huntingdon, Nottingham, Beverley and York [4]). As craft-gilds had not been known in England before the Conquest, and as Domesday Book does not mention a single weaver among the burgesses, while *Liber Winton* of 1148 is the first to give the names of one weaver and three dyers, there is a great probability that the members of those early gilds were Flemings and most probably those Flemings who had been allowed to remain, when others were banished or deported. This

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[1]) Th. II. 235. — [2]) *Ibid.* 236.
[3]) The names of the places are derived from Cunningham's map in I. C. I. facing p. 43.
[4]) A. I. 38; I. C. I. 652.

would account for the contest which continued for many years between the burgesses and the craft-gilds, which were patronized by royalty and so occupied a special position in the towns [1]). The English people have never looked very favourably upon foreigners, and this jealousy can be traced to the 11th and 12th centuries [2]).

The hundreds of castles and abbeys, the thousands of parish churches that were built in the 12th century [3]), also called for foreign builders and masons. Many of these artisans came fron France and especially from Normandy, but there is evidence that Flemings were also employed, for the Low Countries had a high reputation for building. The Flemish fonts in some churches may be partly due to Flemish artisans; there are traces of their presence at the building of Llandaff Cathedral, of Caerphilly Castle, and in the 13th century in Leicester and at Salisbury, where Bishop Poor employed Flemings when he built the magnificent cathedral there [4]).

No doubt Green is right when he states that "the building of the great abbey-church (St. Edmundsbury) drew its craftsmen and masons to mingle with the ploughmen and reapers of the abbot's domain" [5]). This must also have been the case where Flemish artisans and craftsmen were at work, so that they also became one with the people of England; and partly to them also is due the honour of having given to the English towns the wealth and importance to which they attained in the reign of Henry I., by infusing their blood into that of the English nation [6]).

Commercial Relations

As regards the intercourse and trade with the Low Dutch nations in the 12th century, we may begin by stating that merchants of all nations had their "private wharfs and keys" from the east to the west of London before and in the reign of Henry II.[7]), and we need only think of the wool trade with Flanders [8]), the prosperity and importance of St. Omer, Bruges and other Flemish towns, but especially Bruges [9]), the rapid development of Ham-

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[1]) Sur. 255-6, 478; I. C. I. 337, 653-5; Gr. 199. — [2]) I. C. I. 341, 655. — [3]) A. I. 56-7. — [4]) I. C. I. 650. — [5]) Gr. 93-4. — [6]) *Ibid.* 92. — [7]) Sur. 41, 73, 75-6. [8]) Gr. 202. — [9]) I. C. I. 183; te W. Gesch. I. 317.

burg, Bremen and Lübeck, which towns had a great influence on England, not only because of the trade, but through settlers who emigrated to England [1]), the development of the carrying trade between Ripen and Hamburg and England done by the Frisians of Groningen and Stavoren [2]), the first gild of German merchants in London in or perhaps even before the 12th century, when special privileges were accorded to the German traders settled there [3]), the important privileges granted by Henry II. to the merchants of Cologne in 1157, the favours granted by Richard I. in 1194 to the traders at Cologne, who had a gild-hall in London, and were free to buy and sell at fairs throughout the land [4]), the visits that English traders paid to Dutch, Frisian and Low German markets, the active trade between Tiel and Utrecht and England [5]) — we need only think of all these facts, to get some idea of the commercial intercourse between the Low Dutch countries and England in the 12th century. It is important to know that there were many fairs held at Chester in Rufus' time, at Exeter in the 12th century, that there were four annual fairs in Cambridgeshire, that at Stourbridge being the greatest, until it was surpassed in 1189 by Boston and Winchester [6]). In 1170 Henry II. instituted Bartholomew fair, to be kept yearly for three days, visited by the clothiers of all England and the drapers of London [7]).

Political and Other Relations

The political and other Anglo-Dutch relations can be traced throughout the century, and it is remarkable enough to state that Rymer's Fœdera opens with a convention between Henry I. and Robert of Flanders, dated 16 June 1101 [8]). In 1121 Henry I. married Adalisia of Louan (Louvain) [9]), who after Henry's death was married to the Earl of Arundel [10]). In 1128 Henry I. was at war with William, Count of Flanders, when "Theodorick, a certaine Duke out of Germanie" [11]), became Henry's ally. We have already referred to the conference of Henry II. and Stephen with the Count of Flanders at Dover in 1154, a conference which was

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[1]) Gr. 202; I. C. I. 183; Meil. 95. — [2]) Meil. 94, 96-7. — [3]) Ch. Enc. *in* Hanseatic League; I. C. I. 338. — [4]) I. C. I. 194. — [5]) Meil. 38-9, 88. — [6]) I. C. I. 110-1. — [7]) Sur. 337. — [8]) *ante* p. 15. — [9]) Ann. 140. — [10]) *Ibid.* 144. — [11]) *Ibid.* 141.

repeated at the same town in October of the same year [1]). Two years later Henry had another conference with the Count of Flanders in France [2]).

In 1164 Thomas à Becket escaped to Flanders, whence he went to France [3]). At the time of the revolt of the Barons Henry's eldest son and the Count of Flanders prepared a Flemish fleet to support the insurrection by a descent upon the coast [4]). The year before, in 1173, this Henry the Younger had given to the Count of Flanders the whole of Kent, with Dover and Rochester [5]). Between the years 1190 and 1194 Richard I. was twice a prisoner in Germany, and when he returned to England in the latter year, he intended to embark at Antwerp, where he had to wait for more than a month [6]). Before Richard's release from prison, German messengers from the Emperor came to London to receive the money which had been collected for Richard's ransom [7]), and soon after his return Richard led his Flemish mercenaries against France, detached the Count of Flanders from his alliance with the French king, and found valuable aid in his nephew Otto's election to the German throne [8]).

In addition to this we may refer to the jousts held in those days in England as well as on the continent, where English and Low Dutch people met, sometimes for days together. John, Duke of Brabant, is known to have been present at them, in England as well as in France and in Germany, towards the end of the 12th and in the early years of the 13th century [9]).

Mercenaries in England in the 13th Century

One of the greatest grievances of the Barons and the English people against King John was, that he filled the land with foreign favourites, among whom there were also Flemings and Brabanters, as appears from a passage in the Great Charter, which the Barons at last wrung from King John in 1215 [10]); and after this, when he had retired to the Isle of Wight, he collected a great army, of which Brabant mercenaries under Walter Buc, a Bra-

[1]) Ann. 148. — [2]) *Ibid.* 149. — [3]) Th. II. 87; Gr. 108. — [4]) Gr. 110; Th. II. 190. [5]) Th. II. 180. — [6]) *Ibid.* 274; Ann. 166; Freem. 150; Gr. 112. — [7]) Th. II. 272. — [8]) Gr. 113. — [9]) te W. I. 18.

[10]) "Et nos amovebimus omnes alienigenas a terra,.... et Flandrenses omnes et ruptarios qui sunt ad nocumentum regni", quoted by Th. II. 423 *note* [2].

banter and Gerard de Sotingham, a Fleming, formed an important part [1]). After taking various towns in Essex and Suffolk, John went with his mercenaries through the midland counties right up to the north as far as Berwick, while his mercenaries "spread like locusts over the whole face of the land" [2]).

One of the effects of the Charter was, that the foreigners were banished from the kingdom, except alien merchants, to whom freedom of journeying and trade was secured [3]). It was not for long though, for after the fall of the justiciar Hugh de Burgh, who hated foreigners [4]), King Henry III. summoned large numbers of Poitevins and Bretons to England and gave them royal castles and high posts, so that in his reign it is said that "the land was eaten up by strangers" [5]); but the worst of it was that foreign merchants were no longer protected, as had been promised, and they were not even safe within the precincts of the court [6]). How difficult it was at that time for aliens to obtain justice, is apparent from the following account related by Stow [7]): "Two merchants of Brabant complained to the King at Westminster that they had been robbed by men of that country, who had taken from them to the value of a hundred markes, which theeues they hadde seene in the Court, whereupon such as were suspected were taken to be tried, but the country purged them by othe, because they were for the most part all infected and given to theeuerie; the Merchants therefore continuing their suite, sayde, that if they could not have justice, they would stay so much of English Merchants goods in Brabant. Then the King caused twelue men of Winchester to be chosen, who also did quitte them that were accused, which thing when the king did see, he caused those twelue to bee imprysoned, and sware, that in shorte space they should be hanged as accessoris and periured, and caused other twelue to bee empanelled, which last Quest found all, and appeached manie, especially of Hampe-shyre, which were hanged." This happened in 1249.

When Simon de Montfort had come to rid the country of these foreigners and to procure the burghers their seats at Westminster,

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[1]) Th. II. 424 *note*: "Venerunt igitur ex regionibus Lovaniæ et Brabantiorum viri strenuissimi, Walterus Buck, Gerardus Sottini et Godeschallus, cum tribus armatorum et balistariorum legionibus (Math. Paris *Hist. Angliæ major.*, p. 268)".

[2]) Gr. 130. — [3]) *Ibid.* 129. — [4]) *Ibid.* 141. — [5]) Th. II. 425 ff.; Gr. 144; Freem. 153. — [6]) Gr. 145. — [7]) Ann. 188.

he managed to prevent the mercenaries whom the Queen had collected in Flanders, from carrying out their project of invasion [1]). This is the last time we hear of Flemish mercenaries for a long time.

Industrial Relations

But we do hear of Flemish immigrants again towards the end of Henry III.'s reign, when they came at the invitation of the King, for in a letter to the mayors in 1270, they are instructed to proclaim: "that all workers of woollen cloth, male and female, as well of Flanders as of other lands, may safely come into our realm, there to make cloth"; they need not pay any taxes for five years. A month later all Flemings were required to leave the realm at once, with the exception of "those workmen, who with our leave shall come into our realm to make cloths, and those in like manner excepted, who have married wives in our realm, and who have lands and certain domiciles therein, and whom we deem to be native born" [2]). From this we can only infer that the Flemings had come to settle in rather large numbers, among whom there were many undesirables, who were soon asked to go back to the country they had come from, while those who might be useful, were allowed to stay and become English, just as had been the case, when peace was made between Henry and the Barons [3]).

In connexion with the considerable Flemish influence on the development of British industry before the 14th century, it may be of importance to mention that in 1253 the linen manufacture was introduced from Flanders [4]). A strong inducement for Flemish weavers to settle in England in the 13th century was the development of sheep-farming in this country [5]), as residence in England could make them independent of the merchants who imported wool into Flanders, for which these merchants appear

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[1]) Gr. 158-9. — [2]) A. I. 102.

[3]) "There was a peace concluded betwixt the King and the Barons, with these conditions, that Henry, son to the King of Almaine, that tooke the Barons parte; and was in pryson, should be delivered .... and that all strangers within a certaine time should depart the land, those except, whose abode the faithfull persons of the Realme with one assent should accept: lastlie, that the English men borne, and such as were faithfull men to the Kingdome, shoulde order and rule the businesse of the Lande under the King" (Ann. 193).

[4]) I. C. I. 309 *note* [2]; M. X. — [5]) A. I. 137.

to have needed royal grants, such as were allowed to men of Ypres in 1232 and again in 1259 [1]). It is probably owing to this immigration of Flemish weavers, that the cloth industry began to develop in this century, and we already hear of English cloth finding its way to Spain [2]), and of efforts made in the latter half of this and the beginning of the next century to protect the British cloth industry. Thus in 1258 the Oxford Parliament prohibited the export of wool, though at that time the English, regardless of home industries, still preferred to buy foreign cloth [3]), so that later on new restrictions had to be made, as we shall see. In spite of the favourable conditions that England offered to Flemish weavers in this century, there do not appear to have been such numbers of immigrants as there were in the preceding and in the next century [4]).

Commercial Relations

As it appears from the Hundred Rolls (1274) that there was a large foreign trade [5]), and as in the 13th century — as it had been in the 12th — much of the foreign trade was done by aliens [6]), it will be worth while to inquire into the commercial relations with the Low Dutch countries before the reign of Edward I.

As early as 1213 Bruges was a staple for merchandise sent from every part of the world; it was the capital of the Flemish or London hanse and the centre of European commerce, at the same time the heart of the most thriving part of Europe [7]), and one of the continental ports to which English wool was sent to be conveyed to Italy [8]). As there were no export merchants in England at the time [9]), the trade with Flanders must have been in the hands chiefly of Flemings. In the days of Henry III. there was a staple for English wool in the Netherlands, but the English traders were not compelled to make use of it. There only seems to have been a company of English merchants under a mayor at Antwerp [10]). The first mention made of wool conveyed to Dordrecht is dated 1267; it seems that the English staple was esta-

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[1]) I. C. I. 307 *note* [6]. — [2]) A. I. 58. — [3]) I. C. I. 192. — [4]) *Ibid.* 194. — [5]) *Ibid.* 182.
[6]) *Ibid.* 338. The Merchant-Adventurers of the 15th century, however, claimed to exercise privileges granted by the Duke of Brabant in the time of King John, which would seem to point to the presence of English traders in Brabant in the early years of the 13th century (I. C. I. 495); 1248 is also given as the date (Smith I. XXV. 83).
[7]) te W. Gesch. I. 317. — [8]) I. C. I. 197. — [9]) R. 70. — [10]) *Ibid.* 70-1.

blished at this town for a short time in Edward I.'s time, probably to propitiate the Count of Holland [1]). Before Edward I. the merchants of Holland and Zealand played but a very subordinate part in England; they had no privileges there such as the Flemings and Germans enjoyed, who each had their own hanse in London [2]), and their names are very few in the registers of the eastern ports of Yarmouth, Boston and Lynn during the former half, and of London, Blakeney, Newcastle, Southampton and Devonport during the latter half of the century [3]). As it is of importance to know what parts of England Low Dutch merchants and skippers chiefly visited in the 13th century and after, we will here give the names of the chief markets and ports. The larger markets were Stourbridge and Winchester, the smaller ones Boston, St. Ives (Hnt.), Stamford and St. Edmundsbury; the chief ports were Bristol, Cardigan, Exeter, Southampton, Chichester, Berwick, Newcastle, Hull, Boston, Lynn, Yarmouth, Ipswich, Dunwich and Sandwich [4]).

The privileges enjoyed by the German [5]) merchants date from a very early time, though it is impossible to state exactly when they were first granted; we know that they were of great value in the 13th century [6]). A charter was given them by Richard I., afterwards confirmed first by John and again by Henry III. [7]). In connexion with this we may refer to passages in Stow [8]), which inform us that for repairing Bishopsgate, Henry III. confirmed to "the Merchants of the Haunce" that had a house in the City called Guildhalla Theutonicorum, certain liberties and privileges, and that at the request of his brother Richard [9]), Earl of Cornwall, "King of Almaine", Henry III. granted that "all and singular the merchants, having a house in the City of London, commonly called Guilda Aula Theutonicorum, should be maintained and upholden through the whole realm, by all such freedoms, and free usages, or liberties, as by the king and his noble progenitors' time they had and enjoyed."

It seems that at first all Germans were privileged in England,

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[1]) R. 72. — [2]) *Ibid.* 110; I. C. I. 195-6. — [3]) R. 59. — [4]) *Ibid.* 1-2.

[5]) "German" here to be taken in its widest sense, including the merchants of the Dutch Hanseatic towns.

[6]) Meil. 253. — [7]) I. C. I. 194. — [8]) Sur. 31, 208.

[9]) This same Richard brought German miners to work at the mines in Cornwall at the end of the 13th century (A. I. 116).

but later only the members of the Guildhall, to which till the end of the 13th century those of Prussia and Livonia did not belong, but those of Liège probably did [1]). At the request of Richard of Cornwall an important privilege was granted in 1258 to the Groningen merchants who visited England, to last during Richard's lifetime [2]). From this it might be inferred that most of the German trade with England during the former half of the 13th century must have been done by merchants of Friesland and Groningen, just as it was done by those of Tiel in the 11th and 12th centuries [3]). The Dutch merchants also seem to have been admitted as members of the Guildhall [4]). The men of Lübeck and Hamburg had separate privileges, and the Flemish merchants had a hanse of their own. In 1260 the Steelyard was enlarged, which proves that the trade between London and Germany must have been very important, although many merchants from Lübeck and the German towns visited Boston and Lynn; in both these towns there were German hanse-houses as early as 1271 [5]).

As we have already seen, the Hollanders and Zealanders did not belong to the Hanse merchants[6]), and their dealings with England in the 13th century, though they seem to have occasionally visited the ports on the east and on the west coast, cannot have been very important or large, as neither of them are mentioned in the Mercatoria of 1303 [7]); they appear to have done some carrying trade for English merchants [8]).

As Tiel went down as a centre of trade in the Low Countries, Kampen rose rapidly; her ships appeared in English ports as well as in various continental ones [9]). Frisian merchants, especially from Stavoren and Groningen, visited such ports as Lynn, Yarmouth, London, Orwel and Portsmouth in the earlier part of the 13th century [10]), and that these commercial connexions must have been rather important is evident from the privilege granted to Groningen in 1258. As the direct sea-route from the Baltic to England became the more usual one, the carrying trade of the Frisians went down, while such towns as Deventer, Harderwijk, Zutphen and Kampen owed their rise to it; their ships visited the

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[1]) Meil. 5. — [2]) *Ibid.* 254 *note* [1]. — [3]) *Ibid.* 5. — [4]) *Ibid.* 253. — [5]) I. C. I. 195-6. — [6]) Neither did the Brabanters. Meil. 30-1. — [7]) R. 1-2, 59. — [8]) *Ibid.* 61. — [9]) Meil. 54, 59. — [10]) Meil. 78, 247.

ports of England, those of the Frisians are hardly heard of in English ports after the thirteenth century [1]).

Utrecht had had a very active trade with England since the early years of the 13th century, but we do not hear of Utrecht merchants in England after 1300 [2]).

As we have already observed, the English trade was chiefly done by aliens, which explains why there were not many English merchants in the Low Dutch countries.

Political and Other Relations

In connexion with political and other Anglo-Dutch relations in the 13th century, we may observe that the French garrisons of Maine and Anjou were in the early years of John's reign replaced by Norman and Flemish troops paid by John [3]). In 1214 John bought the aid of Flanders against France; the German King Otto brought the knighthood of Germany, and English, Flemings and Germans fought and lost side by side at Bouvines [4]). The Flemings in this case were men of Louvain, Brabant, Holland and Flanders [5]). In 1215-6 John had only foreign mercenaries to support him, and among them there were Brabanters [6]).

We read of money advanced to English ambassadors to Germany by men of the Rhine country about 1225 [7]), of Cologne borrowing professors from the famous Franciscan school at Oxford [8]), and, about the middle of the century, of jousts at Barkeley and at Rochester, the issue of the latter leading to great hatred between the Englishmen and the strangers who had had the better of them [9]).

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[1]) Meil. 86-7, 89, 96-9, 243. — [2]) *Ibid.* 39-41. — [3]) Th. II. 311. — [4]) Gr. 126. [5]) Ann. 167. — [6]) *ante* pp. 24-5; Th. II. 421. — [7]) Meil. 74 *note* [1]. — [8]) Gr. 151. — [9]) Ann. 189.

CHAPTER III

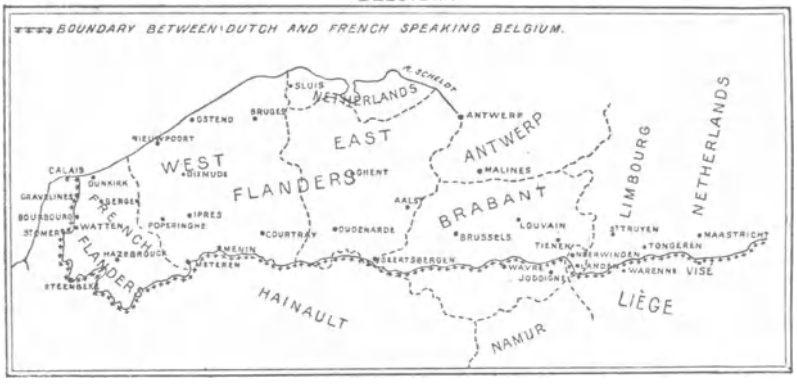
1272—1520

Industrial Relations

With the accession of Edward I. we enter upon a new stage of the Anglo-Dutch relations. It was no longer military ambition which drove inhabitants of the Low Countries to Great Britain and Ireland; it was no longer in large waves that Flemish and other Low Dutch adventurers rolled over the country to end by settling there, returning to their old avocations and finally amalgamating with the native population. During the period under our review Low Dutch artisans and traders immigrated — to use Cunningham's felicitous phrase — "in a series of little streamlets which trickled to one district or another" [1]), not to fight, but to help lay the foundation of England's future industrial and commercial greatness. While Flanders, owing to the regular development of her industry and commerce, had gradually reached a very high degree of prosperity, and had become the most thriving country of western Europe, the state of unrest in which England had been almost from the time of the Conquest, had greatly interfered with her industrial as well as her commercial development. There was one species of industry, however, the importance of which the monarchs of the chief wool-growing country of Europe could not help realizing, and which most, if not all of them, took measures to promote and protect: this was the manufacture of cloth. As early as 1197 Richard I. issued the assize of cloth, which was enforced under the great Charter. His assize may be looked upon as the first effort made to develop the cloth industry which, as we know, had been introduced by the Flemish immigrants after the Conquest. It protected the native weavers against competi-

[1]) A. I. 68.

BELGIUM.



LOW DUTCH SPEAKING COUNTRIES.

tion in the home-market, both on the part of those who produced homespun cloths and on the part of merchants who imported cloth of different size and quality from abroad [1]). Though it is difficult, if not impossible, to trace the various towns in Great Britain where cloth was manufactured during the thirteenth century, yet it seems certain that there was a regular cloth industry all over the country, especially in the wool-growing districts and in the eastern counties [2]), where the neighbourhood of Norwich has at all times been a great centre and a place to which many Flemish immigrants were attracted. Simon de Montfort did what he could to further native production [3]), and in connexion with the fact that in that century cloth had already become an article of export [4]), it need not surprise us that Edward I., following Simon's example, made restrictions on the export of wool. It is in his time that we first hear of the aulnager [5]), an officer whose duty it was to visit the fairs and to try and enforce the one measure of cloth which had been established for the kingdom. Only the makers of Cogware and Kendal cloth in various parts of England were allowed to make these sorts of cloth of the usual breadth of three quarters of a yard, which is the Flemish ell of 27 inches, which measure is evidence of a Flemish origin of these kinds of cloth [6]).

Edward's prohibition of the export of wool was a repetition of the attempt made by the Oxford Parliament in 1258 [7]), and like it, did not meet with the success expected, for the English people continued to prefer foreign cloth, so that, if the prohibition was meant as a blow at the Flemish trade, it must have missed its aim. Though these prohibitions may have caused much inconvenience to Flanders [8]), which wanted a constant supply of English wool [9]), yet, as long as English cloth was inferior to Flemish, other means had to be found to compete successfully with the continental weavers, and obtain a monopoly of the home market for the English manufacturer. Besides, as there were sometimes political, pecuniary or other motives which induced the King of England to grant privileges to Flemings — and others — instead of putting restrictions on them, we need not be very much surprised at the ill-success of such prohibitions and other restrictive methods, such as the raising of the tax on wool, which happened

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[1]) I. C. I. 192. — [2]) *Ibid.* 434. — [3]) *Ibid.* 192. — [4]) *ante* p. 27; I. C. I. 193. — [5]) I. C. I. 193. — [6]) *Ibid.* 434. — [7]) *ante* p. 27. — [8]) I. C. I. 305. — [9]) *Ibid.* 268.

in 1297[1]). Thus Edward I., like Henry III. before him, gave special protection to Flemings who came to England to buy wool [2]), though we only read of such special leave given in the years 1273, 1277, 1278, and about 1294, when Germans, Flemings, Hollanders and Zealanders were permitted to export wool — only a small quantity, though — from Newcastle [3]). The facts that (1) one of Edward's daughters was married to the Duke of Brabant and the other to the Count of Holland [4]), and (2) Edward was at that very time (1294) planning a costly attack on France with the aid of Flanders [5]), account for much. In the same year the English King sent three merchants to sell wool at Dordrecht, out of the proceeds of which a large sum of money was to be paid to his various allies[6]), just as wool was sent to the county of Bar, part of the proceeds of which was to be remitted to the Archbishop of Cologne. Soon after the conveyance of wool to Dordrecht, wool was also sent to Malines [7]).

The transfer of the wool staple from Bruges to Dordrecht for a short time in 1294 may have been a measure directed against France, but it must also have inconvenienced the Flemings, and this was certainly the case with the permission given by Edward to his English subjects to travel freely in Flanders and buy wool in 1296 [8]), about the time when his league with Flanders was foiled by the strife with his baronage [9]).

It is said — though no authority for the statement has been given — that Edward I. laid the foundation of the West of England clothing trade by introducing weavers from the continent, and there is some evidence of foreign weavers having settled in England during his reign in the new ordinances that were established providing for their reception [10]). Whether they were invited by Edward to come and practise their trade under his protection, or came to England, because, for lack of wool, they could not well pursue their trade in their native country, does not appear; but the latter cause is the more probable because of the social unrest which led to many quarrels and disturbances in Flanders in addition to the jealousy of the town weavers, which made it very difficult for the suburban and rural weavers to obtain the sup-

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[1]) Ann. 207. — [2]) A. I. 87 *note* [3]. — [3]) R. 92. — [4]) *Ibid.*; Ann. 204, 212. — [5]) Gr. 206. — [6]) R. 92. — [7]) *Ibid.* 72-3. — [8]) I. C. I. 307. — [9]) Gr. 223. — [10]) I. C. I. 305, 337 *note* [3].

plies of wool they needed. These must have been very strong inducements for the emigrants to settle in England, where they were welcome to ply their trade under royal protection, wherever they chose to dwell, especially if they would amalgamate with the native population, which it was not hard to do, for by the end of the 13th century the English municipalities had advanced so far that they were able to absorb the foreign artisan [1]). This very absorption of the Flemish artisans in the native population makes it all the more difficult to trace them.

That it was a great advantage to the Flemish weavers in England, appeared in 1315, when, all Flemings in London being arrested, a certain Christen Lewebrere, who had been arrested with the others, was claimed by the men of Lynn as their comburgensis. The King ordered his release. This shows how aliens might be naturalized by being received into the full citizenship of a town [2]). That numbers of Flemings must have emigrated to England in the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II. is evident from the fact that in the same year, 1315, an order was issued for "the expulsion of all Flemings except those who had married denizens" [3]).

Edward II. had also taken protective measures, which are sure to have brought more Flemish artisans to England, for he tried to prevent the Flemings from going to Scotland to buy wool [4]), and by prohibiting the export of teasles he procured the English weavers a special advantage over their continental rivals [5]).

Whether the Flemish immigrants to England in the days of Edward I. and Edward II. were induced to come by such restrictive measures, or were invited by these monarchs to come and teach their art under royal protection, there is not evidence enough to decide, but that Flemings did come, and settled in many different centres, is proved by the existence in 1282 of a fulling-mill or walke-mill on the bank of the Irk near Manchester, where the piece of land connected with the mill was called the Walker's Croft, another at Bradford in Yorkshire, while there were similar mills at Dunfirmline and near Perth; in Edward II.'s time there was one on the Colne near Manchester [6]). It appears to be a fact that the manufacture existed at Worstead before 1315, and in

[1]) A. I. 103-4; I. C. I. 199-200. — [2]) I. C. I. 221. — [3]) A. I. 103. — [4]) *Ibid.* 129. — [5]) I. C. I. 193, 305; A. I. 58. — [6]) A. I. 115.

this year there were disputes about the regulation of the worsted trade in Norfolk [1]). Add to this the export of cloth in the 13th century, above referred to, and the import of dyes, and it will be evident that the cloth manufacture had reached a certain degree of development when Edward III. came to the throne. Yet England was still backward economically at the beginning of the 14th century [2]), English manufactures were still in their infancy [3]), and English cloth could not yet compete with Flemish in the English market; so the English methods could evidently be improved on yet, and it was reserved for Edward III. to realize that the English weaver could only secure a complete monopoly of the home market, if he were enabled to learn the superior methods of the Flemish weaver. Edward III.'s various relations with the Low Countries, their princes and their towns, enabled him to enjoy the full profit of the export of wool — nine-tenths of it was sent to the looms of Bruges and Ghent [4]) — he needed these revenues badly for his wars with France [5]) — and at the same time to tempt the best Flemish weavers to come to England and teach their trades. How he tempted them to come is evident from the following passage in Fuller's Church History [6]): "About 1336 King Edward III., in order to draw to this country the profitable trade of manufacturing English wool, which had become almost a monopoly of the Netherlands weavers, sent abroad 'Emissaries' to induce the journeymen or apprentices 'to come over to England bringing their mystery with them, which would provide their welcome in all places. Here they should feed on fatt beef and mutton till nothing but fullnesse should stint their stomachs; yea, they should feed on the labours of their own hands, enjoying a proportionable profit of their pains to themselves; their beds should be good, and their bed-fellows better, seeing the richest yeomen in England would not disdain to marry their daughters unto them, and such the English beauties, that the most envious foreigners could not but commend them .... Persuaded with the promise, many Dutch servants leave their masters and make over for England .... The King having gotten their treasury of foreigners, thought not fit to continue them all in one place .. but

[1]) I. C. I. 305, 193. — [2]) A. I. 68. — [3]) Gr. 224. — [4]) *Ibid.* — [5]) I. C. I. 298-9. [6]) IV. 110-1., cited by Moens X., and slightly differently by Cunningham (I. C. I. 307-8).

bestowed them thorow all the parts of the land that cloathing thereby might be the better dispersed.' "

Knowing from this that numbers of Flemings and Dutch were thus induced to emigrate to England, it is important for our purpose to add that since in 1285 Edward I. had, by statute, obliged aliens in London to reside in the houses of Englishmen, this system was enforced in other towns as well, until in 1403, in the reign of Henry IV., it was enforced for the whole kingdom [1]).

Taking into account the social and political circumstances of Flanders, and perhaps the fact that Edward had married Philippa, daughter of the Count of Holland and Hainault, it is not to be wondered at that the Flemish weavers came in large numbers [2]), especially as Edward promised to give them "franchises as many and such as may suffice them", which appears to have included a certain liberty in the matter of the lengths of the cloths they made [3]). Thousands of Flemings became the assistants and instructors of the English weavers who thus secured the trade to themselves [4]), and as by statute the fullest security was promised to weavers who chose to come and settle under the King's protection in England, Wales and Ireland [5]), we need not be surprised to find them in various parts of the country, though chiefly in the Eastern Counties, where there was a large increase in the Flemish stuffs or worsted manufacture at Norwich in 1336; those early weavers are said by some to have settled near Cranbrook in Kent [6]).

The earliest letter of protection, which was issued on behalf of John Kemp in 1331, contains a promise of protection to all weavers, fullers or dyers who might desire to come to England [7]). Some

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[1]) A. I. 92. — [2]) I. C. I. 304. — [3]) *Ibid.* 305. — [4]) B. W. M. I. 16. — [5]) I. C. I. 308; Gr. 224. — [6]) M. XVIII; A. I. 106.

[7]) I. C. I. 305-6; A. I. 105-6; Cunningham inserts this letter: "Pat. 5 Edw. III. p. 2 m 25 *Pro Johanne Kempe de Flandria de protectione.* Rex omnibus ballivis, &c. ad quos, &c. salutem. Sciatis quod, cum Johannes Kempe de Flandria, textor pannorum, laneorum, infra regnum nostrum Angliæ, causa mesteri sui inhibi excercendi, et illos, qui inde addiscere voluerint, instruendi et informandi, accesserit moraturus, et quosdam homines et servientes, ac apprenticios de mestero illo secum adduxerit; Suscepimus ipsum Johannem, homines, servientes, et apprenticios suos praedictos, ac bona et catalla sua predicta manuteneatis protegatis et defendatis, et tandem Johannem mesterum suum predictum infra idem regnum tam in civitatibus et burgis quam alibi in eodem regno ubi pro commodo suo melius viderit expedire, absque impedimento aliquo libere excercere ac illos qui de mestero predicto addiscere voluerint instruere et informare absque calumpnia aliqua permittatis. Non inferentes eis vel inferri permittentes injuriam, molestiam, dampnum aut gravamen. Et si quid eis forisfactum fuerit

of those who came settled in London [1]). It is known that two of them, Kemp and Blanket, not only brought their own households, but also their servants and apprentices [2]), and that the latter started a large concern at Bristol in 1339 [3]). In 1336 two weavers from Brabant settled at York [4]), and in the next year there was a letter of protection on behalf of fifteen Zealanders [5]). Though it is not known in what particular localities all the 14th century Flemish and Dutch weavers settled, yet in addition to some documentary evidence, there are indications of likely settlements. It is very probable that the wool-growing districts attracted a fair number, and that they may be connected with the centres of the clothing trade in various parts of the country, so that it is no matter of surprise to hear that at first the manufacture of woollen cloth was pretty equally distributed over the country [6]). From a list of wool-growing abbeys and priories in the 13th century given by Francesco Balducci Pegolitti in his book *La practica della Mercatura*, which Cunningham [7]) considers from a Flemish source, we gather that there were forty in Yks., forty-one in Lin., six in each of the counties of Stf., Not., Lei., Ess. and Nhp., five in Glo. and Oxf., four in Bdf., Der. and the eastern Lowlands, three in Ken., Bck., Cmb., Chs., Hmp., Mon., Sus., War. and Wor. — one

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id eis sine dilatione faciatis emendari. Promittimus enim nos aliis hominibus de mestero illo, ac tinctoribus et fullonibus, venire volentibus de partibus transmarinis, ad morandum infra idem regnum nostrum ex causa praemissa, consimiles literas nostras de protectione fieri facere debere. In cujus &c. quamdiu Regi placuerit duraturas Teste Rege, apud Lincoln XXIII die Julii. (A. I. 105 *note* [2]).

[1]) A. I. 107. — [2]) *Ibid.* 112-3; Monk 68. — [3]) A. I. 107. — [4]) *Ibid.*; I. C. I. 306.

[5]) "A. D. 1337. An 11. Edw. III. Pat 11 Edw. III. p. 1 m. 6. in Turr. London. *De protectione pro alienigenis; operariis lanarum & panorum.* Rex universis & singulis, admirallis, vice comitibus, ballivis, ministris, & omnibus fidelibus suis, tam infra libertates quam extra, ad quos &c. salutem. Sciatis quod, cum Leffynus de Holand; Johannes de Hilford, Lesinus de Neuhone, Willielmus Favehales, Gerardus Isaac, Petrus Hundrepere, Bondonus de Thornek, Johannes de Overnulle, Nicholaus Undrechapel, Johannes de Batherne, Cornelius Hus, Johannes de Seintylace, Johannes Bishop, Cornelius Storthyn, & Gosinus Cornhilswait, ac quidam alii operarii lanarum ac pannorum, cum hominibus & servientibus suis, de partibus Selandiæ, infra regnum nostrum Angliæ, juxta avisamentum & consilium quorumdam fidelium nostrorum, pro lanis ibidem operandis & misterâ aliàs suâ in eodem regno excercendâ, in proximo, ut accepimus, sint venturi; Nos, securitati ipsorum operariorum, & omnium aliorum, infra regnum nostrum praedictum, ex causâ praedictâ, venire volentium, volentes providere; Suscepimus ipsos, ac eorum homines & servientes, necnon eorum bona quæcumque, in protectionem & defensionem nostram specialem, necnon in salvum & securum conductum nostrum in veniendo infra regnum nostrum, ibidem morando, & lanas operando, & misteram suam aliàs excercendo: Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod, &c. prout in consinilibus litteris de conductu. In cujus, &c. Teste Rege, apud Westm. iii. die Maii. Per ipsum Regem & concilium" (Fœdera ii. 969).

[6]) A. I. 107; Ann. 870; M'C. 1542. — [7]) I. C. I. 628-40.

of those in Kent was Boxley Abbey — two in Cum., Gmg., Hnt., Nrf., Nhb., Sur., Wil., Bwk., and Fif., and one in Brks., Dnb., Cth., Dor., Flt., Hrf., Lan., Mid., Mer., Mtg., Rtl., Shr., Suf., Wm., I.W., Edb., Elg., Kcb., Per., Rxb. and Wgt., altogether 199. Other indications are the fulling-mills in Cambridge and Leeds about 1353. A road in Cambridge used to be called Sherer's Row, and in the 15th century history of this town there are many references to shearmen, as well as frequent allusions to one or other of the callings connected with the cloth trade. At Coventry there was an organization of dyers [1]). Dyeing does not seem to have prospered in England, for all cloths of importance had to be sent to the Netherlands for the purpose of being dyed, because the Dutch cultivated madder successfully and possessed the sole secret of pulverizing the root of this plant [2]). There is evidence that there were Flemish settlers at Castle Combe in Wiltshire about the middle of the century; the Toukers, mentioned in the Court Rolls of 1350 and 1380 are said to have been the first manufacturers of wool and cloth at that place, while there is an early reference to Walter the Fuller in 1355. It is also known that King Edward gave the surname of Web to a Dutch clothmaker in Gloucestershire, and in 1356 there were Flemish and Brabant weavers in Candlewick Ward in London [3]).

In some towns, especially in London, the alien settlers at first had a difficult time of it owing to the jealousy of the existing weavers' gilds. The local weavers resented the arrival of skilled alien artisans under royal protection and endeavoured to force them to become members of the gilds. The King would not allow this and issued a special letter of protection on behalf of them [4]). Thomas Blanket and his workmen seem to have met with great difficulties on the part of the townsmen. There do not seem to have been many such cases, for if they had been the rule, it would most probably have been much easier to trace those 14th century immigrants than it is; in most places they seem to have been readily absorbed in the native population. By organizing themselves in weavers' gilds of their own, with the approval of the Mayors and Aldermen, the Flemings and Brabanters soon put an end to such difficulties; in rural districts, where the aliens did not

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[1]) A. I. 115-6. — [2]) Monk 67. — [3]) A. I. 110; M. X.; Sur. 196. — [4]) A. I. 108.

compete with the domestic industry, we do not hear of any such quarrels [1]).

In 1380 we hear of abuses, probably of Flemish origin, in the manufacture of cloth in Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, Bristol and Gloucestershire, which endangered the lives of export merchants[2]), and in the same year there was a new settlement of Flemings at Snettisham in Norfolk [3]), while an order of agreement was issued by Richard II. between the native weavers of London and the aliens, strangers born, brought in by Edward III. [4]).

Richard II. seems to have encouraged natives and discouraged aliens [5]), who were in 1398 forbidden to sell cloth anywhere but in Bakewell Hall, where a weekly market had been established [6]).

There can be no doubt that large numbers of the native population were trained by the immigrants, for there were complaints in the early years of the 15th century that children were withdrawn from labour in the field, which seems to have led in Henry VI.'s time to an alarming shortage of labourers, so that we may infer from this that the cloth manufacture in rural districts had developed more and more; this may have led to the increase of sheep-farming at the expense of tillage in the days of Henry VII.; similarly in some towns it was difficult to secure a sufficient number of apprentices [7]).

Though we do not hear of it so frequently as in the 14th century, the immigration of Flemish artisans seems to have continued throughout the 15th and in the early years of the 16th century; yet the number of immigrants must have been rather large, for in 1436 no fewer than 1738 aliens, dwelling in different counties, were naturalized [8]). Flemish workmen were settled at Seend in Wiltshire soon after 1453 [9]).

In the opening years of the 15th century London was a centre for the manufacture as well as for the sale of cloth, and towards the end of the century we hear of the cloth industry at Salisbury and Winchester. In spite of this development, the English weaver had not obtained a monopoly of the home market yet, for the finer cloths were still imported, as is evident from several refer-

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[1]) I. C. I. 308, 341; A.I. 107-8. — [2]) I. C. I. 435. — [3]) A. I. 106. — [4]) Sur. 256. [5]) I. C. I. 470. — [6]) Sur. 258; M. XI. — [7]) A. I. 109; I. C. I. 448-9. — [8]) I. C. I. 431 *note* [1]. — [9]) A. I. 121.

ences to "fyne Holond cloth" in the Paston Letters in the years 1465 and 1467 [1]).

Though the clothing trade had till then lain chiefly in the southern counties — in 1497 we hear of the clothiers of Worcester — the West Riding of Yorkshire had become the centre of this trade before the time of Henry VII. He improved the manufacture by secretly bringing over a great many foreigners to instruct his people in this trade, and that these foreigners must have been chiefly Flemings is apparent from the information given us, that the Flemings and their families who came over in his reign, englished their names, by which means the secrecy referred to could more easily be observed, and which goes far to account for the difficulty of evidencing this new influx of Flemings and Brabanters, for nobody would think of identifying William Turner as Guillaume de Tournay, Stephen Danvers as Estienne d'Anvers, James Franks as Jacques de Franquemont, or imagine that people had dropped their surnames and turned their second Christian name into a new surname, as did Willem Jacob van Platten, who called himself William Jacobs, Willem Hendrik van Villangen, who became William Henry [2]).

It was not only Flemish or Dutch cloth-workers who immigrated to England during the period under our review; for in 1368 a company of linenweavers from the Low Countries settled in London, and in the same year three clockmakers of Delft established themselves there, while Flemish clogmakers are supposed to have introduced their trade into Lancashire about that time [3]). In 1464 basket-workers, wire-drawers and other foreigners were permitted to have shops at Blanchapleton [4]), while six years later the Flemings at that place and elsewhere in London were robbed by Kentishmen and made to fly from the city [5]). Dutch felt-makers are said to have arrived in England in 1508 [6]).

That there were aliens at Lynn in the 15th century can be inferred from the fact that fines were exacted from them in the reign of Henry V. and Henry VI. [7]).

Of other Low Dutch people in England we hear in the 14th century, when Flemings who had caused disturbances at Pope-

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[1]) I. C. I. 435; P. L. IV. 202, 264, 289. — [2]) A. I. 113; I. C. 1. 438, 5I5; B. W. M. I. 16-7. — [3]) I. C. I. 309; A. I. 116; M. X. — [4]) Sur. 135-6. — [5]) Ann. 422. — [6]) *Ibid.* 870. — [7]) A. I. 153 *note* [11].

ringhe were banished to England for three years [1]), and in 1348-9, when 120 Hollanders and Zealanders appeared in London, where they behaved like "religious fanatics" [2]).

The struggle between the alien artisans and the native handicraftsmen, caused by the latter's jealousy of the superior skill of the former, dates from the reign of Edward IV. At Shrewsbury in 1481 there were mercers' ordinances against receiving Flemish, Dutch and other alien apprentices, and in 1484 artisans from abroad were prohibited by the Parliament from plying their trades as independent householders, or as employers; they were to engage themselves as "servaunts yn suche Fetys, Crafts and Werkes as the saide straungiers can occupie" [3]).

After Edward IV. the struggle continued, and under the Tudors further restrictions were put on them, for then they "were prohibited from taking more than two journeymen, and they were forbidden to take aliens as apprentices; by a still more stringent clause, every alien handicraftsman in any part of the city or within two miles of it was to be under the search and reformation of the London wardens of his craft, who were, however, to choose a stranger to act along with them in searching, viewing and reforming the aliens at their work, and in assigning their trade-marks. Similar powers were to be exercised by the craft gilds, or, when no gild of the craft existed, by the borough authorities, over alien workmen all over England" [4]).

All these restrictive measures, however, could not make an end of the jealousy on the part of the native artisans: the struggle went on, until it culminated in a great riot against the strangers in 1517, on the day which is recorded in the annals of English history as Evil or Ill May Day [5]); after this it dragged on until it was decided by the victory of the gilds in 1523 [6]).

Commercial Relations

The great development of the commercial relations between England and the Low Dutch Countries may be dated from the accession of Edward I. It was in his reign that the status of the German merchants, who had from an early time enjoyed some

[1]) I. C. I. 307; A. I. 103. — [2]) Ann. 246-7. — [3]) A. I. 138; I. C. I. 431, 446; II. 47. [4]) I. C. I. 513. — [5]) Ann. 506-7; A. I. 128, 140; I. C. I. 509; M. XII. — [6]) I. C. I. 513.

protection as "men of the Emperor", was recognised. Not only had they organizations in several towns, and a local habitation in London [1]), but they had always been free to visit the fairs in every part of the country [2]). Unlike the alien artisans, however, they did not as a rule amalgamate with the native population, but formed a kind of privileged colonies, who did not bear their share in the burdens of the town in which they had settled for a longer or shorter time, for as a rule they did not come to stay, but sooner or later returned to their native country. That this privileged status should have led to jealousy on the part of the natives, who resented this interference with the internal trade of the country, is only natural, and many were the complaints which reached Edward I. on this head. The King does not appear to have interfered, though [3]). On the contrary; in 1291 he took measures to protect the merchant strangers against the people of the towns where there were marts, by enjoining the latter not to molest them [4]). As at the time England was still very backward economically, and the English, who were chiefly agriculturists and cattle-farmers, lacked the capital and the enterprise to compete with Flemish, French and Italian merchants [5]), Edward must have felt that the influence of those foreign merchants would be of the greatest importance [6]), and so he encouraged them in every possible way, especially the Hansards or Germans, as they were usually called. The Italians seem to have been excluded from the privileges granted [7]), and to the others privileges seem only to have been granted on particular occasions, most probably when dictated by political considerations. So it appears that when the export of wool to Flanders was prohibited in 1274, the export to Holland increased, which greatly promoted the subsequent development of the cloth manufacture in that country [8]), and when Edward wanted to make an alliance with the Count of Holland against France in 1294, he even removed the woolstaple to Dordrecht for a short time [9]). In the same year Edward issued a letter of protection to Germans, Brabanters, Hollanders and Zealanders, permitting them to export wool from England [10]).

The privileges of the German merchants, some of which dated

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[1]) I. C. I. 195-6. — [2]) *Ibid.* 194. — [3]) *Ibid.* 291-2. — [4]) A. I. 88. — [5]) R. 70. — [6]) A. I. 68. — [7]) *Ibid.* 94. — [8]) Meil. 275-6. — [9]) R. 68, 72. — [10]) *Ibid.* 92.

from long before the Magna Charta [1]), were confirmed by Edward's Carta Mercatoria, issued in 1303; a charter which was later confirmed by Richard II., Henry VI. and Edward IV. In the reign of Edward III. several statutes were passed in their favour; they had protection and safe conduct to come and dwell in the realm, and "to return thither with their ships, wares and all manner of merchandise" [2]).

Perhaps the chief reason why the English kings protected the Hansards was, that they not only imported articles from abroad, but also exported English products, among them wool [3]), and the export trade was a great source of income to the Crown. In connexion with this Edward I. forced the merchants to make use of certain ports of export, in which measure we may see the origin of woolstaples in England [4]). It is quite possible that some towns in Flanders, Holland and Zealand were acknowledged by the King as foreign staples, but the quantity of wool sent to Holland and Zealand was very small [5]). The chief ports of export in Edward I.'s time were Berwick, Newcastle, Hull, Boston, Lynn, Yarmouth, Ipswich, Dunwich, London, Sandwich, Chichester, Southampton, Bristol, Exeter, Cardigan and Chester [6]), while he also tried to develop new places of trade such as Kingston-upon-Hull, Winchelsea and Great Yarmouth [7]). Boston must have been a very important port, as is proved by the fact that many aliens had settled there since 1272 [8]).

As the Hanse merchants, who are usually referred to as Germans or Almaines, also included those of the Dutch Hanseatic towns, as appears from their being admitted as members of the Gildhall [9]), it is impossible to say whether Germans from Northern Germany or Dutch merchants are meant in each particular case.

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[1]) I. C. I. 293. — [2]) M. X. — [3]) I. C. I. 290.

[4]) In the Low Countries there had been a woolstaple since Henry III., but it does not appear that the merchants were compelled to use it (R. 70-1).

[5]) R. 92. — [6]) I. C. I. 278. — [7]) *Ibid.* 279.

[8]) *Ibid.* 316. As the Low Dutch skippers are sure to have made their appearance wherever they could, we will here add the names of other important ports in Edward I.'s time: Dover, Romney, Winchester, Rye, Hythe, Faversham, Hastings, Shoreham, Seaford, Portsmouth, Dartmouth, Lymington, Weymouth, Poole, Humble, Lymne, Sidmouth, Teignmouth, Frome, Fowey, Love, Bodmin, Wareham, Falmouth, Haverford West, Carnarvon, Carmarthen, Landpadanour, Conway, Bridgewater, Cardiff, Oytermouth, Rochester, Gravesend, Northfleet, Harwich, Orford, Blackney, Wainfleet, Saltfleet, Grimsby, Ravensburg, Scarborough, Tynemouth and Dunbar (L. I. 407). — [9]) Meil. 253.

One thing, however, seems pretty certain: the trade done by the Dutch Hanseatic towns was carrying trade rather than exchange of native products [1]). Though it does not appear to have been very important [2]), yet there was some trade in Edward I.'s time between England and the towns of Muiden, Kampen, Zwolle, Deventer, Zutphen, Bommel [3]) and Harderwijk, which last-named place obtained an important privilege in 1284 [4]). The trade with Kampen seems to have been the most important, except in the northern ports, where Deventer predominated [5]), though we do not hear of trade between this town and England before the end of the century [6]), when the carrying trade between England and Norway was chiefly done by Deventer; Kampen, which received a privilege for one year in 1274 [7]), Zutphen, Harderwijk and probably Elburg also took part in it, and continued to do so during the first half of the next century [8]). That the Low Dutch carrying trade in general must have been rather important and led to contact between the English and the Frisians and the Dutch in more than one way, is evident from the fact that in 1294 seventeen Stavoren ships, probably bound for Flanders, were compelled by stress of weather to make for English ports [9]); in the next year fifty-five mostly Dutch ships bound for Flanders and Holland were forced by a similar cause to make for Ravensey, Scarborough and Newcastle, and at a later date other Dutch ships in similar circumstances for Romney and Bridlington [10]), while in 1297 a number of Stavoren ships on their way to Flanders made for English ports, where they were searched [11]).

In 1300 new silver money was coined to the great profit of King Edward by the Easterlings, which has given rise to the fable that the word "sterling" should have been derived by aphæresis from this name of the coiners [12]).

In the 14th century the Hanse merchants continued to enjoy the privileges which had been granted to them by various charters, and when in 1309 there was a general reaction against strangers, they were excluded from all new restrictions put on

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[1]) Meil. 257. — [2]) *Ibid.* 251. — [3]) In 1276 (Meil. 61). — [4]) *Ibid.* 31 *note* [7], 51, 254. [5]) *Ibid.* 252. — [6]) *Ibid.* 46. — [7]) *Ibid.* 254 *note* [1]. — [8]) *Ibid.* 234. — [9]) *Ibid.* 258. [10]) *Ibid.* 246.

[11]) *Ibid.* 78-9; unless Dr. M. has been mistaken, and the same case is referred to more than once on different dates.

[12]) Ann. 208.

foreign merchants; their ancient rights were also preserved, though not without difficulty, for they had grown more powerful[1]). That there should have been a reaction against foreign merchants in the early years of the 14th century is only natural, for a class of English merchants began to grow up, and it appears that they engaged in shipping to a considerable extent; and that they should have encountered great difficulties at first in the marts of Norway, France, Holland and all other countries where they began to make their appearance as serious rivals to those who had long had a monopoly of them, is equally natural. That they did not succeed better in ousting foreigners from the English trade during Edward III.'s reign, can only be accounted for by the disadvantage at which they were owing to the wars with France, which obliged the king to requisition so many English ships, that the English merchants were almost driven from the field [2]), for it is a fact that in Edward III.'s time aliens did most of the trade [3]). The privileges of the Hansards were enlarged in the eleventh year of his reign, and when in 1376 in a final charter the King ordained that "no stranger shall from henceforth sell any wares in the same city or the suburbs thereof by retail, any statute or ordinance made to the contrary notwithstanding", the Hanse merchants were excepted [4]). From this it appears that the struggles between alien and English merchants, which we chiefly hear of in Edward III.'s reign, were connected with the internal trade of the country, and that the English were still unable to compete with the aliens who did the carrying trade [5]).

In the 14th century the Dutch Hanseatic merchants and skippers appear more frequently at the English ports than they did in the 13th. In the early years of the century we hear of Groningen, Stavoren, Zutphen and Workum merchants in England [6]), while the trade between the towns on the river IJssel and England begins to develop rapidly and grows very important [7]). It is very likely that the close relations between Edward II. and his son-in-law, Reginald, Duke of Guelders [8]), had some influence on the protection that these Dutch merchants enjoyed in England; we even hear of two Guelders merchants who had committed man-

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[1]) Meil. 244. — [2]) I. C. I. 291. — [3]) *Ibid.* 550. — [4]) *Ibid.* 293. — [5]) *Ibid.* 291. [6]) Meil. 50, 77, 83. — [7]) *Ibid.* 98, 243. — [8]) Frois. T. I. L. I. P. I. III. 5.

slaughter, being pardoned by the King at the request of Eleanor [1]).

The carrying trade between England and Schleswig-Holstein, which had hitherto been in the hands of Groningen and Frisian skippers, gradually declined, and they were superseded by the merchants of the Baltic towns [2]). The carrying trade from and to Schonen was also done by the Dutch Hanseatic merchants, and later in the century, about 1368-9, there was great intercourse between Schonen and the West European commercial centres [3]). Occasionally German merchants do some trade between England on the one hand and Holland or Zealand on the other, but on the whole it does not appear to have been of great importance [4]). As early as 1267 we hear for the first time of English and German merchants together conveying wool to Zealand [5]), and in the middle of the 14th century a German merchant carries Rhenish wine from Dordrecht to London [6]).

The chief ports used by the Dutch Hanseatic merchants were London — at an earlier time frequented by merchants of Tiel, Bommel and Stavoren, later by those of Harderwijk and Kampen — Lynn, Boston, Newcastle — chiefly by merchants of Stavoren, Groningen and Deventer, but also sometimes by those of Kampen, Zutphen and Harderwijk — Yarmouth, Orwel, Portsmouth, Bristol, Southampton and Kingston — at Southampton and Kingston merchants of Kampen, at Bristol merchants from Guelders [7]). Kampen seems to have been the most important of those towns, only surpassed by Deventer in the northern ports, chiefly Newcastle [8]).

Between 1307 and 1313 we read of three ships from Stavoren, Kampen and Harderwijk being seized, and set free again after negotiations which had been carried on at York [9]); after 1310 Stavoren ships are seldom heard of in England [10]). In 1339 a privilege was granted to Harderwijk [11]). In 1354 restrictive measures were taken against merchants from England, France, Flanders, Zealand and *Eastland* exporting wool and woolfells from the vicinity of Winchelsea [12]). In 1369 the Hansards had a factory at Boston [13]).

Towards the end of Edward III.'s reign the English merchants

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[1]) Meil. 245 *note* [5]. — [2]) *Ibid.* 241, 243. — [3]) *Ibid.* 231. — [4]) R. 61, 104. — [5]) *Ibid.* 92. — [6]) *Ibid.* 107-8. — [7]) Meil. 247. — [8]) *Ibid.* 252, 227. — [9]) R. 29. — [10]) Meil. 86. — [11]) R. 16 *note* [1]. — [12]) *Ibid.* 97. — [13]) I. C. I. 316.

seem to have tried to get their share of the Baltic Trade, for after 1370 regulations were made by the Hansards to keep the English and the Scotch merchants out of Schonen and Bergen, though before the middle of the century a similar tendency is noticeable, joint business transactions of English and German merchants being forbidden there [1]). The English towns were not slow to retaliate [2]), and the demands for repression of the internal retail trade which aliens were privileged to carry on, grew very strong, especially in London [3]). This hostile feeling probably accounts for the necessity the London Hanse was under in 1375 to place itself under the protection of the Hanseatic towns [4]). though, as we have seen, the Mercatoria of 1377 greatly increased their privileges [5]).

During the last quarter of the century Kampen, Harderwijk and Stavoren merchants still carry goods from Prussian towns to England [6]). The Steelyard merchants, as the Hanse merchants in London are often called, seem to have been rather prosperous, even after the death of Edward III., for in the sixth year of Richard II.'s reign they hired another house next to the old one, with a large wharf on the Thames; the way leading to it, Windgoose Alley, was for the most part built on by them [7]).

In the reign of Richard II. the first great blow was dealt to foreign shipping by the first Navigation Act, which caused the export trade of the country to come into the hands of the Merchant Adventurers and of the Staplers [8]), though, owing to the great shortage of English ships, it did not have the desired effect and a clause had to be added stating that English ships, when "able and sufficient", should be preferred before all other ships [9]). However this may be, we find that at the close of the century English merchants organized themselves in Prussia and the Hanse towns, and elected a governor, whose authority was confirmed by Richard in 1391, while in 1404 Henry IV. empowered those governors to settle disputes between English and foreign merchants and to secure redress for any injury that might be done them in foreign parts [10]). Add to this the restrictions put on aliens in Richard II.'s time, when for instance they were to expend half their money in goods, though they might take the rest in bullion, while in 1401

[1]) Meil. 171. — [2]) I. C. I. 419. — [3]) *Ibid.* 392. — [4]) Meil. 17. — [5]) *Ibid.* 253-6. [6]) *Ibid.* 310-1. — [7]) Sur. 210. — [8]) I. C. I. 291, 377. — [9]) *Ibid.* I. 394. — [10]) *Ibid.* 415.

they were even required to spend all their money, except their necessary expenses, on the commodities of the realm. They were no longer free to deal with one another, and in 1403 they were no longer allowed to live where they liked, but had to lodge with sufficient hosts [4]). All this made England much less attractive to alien merchants, and if the aliens at St. Giles' fair at Winchester did not transfer their business to the town in the reign of Henry VI., it may be owing to these restrictions, to which also may be due the decrease in the number of moneyed immigrants [5]).

It was no easy matter for the English to obtain a firm footing in the Baltic trade. There had been difficulties between the English and the Danes, but as there were no Danes trading to England, the English could not retaliate, although in some cases the Hansards of Boston had been held responsible [6]). In 1440 the Hansards had to be exempted again from new restrictions put on foreign merchants [7]), which shows that the English were still dependent on them, and when we read that in 1442 there was a grievance that Englishmen were prevented from buying or building ships in Prussia and the Hanse towns, it would seem to prove that, though Henry V. and some private merchants had devoted themselves to the building of English ships, they had been built abroad [1]). When in 1448 a specially heavy tax was levied on foreigners, the Hansards were not exempted from it [2]).

In 1463 a monopoly of the home market was created for the English farmer when the harvests were plentiful, by prohibiting the importation of foreign grown corn, when the price of wheat at the port to which it was brought, did not exceed 6s. 8d. the quarter. This was a severe blow to the Hansards who used to import large quantities of corn [3]). A new Navigation Act was passed in this year, but it had no better effect than Richard II.'s had had, and expired after three years [4]).

It seems that when, with the help of Charles the Bold, Edward IV. landed at Ravenspur in 1470, in order to take possession of the English crown, he was supported by the Hansards. This led to important negotiations, and by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1474, the Hansards wrung very favourable terms from Edward, who did not wish to give offence to the London merchants, but could not

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[1]) I. C. I. 431-2. — [2]) *Ibid.* 453; A. I. 128. — [3]) I. C. I. 418 *note* [7]. — [4]) Ann. 378. — [5]) I. C. I. 413. — [6]) A. I. 98. — [7]) I. C. I. 407, 447. — [8]) *Ibid.* 414.

very well resist the demands of the Hansards. Yet the English did not lose the right to trade in the Baltic [1]). The Hansards obtained absolute possession of the Gildhalla Teutonica, or Steelyard, in London, the one in Boston and another in Lynn, and, besides other privileges, the right of selling Rhenish wine by retail. All these privileges, however, which they probably owed to the assistance they had lent to Edward IV., could not prevent their decline and fall. For more than four hundred years their settlement in London had flourished, but now their monopoly of the Baltic trade was broken, and they may be said to have lingered on till all their special privileges were resumed by the Privy Council of Edward VI. in 1553, when they were placed on the same footing as other alien merchants [2]). It was in vain that they acquitted themselves once more of their old obligation to keep Bishopsgate in good repair and rebuilt it beautifully in 1479 [3]). Internal dissensions and the antipathy of the English merchants whose foreign trade was growing larger, prevented them from regaining their old position[4]). In 1492 there was a riot upon the Easterlings by the mercers' servants and others [5]).

About 1490 a Hanse merchant wrote the following letter to Sir John Paston: "Onerabyll and well be lovyd knythe, I commend me on to ȝour masterchepe and to my lady ȝowyr wyffe. I thanke ȝowyr mastyrchepe that ȝe have don for me. I sen my lady a lytyll pes of Renysch wyne of the best, of X gallons, and half a hondyrd orrygys. I schall send hyr mor a geyns Pencost that sche may have fresche. And Renold have not gyve me the to nobyls and xlj d., that ȝe told me off for the wyne. And my servys be nyȝt and be day te ȝowr commawndment. ȝiff ȝowyr masterchep wyll ony thyng wyth me, I xall be at Cley. No more than God be wyth ȝow.

Wrytyn up on the Tuysday aftyr Palme Sonday
LUMEN HARYSON.
At ȝowyr comawndment".

Like many of the Flemings who immigrated to England, this merchant of the Hanse seems to have somewhat englished his name, for Sir John Paston endorsed the letter "Lumen Henrikson" [6]).

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[1]) I. C. I. 417-8. — [2]) *Ibid.* 421-2, 497; Sur. 31, 210; L. I. 495. — [3]) Sur. 31. — I. C. I. 497. — [5]) Sur. 466. — [6]) P. L. VI. 132.

As far as evidence goes, the trade between England and Holland and Zealand seems to date from the time of Edward I. [1]), though the merchants, fishermen and skippers from the mouths of the Scheldt, the Meuse and the Rhine must still have occupied a very subordinate position in England at the end of the 13th century, for not only did they not enjoy any privilege there like the Hanse merchants, but in the introduction to the Carta Mercatoria of 1303 no mention is made of Hollanders or Zealanders [2]). In fact, between 1294 and 1298 the Flemings and Hollanders together export from Newcastle less than a fifth part of the wool that the Germans, and less than a fifteenth part of what Italian merchants export from that port [3]). That Hollanders and Zealanders also did some carrying trade at this time appears from the facts that in 1292 three merchants of Berwick freighted a Zealand ship [4]), and a few years afterwards an English merchant of Yarmouth hired a ship at Sluis to convey his goods to that English port. The owner of the ship was a man of Cats in Zealand [5]). We hear of a certain Hugo Mulart being robbed of his ship by men of Lynn in 1279, while in 1293 the same or another Hugo Mulart complains to the King and his Council of being robbed of a ship by a burgess of Bristol. This Mulart carried goods for others as well as for himself [6]).

From this it appears that at that time the relations between England on the one side and Holland and Zealand on the other, were not always all that could be desired, to which may be added that Hollanders and Zealanders were often guilty of piracy [7]), though the English do not seem to have been averse to it either. Thus the Zealand ship freighted by the Berwick merchants referred to above, was robbed of its cargo by fishermen off the coast of Norfolk [8]). From 1272 to 1281 there was, in fact, something very much like naval war between England and Zealand, and this often led to negotiations between the two parties, such as were carried on at St. Omer in 1273, and at Dover in 1275. Writs were also issued for arresting Zealanders in all the eastern and southern ports of England [9]).

As English skippers sometimes frequented Flemish marts [10]), there were opportunities for pirates of Holland and Zealand to

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[1]) R. 92. — [2]) *Ibid.* 59, 110. — [3]) *Ibid.* 92. — [4]) *Ibid.* 61. — [5]) *Ibid.* 62. — [6]) *Ibid.* 22, 59, 62. — [7]) *Ibid.* 52. — [8]) *Ibid.* 61. — [9]) *Ibid.* 20-3. — [10]) I. C. I. 314.

enrich themselves at their expense by robbing their ships, and not only in or near their own country [1]), but also on the English coasts, where they are heard of near Yarmouth and Dunwich [2]).

We do not hear much of English skippers or merchants in Holland and Zealand in the days of Edward I. We have already referred to wool being conveyed to Dordrecht in 1294; this was done by three English merchants; we also hear of two English ships bound for the Low Countries being robbed off Walcheren, and between 1292 and 1301 permission is given to a Londoner to go and trade in Holland, Zealand and Brabant. Occasionally an English ship bound for Flanders touches at a port in Holland or Zealand, or is driven by storm out of her course on to the Dutch coasts [3]). The only towns in Holland and Zealand that are separately mentioned in the 13th century are Dordrecht, Middelburg and Zierikzee [4]).

When peace had been made between England and Zealand in 1281, there was a meeting between the Count and the King of England [5]), between whom there arose more intimate relations when the Count's daughter was married to the King's son [6]). In spite of the fact that later the Count took a great interest in the wool trade of Dordrecht [7]), the relations were broken off about the time of Edward's war with France. This rupture greatly interfered with the trade relations of the two countries, and for a time no Englishmen were allowed to travel to Brabant through Holland or Zealand. These relations were not restored before the death of the Count in 1296 [8]).

Edward's relations with John, Duke of Brabant, were similar to those with the Count of Holland, for John's son married Edward's daughter Margaret. Before the marriage the Brabant author van Heelu gave her an opportunity of learning Dutch by writing for this purpose a poem on her future father-in-law's glorious feats [9]). Some of these feats he had performed at jousts in England and in Germany [10]). In fact, he died at Bar in 1294 on

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[1]) The man of Cats referred to above eventually killed the servant of the English merchant and the other Englishmen on board, and carried the goods to his own country (R. 62). In the early years of the 14th century there were also difficulties between England and Kampen in connexion with a robbery committed by Kampen burgesses (Meil. 244 *note* [1]).

[2]) Ann. 202. — [3]) R. 8. — [4]) *Ibid.* 6. — [5]) *Ibid.* 22. — [6]) *Ibid.* 23, 110; Ann. 212. — [7]) te W. Gesch. I. 306. — [8]) R. 24-5. — [9]) te W. Gesch. I. 371-2. — [10]) *Ibid.* 299; te W. I. 18.

the day on which he had taken part in the jousts in honour of Henry of Bar's marriage with Eleanor of England [1]).

During the last few years of the century there must have been many English people in Flanders, for in 1297 Edward, wishing to lead his expedition to that country in person, sailed from Winchelsea, landed at the Swin, went to rescue the Flemish Count Guy, and then made peace for two years [2]). His "Galoysen" appeared at Ghent [3]), where he not only kept Christmas in 1298 [4]), but also signed his new Charter [5]).

The people of the Low Countries did not appear in England only as merchants and carriers, but also as fishermen. At the very end of the 13th century (1295) mention is made of fishermen of Holland and Zealand in the English territorial waters, chiefly off Yarmouth. It was when Edward was at war with France, and realized the importance of unmolested fisheries for his kingdom, that he sent three ships to protect the herring-fishers from Holland, Zealand and Friesland on the east coast, while a couple of years afterwards the Flemish fishermen were also included in this protection. Most probably those fisheries in English waters date from a much earlier time [6]).

The merchants, fishermen and skippers of Holland and Zealand must have had some influence on the economical development of England during the 14th century [7]), for the trade between these countries reached a certain degree of development, as is clear from the numerous letters of protection granted about the middle of the century [8]), and we even hear of Holland traders as far away from their country as Ireland. This increase of trade may probably be attributed to Edward III.'s wars with France [9]). By this trade we do not mean any direct trade between English and Dutch merchants, for this was not considerable in the 14th century, but the carrying trade done by skippers of Holland and Zealand in the service of Italians, Frenchmen, Flemings, Englishmen and Germans. Sometimes they were both traders and carriers. A Hollander of Dordrecht had to carry wool from Southampton to Flanders; he conveyed it to Dordrecht instead, but received the punishment due to him, when he appeared at Yarmouth with his

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[1]) te W. Gesch. I. 300. — [2]) Ann. 207; Gr. 206. — [3]) te W. Gesch. I. 364. — [4]) Ann. 207. — [5]) Gr. 207. — [6]) R. 24, 52-3, 110. — [7]) *Ibid.* 68. — [8]) *Ibid.* 3 *note.* [9]) *Ibid.* 59, 60.

own merchandise. Similar cases are related of a man of Schiedam, one of Middelburg and one of Brill in 1341-3. The man of Middelburg carried Prussian goods for a Lübeck merchant to Kingston, from where he sailed for Newcastle to buy coal. He was arrested because he exported English money [1]).

Owing to their large fleet and their seamanship the Hollanders and Zealanders gradually became the carriers of Europe [2]), which induced Edward III. to try and prevail on the Count of Holland to make an alliance with him by a promise of special commercial privileges to his subjects [3]). They certainly had the greatest share in the carrying trade between England and the Low Countries, and had permission to export goods to Holland and Zealand, especially to Dordrecht and Middelburg. There was a great deal of smuggling done in those days by Hollanders and Zealanders as well as by Englishmen [4]).

The fishermen of Holland and Zealand seem to have played a very important part in the 14th century trade. That they possessed a large fleet is evident from the fact that in 1326 one hundred and forty herring-busses were lent to Queen Isabella to convey her and her troops to England [5]), and no doubt Edward III. seized some Holland and Zealand ships, when he conveyed his troops to Flanders afterwards [6]). Fishermen from Holland and Zealand (Maarland, Brill, Cats, Middelburg, Arnemuiden, West Kapelle, Brouwershaven, Zoutelande, Campvere, Flushing, Kortgene and Zierikzee) seem to have carried on their trade off the English coast and sold their catches at Great Yarmouth and Boston,where they appeared more than once a year. Repeatedly the tolls were suspended, lest those fishermen should not appear, so that the towns would suffer losses and the fairs could not proceed. In order to escape paying tolls, the Holland and Zealand fishermen did not make for the English ports to sell their fish there, but sold them to the Englishmen who came out to them on the sea for the purpose. This practice continued throughout the century, and even as late as the middle of the sixteenth [7]).

The Holland and Zealand ships which imported salt, herring, red-herring, eel and salt-fish into England, did not go back empty, but exported wheat, ale and cloth, and as the merchants of Hol-

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[1]) R. 66-7, 106. — [2]) *Ibid.* 62-3, 66. — [3]) *Ibid.* 111. — [4]) *Ibid.* 88-9. — [5]) *Ibid.* 41-2, 58. — [6]) *Ibid.* 64 *note* [2]. — [7]) *Ibid.* 55-6, 56 *note* [1], 57-8, 68; I. C. I. 499-500.

land, Zealand, Brabant and Flanders also seem to have taken their share in the export of wool from England, the fishermen also carried this commodity. From Lynn, Yarmouth, Ipswich and Kingston, but chiefly from Yarmouth, they conveyed wheat to the Low Countries [1]).

As the cloth manufacture in England improved during Edward III.'s reign, English cloth gradually became an article of export, and we hear of cloth being exported to Zierikzee, either by Holland or Zealand merchants, or by Englishmen, to be dyed there. In addition to small quantities of wool, "sarge, worstede, rosset, blanket and cogware" were among the articles exported [2]).

The English ports where Hollanders and Zealanders appeared, or from which Englishmen sailed for the Low Countries, were Kingston, Boston, Yarmouth, Lynn, Ipswich, Dunwich, Harwich, London and Sandwich, of which Great Yarmouth, Lynn and London seem to have been the most important. Between 1310 and 1370 one hundred and forty-four Holland and Zealand ships visited Newcastle, Scarborough, Grimsby, Ely, Orwel, Kirkeleyrode, Colchester, Maldon, Gravesend, Chichester, Southampton and Milford, in addition to the above-mentioned ports; and besides, one hundred and sixty-two ships visited Great Yarmouth, Lynn and other ports in Suffolk and Norfolk about 1319 [3]).

The presence of men of the Count in England, or of Englishmen in Holland or Zealand in Edward II.'s time, is often evidenced by the difficulties about trade or about cases of piracy, which difficulties led to Dutch merchants going to England, or English merchants going to the Low Countries to negotiate [4]). In 1304—so still in Edward I.'s time—two Zealand ships were seized at Boston, from which port a Zealander had exported wool for a Hanse merchant the year before [5]), while between 1307 and 1313 four Zealand ships were seized at Great Yarmouth [6]). Complaints of robbery on the part of the men of the Count led to protective measures on behalf of Hainaulters, Hollanders and Zealanders on the part of Edward II. in 1309, after representatives of the chief Dutch towns had gone to England to lay the cases before the

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[1]) R. 107, 97, 112, 104. Prof. Swaen informs me that Yarmouth even has a Dutch name: *Jarremuiden.*

[2]) *Ibid.* 102-3. — [3]) *Ibid.* 9, 3-4. — [4]) *Ibid.* 25-7, 29. — [5]) *Ibid.* 63. — [6]) *Ibid.* 29-30; 54.

King [1]). English ships were sometimes seized and taken to Holland [2]). In 1315 we hear of Dutch fishermen at Great Yarmouth, and of negotiations between the Count and the King concerning difficulties about compensation, negotiations which had already begun the year before [3]). In September 1316 the goods of Hollanders and Zealanders were seized, and in May 1317 property belonging to Malines merchants must not be seized, because Malines belongs to the Count of Holland; a week later Edward granted protection and safe conduct to all the subjects of the Count. In 1320 there were new difficulties, and envoys were sent from Holland to negotiate. Robberies and murders took place near Dunwich in 1325, and the relatives of the victims were authorized to revenge those injuries on the English. Between 1323 and 1327 a Sandwich ship was taken to Flushing and from there to Antwerp, which led to two Dordrecht ships being seized in London. Edward II. refused to protect them, though the Count had guaranteed free passage through his counties to English merchants [4]).

Edward III. understood the interests of his country better than his predecessor. He knew the value of a large export trade, and as there were not many English merchants and skippers, he made it easy and safe for foreign merchants to travel about England, and began by reducing the fare between Calais and Dover [5]) and promising them "protection of their pockets and persons" on the journey, for the Channel was infested with pirates, also from the mouth of the Rhine [6]). As he was connected with the Count by marriage, and might have to use the Count's fleet again, he granted many privileges and much protection to merchants and skippers of Holland and Zealand. Thus, when in 1327 a Brill ship was seized at Scarborough, he commanded it to be set free [7]). Unlike his father, he punished Holland and Zealand pirates themselves and not by compensating himself at the expense of Dutch merchants in England [8]). Only once, in 1343, did he hold the inhabitants of Holland and Zealand responsible for the robbery to which an English ship at the Swin had been exposed [9]).

New privileges and free passage to any part of the realm where they could go and trade under the King's special protection, were

[1]) R. 25-8. — [2]) *Ibid.* 40. — [3]) *Ibid.* 31-4. — [4]) *Ibid.* 39, 36, 40-1.
[5]) 6d. for a man on foot, 2/– for a man with a horse (I. C. I. 300).
[6]) I. C. I. 300-1. Of pirates and "rovers of the sea" we shall say more later on.
[7]) R. 42-3. — [8]) *Ibid.* 54-5. — [9]) *Ibid.* 45-7.

granted to the men of Holland and Zealand, when the defeat of the Dutch-English fleet at Zwartewaal in 1351, and the marriage of the Count to Maud of Lancaster, had ended the difficulties between the Count and the King [1]).

In 1352-3 more than twenty merchants were allowed to export various goods. The first case referred to coal to be laden "in ships of the said parts — i.e. Holland and Seland and (to be taken) to those parts", from which it appears that at least in one of these cases Dutch ships were used [2]).

Though the Hollanders and Zealanders did not export much wool from England, yet we find that in 1350 the farmers of the wool subsidies were authorized to allow some reduction to merchants of England, Flanders, Brabant, Holland and Zealand [3]).

As regards other articles of import or export, we may observe that between 1350 and 1358 corn, chiefly wheat, was exported to Flanders or Zealand; this was done to Flanders and Zealand by five Holland and Zealand skippers in 1356; to Holland, Zealand, Flanders or Brabant in 1357, and to Gascogne or Flanders, Holland or Zealand in 1358. This export trade was in most cases done from Lynn, Yarmouth, Ipswich and Kingston, but chiefly from Lynn, by English, Dutch and sometimes German skippers. Hollanders and Zealanders imported herring and other victuals. Some fishmongers in London were licensed to export corn to Holland and Zealand, while the Hollanders and Zealanders seem to have done a great part of the corn trade [4]).

Till 1360 there were no Dutch merchants or skippers of what is now called North Holland, only in 1356 mention is made of a man of Hoorn at Lynn. Before that date men of Schiedam, Delft or Vlaardingen are seldom, men of Leyden, Amsterdam or Hoorn never heard of. The name of North Holland occurred shortly after 1360, when salt-fish was imported by men of that part of the Netherlands in exchange for cloth [5]).

In 1364 three Hollanders obtained permission to export cloth in exchange for eel or salt-fish [6]).

Sometimes Englishmen and Zealanders exported together, but

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[1]) Ann. 253; R. 18, 48-9. — [2]) R. 68 *note*. — [3]) *Ibid.* 97. — [4]) *Ibid.* 104-5. — [5]) *Ibid.* 5-6. — [6]) *Ibid.* 103.

it is quite possible that in these cases the former were the merchants and the latter the carriers [1]).

The restrictions put on alien merchants by Richard II., and especially his Navigation Act, were as great a blow to the carrying trade done by the Hollanders and Zealanders, as to the Hanse merchants, though the former kept up the struggle for maritime supremacy longer than the latter, and did not see their carrying trade pass into English hands before the middle of the seventeenth century, when Cromwell's Navigation Act had set the two nations by the ears.

The Woolstaple

It is impossible to deal with the trade-relations between England and the Low Countries in the 14th century, without referring to the history of the English woolstaple, and it is especially on the commercial intercourse between England and Flanders, that this history throws much light. We have already referred to the fact that Edward I. tried to remove the wooltrade in England from the fairs to certain ports, for the greater convenience of collecting the customs, and that this may have been the origin of the staple towns of the 14th century. It also appears that English merchants had in his reign frequented various marts in Brabant and Flanders, Antwerp being one of them [2]). Until 1313 English as well as alien merchants seem to have been free to convey wool to any part they chose [3]); in this year Edward II. forced them to fix on one certain staple in the Low Countries, to which all wool should be taken. This restriction of free trade would seem to have been a failure, for in 1320 a new attempt to carry out this policy was made, while in the last year of Edward II.'s reign a number of towns in England, Devon, Cornwall and Wales were fixed as staples [4]). When Edward III. came to the throne, he re-established freedom of trade, enacting that "all staples beyond the sea and on this side, ordained by kings in times past, should cease". In 1343 there was an end of this freedom, when a staple was established at Bruges [5]).

[1]) R. 67. — [2]) I. C. I. 311-2.

[3]) There seem to have been negotiations with England in 1311 to get the woolstaple once more at Dordrecht, but without result; in that year a conference was to be held with envoys from England, Eastland and Lombardy at Turnhout (R. 73-4).

[4]) R. 71. — [5]) I. C. I. 312.

Though the trade was chiefly in the hands of aliens, especially during the former half of the century, yet it appears that since the time of Henry III. there had been an association of English merchants under a mayor trading to Flanders, of which mayor mention is made in 1313, when he is sent to settle some disputes[1]).

In the relations between England and Holland and Zealand we hear of the staplers for the first time between 1321 and 1324, when there are difficulties which their mayor Richard de Bethune attempts to settle [2]).

Though in Edward III.'s time the wool business was gradually passing into the hands of Englishmen, yet there were also aliens engaged in it, and we know that the King gave special permission to Flemings to export wool. Now Bruges had been one of the places on the continent by which wool was sent overland from England to Italy, and it is quite possible that it was owing to the King's desire to propitiate the Flemings, whom he looked upon as subjects of the Crown, that he fixed the staple at this town in 1343 [3]). In 1336 he had promised the Duke of Brabant to fix the staple at a town in that duchy, and he established one at Louvain and another at Brussels, though in the same year a large quantity of wool was conveyed to Dordrecht and Middelburg, where, however, the name "staple" was not used [4]). It is a fact that Edward frequently granted protection to Hollanders and Zealanders also, sometimes in return for protection granted to English traders by the Count [5]); thus an important privilege was granted to Brill about that time [6]).

The great trade in raw wool dates from Edward III.'s reign. In 1337 the King alone sold 20000 sacks of wool in Flanders [7]). On 24 May 1337 a license was given "to Merchants of Louvain, Brussels, Antwerp, Bar-le-duc, Malines, Thievemont, Lyewes, Nivelle, Diste, Harentals, Graven, Breda, Bergen sour le zoem, and Arscot, and other villages to buy as much wool as was necessary to the Manufacture of each place respectively, for half a year; and so from one half year to another, so long as the

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[1]) I. C. I. 311. — [2]) R. 40-1. — [3]) I. C. I. 425; A. I. 80, 87. — [4]) R. 74-5. — [5]) *Ibid.* 43, 75.

[6]) *Ibid.* 14-6. About the same time we hear of English merchants undertaking for the King to export wheat to Zealand from Lynn and Yarmouth, and of the Count's granting safe conduct to the clerk of the wool-staplers (*Ibid.* 60-1, 75).

[7]) A.I. 79-80.

war should last" [1]). It is even said that "all the trade was conveying wool abroad to give employment to the poor of foreign countries, viz. the Dutch and the Flemings" [2]), and that "the king and state began now to grow very sensible of the great gain the Netherlands got by our English wool, in memory whereof the Duke of Burgundy not long after instituted the Order of the Golden Fleece, wherein, indeed, the Fleece was ours, the Golden theirs, so vast their emolument by the trade of clothing" [3]).

As in the preceding century, Dordrecht enjoyed the privilege of the woolstaple only a short time, though to what extent it had been conveyed to that town will be evident from the fact that the material sent there came from Bristol, Southampton, London, Great Yarmouth, Lynn, Boston, Kingston and Newcastle [4]). Soon after this, however, a large quantity of wool was conveyed to Brabant and Zealand, but not to Dordrecht [5]). In 1339 wool was allowed to be sent only to Antwerp and not in ships of Flanders or Zealand. In the same year, however, this prohibition was cancelled for the sake of some moneylenders to the King, and permission was granted them to convey their merchandise to Brabant, Flanders and Zealand. The cloth manufacture in Flanders being greater than in Zealand may possibly account for the wool being sent to Flanders rather than to Holland and Zealand [6]).

After the staple had been fixed at Bruges, it was found that it was to the loss of the English sheep-farmers, for, as we have already heard, the jealousy of the town weavers prevented the suburban and rural Flemish weavers, as also all foreigners, such as Spaniards and Italians, from buying the wool they needed [7]). This led Edward to remove the staple to Middelburg in 1348, only for a short time, though, during which wool was conveyed to Middelburg from Lynn and Boston [8]), for in 1349 Edward seems to have been prevailed on to remove the staple to Calais by the English merchants whose cloth trade centred there, though at the same time the trade in woollen cloth, tin, lead and feathers to Germany, Holland and Zealand was quite free. It seems that the English merchants could not yet do without Bruges, for the next year we find the staple again at this town [9]).

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[1]) Smith I. v. 18. — [2]) B. W. M. I. 8. — [3]) M. XVIII. — [4]) R. 98. — [5]) *Ibid.* 75.
[6]) *Ibid.* 75-6. — [7]) I. C. I. 315; A. I. 87. — [8]) R. 76-7, 99. — [9]) A. I. 81; R. 77, 85.

In 1352 the staple was removed once more, this time to Canterbury [1]), and the next year it was ordained by the Parliament "that the staple of Wools, Leather, Woolfels and Lead shall be perpetually holden for England, viz. at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, York, Lincoln, Norwich, Westminster, Canterbury, Chichester, Winchester, Exeter and Bristol. For Wales, at Kaermerdyn; and for Ireland, at Devylin, Waterford, Cork and Drogheda, and not elsewhere.....", that "all wools for transport were to be brought from York to Hull, from Lincoln to St. Botolph (Boston), from Norwich to Great Yarmouth, from Westminster to London, from Canterbury to Sandwich, from Winchester to Southampton", and that "the said shall be carried by Merchant Strangers, which have bought the same, and not by Englishmen, Welshmen, and Irishmen, to the parts beyond the sea" [2]).

The removal of the staple to England meant heavy losses to the English merchants, and at their request the English government asked Bruges, Ghent and Ypres to renew the former privileges to English merchants. This led in 1359 to the organization of non-staple English merchants in Flanders under their own mayor, who had authority in Flanders, Holland and Zealand. They may be looked upon as the predecessors of the Merchant-Adventurers of whom we shall hear in the next century [3]). The importance of the wool trade with Flanders at the time may be understood from the fact that a couple of years after the staple had been removed to England, more than 100.000 sacks of wool were annually transported abroad [4]).

In 1363 the staple was again removed from England to Calais, where a new company of English staplers was formed, twenty-six merchants being farmers of the subsidies there for three years [5]). This was the only staple for some years [6]), until in 1370 it was also kept in England at Kingston, Boston and Queenborough [7]). This seems to have been an additional attraction for aliens to settle at Boston, as many had done from the time of Edward I. [8]).

When the staple was removed to Calais in 1363, the English merchants, who, having received privileges fron Lewis of Flanders in 1358, had settled at Bruges [9]), continued to visit the marts at

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[1]) Sur. 403. — [2]) 27 Edw. III., (Smith I. v. 29 *note* †); Sur. 403; Ann. 254. — [3]) Sur. 403; R. 72, 77-8; I. C. I. 317, 622-3. — [4]) Ann. 255. — [5]) I. C I. 311; Sur. 404. [6]) R. 72. — [7]) Sur. 404; Ann. 265, 268. — [8]) I. C. I. 316 *note* [2]. — [9]) Smith I. xxv. 84.

this town [1]). In the same way, when the staple had been at Middelburg from 1383 to 1388 — for the last time in the Netherlands, before it was removed to Calais once more [2]) — English merchants continued to trade there and at Zierikzee, having obtained privileges for the purpose from Albert of Bavaria. These privileges had been granted them when, owing to the political circumstances in Flanders, there was no room for English merchants there [3]). Thus the Merchant-Adventurers separate themselves from the Staplers. They obtained privileges different from those granted to the latter, and were free to travel about the Count's dominions. During the last decade of the century, the Count more than once granted them new privileges, hoping in this way to get the staple fixed at Middelburg again. In 1396 English wool was used for the first time in the Leyden cloth manufacture, while English as well as Scotch wool was conveyed to Haarlem and Amsterdam in 1412 [4]).

The taking of Ghent by the French in 1383 was a final blow to the English trade in Flanders, for this town was the only Flemish market left to the English merchants [5]).

Pirates

A few words may be said here about the contact between Low Dutch and English people as a consequence of the many piracies and robberies committed on both sides during these early times. We have already referred to a few such cases in connexion with the trade between the countries in the days of Edward II., but throughout the 14th and 15th centuries we hear of such robberies, and it would seem as if during these centuries there was continual strife between English merchants and people of Norway, Prussia, Flanders, Scotland, Spain and Genoa, in which those pirates, who formed a very powerful association, were employed, as was done by the Hanse League in their war with the King of Denmark in 1370. Their ravages lay chiefly on the North Sea and the Baltic [6]). Their notorious leaders, the Hamburg pirates Klaas Störtebeker and Michelson, preyed upon merchants off the English coasts, as

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[1]) I. C. I. 394. — [2]) R. 99, 69, 72. — [3]) *Ibid.* 78-80. — [4]) *Ibid.* 81-3, 91. — [5]) Gr. 260-1. — [6]) I. C. I. 301, 303; Meil. 246 *note* [2].

they did on those of Friesland and on the Zuiderzee [1]). The coasts of Lincolnshire and Norfolk seem to have been specially exposed to their attacks, and we often hear of mishaps to Lynn vessels and of Stralsund pirates [2]). Scarborough complained of being day after day assailed by Scots, Frenchmen and Flemings. Bordeaux merchants had their wines taken from them by Harwich pirates, and procured letters of reprisal against Flemish merchants in England. In 1338 a large quantity of wool was to be conveyed to Brabant by Hollanders and Zealanders; the Admiral of the West Coast had to see to it that they did not carry the wool to Holland or Zealand. In 1353 some Zealanders committed a robbery at Boston Fair [3]). In 1403 royal ambassadors were sent to the continent to treat about "injuries unjustly suffered on both sides". There were complaints from the Livonians, Hamburg, Bremen, Stralsund, Lübeck, Greifswald and Kampen on the one side, from the English against the men of Wismar and Rostock who had committed robberies on ships from Newcastle, Hull, York, London, Colchester, Yarmouth, Norwich, Clee, Wiveton and Lynn in 1394 on the other [4]). In 1404 "Flemings and Britteines" took "certain English ships laden with merchandises" and "slew" or "hanged all the Mariners" [5]).

About the middle of the 15th century the Hollanders helped the English to clear out a nest of pirates from Friesland, one of those that were formed out of the surviving elements of the association called the "Victual Brothers", to which Störtebeker and Michelson had once belonged. In Henry VI.'s reign there were complaints of the "Rovers of the Sea" pillaging the coasts. In 1440 Margaret Paston writes to John Paston: "Ryth reverent and worsepful husbon, I recomawnde me to ȝow with alle myn sympyl herte, and prey ȝow to wete that there come up xi hundyr Flemyns at Waxham, quereof wer takyn, and kylte, and dronchyn (drowned) viij hundryte (wretyn in Norweche)" [6]). In 1450 she writes as an every day event, of a neighbour "who was taken with enemies walking by the seaside" and adds "there ben ten great vessels of the enemies: God give grace that the sea be better kept than it is now, else it shall be a perilous dwelling by the seacoast". Sand-

[1]) I. C. I. 301; M. C. Nijland, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant, 8 Juli 1923, A*, where Michelson is called Göde Micheel.
[2]) I. C. I. 302 *note* [2]. — [3]) *Ibid.* 301 *note* [2]; R. 65-6. — [4]) I. C. I. 419-20. — [5]) Ann. 330.
[6]) P. L. II. 49.

wich and Southampton were burned, London and Norwich planned means of defence with booms and chains [1]).

Very instructive is what we read in the Paston Letters: "On the 3rd April 1449 royal letters were issued in favour of Robert Wynnyngtone of Devonshire, who was bound by indenture to do the King service on the sea 'for the cleansing of the same, and rebuking of the robbers and pirates thereof, which daily do all the noisance they can'...." "Furst, I send ȝow word that when we went to see, we toke ij schyppys of Brast comyng owte of Flaundrys.... And then we mette with a flotte of a c grete schyppys of Pruse, Lubycke, Campe, Rastocke, Holond, Selond, and Flandres, betwyte Garnyse (Guernsey) and Portland; and then I cam abord the Admirall and bade them stryke in the Kyngys name of Englond, and they bade me skyte [2]) in the Kyngs name of Englond; and then I and my feleschyp sayd, but (= unless) he wyll streke don the sayle, that I wyld over sayle ham by the grace of God, and God wyll send me wynd and wether; and dey bade me do my wurst, by cause I had so fewe schyppys and so smale, that they scornyd with me. And as God wuld, on Fryday last was, we had a gode wynd, and then we armyd to the number of ijm[1] (2000) men in my felyschyp, and made us redy for to over sayle them; and then they lonchyd a bote, and sette up a stondert of truesse, and com and spake with me. And ther they were yolded all the hundret schyppys to go with me in what port that me lust and my felawys; but the foathe with me the day before, and schotte atte us a jm[1] (1000) gonnys, and quarell (= quarreaux) owte of number, and have slayn meny of my felyschyp, and meymyd all so. Wherfor me thyngkyt that they haye forfett bothe schyppys and godys at our Soverayn Lord the Kyngys wyll....; and so I have brofte them, all the c schyppys, within Wyght, in spyte of them all.... I der well sey that I have her at this tyme all the cheff schyppys of Duchelond, Holond, Selond, and Flaundrys, and now hyt wer tyme for to trete for a fynell pese as for that partyes" [3]).

1450. "Ther ben many enemys aȝens Yermowth and Crowmer, and have don moche harm, and taken many Englysch men, and put hem in grett distresse, and grettely rawnsommyd hem; and

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[1]) I. C. I. 409-10.
[2]) One of the Low Dutch words borrowed by the English from seamen.
[3]) P. L. II. 103-5.

the seyd enmys been so bold that they kom up to the lond, and pleyn hem on Castor sonds, and in other plases, as homely as they were Englysch men. Folks ben ryt3 sore afred that they wel don moche harm this somer, but if (= unless) ther be made ryt3 grett purvyans a3ens hem" [1]).

In 1462 a carvel of Caen takes Dutchmen at Yarmouth and ransoms them grievously [2]). About 1491 we read of "certayn corvers of Holond and Selond" being "robbed and dispoiled" by the ship "the Foole" [3]).

Flemish Bankers

The extensive trade in England by Flemish and other alien merchants in the 14th century, seems to have led to the export of the better coins of England and the import of light and debased ones, among them those known by the names of Brabants and Lushbournes, so named after Luxemburg where they came from. Some of the Flemish money was so debased, that a pound of it was only worth forty pence. In 1343 a gold coin for currency in England as well as in Flanders, was struck in conjunction with the people of Flanders, but bad foreign money continued to find its way into England [4]).

Before 1290 the banking trade had been chiefly in the hands of the Lombards and the Jews, but of the Lombards only after Edward I. had in that year banished the Jews from the kingdom[5]). Owing to the excessive demands made upon the Lombards by the King in 1345, several leading banking firms were ruined. In 1338 the merchants of Louvain had obtained new privileges in London, and after the failure of the Lombards, several Flemish bankers settled there. It was these Flemish bankers who had to bear the brunt of the fury of the mob during Wat Tyler's rebellion in 1381, though they had taken refuge in Austin Friars [6]), the Dutch Church of later times [7]). It is said that "the mob killed every Fleming they could find, whether in house, church or hospital, and that not one escaped death" [8]), that "thirteen were fetched out

[1]) P. L. II. 136. — [2]) *Ibid.* IV. 48. — [3]) *Ibid.* VI. 141. — [4]) I. C. I. 327-8. [5]) A. I. 76. — [6]) A. I. 77; I. C. I. 290; Th. II. 440; Gr. 252.

[7]) Moens concludes from this that Austin Friars was used at an early time by the strangers (M. XI).

[8]) Frois. T. II. L. II. CX. 156.

of Austin Friars, seventeen out of another church, and thirty-two out of the Vintry, and so forth in other places of the City, and in Southwark, all which they beheaded, except they could plainly pronounce bread and cheese, for if their speech sounded anything on *brot*, or *cawse*, off went their heads, as a sure marke they were Flemings" [1]). At Snettisham the mob also looked for Flemish victims; three foreigners, imprisoned at Yarmouth, were put to death, and Richard Ressh, a Dutchman, was one of the leaders of the insurgents at Lowestoft [2]). Chaucer has a reference to the slaughter of the Flemings by the rebels in the Nun's Priest's Tale [3]). From the fact that the City magistrates did nothing to restrain the fury of the mob, it is inferred that the natives were chiefly actuated by their jealousy of the Flemings [4]).

Froes of Flanders

At Southwark this fury was also directed against the inmates of the Stew-houses, which were at that time formed by Froes of Flanders, as "English people disdayned to be baudes". In the Regulation as to street-walkers by night, who were especially "Flemish women", they were forbidden "to lodge in the City, or in the suburbs thereof, by night or by day; but they are to keep themselves to the places thereunto assigned, that is to say, to the stews on the other side of Thames, and Cokkeslane; on pain of losing and forfeiting the upper garment that she shall be wearing together with the hood, every time that any one of them shall be found doing to the contrary of this proclamation" [5]). In 1381 those stew-houses belonged to William Walworth, then Mayor of London. Ordinances for the same place and houses were again confirmed in the reign of Henry VI., to be continued as before. They seem to date from 1162. In 1506 they were for a time inhibited, and "the doors closed up", but twelve of the eighteen were re-opened before long. They were finally closed by Henry VIII. in 1546 [6]). Whether they were occupied by Froes of Flanders all the

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[1]) Ann. 288. — [2]) A. I. 107. — [3]) Globe Edition of Chaucer's Works (1898), p. 139, l. 4586. — [4]) A. I. 77.

[5]) Cited by Skeat from Riley's Memorials of London, p. 535 (P. Plowman, C. VII. 367 *note*).

[6]) Sur. 360-2.

time, or if not all the time, how long before and after 1381, we do not know.

In May 1456 we again read of a riot taking place in London, in which the houses of foreigners were attacked; the Lombards were the victims and strangers dare not come abroad [1]).

We must not forget to mention that in the 14th century Flemish music, musicians and musical instruments were famous all over Europe, and that Edward III. brought from Flanders several fiddlers, citharists and dancers [2]).

In 1461 we read of Flanders malt being sent to England [3]).

Merchant-Adventurers

We have heard of the forerunners of the Merchant-Adventurers about the middle of the 14th century. During the latter half of the century the cloth trade with Holland and Zealand was much more important than the wool trade; cloth was sent to these counties in preference to Calais, where the staple had been established; the English cloth-merchants were chiefly Londoners [4]), and the Merchant-Adventurers developed out of the Mercers' company in London, while they had local connexions in Newcastle, Boston, Exeter, and many other towns [5]). We have heard that privileges had been granted to them in the Hanse towns by Henry IV. in 1404. In 1408 similar privileges were granted to those of Holland, Zealand, Brabant and Flanders.

The affairs of the merchants who traded from London, Newcastle and Hull to Bruges, were managed by a Court of English residents in Flanders, and they appear to have been dangerous rivals to the Hanse merchants [6]). In the dominions of the Count of Holland they seem to have done business chiefly at Middelburg. They remained in Zealand till 1435 [7]).

In 1446 Philip of Burgundy granted numerous important privileges to the English at Antwerp, which laid the foundation of the English trade at that town, which had become a centre of the world's trade [8]). There seem to have been difficulties in 1465, when a Parliament at Westminster enacted that no merchandise

[1]) P. L. III. 86-7. — [2]) te W. I. 84; Gesch. I. 424. — [3]) P. L. IV. 9. — [4]) R. 83-5, 103. — [5]) I. C. I. 495. — [6]) *Ibid.* 415-6. — [7]) R. 88, 113. — [8]) I. C. I. 414, 494; te W. I. 123.

from Flanders or from any part of the Duke of Burgundy's dominions should be sold within any part of England [1]). Though owing to the social disturbances in Flanders such towns as Bruges and Ypres were gradually declining and losing their importance [2]), yet the opulent towns of this part of the Low Countries, especially Ghent and Antwerp, were justly called by Macaulay the Manchesters and Liverpools of the 15th century [3]). In the more northern parts of the Low Countries Groningen, Deventer, Zwolle, Kampen, Utrecht, Middelburg and Dordrecht were important commercial towns, to which Enkhuizen, Hoorn and Amsterdam were becoming dangerous rivals; Haarlem and Leyden were thriving manufacturing towns, and at Harderwyk the cloth industry was in its infancy [4]).

These new commercial and industrial interests in the Netherlands do not appear to have retarded the progress of the English merchants, for in 1505 Henry VII. gave the Merchant-Adventurers a much more complete constitution than they had ever had before, while their headquarters were to be at Calais. They were to play a very important part in the 16th and 17th centuries [5]).

Owing to Peter Warbek's adventure, to which we shall refer in its place, the relations between England and Flanders were rather strained, so much so that the Flemish merchants were banished from England, and English merchandise from the markets of Flanders, so that the wool trade with the latter country became very inconsiderable, until, by means of a treaty, known as the *Magnus Intercursus*, a factory for the sale of cloth was established at Antwerp, and by 1496 the commercial relations were restored, to be improved in 1506 by an agreement against the arbitrary increase of customs [6]).

Scotland

Before referring to the political and other Anglo-Dutch relations, we will say a few words about those between Scotland and the Low Countries since the 13th century.

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[1]) Ann. 418.

[2]) After 1485 we find that the weaving industry of Bruges had declined as that of England increased (I. C. I. 494).

[3]) H. E. I. 36. — [4]) te W. I. 123; Meil. 188 *note* [7]. — [5]) I. C. I. 495, 416; A. I. 198. — [6]) Ann. 478, 481; I. C. I. 494.

According to tradition there were Low Dutch immigrants in Moray and Aberdeenshire, who were associated with the Hanse which existed north of the Grampians in the 13th century [1]), while in 1296 we hear of a gallant stand made by the Flemish traders during the siege of Berwick, all of them being burnt to death when the town was fired by the enemy [2]).

As we have already observed, the alien elements in England did not, as they had often done in earlier times, go to Scotland after the War of Independence [3]). In the reign of Edward III. there seems to have been a large trade between Scotland and the Low Countries [4]). As Scotland was a wool-growing country, we need not be surprised at finding Flemish merchants there for the purpose of buying wool; we have heard how in 1313 Edward II. in vain tried to stop the traffic, while of the staple at Middelburg in 1347 Scotsmen seem to have appointed the mayor, so that after this date the leading tradesmen were probably natives of Scotland [5]).

At some time between the War of Independence and the immigration of religious refugees in the 16th century, numbers of Brabant artisans must have settled in various towns of Scotland. The fact that they were known by the name of Brabanters makes the 15th century, when Brabant had reached a rather prominent state, a very likely time for this immigration, especially as James I., who had been a prisoner in England for many years, tried to follow Edward III.'s example, and sent for artisans out of England and the Low Countries. The incorporation of the walkers and litsters of Edinburg in 1500 points to their increasing importance [6]).

Evidence of direct intercourse between Flanders and Scotland is afforded by the facts that in the early years of Richard II.'s reign an ambassador from France to Scotland intended to sail from Sluis, where there were also English residents, against whom he was warned; that, on the disbandment of the French army which had driven the English Urbanists under the Bishop of Norwich from Flanders, several French men-at-arms at Sluis resolved to go to Scotland to fight the English there, and sailed from the same port [7]). In the Paston Letters we read of letters being sent to

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[1]) I. C. I. 184. — [2]) Gr. 190; A. I. 26. — [3]) I. C. I. 348; A. I. 67, 131. — [4]) L. I. 445-6. — [5]) A. I. 130 *note* [1]. — [6]) *Ibid.* 132-3. — [7]) Frois. T. II. L. II. XLV. 52-4, CCVIII. 296.

Scotland by way of Bruges in 1461 [1]). The relations between Scotland and other parts of the Low Countries may have been strengthened by the marriage of Mary of Guelders to James II., of which lady we read that, as a widow, she was received at Carlisle by Lord Hastings and others [2]).

That Low Dutch immigrants were not always and exclusively engaged in the cloth manufacture in Scotland, is evident from the fact that in 1511 a Dutchman was employed as melter at the mine on Crawford Muir, and some years later, in 1526, we hear of James V.'s giving mining concessions to some Germans [3]).

Political and Other Relations

Edward I.'s daughter Elizabeth had, after the death of her first husband, the Count of Holland and Zealand, been married to Humphrey de Cohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, in 1302 [4]). When about this time there arose difficulties about piracies committed, and arrests of British merchants in the Low Countries, in spite of Edward II.'s remonstrances, the Earl of Hereford intervened in favour of the merchants whose goods had been seized by the King [5]). At the request of the Countess some privileges were granted to Dordrecht in 1313, probably because some money was still owing to her by the County of Holland, for at her death in 1316 the privileges were resumed [6]).

In 1309 Pierce of Gaueston fled to Flanders and other countries, while he went back to England with many strangers in 1311. He joined Edward at York, but at the approach of the Barons he fled to Scarborough, where he was taken prisoner [7]). Of what happened to the strangers he had brought, we have no information.

It was in 1326 that Queen Isabella, assisted by William, Count of Holland, Zealand and Hainault, sailed from Dordrecht in a fleet of 140 herring-busses which the Count had lent her, to Urewell or Orwel near Harwich. Her troops consisted of 2757 men [8]) "out of Almaine and Heynald" under John de Beaumont, brother

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[1]) P. L. III. 306. — [2]) *Ibid.* IV. 44, 50. — [3]) A. I. 134 *note* [1]. — [4]) Ann. 208. — [5]) R. 25. — [6]) *Ibid.* 16-7. — [7]) Ann. 215-6.

[8]) According to Stow (Ann. 223); Froissart (T. I. L. I. P. I. XXII. 16) says that there were no more than 300, but the number of ships lent by the Count would seem to point to a much larger number.

to the Count, and various knights. Among the troops there were also Brabanters and Hollanders [1]).

From the place of landing the troops marched to St. Edmundsbury, and pursuing Isabella's enemies, marched by Oxford and Gloucester to Bristol, from where they went to Hereford. With Isabella they then marched by Wallingford Castle to London [2]). At Hereford there had been festivities and entertainments in which the foreigners participated, and most of them had gone home again when Isabella came to London, where John de Beaumont and those who had remained with him, were made much of [3]). On the first day of February 1327 John and all his followers were present at Edward III.'s coronation. After the festivities John left for a tournament at Condé, accompanied by many knights as far as Dover, while fifteen knights were sent to attend him at the tournament. He received an annuity payable to him at Bruges [4]).

The close relations between Edward III. and the Low Countries, both mercantile — as we have seen — and personal, date from this time [5]).

When Robert Bruce had sent a defiance to Edward, the latter sent for John de Beaumont, who collected an army in Flanders, Hainault and Brabant. From Wissan they crossed to Dover and made straight for York, where Edward expected them on Ascension Day, 1327. Among John's knights there were sixteen from Hainault, seven from Flanders and many from Brabant. Altogether he brought 500 men, who met with a magnificent reception from the King, the Queen (Isabella) and all the barons. William, afterwards Duke of Juliers, arrived a little later with a gallant company [6]).

There appear to have been great difficulties between the English archers and the troops of Sir John, which led to violent affrays, in which both masters and men were attacked [7]). The English at whose houses John's men lodged, barricaded their doors and windows, and would not suffer them to enter. It is supposed by some that the attacks were made by the English to be revenged on Sir John for the part he had taken in the deposition of

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[1]) Frois. T. I. L. I. P. I. XV-XVIII. 12-14. — [2]) Ann. 223-4. — [3]) Frois. T. I. L. I. P. I. XXII-III, XXV. 16-8. — [4]) *Ibid.* XXVII. 19. — [5]) I. C. I. 266-7. — [6]) Frois. T. I. L. I. P. I. XXVII-XXX, 19-21. — [7]) *Ibid.* XXXI. 21-3.

Edward II., but according to others the cause lay elsewhere [1]).

Most of the English archers who were at enmity with Sir John's followers, had come from Lincolnshire. All the time the aliens were at York, their lives were in danger; in fact, they were not safe before they had got back to Wissan [2]). They were obliged to keep detachments continually on the look-out round about the city, and to send scouts to the distance of half a league. In these unpleasant circumstances they remained in the suburbs four weeks. After a march to Durham they encamped on the banks of the Tyne, fourteen leagues from Newcastle and eleven from Carlisle[3]). For about three weeks the Scots and the English lay facing each other at Stanhope Park, Wardale, without fighting, and then the former retired secretly during the night, after which the English marched back to Durham [4]). Two days later they went back to York, where the army was disbanded. Sir John and his company continued at York a little longer, entertained by Queen Isabella and her ladies [5]). At length they travelled by easy journeys back to Dover, escorted through hostile Lincolnshire by twelve knights and two hundred men. From Dover they sailed for Sluis [6]).

When Philippa of Hainault set out for England to be married to Edward III., John de Beaumont accompanied her there and was present at the entertainments in London; they lasted three weeks. It is said that but few of her countrymen remained with the Queen [7]).

Never in the course of history have the political relations between England and the Low Countries been so close as in the reign of Edward III. In 1335 Segher of Courtray (Kortrozijn) tried with Jacob van Artevelde to make an alliance between the towns of Flanders and Edward III. against Louis, Count of

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[1]) Frois. T. I. L. I. P. I. XXXI. 21-3. Buchon quotes from Leland's *Collectanea* (Part II. Vol. I. p. 307): "Anno Domini 1328, Hunaldi apud Eboracum combusserunt de suburbis civitatis fere unam parochiam, quæ vocatur S. Nicholai in Ousegate, propter contumeliam motam inter burgenses et illos, quia ceperent uxores burgensium et filias, et ancillas, per vim in suburbio civitatis. Burgenses vero suburbii, indignati de tali facinore congressi sunt cum Hunaldis more bellico: et ex utraque parte bene armati, unâ die Martis in Septembri ante solis ortum in *Watelingate* dormiente totâ civitate summo manè, ibi ceciderunt de Hunaldis 527, præter eos qui letaliter vulnerati sunt, et obierunt in 3 die et in 4 sequenti. De Anglis ceciderunt 242. Submersi in Owse flumine, de Hunaldis inventi sunt 136." If these numbers are correct, there must have been men of William of Juliers' company among them, for, as we have seen above, John de Beaumont's force numbered 500; or else this number is incorrectly given.

[2]) *Ibid.* — [3]) *Ibid.* XXXIII. 24. — [4]) *Ibid.* XLIV. 32-4; Ann. 228. — [5]) Frois. *Ibid.* — [6]) *Ibid.* — [7]) *Ibid.* XLVI. 35.

Nevers [1]). This may be looked upon as the first of many negotiations between Edward and the Low Dutch countries. Edward felt that his small army of 8000 men could not do much against the French army of 40000, and realized the importance of gaining the active co-operation of the Low Countries in a struggle with their common enemy [2]). So the Bishop of Lincoln and some knights and counsellors were sent to ask William and his brother John of Hainault what they thought about a war with France. The ambassadors landed at Dunkirk and rode through Flanders to Valenciennes. They were advised to try and gain the support of the Duke of Brabant, the Bishop of Liège, the Count of Guelders, Edward's brother-in-law, the Bishop of Cologne, the Marquis of Juliers, Sir Arnold de Backeghen, and to give them money in advance [3]). The Bishop of Lincoln with ten knights bannerets and forty knights bachelors treated at Valenciennes with the above-named princes, except the Duke of Brabant, whom most of them went to see in his own duchy, where they were received magnificently and obtained a promise of support to Edward with all the means in the Duke's power, while Edward was allowed to travel, armed or unarmed, as often as he chose, through the Duke's territories [4]). In addition the Duke promised to join Edward with a force of 1000 armed men for a round sum of money, if Edward could obtain the aid of the other lords as well. Having returned to Valenciennes, they continued the negotiations with the other princes, and "by a plentiful distribution of florins", Edward obtained the co-operation of them all with the exception of the Bishop of Liège. Having bought the assistance of the lords on the other side of the Rhine, who could bring large numbers of men-at-arms, the princes took their leave, while the English ambassadors remained at Valenciennes a little longer [5]). From here they set out for Flanders to prevail upon the Flemings to join Edward, and by the advice of William of Hainault, in the first place to gain the friendship of Jacob van Artevelde. They divided into three parties. One went to Bruges, another to Ypres and the third to Ghent, where they were very lavish of their money: "Gold and silver seemed to fly out of their hands" [6]). The result was that they became very popular and succeeded in gaining the

[1]) te W. I. 129; Gesch. I. 452. — [2]) Gr. 224. — [3]) Frois. T. I. L. I. P. I. LXII-III. 56-8. — [4]) *Ibid.* — [5]) *Ibid.* — [6]) *Ibid.* LXV-VI. 59-61.

friendship of van Artevelde and Segher. After several meetings with the chiefs of the principal cities, an arrangement was arrived at by which the king might pass through Flanders whenever he pleased, but as they could not break with France without great loss in money, Edward sent them large sums of money for themselves as well as for the "lords of Germany" [1]). He is said to have become the paymaster of the poorer princes of Germany [2]).

Some of those Flemings who had continued loyal to the Count of Flanders, were in garrison in the island of Cadsand and made war upon the English. If the English ambassadors should return to England by way of Flanders, they might not have done so safely, so they avoided Cadsand by availing themselves of van Artevelde's permission to travel through Flanders to Zealand, visiting all the large towns on their way, and then returned to England by way of Dordrecht [3]). An expedition of 600 men-ar-arms and 2000 archers under the Earl of Derby, Sir Walter Mauny and others was sent to punish the Flemings in Cadsand [4]). The Flemings were defeated, and Guy, the Bastard of Flanders, was taken prisoner and carried to England with the other prisoners. In the course of the year he did his homage and fealty to the King [5]).

Meanwhile Edward made great alliances in the Empire, and by his commercial policy tried to obtain the support of the Flemings as allies against France; he looked upon himself as suzerain of the dukes of Burgundy and consequently over Flanders and Brabant. He treated the men of the Low Countries as his subjects [6]). At the invitation of Jacob van Artevelde he went to Antwerp, where he arrived in July 1338 [7]) with many Earls, Barons and Knights. Many people came to see him and witness the state and pomp in which he lived. At his request the Dukes of Brabant and Guelders, the Marquis of Juliers and John of Hainault came over to Antwerp, and he asked them when they intended to fulfil their promise. Long consultations took place, and the final answer was that they had come "more for the pleasure of seeing him than for anything else, but that they would answer him in three weeks' time". The King remained in the monastery of St. Bernard, some

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[1]) Frois. T. I. L. I. P. I. LXV-VI. 59-61. — [2]) Gr. 224. — [3]) Frois. *Ibid.* LXVI-VIII. 61-2. — [4]) Ann. 234. Stow speaks of the Isle of Agnes. — [5]) Frois. *Ibid.* LXVII-LXX. 61-3. — [6]) A. I. 87; Ann. 236. — [7]) R. 76 *note* [2].

of his noblemen stayed at Antwerp to keep him company, while the rest went about the country amusing themselves as splendidly as they could, and were well received and feasted wherever they came [1]).

A new conference between the King and the Low Dutch princes at Halle led to Juliers' journey to Nuremburgh, attended by some knights and counsellors of the King and some of the Duke of Guelders, to try and procure the consent of the Emperor, Lewis of Bavaria. The Duke of Brabant did not join the others in sending ambassadors, but lent the castle of Louvain as a residence to the King [2]).

Edward was now made Vicar-General of the Empire of Germany on the left of the Rhine [3]), invited Queen Philippa to come over from England, and sent back many of his knights to guard the borders of Scotland. The knights who remained with the King in Brabant, now spread all over Flanders and Hainault, entertaining and making presents all round, and thus winning the favour of nobles and commons.

At a conference of the King and Flemish and other noblemen at Arques in the county of Los, then part of the bishopric of Liège, the lords promised to be ready to lay siege to Cambray at a fixed date. The King then returned to Louvain, where the Queen had arrived with many lords and ladies from England. The King and Queen kept their court there throughout the winter, and caused a large quantity of gold and silver coin to be struck at Antwerp [4]).

When the time for the opening of the campaign had arrived, Edward's stores and armaments were transported from England to Vilvorde, where he went himself and made his people take houses in the town. When they were full, tents and pavilions were pitched for them in the meadows on the river. There were 1600 men-at-arms, and 10000 archers, without counting other followers. Here he waited for weeks for the arrival of the lords of the Empire, especially Brabant. When at length they arrived at Malines, a defiance was sent to France, taken to Paris by the Bishop of Lincoln [5]). A week later Mauny rode with forty lances through Brabant night and day to Hainault, from where he returned to Edward at Malines [6]).

[1]) Frois. T. I. L. I. P. I. LXXI. 63-5. — [2]) *Ibid.* LXXII. 65. — [3]) Gr. 224.
[4]) Frois. *Ibid.* LXXVI-VII. 68-9; te W. Gesch. I. 391; Ann. 235.
[5]) Frois. *Ibid.* LXXVII-IX. 69-72. — [6]) *Ibid.*

From Malines Edward went to Brussels to see the Duke of Brabant, his army passing by the town without entering it. At Brussels at least 20000 Germans joined them. The King was attended by sixteen or twenty great barons and knights of England, the Bishop of Lincoln being one of them. Paying for or stealing provisions the army marched till they arrived at Mons [1]). Here they halted a couple of days, and then marched to Cambray, which was besieged, while Edward's forces increased every day owing to the arrival of all the King's allies with their men. On the 6th day the Duke of Brabant arrived with 600 lances and numbers of other armed men. Edward's forces before Cambray amounted to more than 40000 men. Yet they raised the siege and marched towards Mont St. Martin on the borders of France. The Counts of Namur and Hainault here left Edward, intending to join the King of France. Henry of Flanders was created a knight by Edward. This was Henry Eam. He was probably made a banneret by the Prince of Wales, who settled on him 100 marks for life, payable from the manor of Bradenash in Devon. He was the twenty-fourth Knight of the Garter[2]).

After a march into Picardy, Edward at last returned to Hainault, where his army took up their quarters at Avesnes. The Germans and Brabanters took their leave and went back to their homes, while Edward went to Brabant with the Duke.

At Brussels there was a conference of Edward and all his allies, including the barons of the Empire, as also with Jacob van Artevelde and all the councils of the principal towns of Flanders. In return for their aid against France, Edward promised to assist them in the recovery of Lille, Douay and Bethune. They would do as he desired, if he proclaimed himself King of France, and quartered the arms of France with those of England. Edward consented to this, and a meeting was to be held at Ghent.

After this conference at Ghent Edward went to Antwerp, from where he sailed for London with a large retinue in 1339, leaving his Queen with her train at Ghent, where she was often visited and comforted by Jacob van Artevelde and other lords and ladies. The King had left behind the Earls of Salisbury and of Suffolk, who went to Ypres, from where they kept harassing Lille and its neighbourhood [3]).

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[1]) Frois. T. I. L. I. P. I. LXXX-I. 72-3. — [2]) *Ibid.* LXXXII-V. 75-7.
[3]) *Ibid.* LXXXV. 77; XCIII. 84; XCV-VI. 84-5; Ann. 236.

After the Count of Hainault had been revenged on the French for invading and devastating part of his country, he held a council at Mons, where he appointed his uncle, John of Hainault, Governor of Holland, Zealand and Hainault, and then travelled to England by Dordrecht. He was most honourably entertained by the King and his barons, and made a strong alliance with the King [1]).

In 1340 Edward gave to William, Marquis of Juliers, the Earldom of Cambridge, with the town and castle, and twenty pounds a year, "created him at Westminster by the girding of a sword, whereof he also made him his charter with the gift of one thousand poundes of yeerely rent" [2]).

In the same year Edward went to Flanders again in order to go to the assistance of his brother-in-law, the Count of Hainault, against France. He sailed from the Thames for Sluis, taking a large number of noble ladies to Flanders to attend on the Queen at Ghent. With the assistance of Bruges and those parts of Flanders, the French had been defeated on the day before the King arrived at Sluis. Attended by a large number of knights the King went on foot on a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Ardembourg. Having heard mass, he dined there and then went to the Queen at Ghent; the train of soldiers and attendants followed him there by degrees. A week later the Count of Hainault and some of his lords arrived at Ghent to meet King Edward, when it was decided that a conference should be held at Vilvorde [3]). At this conference the Dukes of Brabant and Guelders, the Counts of Hainault, Juliers, Mons, Namur, and many other lords, as also Jacob van Artevelde, were present, while each of the chief towns of Flanders, Hainault and Brabant was represented by three or four men [4]). It was decided that siege should be laid to Tournay. Edward went there by way of Oudenarde, attended by seven Earls, two prelates, 28 bannerets, 200 knights, 4000 men-at-arms, 9000 archers and a large number of foot-soldiers. The Duke of Brabant brought 20000 men, while the Count of Hainault came with the cavalry of his country, including many Dutchmen and Zealanders. Jacob van Artevelde

[1]) Frois. T. I. L. I. P. I. XCVIII. 86-7; CIV. 92-3; CXIV. 101.

[2]) Ann. 237. In 1342 the Earldom of Cambridge was given by Edward to John of Hainault (*Ibid.* 238).

[3]) Frois. *Ibid.* CXX. 105-6; CXXII-III. 107-8; Ann. 237.

[4]) Frois. *Ibid.* CXXV. 109.

appeared with more than 40000 Flemings, without counting those from Ypres, Poperinghe, Cassel and Bruges. There were also the Dukes of Guelders, Juliers, Blankenberg, Neuss, Mons, the Count of Savines, Fauquemont, Arnold de Backeghen, and all the German soldiers. When stationed round Tournay, the various divisions of the army had open communication with each other. The army was supplied with all they needed by the neighbouring countries [1]). Including the Flemings the King had an army of 120000 men [2]). The siege lasted ten weeks and four days, when a truce was made [3]), and Edward went back to the Queen at Ghent, where he stayed for some time waiting for money to be sent from England, which never came. He then went secretly through Zealand back to London with all his people, except the Bishops of Lincoln and Durham [4]) and the Earl of Warwick, who remained to attend the conference at Arras. This conference lasted a fortnight and prolonged the truce to two years [5]).

After his return to England, Edward marched to the north upon Scotland, but when he came to Newcastle-on-Tyne on his march to Stirling, he quartered his men in the neighbouring villages, waiting for more than a month for their purveyances, which were on their way from Flanders. Only very few ships arrived at Newcastle, as many of them were lost, driven by baffling winds upon the coasts of Holland and Friesland [6]).

When Edward had returned from the north, great feasts and jousts were held in London, proclamations of which were sent to Flanders, Hainault, Brabant and France. Both the Court and his brother John of Hainault were present, and the feasting lasted a fortnight [7]).

In 1344 the Order of St. George (the Garter) was instituted at Windsor. Edward sent heralds to France, Scotland, Burgundy, Hainault, Flanders, Brabant and the Empire of Germany, offering passports for a fortnight after the ceremony was over. Many knights from Flanders, Brabant and other parts beyond the sea were present at the tilts. It was on this occasion that Henry Eam of Brabant was made a knight of the Order [8]).

[1]) Frois. T. I. L. I. P. I. CXXVII. 110-1. — [2]) *Ibid.* CXXXII. 114. — [3]) *Ibid.* CXLIII. 124.; Ann. 237.

[4]) The Bishop of Durham was at Antwerp and other towns in Brabant as ambassador for nine years (Ann. 240).

[5]) Frois. *Ibid.* CXLVI. 126-7.; Ann. 237. — [6]) Frois. *Ibid.* CLIX. 139-41. — [7]) *Ibid.* CXCI-II. 164-5. — [8]) *Ibid.* CCXIII. 178-80; CCXV. 281-3.

With a large retinue of barons and knights King Edward went to Sluis in 1345, where Jacob van Artevelde and other friends of the English came to see him on board. Many conferences took place between the King and van Artevelde on the one side, and the councils of the different towns of Flanders on the other, for van Artevelde had promised the King, that he would give him the inheritance of Flanders, invest his son, the Prince of Wales, with it, and make it a duchy instead of a county. There was opposition to this on the part of many of the towns, and while the delegates of the towns went to Ghent to deliberate on the matter, Jacob van Artevelde remained with the King [1]).

When Jacob van Artevelde had been killed in an insurrection, the councils of the towns of Bruges, Ypres, Courtray, Oudenarde and others received a safe conduct from the King, who had returned to England, to come to Westminster and testify their innocence of this murder. All the chief towns of Flanders were represented, except Ghent [2]).

After the battle of Crécy Edward wanted to be master of the Channel; so he laid siege to Calais, which he took after a protracted siege in 1347. This town had for a long time been a nest of pirates, but, as a base of communication with Flanders, its possession was of great importance to the English [3]).

While Edward was lying before Calais, many barons and knights from Flanders, Hainault, Brabant and Germany came to pay their respects to the King and Queen [4]). To assist Edward, the Flemings, with an army of 100000 men, laid siege to Aire in Artois, 14 leagues from Calais [5]). When the town of Calais was in Edward's possession, he drove away all the inhabitants, and repeopled it with English citizens [6]).

To the Flemish towns, with whom Edward desired to be on friendly terms, he had promised that, after he had taken Calais, he would reconquer for them Lille, Douay and all their dependencies. At the same time he wanted to bring about a marriage between his daughter Isabella and Lewis, Count of Flanders, gaining the consent of the Flemings through intrigues; only, the Count him-

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[1]) Frois. T. I. L. I. P. I. CCXLVII-VIII. 204-5. — [2]) *Ibid.* CCXLIX. 206-7; Gr. 225. — [3]) Gr. 228. — [4]) Frois. *Ibid.* CCCXII. 259.

[5]) *Ibid.* CCCXV. 263-4. It is said that 7000 fighting men came to Edward's assistance from England and Dutchland (Ann. 244).

[6]) Frois. *Ibid.* CCCXXII. 272-3.

self was averse to it, as he wanted to marry the daughter of the Duke of Brabant. The King sent the Earls of Northampton and Arundel, and Reginald Cobham to Flanders to win the cities for his project. When the Count objected, he was arrested and confined by the leading men, who had been prevailed on to take the King's part. The Count gave way and promised to marry the English princess. At the invitation of the Flemings, the King and Queen brought their daughter to Flanders, where they were met with great pomp by the leading men of the principal towns at a place between Nieuwpoort and Gravelines. The betrothal took place, and there is a treaty of marriage, dated Dunkirk, 3rd March, 1346. After the betrothal the parties separated, but a few days before the wedding the Count escaped to Artois. The relations between Edward and the Flemings were no less friendly for this breach of promise on the part of their Count [1]).

In 1348 the Count of Flanders did homage to the King in the person of the Duke of Lancaster, who after this travelled to Germany and Holland. The Count soon broke his vow, and with the help of the French invaded Flanders, where resistance was offered by the people assisted by Englishmen. One of these, John de Filebert, was knighted for his valour in this action [2]).

In the next year Edward sailed over to Flanders once more; he led his army towards France, but after the Count of Flanders had submitted for the third time, the King returned to England [3]).

After the marriage of William of Holland and Zealand to Maud of Lancaster in 1352, the relations between England and those countries were very friendly for a long time, and it need not surprise us to hear that the Duke of Lancaster, who had been to Paris, returned to England through Zealand [4]).

In 1359 Edward intended to lead another expedition into France from Calais with the assistance of mercenaries from Germany, Bohemia, Brabant, Flanders and Hainault. While these mercenaries were waiting at Calais for the King, he sent the Duke of Lancaster with four hundred men in armour, and 2000 archers and Welshmen. With the foreigners Lancaster marched towards St. Omer, but they soon returned to Calais, when they heard of the King's arrival. Henry of Flanders was present with 200 lances;

[1]) Frois. T. I. L. I. P. I. CCCX-XI. 257-9. — [2]) Ann. 245-6. — [3]) *Ibid.* 248. — [4]) *Ibid.* 254; R. 18, 48-9.

there were also some knights from Brabant, among them Francis van Halle, who afterwards became Captain of Calais, a commissioner for treating of peace with France, and a Knight of the Garter [1]).

From 1362-4 there were negotiations between Edward and the Count of Flanders about a marriage of Edward's youngest son Edmund and the Count's daughter [2]). The Count gave his consent — the Duke of Lancaster and Edmund, attended by many knights, had been on a visit to the Count, and been received with every mark of distinction — and accompanied the ambassadors to Dover to meet the King and part of his Council. They stayed at Dover for three days, and there were feasts and entertainments, after which the Count returned to Flanders, accompanied as far as Bruges by the Duke of Lancaster and the Earl of Cambridge (Prince Edmund) [3]). When the negotiations had been dragging on for about five years, the Count of Flanders sent ambassadors to England to treat with the King with a view to cancelling the engagements. To keep the Count to them, the towns of Douay and Lille were given up to him; yet the engagement was broken off. In his anger the King was very hard upon the Flemings, harassing them by sea and land, as also on the Flemish merchants in England [4]), and there were hostilities between the English and the Flemings, who attacked each other, whenever they met on the seas. A naval battle between an English fleet under Sir Guy Brian and a Flemish one under John Peterson, was fought off the island of Bar in Brittany. After a three hours' fight the Flemings were defeated and all either killed or made prisoners, Peterson being among the latter. The prizes were taken to England, Peterson and his captains put into close confinement, and the others dispersed over the kingdom [5]). Edward then took measures to attack the Flemings wherever they should be met, and to blockade the ports. Bruges, Ypres and Ghent agreed to send ambassadors to treat with Edward, as the citizens did not want to suffer by their Count's quarrel with Edward, and peace was restored [6]).

At the time Edward, Duke of Guelders, and the Duke of Juliers were great friends of Edward III — true and loyal Englishmen —

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[1]) Frois. T. I. L. I. P. II. CV-VII. 413-5. — [2]) *Ibid.* CLII. 462. — [3]) *Ibid.* CXCIII. 498-9. — [4]) *Ibid.* CCLXVIII. 573-4. — [5]) *Ibid.* CCCXXXI. 631-2; Ann. 270. — [6]) Frois. *Ibid.* CCCXXXII. 632.

and Edward wanted them to aid him with a thousand lances each in a new expedition to France through Hainault; only Duke Albert, who governed for his brother, and the people of the Country wished to remain neuter, as Edward had been informed by Jane, Duchess of Brabant. The King had sent ambassadors both to Hainault and to Brabant, tempting Albert by the offer of magnificent presents, while the Dukes of Guelders and Juliers had also brought their influence to bear [1]).

During the winter of 1372 the English gained allies both in Germany and in other parts of the Empire, and several knights and squires joined them [2]). A squire of Guelders is reported to have taken the Count de St. Pol prisoner at Ardres, where the French fell into a trap. A truce between England and France was agreed on at Bruges, where afterwards so many English noblemen were present, that Bruges was well filled by their retinues. This was in 1375. They remained there when the truce had been prolonged till the summer of the next year, while the Count of Namur resided with Lancaster. Through the mediation of ambassadors the truce was again prolonged till April 1377 [3]).

In the early years of King Richard's reign Sir Simon Burley was sent to Germany to ask on behalf of Richard for the hand of the sister of the king of Bohemia and of Germany. He travelled by Calais and Gravelines to Brussels, where among others he met Wencislaus, Duke of Brabant, Duke Albert and numbers of knights from Brabant and other parts, who had come to be present at a grand feast of tilts and tournaments. From Brussels Sir Simon travelled by Louvain to Cologne [4]).

When Anne of Bohemia came to England in 1382, to be married to Richard, she was attended there by the Duke of Saxony. She travelled through Brabant and Flanders to Gravelines, where she was met by Salisbury and Devonshire with 500 spears and as many archers. From Brussels to Calais, from where she crossed to England, she was escorted by Brabanters [5]).

In 1381 Philip van Artevelde, who with other members of the van Artevelde family had found refuge in England after the death of his father [6]), proposed to send one or two of the principal citi-

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[1]) Frois. T. I. L. I. P. II. CCLXVII. 572-3. — [2]) *Ibid.* CCCXXXVII. 635-6. — [3]) *Ibid.* CCCLXXXI. 700-1; CCCLXXXIII. 704-5. — [4]) *Ibid.* T. II. L. II. LIX. 84-5. — [5]) *Ibid.* CXXXIII. 181-2. — [6]) de Vr. 371.

zens of the chief Flemish towns, and six of Ghent, to England to ask for assistance, and for repayment of the 200000 old crowns which his father had lent to King Edward before Tournay to pay his troops; in return he promised the English free entry into Flanders. The ambassadors failed in both parts of their errand. An English herald from Ghent met Philip van Artevelde on the road to Bruges, and informed him that five of the Flemish ambassadors were on their way back to Flanders, accompanied by Sir William Fremington with letters from the King promising assistance on certain conditions. Before Sir William Fremington left Calais for Flanders, the battle of Roosebeke took place, and when he heard of the defeat of the Flemings, he went back to England [1]).

When the Count of Flanders heard that Atremen, one of the Flemish ambassadors to London, who had come back with Sir William Fremington and had travelled from there to Middelburg, and through Zealand to Ghent, was attached to England and received one franc a day as wages from John Saplemon at Bruges, who had resided there for 24 years, he summoned this John Saplemon to appear before him at Lille. Suspecting that they had been betrayed to the Count, they started for Sluis, purchased a vessel and sailed for London. Their property at Bruges was seized and sold by the Count, and they were banished from Flanders for 100 years and a day. Several Englishmen were put in prison, where some of them died, while others afterwards recovered all they had lost. The English merchants had been at Bruges for more than 30 years [2]).

At the head of the Urbanists Henry Despencer, Bishop of Norwich, went to Calais, and as their leader, Sir William Beauchamp did not come soon enough, the Bishop invaded Flanders to fight the Count and the French. Though the Bishop had been told that the Flemings were all Urbanists, but that the Clementists were in France, and that many Flemings would gladly join them to fight in France, he decided to carry out his original plans and march by Bourbourg, Dunkirk and Nieuwpoort to Cassel, Bergues, Ypres and Poperinghe. The English marched on Gravelines, which they took. Two noblemen, who enjoyed pensions from the King of England, were sent by the Count of Flanders to treat with the

[1]) Frois. T. II. L. II. CLXVI-VIII. 219-21; CLXXXV. 240; CCIII. 256-7.
[2]) *Ibid.* CCIII. 256-7, CCVI. 265-6.

Bishop, and to carry a message to the King. The Bishop refused them passports and marched on in the direction of Dunkirk, which he took after defeating 12000 Flemings, 9000 of whom were killed. A citizen of Bruges or Ghent was made a knight. Bourbourg next surrendered without fighting and Dixmude was taken by storm. After carrying Cassel, they marched upon Aire. Having taken St. Venant, they entered the castlewick of Poperinghe, and took all the enclosed towns. When Dunkirk, Nieuwpoort, Furnes and Blankenberge were occupied by them, they were masters of the coast from Gravelines to Sluis, and then made for Ypres, from where they sent messengers to Ghent. Atremen was their guide through Flanders all the time. About 2000 men of Ghent joined them at the siege of Ypres [1]). At the request of the Count of Flanders the Bishop of Liège went to Ypres to offer the English the aid of 500 lances for three months, and at the Count's expense, if they would go to France, but all in vain [2]).

On the approach of the French army the siege was raised; the men of Ghent went back to their town, and the English retreated to Bergues and Bourbourg. When Cassel was taken by the French, those of the English who could, escaped to Bergues, where Sir Hugh Calverley lay with an army of 3000 Englishmen. When the French took the castle of Trughen, all the English retired to Bergues, while the Bishop went to Gravelines. At Bergues there were more than 4000 English quartered in the hotels and houses. At the approach of the French army they fled to Bourbourg, which was besieged. Sir Hugh Calverley had gone on to Gravelines, and when the town of Bourbourg had surrendered by capitulation, the English quitted Flanders. Truces were concluded between the Flemings, the French, the English and the Scots to last till September 1384 [3]).

During the siege of Damme by the French, Francis Atremen, who was in command of the town, had some English archers with him [4]).

Ambassadors from the Duke of Lancaster to Duke Albert to negotiate a marriage between the Duke's daughter and William, Count of Holland, Zealand and Hainault, first went to Ghent,

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[1]) Frois. T. II. L. II. CCVII-IX. 268-75; Ann. 295. — [2]) Frois. *Ibid.* 276-7.
[3]) *Ibid.* CCXI-XII. 279-84; CCXV. 287-90; L. III. XVIII. 416.
[4]) *Ibid.* T. II. L. II. CCXXXI. 324.

where they were feasted for three days, and from there to Mons and Quesnoy, where the Duke resided. The negotiations were unsuccessful and they returned by Ghent to England [1]).

When in 1386 the Duke of Burgundy intended to make war on the English, there was an alliance between England and Ghent, where Lord Bourchier had been sent by Richard to advise and govern the people, after the Council of Ghent had been to London to request the King to send one of his brothers, or the Earl of Salisbury, to assist and direct them. Lord Bourchier, the English and Peter du Bois (Pieter van den Bossche) remained in Ghent, until they hastened to England after peace had been made with Burgundy. Peter du Bois was presented to the King and his uncles, and was retained in the King's service with a yearly income of 100 marks [2]).

When later on there were difficulties between the English and Flanders, a Flemish fleet from la Rochelle for Sluis, under John de Bucq, were engaged in a fight by Peter du Bois, who commanded a body of archers and sailors. They got the Flemings between Blankenberge and Sluis, and drove them to Cadsand, where they were finally defeated. John de Bucq and the greater part of the Flemish ships fell into the hands of the English. The English remained at anchor at Sluis, and from there landed on the side of the river opposite Sluis at Terneuzen, which they burnt together with some other towns on the coast. From here they went along the seashore, or on the dykes, called Tournehonque (Turnhout) and Murdeques (Moerdeik). Many of the countrymen were made prisoners by them, while, during the ten days they lay at anchor, they formed several ambuscades between Damme and Sluis, as well as on the road to Cokesie (Coxyde). They disembarked daily and foraged far in the country, always on foot, as they had no horses. They burnt some towns and villages, and a fruitless attack was made on Biervliet. The English who resided on the frontiers of Flanders, Holland and Zealand were too enterprising in their voyages to Dordrecht, Zierikzee, Middelburg and Brill. To the merchants of Zierikzee the wine was restored, which the English had taken with the Flemish fleet, because they had always been on friendly terms with the English and never sided with the

[1]) Frois. T. II. L. II. CCXXIII. 306.
[2]) *Ibid.* CCXXXIX-XLI. 339-50; L. III. XVIII. 416; R. 79.

French against them. John de Bucq was on parole in London, where he died three years later [1]).

All the time there had been an alliance between the King of England and the Duke of Guelders, son to the Duke of Juliers. For the purpose of making this alliance, the Duke had visited the King of England and his chief noblemen in 1388. The Duke had undertaken to make war on France, for which he received £ 4000 a year. His father had at one time received but renounced it; the son, however, accepted of it again at the solicitations of the King and his Council, on condition that he should carry on a war against France to the utmost of his power. He was all the more ready to do so, as he was already at war with Brabant, which was on friendly terms with France. During this war he frequently wrote to England for assistance against the Brabanters before Grave, but in vain [2]).

When Robert de Vere, Duke of Ireland, had been defeated, he fled by Cardiff to Edinburgh, and from there to the Texel, finally arriving at Dordrecht. Long before this he had made large deposits at Bruges, and had made ample provision of money in Flanders and other places. Duke Albert told him to leave Holland, so he settled at Utrecht. He seems to have died at Louvain, from where in 1395 Richard had his dead body brought to England [3]).

In 1390 jousts, to be held in London, were proclaimed over England, Scotland, Hainault, Germany, Flanders and France [4]), and it is known that there came many knights from "Almayne, Zealand and many other parts" [5]). William, Count of Ostrevant, son of the Count of Hainault, who had been educated at the Court of King Edward, was accompanied to London by many knights and squires, after he had first been to the Hague to see his father. With a numerous attendance he travelled to Dover, and from there by easy stages to London by Canterbury and Dartford [6]). With others he was invited by the King to Windsor for the week-end and was made a Knight Companion of the Blue Garter [7]).

When Ostrevant was planning an expedition against Friesland, Fierabras, a squire of Hainault, known as the bastard of Vertain, advised him to go to England first and entreat the King to permit

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[1]) Frois. T. II. L. III-IV. 549-52. — [2]) Ibid. LXVII. 590, XCIV. 659, CVI. 687. — [3]) *Ibid.* LXXX, 624; Ann. 312, 330. — [4]) Frois. T. III. L. IV. XII. 52. — [5]) Ann. 305. — [6]) Frois. *Ibid.* XVI. 94-5; Sur. 339-40. — [7]) Frois. *Ibid.* 97.

him to collect an army there, and to prevail on his cousin, the Earl of Derby, to accompany him. While Fierabras was in England for the purpose, and when Derby had declared himself willing and ready to join the expedition, if the King and his father approved of his going, the Duke of Guelders arrived to offer his loyal services to the King. He was against the expedition, and prevailed on the Duke of Lancaster not to allow his son, the Earl of Derby, to join it. The King was favourably disposed, and ordered vessels to be prepared in the Thames, at his expense, to convey the many knights and squires with more than 200 archers who made up Fierabras' forces collected in England. They sailed for Enkhuizen, three English Lords, Cornwall, Colville and another whose name is not recorded by the chronicler, being in command [1]). The army which marched against Friesland consisted of Hollanders, Zealanders, Frenchmen, Englishmen and Hainaulters. The French were not in time; they were eleven days late, and during this interval there was a violent quarrel between the Hollanders and the English; the latter would have been killed but for the Count d'Ostrevant. After the defeat of the Frisians, the army was quartered about Kuynder, where they took several towns and castles. Six weeks later they were forced by the weather to go back to Enkhuizen, where the strangers were paid and disbanded [2]).

When the Earl Marshal of England was banished, he settled the payment of his income through the bankers of Bruges, and travelled by Calais to Bruges, which he left after a fortnight's stay for Ghent, Malines, Louvain, St. Truye, Utrecht, Aix and Cologne[3]).

In 1395 King Richard and his lords were at Calais and at Guesnes, where great provision was made for them, not only sent from England, but to a great extent from Flanders, sent by sea to Calais [4]).

In 1411 the Duke of Burgundy obtained the assistance of England against the Duke of Orleans. Twelve hundred archers were sent by Sluis and Arras to Péronne, where the Duke lay with his troops. Together they marched by Arras to Marquion, where the Duke quartered his Flemings [5]).

In 1417 Henry V. hired ships in Holland and Zealand. They were to be impressed from English ports, one of these being

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[1]) Frois. T. III. L. IV. XLVIII. 231, L. 246-8. — [2]) *Ibid.* 252, 255. — [3]) *Ibid.* LXIV-V. 320-2. — [4]) Ann. 313. — [5]) *Ibid.* 338.

Southampton, where the King and his army were ready to sail for France. Seamen were to be got to man them, and when the King sailed, there was a fleet of sixteen hundred sail [1]).

When Henry's first son was baptised in 1421, Jacqueline of Holland was present; three years later she was married to the Duke of Gloucester [2]). When she was back in Holland, she made war against the Duke of Burgundy. Gloucester sent Lord Fitzwaters in command of 1000 fighting men to her aid. They landed at Brewershaven. A battle was fought near Brussels, where the English and the Hollanders were defeated, and Fitzwaters hardly escaped [3]).

Some twelve years later the Duke of Burgundy at the head of an army consisting of Burgundians and Flemings laid siege to Calais. Three weeks later Gloucester appeared with 500 sail and put them to flight, pursued the Duke into his country and burnt the towns of Poperinghe and Bell [4]).

When in 1452 there were serious disturbances in Flanders owing to taxes levied on salt, Henry VI. sent troops to help suppress the insurrection [5]).

During the wars of the Roses many English people took refuge in the Low Countries, among them Lord Ross, who in 1459 fled to Flanders from Calais, afterwards returning to England [6]).

The next year the Earl of Wiltshire filled five large ships with soldiers, sailed secretly for Holland, and sent back his soldiers to England [7]). In 1461 the princes George and Richard of York were sent to Utrecht [8]). Many wealthy citizens of London went on board a ship of Antwerp, intending to sail for that place, but fell into the hands of the French [9]).

The wedding of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York at Bruges in 1467-8 drew a large number of English people to Flanders to attend the festivities and the jousts held on the occasion. Sir John Paston was one of those sent by King Edward [10]). Caxton was among the Englishmen who were at Margaret's court in 1470, and one of her favourites [11]).

In this year Edward fled with a small number of adherents to Flanders, and the next he tried to land in Essex with an army of 900 Englishmen and 300 Flemings. Being repulsed, he succeeded

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[1]) Ann. 347; I. C. I. 411 *note* [8]. — [2]) Ann. 361, 366. — [3]) *Ibid.* 367. — [4]) *Ibid.* 376. — [5]) de H. II. 2. — [6]) Ann. 406. — [7]) *Ibid.* 408. — [8]) *Ibid.* 414. — [9]) *Ibid.* 415. — [10]) Gr. 287; P. L. IV. 282, 296-9; Ann. 421. — [11]) de H. II. 5; de Vr. 149.

in landing at Ravenspur in Holderness, and with an ever-increasing army he marched by Nottingham, Leicester, Warwick, London, Barnet, where a battle was fought, to Tewkesbury, where the decisive battle took place. After this he went with all his army to Canterbury and then returned out of Kent "with much good, and little love" [1]). We do not know what became of those 300 Flemings, when Edward did not need their services any more.

In 1472 several ambassadors from London to Bretagne went to Bruges, and travelled on horseback to Charles's lodging. In 1473 Charles sent ambassadors to Edward to prevail on him to make war on the French King, and when Edward went to Dover in 1474 in order to sail for Calais, he found there 500 boats of Holland and Zealand, called "cuts", specially built for the transport of horses, and provided for him by Charles the Bold. On this occassion it took the King more than three weeks to cross from Dover to Calais [2]).

During the protracted siege of Neuss by Charles the Bold in 1475, there were English troops present to the number of 3000 [3]). Sir John Paston, of whose visits to Flanders we know from his letters, seems also to have been present at it [4]).

It is noteworthy that Sir John Paston recommended a native of Calais, who "is well spokyn in Inglyshe, metly well in Frenshe, and verry perfite in Flemyshe" as a servant to Lord Hastings, Lieutenant of Calais [5]).

Sir John wrote from Calais to Margaret Paston in 1476, that an English knight, "Sir John Mydelton", was put in prison at Brussels, after he had taken leave of Charles the Bold [6]).

Among the many Englishmen who had gone to Flanders during the civil wars of the Roses was Bishop Morton, who was recalled from there by Henry VII. at the fall of Richard III., was made Lord Chancellor of England, and nine months later became Archbishop of Canterbury [7]). He was the friend and patron of young Thomas More, who entered his household.

Though, as we have seen, thousands of military adventurers from Flanders came to England in the 11th to 13th centuries, there were but few from the continent during the wars of the Roses in the 15th century. In fact, during these wars many of the

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[1]) Ann. 423-4; Gr. 287. — [2]) Ann. 426-7. — [3]) P. L. V. 218, 223; I. 288. — [4]) *Ibid.* I. 277; V. 175-6, 184, 193. — [5]) *Ibid.* V. 253. — [6]) *Ibid.* 259. — [7]) Ann. 472, 483.

old landowners returned to France, Burgundy or Flanders [1]). We have already referred to the 300 Flemings brought by Edward to Ravenspur. The adventurer Lambert Simnel went to Ireland and from there to England with 2000 Almaines under Martin Swart. What became of them, after Simnel had lost the battle of Stoke near Newarke-upon-Trent [2]), in which Swart was killed, we do not know. The other impostor, Perkin Warbek, who like Simnel came from Flanders, brought some Low Dutch followers with him in 1493, when he went first to the south-eastern coast of England, then to Ireland, next to Scotland and finally to the south west of England, where his adventure ended ingloriously. In connexion with this adventure we only hear of a Fleming being hanged at Tyburn in 1495 for seditious libels slandering the King, and of 169 of Perkin's people, of all nations, being captured and taken to London, while 150 were hanged about the sea-coasts in Kent, Essex, Sussex and Norfolk, and the others executed at Tyburn and Wapping, after Perkin's first futile attempt to land in England [3]).

When the conspiracy of Warbek was on foot in Flanders, several Englishmen were sent there to make inquiries, which led to the arrest and execution of the conspirators [4]).

When in 1511 Margaret of Savoy, Regentess of Flanders, Brabant, Holland and Zealand requested Henry VIII. to send 1500 archers to assist her against the Duke of Guelders, this number of men was sent under Sir Edward Poynings. They sailed from Sandwich, landed at Arnemuiden and were welcomed by the Regentess at Bergen-op-Zoom. By Roozendaal they marched to Bulduce (Bois-le-duc?), where 10000 Almaines, Flemings and others joined them. A fortnight later they took the castle of Brimnoist(?) on the other side of the Meuse. A few days later they crossed the river into Gelderland near Ayske(?), burnt it and arrived before Stranule(?), which surrendered. After some time they arrived before Venlo, which they could not besiege on every side. Having been entertained and apparelled by Margaret, the English soldiers returned to England [5]).

In 1512 preparations were made in England for an expedition to Biscay. Among the 10000 soldiers at Southampton, there were

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[1]) Th. II. 459. — [2]) Ann. 473; Gr. 301. — [3]) Ann. 477-82; Gr. 301; P. L. I. 316; VI. 153-5. — [4]) Ann. 478. — [5]) *Ibid.* 489-90.

500 Almaines under a Fleming, named Gwint. After a month in the camp at Biscay, they returned to England [1]). In the next year Henry VIII. started his expedition to France by Calais. Eight hundred Almaines had gone on before. Near Aire Henry met the Emperor and his large retinue. Tournay was besieged, and, when taken, Poynings was appointed Governor and Wolsey Archbishop of the town [2]).

When in 1514 Lady Mary was sailing for France to be married to the French King, a storm dispersed the ships which had sailed from Dover, and drove some of them into Flanders [3]).

As the English garrison at Tournay was rather expensive, Henry resolved to fortify the town by building a castle there to chastise the city, if it should rebel. For the purpose he sent 1200 masons and carpenters, and 300 labourers there in 1515 [4]).

Wolsey, who had meanwhile become Cardinal and Lord Chancellor, was in this year twice sent as ambassador to Charles V. at Bruges [5]).

As in 1519 Tournay was given up to the French, the English soldiers had to return to England against their will, and averse to working for a living there, they became robbers and vagabonds; a number of them were sent to Ireland under the Earl of Surrey for a few years [6]).

When Henry VIII. was to meet the French King at Guisnes, he desired to receive him splendidly and had a magnificent wooden Palace built there. For the purpose he sent there his master mason and his master carpenter, 300 masons, 500 carpenters, 100 joiners, in addition to many painters, glaziers, tailors, smiths and other artisans, more than 2000 altogether, both from England and sent for from Flanders. The timber required for it had been bought in Holland. The victuals, wine and all other things required for the feasts and banquets came from England as well as from Flanders. The jousts which were to be held on the occasion, were proclaimed in various parts, also at the Court of the Duke of Burgundy in Almaine. The festivities lasted a fortnight.

Before Henry left England for Guisnes, he had a meeting with Charles V. at Dover, where the Emperor had landed and been welcomed by Sir Edward Poynings. Together the monarchs went to

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[1]) Ann. 491. — [2]) *Ibid.* 492-3. — [3]) *Ibid.* 496-7. — [4]) *Ibid.* 498. — [5]) *Ibid.* 503. — [6]) *Ibid.* 508-9.

Canterbury for a couple of days, after which the Emperor accompanied Henry as far as the Downs, and embarked at Sandwich; Henry did so at Dover. The King was attended to Guisness by 4334 persons. Before returning home, he had another meeting with Charles at Gravelines, from which the latter accompanied him back to Calais [1]).

In connexion with the war between France and the Emperor there was a conference at Calais in 1520, where many lords of England, Burgundy, Spain, Flanders and France were present [2]).

Literary Relations.

Before concluding the account of this period, we wish to say a few words about the literary relations between the Netherlands, especially Flanders, and England during the 14th and 15th centuries.

As Dr. Jan de Vries [3]) has adduced very plausible reasons for supposing that the Flemish ballad "Myn Here van Mallegem" is a Flemish version of one of the Robin Hood Ballads, introduced into Flanders probably by the merchants and soldiers who were there in large numbers during several years in the former half of the 14th century, so it is quite possible that during this period of great and frequent intercourse between the two countries, literary subjects were borrowed by the English from the Flemings as well as vice versa. It would be an extensive study in itself to find out what literary works, originally English, passed into Dutch or Flemish literature, and, what is more to our purpose, what Flemish or Dutch works were translated into or imitated in English. It would lead us too far to deal with this subject in this place, so we will only refer the reader to the works of te Winkel, de Hoog and de Vries [4]), where ample reference is made to this reciprocal influence; to a few works such as "Everyman", "Mariken van Nieumeghen", and the "Prognostications" and "Almanacs" of the latter years of the 15th and the whole of the 16th century, and to the many performances of mysteries, miracles and moralities in the towns of Flanders and Holland [5]), performances which must

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[1]) Ann. 508-10. — [2]) *Ibid.* 512. — [3]) Tijdschrift voor Nederl. Taal- en Letterkunde XXXVI. 11-54. — [4]) See our list of books referred to. — [5]) te W. I. 159, 164-5, 196; de H. I. 3; de Vr. 153-4.

have attracted the attention of the English merchants, soldiers and diplomatists.

That the English were not averse to this literary influence, is proved by the provision made by Richard III., when numerous mercantile enactments protected the interests of English commerce, that no statute should act as a hindrance "to any artificer or merchant stranger, of what nation or country he be, for bringing into this realm or selling by retail or otherwise of any manner of books, written or imprinted, or for the inhabiting within the said realm, for the same intent, or to any writer, lympner, bynder or imprynter, of such books as he has or shall have to sell by way of Merchandise, or for their abode in the same Realm for the exercising of the said occupation [1]).

Besides, as the Flemish and Dutch printing-presses were famous in those days, and it was sometimes safer for an English author to publish his books on the continent than in England, we need not be surprised at finding that many English books were printed in the Low Countries, especially in the early sixteenth century [2]). A famous printer at the time was Jan van Doesburgh at Antwerp, one of whose English apprentices, Laurence Andrewe, learned Dutch and afterwards settled in London as a printer [3]). And do not let us forget that Caxton learned the art at Bruges, and then introduced it into England, where Wynkyn de Worde of Bruges became his assistant and successor [4]).

When, later on, we hear of Coverdale translating the Bible out of Dutch into English, we must not forget that the first Dutch Bible had been printed at Delft in 1477, more than half a century earlier [5]).

The number of the English writers who spent a longer or shorter time in Flanders during the 14th, 15th and early 16th centuries, is not small. We need only name the 14th century writers John de Trevisa, Laurence Minot, Wycliffe and Chaucer, the 15th century writers Caxton, who translated Reynard the Fox from the Dutch — even the paper used by him was manufactured in the Low Countries — Sir John Fortescue, Richard Arnold, and the early 16th century writers Thomas More, Gavin Dunbar, Laurence Andrewe, Robert Barnes, Thomas Cromwell, Richard Cop-

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[1]) Gr. 300; I. C. I. 431. — [2]) de H. II. 34-7; de Vr. 173. — [3]) de Vr. 173. — [4]) D. N. B.; Gr. 295, 297-8. — [5]) te W. I. 149-50.

land, Alexander Barclay, Skelton and the second Lord Berners [1]).

In addition to these there were many others who, like Skelton and Barnes, were connected with Louvain University, which, after having been founded by John IV. of Brabant in 1425, drew many English students during the succeeding two centuries [2]), as Leyden University was to do at a later date.

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[1]) For particulars of the connexion of these men with Flanders we refer to D. N. B. and the various Histories of English Literature.

[2]) te W. I. 148.

CHAPTER IV

1520—1702

Religious Relations

At no time have the Anglo-Dutch relations been so close and intimate as they were during the 16th and 17th centuries. It was during this period, when England was still very backward in manufactures of every sort [1]), when the trade between England and the Netherlands was chiefly in the hands of the Dutch [2]), when improved methods of agriculture and gardening were badly needed [3]), when the English fish-markets were supplied by Dutch fishermen [4]), when emulation of the all round supremacy of the Dutch led to conscious imitation of their institutions, industries and system of political economy, that immigration on a vaster scale than had ever taken place before, brought about a peaceful conquest which prepared the way for a Dutch prince to the throne of England, and laid the foundations of her future industrial and commercial greatness [5]). It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good, and we may safely say that next to their own energy, the Britons owe their subsequent prosperity to the religious persecution on the continent and especially in the Low Countries in the 16th century. Again and again after the Diet of Worms in 1520, religious motives brought large numbers of immigrants from those parts [6]). Though some of them brought a vast amount of money with them [7]), yet most of them were destitute or nearly so, and had to work for a living. These skilled artisans had a great influence on the industrial development of the country, which the leading statesmen were not slow to realize, and as a rule they protected them in spite of the opposition on the part of the native

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[1]) A. I. 177. — [2]) *Ibid.* 202. — [3]) *Ibid.* 217; I. C. II. 181. — [4]) I. C. I. 499. — [5]) A. I. 193-4; I. C. II. 101-5. — [6]) M.XII. — [7]) *Ibid.* —

artisans, who, in their jealousy of the superior skill of the aliens, repeatedly tried to get restrictions put on them [1]). In the reign of Henry VIII., especially before his excommunication, these religious refugees did not meet with a hearty welcome; we even read of some Flemings being proceeded against for heresy at Witney in 1521 [2]); of four merchants of the Steelyard who did penance at "Paules Crosse" in 1526 [3]); of 24 Dutch heretics, 19 men and 6 women being tried in London in 1535, and some more in 1538, two of them, a man and a woman, being burned at Smithfield [4]).

There is no doubt that the aliens in England in the 16th century were looked upon as a necessary evil [5]), and that consequently this country cannot have been very attractive to them; yet the fact that there were 15000 Flemings in London alone in 1527 [6]), would seem to prove that the religious persecution they were subject to on the continent, was worse to bear than the hostility of the English artisan, while at the same time England offered a splendid opportunity for turning their skill in handicrafts and manufactures, till then unknown in England, to profitable account; nor was England the worse for it [7]).

Though from this it will be clear that, in the 16th century at least, the Anglo-Dutch religious and industrial relations are almost inseparable, and might be conveniently dealt with together, yet we prefer to treat them separately so as to prevent any confusion, especially as the economic immigration continued after the religious refugees had ceased to come in.

It is easier to trace the religious refugees of the 16th century than to find the places where the Low Country immigrants of the earlier ages settled, because, as we have seen, the latter were readily absorbed by the native population, whereas the religious refugees formed colonies, many of them centred round their own national Church, the registers of which, though not always complete or still extant, are useful sources of information. Though many of those refugees went back to their native country, yet large numbers married natives of England and became denizens; many of them even englished or changed their names as had been done by Low Dutch immigrants in earlier times [8]). Thus

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[1]) A. I. 128, 138. — [2]) M. XII; A. I. 140. — [3]) Ann. 526. — [4]) *Ibid.* 570, 575. — [5]) A. I. 125. — [6]) *Ibid.* 141. — [7]) *Ibid.* 128. — [8]) *ante* p. 42.

"de Wilde" became "Savage", "van de Velde", "Field", "du Bois", "Wood", "Hullenberghe", "Holliburie", etc. [1]).

After 1527 the religious relations between England and the Low Countries were soon growing important. When, a couple of years before, Tyndale had completed his version of the New Testament, 6000 copies of it were smuggled over to England. These were followed by numerous pamphlets through the agency of the "Christian Brethren". When Wolsey took action against the Oxford Brethren in 1528, some English Protestants fled over sea [2]). One of those two joined Tyndale when he was at Hamburg, was Miles Coverdale, who, when Tyndale was in prison at Vilvorde, was engaged in the translation of the Bible for Jacob van Meteren at Antwerp, who published it in 1537 [3]). Though the title-page has it, that this Bible was translated out of "Douche and Latyn", it is not certain that "Douche" here means "Dutch". Some assert that it was a translation of the German Bible, though, as the first Dutch Bible had been printed in 1526 [4]), Coverdale may possibly have consulted this also.

The first complete English Bible was introduced into England with the aid of the merchant strangers, as may appear from the following passage: "Richard Grafton, when writing to Cromwell in 1537 for his interest to obtain the King's privilege to issue the edition of the Bible of that year, used the following words: 'Dutchmen living in this realm, go about the printing of it; which can neither speak good English, not yet write none, and they wilbe both the printers and correctors thereof' " [5]). This is certainly evidence of the active share which those Dutch refugees took in the religious life of England in those days, and it is well known that both Cranmer and Cromwell sent for Dutch and German divines in order to promote the Reformation [6]).

In 1547 a congregation of foreign refugees met at Canterbury, where the Flemish divine, Jan Utenhove of Ghent, went and assisted them in founding a Walloon Church, for Walloons formed a large proportion of the religious refugees, of whom there were some 5000 in London in 1548 [7]). In 1549 there was a French and Walloon Church in London, while in the next year the grant of the

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[1]) M. VIII, XVIII. — [2]) Ann. 553; Gr. 351-2. — [3]) M.XIII-IV; Gr. 341, where the date is given as 1538. — [4]) de Vr. 187-8. — [5]) M. XII, XV. — [6]) *Ibid.* XVIII. — [7]) *Ibid.* A. I. 147 *note* [4].

use of the Church of the dissolved Monastery of the Augustin Friars, in London, was with other privileges confirmed by letters patent of the King, to Joannes A Lasco and Joannes Utenhove [1]). A month after the first service of the Dutch held in this Church in September 1550, Jan Utenhove was appointed one of the four elders. This Church was soon found too small, in spite of the fact that the members, who were chiefly settled in St. Katherine's parish and in Southwark, were required to attend the services in their parish churches, which had induced A Lasco to write to Cecil asking for a warrant that they should not be disturbed in their religious services [2]).

With the aid of Jan Utenhove a Congregation of Walloon and French weavers had been established at Glastonbury in 1550. At the death of King Edward VI., however, when, after the marriage of Philip and Mary, the Dutch and other Protestant refugees were commanded to leave the realm within 24 days, these Congregations broke up and the aliens were completely dispersed [3]). The immigrants at Glastonbury went to Frankfort, where large numbers of English refugees also resorted [4]), while in September 1553 some 200 members of the Dutch Church in London sailed with A Lasco and Utenhove to Emden. This seems but a small number, but denizens, merchants and ambassadors were not compelled to leave [5]), so that we may conclude from this that a large number of the Dutch and Flemish refugees in London must have been denizens by that time. A great many refugees returned to England after the accession of Elizabeth [6]).

In 1559 Utenhove was appointed one of the ministers of the Dutch Congregation in London, and with the elders and deacons in vain petitioned the Privy Council in December of that year for the confirmation of the patent of Edward VI.; in vain, because the Church could not be permitted to be a "Corpus Corporatum Politicum"; and use of Austin Friars Church was only granted under supervision of the justices. In February 1560 the Church was delivered over to Grindal, the Bishop of London, for the celebration of divine service by the Strangers [7]). The Dutch in London have had possession of this Church ever since.

About the time of the final establishment of the Dutch Church

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[1]) M. XVIII; Sur. 159; A. I. 147. — [2]) M. XIX. — [3]) A. I. 148. — [4]) Gr. 366. — [5]) Ann. 622. — [6]) M. XIX; A. I. 145, 148. — [7]) M. XX; A. I. 148.

in London, the refugees, especially from the Spanish Netherlands, began to come in everincreasing numbers. It is said that in 1560 more than 10000 of them came over, chiefly from Antwerp, followed by another 30000 in 1562 [1]). Though London was the place where most of these refugees settled, yet many went to other parts of England, chiefly to the South Eastern and Eastern Counties.

In 1563 very many Netherlanders fled to England [2]) "with their wives, children and whole families, and that in such abundance, that, whereas before their comming large houses in London were plenteous, and very easy to be had at low, and small rents, and by reason of the late dissolution of the religious houses, many houses in London stood vacant, and not any man desirous to take them at any rate, were all very sudainely inhabited, and stored with Inmates, to the great admiration [3]) of the English nation, and advantage of Landlords, and Leasemongers" [4]). Rather interesting references to the housing of all those refugees in London are made by Stow, when he states: "The Hospital of St. Katherine's of late years inclosed about, or pestered with small tenements and homely cottages, having inhabitants, English and strangers, more in number than in some city in England — Northumberland House turned into a number of great rents, small cottages for strangers and others — St. Augustine in the Wall, now parish of All-hallows, lately new built into a number of small tenements, letten out to strangers and other mean people — This parish of St. Buttolph is no great thing, notwithstanding divers strangers are there harboured. As may appear by a presentment, not many years since made of strangers, inhabitants in the Ward of Billingsgate, in these words: 'In Billingsgate Ward were one and fifty households of strangers, whereof 30 of these households inhabited in the parish of St. Buttolph, in the chief and principal houses, where they give 20 pounds the year for a house lately letten for four marks; the nearer they dwell to the water-side the more they give for houses, and within thirty years before there was not in the whole ward above three Netherlanders, at which time there was within the said parish levied, for the help of the

[1]) A. I. 149; de H. II. 38-9.

[2]) This may have, and probably has, reference to the number of 30000 mentioned by de H. for the preceding year.

[3]) Wonder. — [4]) Ann. 868.

poor, seven and twenty pounds by the year; but since they came so plentifully hither, there cannot be gathered above eleven pounds, for the stranger will not contribute to such charges as other citizens do' " [1]). At Southwark there were 427 Dutchmen in 1567, and 845 in 1571. In connexion with the poverty of many of those Dutch refugees it is interesting to note that as early as 1560 Elizabeth immediately granted a petition made to her that "the poor religious refugees might not be molested" [2]), and that in 1567 the merchant strangers of the Low Countries, established in England, were discharged by a royal warrant from the two payments of subsidies granted by Parliament [3]). In other parts of England there is also evidence of charitable treatment of indigent Low Dutch immigrants, for at Barnstaple in 1607 some Flemings, who had been robbed, were helped, and two other Flemings received public money [4]).

If the number of Low Dutch refugees had been large before 1567, their numbers increased greatly in this year as a consequence of Alva's arrival in the Low Countries, and a renewed flight of refugees was the result of his atrocities and of the institution of the Bloody Council [5]). As it is a fact that numbers of intermarriages between these refugees and the English people took place, it will be clear that the presence of so many thousands of them in various parts of England must have had some influence on the vocabulary of a people who counted only 5 or 6000000 at the time [6]).

Complete and careful lists of strangers were to be made since in 1567 their numbers had increased so much; all strangers in London were to be certified weekly [7]).

The chief towns where Low Dutch refugees settled and formed colonies were Sandwich, where a number of families — 406 in all — from Brabant and Flanders formed a colony in 1561, while a list of them was required as early as 1562 [8]); Canterbury, where there was a large settlement about the same time, permission being given them to settle there by Queen's letter in 1561; this permission was confirmed in 1567 [9]); Southampton and Maid-

[1]) Sur. 113, 135, 147, 187. This seems to refer to the state of affairs towards the end of the 16th century. See also M. XXVII.

[2]) M. XX. — [3]) *Ibid.* XXI. — [4]) A. I. 154. — [5]) M.XXI-II; I. C. I. 9. — [6]) Ann. 868; Gr. 395. — [7]) M.XXII. — [8]) A. I. 150-1; K. H. 234; M.XX. — [9]) A. I. 150-1; M.XXII.

stone, where strangers were permitted to settle in 1567 [1]) — at Southampton to the number of 100 [2]); Lynn, where there had been Flemish settlers as early as the days of Henry V. and Henry VI., and where in 1568 there settled about 40, while in 1570 there were 30 families of 10 members each; they had to submit to some restrictions put on them in 1574 [3]); Yarmouth, where in the same year a number of Zealanders arrived, though they were expelled after some time [4]); Rye, where returns of Walloon and Flemish refugees were made in 1569; those of 1572 showed that there were 641 refugees, who had a chapel in Augustin Friars [5]); Colchester, where eleven households arrived in 1570, having found their way there from Sandwich [6]); Halstead and Dover, where there were also settlements made about this time, while at Halstead the Dutch strangers in 1577 petitioned the Privy Council that 40 families might be permitted to inhabit that place [7]); Harwich, where there were 8 settlers in 1571 [8]); Stamford, where Cecil induced a great many refugees from the Low Countries to settle in 1572, granting them the use of a house of his own; their Church was dissolved and dispersed some time before 1711 [9]); Ipswich, where there was a Dutch Church in 1574, and Thetford where a settlement was made and a Church set up in 1575 and the number of settlers soon increased [10]).

The chief place in Norfolk to which refugees from the continent resorted, most probably because they found religious toleration there, was Norwich [11]). Archbishop Parker used all his influence on their behalf, and the Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Parkhurst, who had been a refugee on the continent himself in Queen Mary's reign, was very favourably inclined towards the Flemings and Dutch, who were ten times more numerous than the French and Walloons [12]). They gained the use of the choir of the Church of the Black Friars, which was opened for service by them on December 24, 1565. In 1619 the Dutch Congregation obtained a lease of this church at 6s. 8d. *per annum.* They were removed to the church of St. Peter's of Hungate in 1650, but returned to their old church in

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[1]) I. C. II. 37; M.XXII. — [2]) A. I. 152; M.XXII. — [3]) A. I. 153 *note* [11]; I. C. II. 37 *note* [6]; M.XXII. — [4]) A. I. 154; I. C. II. 38. — [5]) A. I. 153 *note* [7]; M.XXII. — [6]) A. I. 153; I. C. II. 37. — [7]) M.XXV; A. I. 153; I. C. II. 37. — [8]) A. I. 153 *note* [8]. — [9]) *Ibid.* 153, 155; M.XXII, XXIV. — [10]) A. I. 153; M.XXII. — [11]) K. H. 238.

[12]) This was probably the case in all other places with a few exceptions such as Canterbury, Southampton and, at an earlier date, Glastonbury.

1661, while in 1713 a lease was granted for 200 years at the old rent of 6s. 8d. Since 1619 it has been called the Dutch Church [1]). A service in Dutch is still held there once a year. A State Paper of the reign of Elizabeth, dated 1575, first enumerates the benefits the strangers conferred on the city, and then concludes: "they for the moste parte feare God and do diligently and laboriously attend upon their severall occupations, they lyve peaceably amonge themselves" — in 1569 the Bishop had hard work to make peace between them — "and towarde all men, and we thinke our cittie happie to enjoy them" [2]).

That they did not always behave themselves well, appears from a complaint made of the strangers that "the most disordered persons walked late in the streets of the citye *dronken* and of greate dysorder", which led to some regulations, one of which prohibited them to walk in the streets after 8 o'clock. How the strangers at Norwich were treated is evident from the following passages, one from a letter by one of them to his wife at Ypres: "You would never believe how friendly the people are together, and the English are the same and quite loving to our nation", and the other from a letter dated December 15, 1567: "At Nieuwport they let us and my six children sleep without beds, but at Norwich we have a good time and make money from all" [3]).

In 1564 thirty Low Country people, 24 Dutch and 6 Walloons, each family consisting of seven persons, had been invited from Sandwich to settle at Norwich [4]); in 1569 the number of aliens at this town was 1132 [5]); in 1571 there were 3933, which number had increased to 4679 by 1582, in spite of the fact that in 1578-9 2482 strangers had died of the plague [6]).

In 1571 returns were made of the strangers residing and abiding in London and its suburbs, Harwich, Colchester, Great Yarmouth, Lynn, Dover, Sandwich, Ipswich, Norwich, Southampton, Boston and the Cinque Ports [7]).

In 1574 Elizabeth, who was afraid to give Philip of Spain any unnecessary offence, would not allow any more members to be

[1]) M.XXII-III.

[2]) K. H. 239; M.XLIII. In page XVIII. Moens dates this State Paper 1561, but Miss Hotblack states that the MS. was wrongly bound up with the papers of this year.

[3]) K. H. 236. — [4]) *Ibid.* 234-5; M.XX, XXI; A. I. 151.

[5]) K. H. (237) says 2866, which is more likely considering the number for 1571; the writer adds that there were not to be received any more by order of the Privy Council.

[6]) M.XXIII. — [7]) Gr. 407; M.XXIV.

received in the Dutch Church in London, and insisted on their being dispersed and settled in provincial towns [1]). This had already been done in several cases, as we have seen, and may have led to the settlement at Thetford about this time; as early as 1567 Grindal had seconded a petition of the refugees to the Queen to be allowed to settle at various towns, as they were reduced to great extremities [2]). The towns where there were Dutch Churches in 1575, when the first National Synod of the Netherland Reformed Churches in England was held in London, were Norwich, Colchester, Maidstone, Thetford, Sandwich and Yarmouth [3]). There was one at Dover before 1576 [4]); in 1635 there was a settlement of Dutch and Walloon political refugees here, and their church seems to have continued till about 1660 [5]). There was also one at Southampton, which, though originally intended for the Flemings and Dutch, afterwards became French. Dutch services were held at Stamford by a minister who came from Norwich for the purpose [6]), the Chapel of St. Julian or God's House being given to them for use [7]). The first Congregation at Colchester in 1570 is referred to as consisting of "very honest, godly, civil and well-ordered people". They first used a couple of the existing churches, but at last had a building of their own. Before 1580 they had formed themselves into a Congregation, whose numbers increased so rapidly, that they were about to become a colony of Flemings. Their Congregation was dissolved soon after 1728, owing to the decay of their trade at that date [8]).

Where the immigrants had no Church of their own, they often made use of the Parish Church, especially for their funeral services, which were held in Dutch. The English Clergy, who had a strong desire for Church reform, took a great interest in the rules and regulations of the Dutch Church, until the Privy Council made an end of those funeral sermons in Dutch at Parish Churches [9]).

It is only natural that among the many thousands of religious refugees, there should have been some who gave offence, because they did not conform to the Churches that were tolerated, and if they refused to recant, they had to suffer death. So we find that in 1551 a Dutchman, George of Paris, was burned at Smithfield for

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[1]) A. I. 154-5. — [2]) M.XXI. — [3]) *Ibid.* XXV. — [4]) *Ibid.* XXII. — [5]) A. I. 157. — [6]) *Ibid.* 152; M. XXIV. — [7]) M.XXII. — [8]) *Ibid.* XXIII-IV. — [9]) *Ibid.* XXIV.

Arianism[1]), and in 1575 a Congregation of Anabaptist Dutchmen was discovered; 27 of them were sent to prison, and four of them recanted, bearing faggots at St. Paul's Cross, while in May of the same year ten Dutch women and one man were condemned to be burned at Smithfield, but "after great paines taken with them, onely one woman was converted, the other were banished the land"; in July two Dutch Anabaptists, Jan Wielmaker and Hendrik Terwoest, were burned. There seems to have been another numerous and rather troublesome sect, who called themselves "Family of Love": Henry Nicholas of Amsterdam had come to England in 1550, bringing many English people among his followers[2]).

After the rebellion in Flanders had been suppressed by Parma in 1581, many more Protestant refugees came to England[3]). In the same year 1364 strangers attended the Dutch Church in London[4]), and we shall be able to form some idea of the number of Dutch people in London from the facts that between 1571 and 1601 one thousand marriages and four thousand baptisms took place in the Dutch Church; that in 1591-2 there were more baptisms than in any other year, while after 1593 the marriages and baptisms decrease greatly, probably owing to the circumstance that many Dutch people went back to Holland towards the end of the century, though there were very many at St. Botolph, Billingsgate Ward in 1596[5]), the same year in which many more strangers came to Southampton[6]).

That the members of the Dutch Church in London were not all in very affluent circumstances, is evident from the fact, that in 1568 the Lord Mayor gave £ 50 to the poor strangers of the Dutch and French Church[7]).

That the Dutch and the French Church are named together may be owing to the Netherlanders who emigrated to England in the 16th century, being Flemings and Dutch as well as Walloons, and the Church of Austin Friars was at first granted for the use of both Flemish- and French-speaking Congregations; only the large increase in the number of Dutch immigrants led to the grant of the Church of St. Anthony in Threadneedle Street to the Walloon and French settlers[8]). In connexion with this it is

[1]) Ann. 605. — [2]) *Ibid.* 678-9; A. I. 148; M. XXV. — [3]) M.XXVI. — [4]) A. I. 150. — [5]) *ante* p. 100. — [6]) M. VI, XXVII. — [7]) *Ibid.* XXV. — [8]) A. I. 155.

remarkable to read that Pepys in the afternoon of December 7, 1662 "thought to go to the French Church, but finding the Dutch Congregation there, and then finding the French Congregation's sermon begun in the Dutch, returned home" [1]).

The relations between the Dutch refugees and the Queen, who is called a "refuge for the strangers" [2]), were of a very friendly nature during the last years of her reign; both the Queen and Lord Buckhurst protected them, and in 1601 the former paid a formal visit to Noel Caron, the Dutch ambassador, on which occasion an oration was made by Mr. Geleyn van Beste, an Elder of the Church [3]). When James I. had been proclaimed King, he made a promise of protection to a deputation from the Dutch Congregations in London, Canterbury, Norwich, Southampton, Colchester, Sandwich and Maidstone. In the same year the Dutch in London suffered great losses from the plague; 370 houses of members of the Dutch Church were struck, 52 families entirely destroyed, while no fewer than 670 members of the Church died [4]). After the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot the members of the Dutch Church showed their great joy [5]), and Simeon Ruytink, the first historian of the Netherlanders in England, wrote some verses on the occasion [6]). In the same year the Dutch made an elaborate structure in homage to the King, and it was determined that every year a deputation from the Church should make a set speech to the Lord Mayor. At the same time the foundation of the Church library was laid [7]).

In 1613 the Dutch Church was represented by a deputation to the Princess Elizabeth and the Palsgrave, Frederick V., on the occasion of their marriage [8]).

The relations between the Court of James and the Dutch in London did not continue so friendly to the end, for there had been such heavy taxation of strangers in London during the last few years of James's reign, that they did not lament his death much. They hoped more from Charles I. and his Queen, and when these made their entry in London, an elaborate triumphal arch, designed

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[1]) P. II. 410. St. Anthony's Church was burned down in the great fire in 1666 (P. IV. 303, *note* [1]).

[2]) M.XXVII. — [3]) *Ibid.* — [4]) *Ibid.* XXVIII. — [5]) Ann. 879. — [6]) M.XXVIII.

[7]) After the destruction by fire of the roof of the Church in 1862, the library was transferred to the Guildhall, where it has been ever since (M.XXVIII).

[8]) M.XXIX-XXX.

by Bernard Jansen, was erected by the Dutch Congregation in Gracious Street [1]).

In 1618 there were as many as 10000 strangers in London, by far the larger number of them being Flemings or Dutch and Walloons [2]). In 1622 the Colonies at Yarmouth and Ipswich ceased to exist, but there were a few Dutch people at Hythe [3]), while about this time there was a new Dutch Congregation at Mortlake, which numbered about 140 in 1637 [4]).

In 1628 a wooden chapel was erected for the use of the poor Dutch strangers in Canvey Isle, where a new one was built in 1712, while the present Church there was erected in 1745 [5]).

In connexion with the draining of the Lincolnshire and Yorkshire fens by Dutch workmen, Dutch Churches were erected at Sandtoft in the Isle of Axholme in Lincolnshire and at Hatfield Chase in Yorkshire; from where many, owing to difficulties with the inhabitants, moved south to Whittlesea and from there to Thorney Abbey in Cambridgeshire, where they settled and had the use of the Parish Church; a Dutch Church was founded here in 1652 [6]).

The following Dutch Churches were named in a draft of an Act presented to Parliament in 1642 to finally settle the position of the foreign Churches: London, Norwich, Canterbury, Colchester, Sandwich, Yarmouth, Southampton, Maidstone, Canvey Isle, Isle of Axholme and Hatfield Chase [7]).

Of the Dutch Church in London we read that its condition was assured and prosperous in 1720, and that the Congregation had "a fair Almeshouse, built by themselves, standing in Moorfields" [8]). At the Coronation of George I. in 1714 one of the ministers of Austin Friars Church, the Rev. Theodoor Bolton, presented an address to His Majesty in Dutch [9]).

After the accession of William and Mary, the Dutch Royal Chapel was established at St. James's Palace; at this Chapel the service was continued in Dutch till 1809 [10]).

It is interesting as well as important for our purpose, in con-

[1]) M.XXXIV-V. — [2]) A. I. 155. — [3]) *Ibid.* 176. — [4]) M.XXXIII-IV. — [5]) *Ibid.* XXXV; A. I. 211-2. — [6]) A. I. 210-1, 172 *note* [1]. — [7]) M.XXXVI.

[8]) *Ibid.* XLII. The Dutch Almshouses have been at Charlton in Kent since 1884. The site was bought in 1866 (M.XLIII). We visited them in 1886, when none of the inmates, who were all descendants of Dutch immigrants, could speak a word of Dutch.

[9]) M.XLII. — [10]) *Ibid.* XLI.

nexion with the immigration of those thousands of Low Dutch religious refugees in the 16th and 17th centuries, to trace their influence on the religious thought of the English, for it could never have become what it is, if there had not been close contact and frequent as well as intimate intercourse between the two peoples. "Protestantism became a passion" says J. R. Green, "as the refugees of the continent brought to shop and market their tale of outrage and blood", and Elizabeth's "cold indifference to the heroic struggle in Flanders was more than compensated by the enthusiasm it excited among the natives at large.... Volunteers stole across the Channel in increasing numbers to the aid of the Dutch, till the 500 Englishmen who fought in the beginning of the struggle, rose to a brigade of 5000.... Protestant fervour rose steadily as the best captains and soldiers returned from the campaigns in the Low Countries to tell of Alva's atrocities.... The war in the Netherlands drew hundreds of Protestants to the field" [1]).

Thus it was not only in England, but also in the United Provinces that the English imbued that spirit of independence in regard to worship and church discipline, which led to the many Protestant sects that arose in the course of the 17th century. We have seen how in the reign of Elizabeth, as in those of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., Dutch or Flemish Anabaptists and Arians were made to suffer as heretics, and that the Dutch Church in London had to submit to the supervision of theBishop of London, as the Dutch Church at Norwich had to do to that of the Bishop of that town. The former asserted his right, whereas the latter disclaimed it [2]). Yet Grindal was not unfavourable to the Dutch Congregation, as appeared in 1567, when a quarrel about godfathers and godmothers was referred to him, and his decision confirmed the discipline used by the Dutch Church [3]).

As the statesmen of the time feared political danger from those separatist Congregations, they more than once endeavoured to make the members of the Dutch Churches in the various towns conform to the Church of England, but as they proved to be harmless, they were no longer interfered with [4]). Meanwhile they had not been without their influence on the English people, who tried to follow the example of the Dutch, and this led to an ever-

[1]) Gr. 407, 413-4. — [2]) M.XXIV. — [3]) *Ibid.* XXI. — [4]) A. I. 187-8.

growing separatist movement which had its centre at Cambridge. One of the students in this University was Robert Browne. Having completed his studies, he lived for about a year among some Dutch immigrants at Norwich, and finding fault with the order and discipline of the English Church, he founded the sect of the Separatists or Independents, the Congregationalists of a later date [1]). In 1593 Browne and many of his followers went to the Netherlands, when the magistrates, glad to be rid of them at any price, gave a contemptuous assent to their project. They first went to Amsterdam, and in 1609 some of them, with Jack Robinson as their minister, took refuge at Leyden. Among them were a small number who sailed for Massachusetts in the Mayflower; they are now known as the "Pilgrim Fathers". Under Abbot's primacy the Brownists gradually began to return to England: some of them as Independents, and others, especially those who came from Leyden, as Baptists. Both sects had their Church in London in the middle of James's reign. The Congregational or Independent body did not begin to attract attention in England before a host of emigrants returned from New England, where English Puritans, mostly farmers from Lincolnshire and the Eastern Counties, had settled about ten years before [2]). Browne had also founded a separatist Church among the English at Middelburg [3]).

As in the early days of the Reformation the English Protestants had fled to Germany and Switzerland, so the United Provinces were a hospitable place of refuge to the Brownists and other separatists towards the end of the 16th and during the former half of the 17th century [4]).

The influence of the Dutch on the formation of sects in England is referred to by Evelyn, when, of a visit to Amsterdam in 1641, he writes: "On Sunday I heard an English sermon at the Presbyterian Congregation. I purposely changed my lodgings, being desirous to converse with the sectaries that swarmed in this city, out of whose spawn came those almost innumerable broods in England afterwards" [5]). The broods that were in his mind were Brownists, Separatists or Independents, who called themselves Baptists, Congregationalists, Quakers, Methodists, Presbyterians. The Quakers can be traced back through the English Separatists to the

[1]) de Vr. 263-4. — [2]) Gr. 472-3, 507, 560. — [3]) de Vr. 265. — [4]) de H. II. 57-8. — [5]) E. I. 22.

Dutch Mennonites. William Penn's mother was a Dutch woman; his son was a Dutch scholar, who travelled much in Holland, and preached to the Quakers in their native tongue. With the exception of the Welsh branch, the Wesleyan Methodists adopted the Arminian doctrine [1]). It is said that the Synod of Dordrecht in 1618-9 was the forerunner and foundation of the great Westminster Assembly twenty years later; the Universities were strongholds of Calvinism, and many English students came to the United Provinces, especially to Leyden [2]), where there were many about 1610 [3]).

That the Dutch Congregations in England could not maintain their independence without a struggle, goes without saying. In 1615 there was a complaint of the Bishop of London against the Dutch Churches in London and Colchester, because some of the members went to the Parish Churches and presented themselves at the Communion table, which was a reason for the English clergy to protect them. In 1616 there were renewed troubles, and Noel Caron interceded with the result that there was a King's order to permit and suffer them to enjoy the continuance of the favour once granted them. In 1617 there was a conference where the complaints were heard: the matter was dismissed, after the Chief Secretary of State had spoken in favour of the strangers. In 1618 the Bishop of Norwich wanted the strangers at their Church to receive the sacrament kneeling. The strangers objected successfully to any innovation or change of custom [4]). Not before the time of Laud, however, did the real difficulties for the Dutch Congregations begin. He thought that the exceptional arrangements made for refugees to have their accustomed worship in their own language, should not be extended to the descendants of these refugees, who were expected to conform to the Church of the country in which they had been born. On this principle Laud interfered with the Congregations at Canterbury, Sandwich and Maidstone in 1633, which led to a petition to His Grace in 1635, asking that the injunctions laid upon these Congregations should be withdrawn. The answer to this was, that the children of the aliens might continue in their Congregations, but the second descent born in England should resort to their several Parish Churches [5]).

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[1]) de Vr. 261-9. — [2]) de Vr. 273. — [3]) de H. II. 68. — [4]) M.XXX-I. — [5]) *Ibid.* XXXVII.

Laud carried out his principle at Great Yarmouth, when he ordered that there should be no more preaching or divine service at the Dutch Church in that town. The Bailiffs and Aldermen petitioned the King, begging His Majesty to annul the order, thinking that the trade the Dutchmen had brought, would soon be lost by their departure. The Church at Yarmouth had been used for that purpose for 40 years. Laud's impeachment in 1640 put an end to the troubles of the Dutch Congregations [1]).

The attempts made in the 17th century to absorb the Low Dutch Colonies into the industrial and religious life of England [2]), must in the long run have proved successful, for about the middle of the century the Congregations greatly decreased in number: some refugees may have gone back to Holland, especially during the hostilities in the days of Cromwell and Charles II. [3]), but many must have joined the Parish Churches. This was furthered after the Restoration; when letters of denization were granted more freely than had been done before [4]), although many Englishmen of Dutch descent in the Eastern Counties adhered to the side of the Parliament and formed the best part of Cromwell's forces [5]).

Thus we find that towards the end of the 17th century a decided change of feeling towards aliens becomes perceptible [6]); naturalizations became more frequent after the third war, the Dutch denizen bought landed property, and gradually only their names betrayed their Dutch origin [7]). It may truly be said that it was these Dutch colonies which brought about the political and religious change in the 17th century, culminating in the victory of the Whig principles at the time of the Revolution, when men of Dutch and Walloon origin helped to finance it and supported the policy of the new Government; in fact, in William III.'s time from a tenth to a fifth of the national debt was in Dutch and other foreign hands [8]).

The large number of Dutch immigrants at this time were less

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[1]) M. XXXVI-VII. — [2]) A. I. 139.

[3]) It is remarkable that the number of baptisms at Austin Friars in 1654 was only 8, while in 1649 it was 23, after having been 107 in 1602; in 1670 it had increased again to 17, in 1680 to 42. In 1691 it was 40, to decrease again to 24 in 1700 (M.VI), while between this year and 1844 it was never higher than 10 (in 1811). It is noteworthy that the numbers were larger again just before and during William III.'s reign, and at the time when Napoleon was master on the Continent.

[4]) M.XXXVIII-XL. — [5]) de H. II. 120. — [6]) A. I. 139. — [7]) M.XL; I. C. II, 47. — [8]) A. I. 187-9, 245; I. C. II. 391.

welcome, and it was probably William's partiality to them which made them so hateful to the English, that the Bill of naturalizing all Protestant aliens, which was brought into the House of Commons in 1694, was dropped after the second reading, and Sir John Knight, M. P. for Bristol, moved the amendment: "That the sergeant be commanded to open the doors, and let us first kick the Bill out of the House and then foreigners out of the Kingdom" [1]).

Before concluding this part of our survey, we must not forget to mention one other institution, which has become very general in England, and owes its origin to the example set by the Dutch refugees of the 16th century. The poor and destitute circumstances in which many of them were, forced them to organize themselves with a view to mutual relief. These organizations drew the admiration of the English, and were, like so many other Dutch institutions, imitated by them. Thus arose the institutions which are known by the name of "Friendly Societies" [2]).

Industrial Relations

In tracing the part which the Low Dutch immigrants of the 16th and 17th centuries played in the industrial development of England, we not only find that, apart from their large numbers in London and the Eastern Counties, they settled in various parts of Great Britain and Ireland, but that the Kingdom owes an enormous debt to them, as regards the improvements introduced by them in existing manufactures as well as the considerable number of new arts they taught [3]). In some cases, as we have seen in that of Caxton in the preceding period, Englishmen introduced some new art that they had learned in the Netherlands during their sojourn in the Low Countries, or, if they could not practise it themselves, they brought workmen from the continent or found them in England to do it for them. In some cases foreign workmen were sent for, as happened when Henry VIII. directed his attention to the manufacture of ordnance. He had instituted the office of "the provider of the King's instruments of war", a post which was filled by aliens in his and in the three successive reigns, while gunners and armourers from France, Germany and the Low

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[1]) M.XL. — [2]) A. I. 187. — [3]) A. I. 176-7.

Countries settled in Southwark and Blackfriars [1]). In 1543 "Peter Bawd, a Frenchman borne, and one other alien, Peter van Collen, a gunsmith, both the Kings feed men, deuised and caused to be made, certaine mortar pieces, and certaine hollow shot of cast yron, to be stuffed with fierworke, or wild fire, etc." [2]). An accident which happened to a Dutchman of the name of Adrian Arten in 1559, when "through shooting of a gun which brake in his house in Crooked lane, setting fire to a firkin and barrel of gunpowder, four houses were blowne up, various other shattered, nine men and women killed and various other seriously injured" [3]), induces us to think that Arten was also a gunsmith or a munition-maker. It may be observed here, that as early as the days of Charles the Bold, in 1473 as well as in 1475, there are references in the Paston Letters to armours made at Bruges for Sir John and other knights [4]). It was also in Henry VIII.'s reign, that Dutch tapestry makers settled in London, while others of the same trade were at the Court. There were glaziers from the Low Countries, and many printers [5]), while bookbinding was also done by foreigners. Straw hats were introduced by a man from Guelders [6]). That there were Flemish shoemakers in London in 1536 we know from the fact that they were compelled to take part in repressing the rebellion of that year at the wages of two groats a day, with one groat for drink money every five miles they marched [7]), and there is also evidence that there were many of them [8]). In 1523, when the gilds gained the victory referred to above [9]), a statute was passed by which "no stranger was to have an alien apprentice, or to have more than two alien journeymen; they were not to work apart from Englishmen, but in such a fashion that natives might learn all the secrets of their trades. They were also brought under strict surveillance so far as the quality of their work was concerned; in London and in other towns where companies of trades existed, the wardens of these companies were to have supervision over all the strangers practising a craft; and in other towns the municipal authorities were empowered to search and refuse strangers" [10]). It is of importance to notice the trades specially noted in this and

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[1]) *Ibid.* 142.
[2]) Ann. 584. The name van Cullen also occurs in the Wandsworth Parish Register.
[3]) Ann. 646. — [4]) P. L. V. 193, 218. — [5]) *ante* p. 98; A. I. 177. — [6]) A. I. 143-4. — [7]) *Ibid.* 141. — [8]) *Ibid.* 165-6. — [9]) *ante* p. 43. — [10]) A. I. 165.

other statutes of the time: blacksmiths, joiners, coopers and pouchmakers — bakers, brewers, surgeons, and scriveners were exempted. Alien joiners and glaziers were not molested when they were employed by noblemen and gentry [1]).

Henry VIII. was also the first to endeavour to obtain the services of Germans and others in order to develop the mineral resources of England [2]). Manchester is referred to in 1542 as a flourishing centre of textile manufacture, both linen and woollen, especially of cottons [3]) and friezes, and as the English were dependent, as far as the textile manufactures were concerned, on the introduction of improved methods from abroad, it may be safely assumed, that the development of Manchester from a market town in Edward IV.'s reign to a manufacturing centre in the latter part of Henry VIII.'s [4]), must have been due to immigrants from the Low Countries at this time. Flemings were engaged in the manufacture of blankets at Witney in 1521 [5]).

It appears that engineering work was also undertaken by Low Country men during the former half of the 16th century, for in 1500 Flemish masons made a sluice and a dam at Boston, and in Henry VIII.'s reign a Brabanter, Cornelius van der Delft, was at work on Stepney marshes. In fact, as early as 1410 a Hollander had been at work at the sluice at Romney [6]).

We shall later refer to the influence of the Low Dutch immigrants on gardening, but we may as well state here that Richard Haines, fruiterer to Henry VIII., imported a number of cherry trees from Flanders, and planted them at Tenham in Kent. To these the Kentish cherries are said to owe their fame [7]). A great improvement in gardening is ascribed to the Flemings who settled in Kent [8]), but this may refer to a later date in the 16th century.

As the chief development of the arts was due to the immigration of foreign artisans [9]), we need not be surprised to find that the industrial development of Great Britain dates from the time of the great struggle between the Netherlands and Spain, from shortly

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[1]) A. I. 165. — [2]) *Ibid.* 122; I. C. I. 525.

[3]) In the reign of Edward VI. an act provided for the regulation of the cottons called Manchester, Lancashire and Cheshire cottons, but these were not cotton, but "really woollen fabrics sold originally under that curious name"; refugees from Ghent and Antwerp brought the true cotton manufacture to Bolton and Manchester (M.XIX).

[4]) A. I. 125; I. C. I. 520. — [5]) A. I. 140. — [6]) *Ibid.* 209 *note* 3. — [7]) P. IV. 170 *note* [1]. — [8]) I. C. II. 37 *note* [1]. — [9]) I. C. II. 347.

after the accession of Queen Elizabeth till the death of Charles I. The leading statesmen of the time knew that the only way to outvie the Dutch in the long run [1]) was by imitating their methods and introducing or improving those arts which were successfully practised in the Low Countries and would, while developing the resources of England, utilize native materials so as to make Great Britain independent of foreign countries [2]). So we find that the one manufacture which might have reached a high state of perfection by this time, could still be improved on; we mean that of cloth [3]). In the days of Henry VIII. Holland cloth seems to have been sought after by the English quite as much as had been the case in the preceding century, which is evident from the fact that among Wolsey's effects, when he had given up the great seal in 1529, there were 1000 pieces of "fine Holland cloth" [4]). We read that "all kind of Manufacture and Handwork not made in England, Tapestry, Buckrams, White Thread, Incle, Linen cloth of all sorts, Cambrickes, Lawnes, Mather etc." were bought of the "Low Countrie merchants or Netherlanders" [5]). That, in spite of the development of the cloth industry from the time of Edward III., the English weaver of the 16th century could not yet compete with the Low Country weavers, is probably owing to the want of progress in the arts of dressing and dyeing in England, for in this century a large proportion of English cloth was exported to the Netherlands to be finished there [6]). During this century it seems that repeated attempts were made to develop these arts in England. The name of Caspar Vosbergh is connected with one at Stamford [7]). Alderman Cockayne's attempt in 1608 proved a failure, and it was not before 1643 that a dye-house was started by Kepler, a Dutchman, whose scarlet dye became famous. Further improvements were made by Bauer, a man of Flemish origin, in 1667 [8]).

Among the thousands of Low Dutch refugees who settled in England after Elizabeth's accession to the throne, there were many weavers. Thus the 406 immigrants from Flanders and Brabant,

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[1]) As late as 1663-4 Pepys stated that the Dutch were still ahead of England in manufactures; that the trade was too little for two countries, so that one must down (P. IV. 31); and in 1672 Evelyn wrote "The Hollanders exceed us in industry, and in all things but envy" (E. II. 77).

[2]) A. I. 178. — [3]) *Ibid.* 212. — [4]) Ann. 545. — [5]) Smith I. xxv. 85. — [6]) A. I. 116; I. C. II. 165. — [7]) A. I. 179. — [8]) *Ibid.* 212.

who settled at Sandwich in 1561, introduced the new drapery [1]), bays, "saes" and other cloth [2]). It is said that "about the fifth yeare of Queene Elizabeth beganne the making of Bayes in England by Dutchmen" [3]), that about the same time a large settlement was made at Canterbury, where the refugees started silk-weaving, and that fresh recruits were constantly arriving from abroad [4]).

How and by whom the art of starching ruffs was introduced from the Low Countries, is told us by Stow: "In the 3rd year of Queene Elizabeth began the knowledge and weaving of Lawn and Cambrick, which was then brought into England, by very small quantities, and when the Queene had Ruffes made thereof for her owne princely wearing, there was none in England could tell how to starch them, for, until then all the Kings and Queenes of England wore fine Holland in Ruffes, but the Queene made speciall meanes for some Dutchwomen that could starch, and Guilliams wife was the first starcher the Queene had, and himself was the first coachman" [5]). Of the first woman who taught the art of starching we read the following amusing account: "In the yeare one thousand five hundred sixty and foure, Mistres Dinghen, van den plasse, borne at Teenen, in Flaunders, daughter to a worshipfull Knight of that Province, with her husband came to London, for their better safeties, and there professed herselfe a starcher wherein she excelled, unto whom her owne nation presently repayred, and imployed her, and payed her very liberally, for her worke. Some, very few, of the best and most curious wives of that time, observing the neatenesse, and delycacy of the Dutch for whitenesse, and fine wearing of linnen, made them Cambrick Ruffes, and sent them to Mist. Dinghen, to starch, and after a while they made them Ruffes of Lawne, which was at that time, a stuffe most strange, and wonderfull, and thereupon rose a generall scoffe or byworde, that shortely they would make Ruffes of a Spiders Webbe, and then they began to send their Daughters and nearest kinsewomenne, to Mistris Dinghen, to learne how to starch, her usuall price, was at that time, foure or five pound, to teach them how to starch, and twenty shillings how to seeth

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[1]) A. I. 177. — [2]) *Ibid.* 162; M. XX. — [3]) Ann. 870. — [4]) A. I. 150-1, 177.

[5]) Ann. 868; A. I. 148-9. This William Boonen was a Dutchman and the first to bring the use of coaches into England (Ann. 867; Sur. 77; Smiles 12).

starch. This Mistris Dinghen, was the first that ever taught starching in Englande" [1]). How the manufacture of Lawn and Cambrick developed during the reign of Elizabeth is evident from the following passage: "The Dutch merchants, who only at that time sould Lawne, and Cambrick, did cut and retayle, unto all shoppekeepers, both Lawne, and Cambrick, by els, yeards, halfe els, and halfe yeards, for there was not then, one shopkeeper amongst forty, durst buy a whole piece, either of Lawne or Cambrick, to be had in all the Marchaunts houses in London, as at this day may easily be had in one Linnendrapers shoppe" [2]). About the same time fine linen was imported from the Low Countries, Germany, Artois and Hainault [3]).

In 1564 the Mayor, Sheriff and Corporation of Norwich petitioned the Queen to permit them to invite thirty Dutchmen, who had lately come to Sandwich; the letters patent granted empowered them to receive "John Powell, William Stene, Henry Clerke, Peter van Brughen, Bartholomew Jensen, and twenty-five others. amounting in whole to the number of 30 Dutchmen of the Lowe Countries of Flanders alyns borne (not denezens) being all householders or master workmen with their households and servants not exceeding ten in each family, as inhabitants of the city, license being given to the saide 30 masters to go to and safely inhabit within the sayd city of Norwich and there exercise the faculties of making bays, arras, sayes, tapestry, mochadoes, stamets, carsay [4]) and such other outlandish commodities as hath not been used to be made within this our realm of England." In June 1566 24 masters of the Dutch people and 6 masters of the Walloons received licences, "men of knowledge and sonderye handdycraftes" [5]). It is said that "the commoners and some of the chief citizens made many clamours against them", and that in 1567 the Mayor wished to "avoide" them and restrict their trading privileges. He had long been of opinion that "the strangers had done more hurte than ever they wolde do goode, and that they did but sucke the lyvinge away from the English". They were forbidden to carry their goods to London, and were restrained from entering such trades as tailoring [6]). When, in 1569, there were 2866 strangers in Norwich, the Mayor and Aldermen asked

[1]) Ann. 869. — [2]) *Ibid.* — [3]) *Ibid.* 868. — [4]) Kersey. — [5]) K. H. 234-5; M.XXI. — [6]) K. H. 236.

the Privy Council "whether, if others came from Sandwich or elsewhere, they were to receive them." The Council in answer expressed their satisfaction at the good relations then existing between "the artificers and common people of Norwich" and the strangers, giving permission for those already there to remain, but refusing a licence to receive any more. After a complaint to the Queen's Council by the artificers and common people in 1570, the citizens were told how pleased the Queen was with the kindness shown by them to the strangers, and that Her Majesty wished the strangers to have the same trading privileges their fellow-countrymen enjoyed at Sandwich and Colchester. The discontent provoked by this reply led to a conspiracy "to expulse the straungers out of the citye and realme". The "cheefetaines" were seized, sent to prison, and executed. The conspiracy was said to have begun at Harleson, Bongey and Beccles [1]), from which we may infer that there were strangers at these places also.

In 1571 a regulation was made that "no stranger might harbour other aliens". Their security was threatened by William Tipper, citizen and grocer of London, who had been granted the hostage of the merchant strangers. According to this system of hostage all strangers must be assigned to English hosts appointed by whoever had the grant. Tipper was bought off by the city authorities, and the strangers continued to flourish. Though weaving was their principal trade, yet it was not the only one practised by these immigrants at Norwich, for there were bookbinders among them, and Anthony Solen [2]) introduced the art of printing there in or before 1568 [3]).

It is interesting to know that, when in 1578 the Queen visited the town, one of the chief shows provided for her entertainment was "the Artisans' Pageant", of which we have found the following description: "There was a stage 40 feet long by 8 broad. Paintings of looms representing the wearing of worsteds, "runnels", dornix, mochadoes, lace, caffa and fringe adorned the lower part of the stage. Eight girls spinning and eight girls knitting worsted yarn stood at either end of the stage, and a pretty boy who represented the city, addressed the Queen in verse" [4]). The general results of the settlement are said to have been undoubted-

[1]) K. H. 237. — [2]) Antonium van Solemne. — [3]) K. H. 237-8; M. XXIII; de H. II. 50. — [4]) K. H. 238.

ly good; they "helped for the better peopling of the city, brought their mystery with them, contributed their own band to the city militia, cared for their own poor and taught their own children". In 1575 a State Paper enumerated the benefits conferred by the strangers upon the city, such as (1) the employment they gave to the citizens, who both sold goods made by the strangers and, copying their methods, made similar articles themselves; (2) the strangers' institution of "a lynen industry", and (3) their introduction of the growing of root crops [1]). To this may be added that in 1570 Jaspar, Andreas and Jacob Janssen of Antwerp petitioned for a monopoly of the manufacture of galley (glazed) tiles and apothecaries' vessels [2]).

In the same year about 50 Flemings, forming eleven households, who had come to Sandwich, had made their way to Colchester, hoping to ply their trades there. They manufactured needles, parchment, sackcloth and fine cloths known as bays. The Dutch bay-makers here formed an association which, in spite of complaints such as were made against the strangers at Norwich, was confirmed by James I. The settlement at Colchester was one of the most important of the time, while the cloth they made became an important article of export. They erected a fulling-mill in 1591, building it with the stones of the Abbey buildings. In 1656 Evelyn wrote that Colchester was a ragged and factious town, swarming with sectaries, trading in cloth with the Dutch, and baise and says with Spain; and the only place in England where these stuffs were made unsophisticated [3]), while Pepys ten years later testified that "the King and Lords themselves wear but a cloak of Colchester bayze" [4]). Under the management of the association the trade flourished till the early years of the 18th century; after 1728 the association was broken up, the trade in bays and says having decayed, and imported cotton fabrics being preferred to light woollen goods. Some of those who had settled at Colchester in 1570 left the town again in consequence of some disputes that arose, and established themselves as weavers in and near Halstead; but only for a few years, after which they returned to Colchester. The people of Halstead wanted them to come back again and petitioned that they should be compelled to return [5]).

[1]) K. H. 239. — [2]) A. I. 177. — [3]) E. I. 314. — [4]) P. VI. 193. — [5]) I. C.II. 37-8; A. I. 153, 170-1; M.XXIV.

At Malmesbury there was a settlement of Flemish weavers, who formed a factory there [1]).

In 1567 the thread manufacture had been established with great success by the Dutch refugees at Maidstone [2]).

In the days of Henry VIII. there had been foreign glass-makers in London, and in 1567 two men from the Low Countries, Becker and Carré obtained a royal licence for glazing, while glass-engraving and the manufacture of new potteries are also attributed to refugees or immigrants from the Low Countries [3]). Remigius Hogenberg was a Flemish engraver who came to England about 1573, and was in the service of Archbishop Parker. He died at Lambeth about 1580 [4]).

In 1567 Anthony Beckx, alias Dolin, and John Quarre, natives of the Low Countries, established a manufactory for table-glass, and in 1565 Francis Bertie of Antwerp had obtained the privilege of manufacturing white salt for twenty years [5]).

In 1563 a German mining company, who brought in 300 or 400 workmen, was floated at Keswick and other places in Cumberland, and about a century later Dutch workmen were sent there to work in those mines [6]).

Knives had been imported "by shippes lading" from Flanders and other parts, until in 1568 a prohibition was obtained by the first Englishman who could make fine knives to perfection, against all strangers [7]). There is evidence of this foreign origin of knives in the "Jack de Liège" knife, which developed into the later clasp-knife, while the improvement in the manufacture above referred to is probably due to the settlement of Flemish cutlers at Sheffield, under the patronage of the Earl of Shrewsbury; Flemish settlers at Shotley Bridge near Newcastle are supposed to have begun the manufacture of steel [8]).

The manufacture of Spanish needles was taught in England by a German, Elias Crowse, in 1566 [9]). In the same year Cornelius de Vos was granted permission to make copperas and alum in the Queen's dominions for 21 years; he worked alum mines in the Isle of Wight, and in Devon, where, however, the work was given

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[1]) A. I. 170. — [2]) *Ibid.* 152, 177. — [3]) *Ibid.* 177. — [4]) D. N. B. 27:98. — [5]) M.XXI; A. I. 179. — [6]) A. I. 123, 215. — [7]) Ann. 948. — [8]) A. I. 179-80. — [9]) *Ibid.* 179; Ann. 948.

up after many attempts; some was made in Ireland as also in Yorkshire [1]).

At Treworthy, Perran, Sands, St. Just and Logan in Cornwall copper mines were worked by Dutchmen towards the end of the century. In 1565 some German adventurers obtained important mining rights, and formed a company which introduced great improvements in wire-drawing and other manufactures in the Forest of Dean [2]).

With the help of German associates Humphrey Bradley, a Brabanter, endeavoured to mine for copper and calamine stone. It is said that he and Godfrey Box of Liège introduced and established wire-drawing. Mommer and Demetrius started wire-making at Esher in Surrey, and a Dutchman opened a wire-mill at Richmond in 1662 [3]).

Most of the settlers at Stamford in 1572 were weavers, but there were also among them who worked steel, copper and other trades. Paper, soap and saltpetre were also manufactures introduced by Flemings or Dutchmen [4]).

We have already stated, that as early as 1536 there were Flemish shoemakers in London; at a later date there must also have been many of this trade among the refugees, as in 1578 the Cordwainer's Company petitioned the Lord Treasurer to restrain aliens and foreigners who disregarded their chartered claims. In 1582 the silk-weavers took similar action against freemen of the city of London, who had learned their trade from aliens. This trade was also established by refugees at Canterbury and at Coventry. These silk-weavers were not all from the Low Countries, for there were many French Huguenots among them. In connexion with the silk-weavers we may mention the Strype family. Abraham van Strijp was one of the religious refugees who continued his trade as a silk-throwster in London. Later his nephew of Bois-le-duc came to London to learn the business of a merchant and silk-throwster of his uncle, and started a business of his own in a locality afterwards known as "Strype's Yard" in Petticoat Lane. He became a freeman of the city and served as master of his company. He married a daughter of Daniel Bonnell of Norwich, and their

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[1]) Ann. 896-7; A. I. 124. — [2]) A. I. 122; I. C. II. 35. — [3]) A. I. 179. — [4]) *Ibid.*; M. XXIV.

youngest son was the famous John Strype, ecclesiastical historian and biographer [1]).

In 1586 a number of apprentices — plasterers — in vain organized an attack on aliens [2]).

It was in the year 1582 that Peter Morris, a Dutchman, a free denizen of London, made an artificial forcier to convey "Thames water in pipes of lead over the steeple of St. Magnus Church, at the north end of London Bridge and from thence into divers men's houses" [3]).

It is no wonder that all those alien artisans should have excited much jealousy and opposition, and but for the protection by the Government which they enjoyed — as we have seen in the case of the artisans at Norwich — they would have found it very hard to remain in England; yet, they had from time to time to submit to restriction, and in 1592 it was ordered that every foreigner should serve an apprenticeship of seven years [4]).

The facts that there are Flemish names in the Church registers of Honiton in the end of the 16th century, and that many others of the same origin are to be found in Bedfordshire, would seem to point to the introduction of lace-making in those parts by the refugees of the Low Countries, while the manufactures of Newport Pagnell, Stony Stratford and Aylesbury, as also those of Northampton, are attributed to the same source. In 1626 a school for teaching the art of lace-making was established at Great Marlow, and in 1650 the trade was in a flourishing state in Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire and Devon [5]).

The development of the cotton industry at Manchester and Bolton between 1560 and 1641 is also attributed to Flemish refugees, because in the former year cotton was imported from Antwerp, the sack of this town in 1585 brought thousands of its citizens to England, the population of Manchester was doubled between 1578 and 1635, and the first reference to cotton of English make dates from 1641 [6]).

During the same period engineering works were carried out for the Government in Dover harbour by Flemish workmen. The above-named Brabanter, Humphrey Bradley, "a Dutch engineer

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[1]) D. N. B. 55: 67-9. — [2]) A. I. 166; I. C. II. 38. — [3]) Sur 18, 169 (where he is called a German); Ann. 695. — [4]) I. C. II. 38. — [5]) A. I. 178-9. — [6]) *ante* p. 114; A. I. 180; M.XIX.

of high repute" was also consulted about them [1]). In 1593 he wrote about the draining of the fens in "A Discourse of Humphrey Bradley, a Brabanter, concerning the Fens in Norfolk", and Hollanders were consulted in connexion with the draining of parts of Lincolnshire. One whose name is also mentioned with honour in this connexion, was Engelbert. In 1592 Guillaume Mostart undertook to drain the fens of Coldham in Cambridgeshire. There was an Act for the recovery of many thousands of acres of marshes and other grounds in the Isle of Ely in Cambridgeshire, in Norfolk, Leicestershire, Huntingdonshire and other counties. In all this the English wished to follow the example of the Dutch [2]), and as in the construction of harbours on the south coast, so for the drainage of the fens they introduced Dutchmen to do the work for them [3]).

This work was not undertaken seriously before the last few years of James I.'s reign, when a corporation was established to carry on the attempt which had been begun under Elizabeth. The successful scheme for draining the fens of Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely was devised by a Dutchman, named Vermuiden, who described those fenlands as "a continent of 400000 acres" [4]).

In 1621 Vermuiden had been employed to repair breaches in the banks of the Thames.

An unsuccessful attempt to reclaim a portion of the fens had been made early in the reign of James I. [5]). In 1622 an arrangement was made between James, Cornelius Liens and Cornelius Vermuiden, to drain 360000 acres of fenland in the counties of Northampton, Lincoln, Cambridge and Essex. In 1623 the Commissioners of Sewers in Essex complained to the Council that Vermuiden had made the state of the land worse than before. In 1625 he received a grant of land in Essex in recompense of his changes for work done in the repair of Dagenham Breach [6]).

In 1626 he entered into an agreement with Charles I. for the drainage of Hatfield Chase, a district in Yorkshire subject to inundation from the rivers Don, Ouse and Trent, and in 1628 a grant was made to him and his heirs of a third of the land he

[1]) A. I. 180-1. — [2]) *Ibid.* 181; I. C. II. 57-8. — [3]) A. I. 13. — [4]) *Ibid.* 195, 208-9; I. C. II. 187; Gr. 518. — [5]) A. I. 209. — [6]) M.XXXV-VI.

should reclaim. The money required was supplied by Dutch capitalists in London and in Holland, the celebrated poets Huygens and Cats being among the number [1]), and the large number of workmen required were brought over from Holland. Owing to great difficulties with the fenmen in the Isle of Axholme and Epworth, he became disheartened, and in 1633 sold his interest in the reclaimed land to a Frenchman, Gibbon, who introduced French workmen to co-operate with the Dutch navvies.

Many of the Dutchmen, however, left the district and settled at Thorney Abbey in Cambridgeshire, which is now one of the finest corn-growing districts in England.

The interest Dutchmen took in cultivating such lands is evident from what Evelyn wrote in 1570: "Being arrived at some meres [2]), we found Lord Wotton [3]) and Sir John Kiviet about their draining engines, having, it seems, undertaken to do wonders on a vast piece of marsh-ground they had hired of Sir Thomas Chicheley [4]). They much pleased themselves with the hopes of a rich harvest of hemp and cole-seed. which was the crop expected. Here we visited the engines and mills both for wind and water, draining it through two rivers or graffs [5]) cut by hand. Here, my Lord and his partner had built two or three rooms, with Flanders white bricks, very hard [6]).

The difficulties in Hatfield Chase were even greater, especially in the northern part which suffered severely for many years, till the "Dutch river" was cut. The commoners constantly attacked the many Dutch settlers on the recovered land and the struggle continued from 1626 to 1719. The alien settlers suffered severely in 1642, when the country was flooded as a defence against the royal troops. Drainage also took place on Crown lands in other parts of the country, as in Malvern Chase in 1632, in Sedgemoor somewhat later.

Another improvement introduced from Holland was the navi-

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[1]) M.XXXVI; te W. II. 224. — [2]) Near Newmarket.

[3]) Lord Wotton was himself of Dutch extraction. His father, Poliander van Kirkhoven, Lord of Hemfleet (Heemvliet?) married Katherine, widow of Henry, Lord Stanhope, eldest son of Philip, Earl of Chesterfield. She was one of the four daughters and co-heirs of Thomas, Lord Wotton, and his son, Charles Henry Kirkhoven was created Lord Wotton, of Wotton in Kent, in 1650, by reason of his descent,and Earl of Bellemont in Ireland, in 1670. He died without issue in 1682 (P. VIII. 83 *note* [1]).

[4]) Master of the Ordnance. — [5]) Dutch *graft*, nowadays *gracht* = canal. — [6]) E. II. 48-9.

gation of rivers and the connexion of them by canals, but it was nearly a century before the use of canals became general [1]).

In 1626 Croppenburgh, a Dutchman, received one third of Canvey Isle in Essex in fee simple in consideration of his securing the island from the overflowing of the tides of the Thames; in 1628 he and the 200 poor Dutch strangers who had been engaged in banking and cultivating the island, were permitted by the King to establish a small church, where service could be performed in their own language; the wooden chapel, to which we have already referred, was then built [2]).

Like the immigrants of the 16th century, those of the 17th and 18th centuries introduced some new arts and contributed towards the industrial prosperity of Great Britain and Ireland [3]). Progress was made in mechanical and mining arts under Dutch influence, as for instance in the West of England weaving trade, where Paul Methuen and William Brewer brought over some families of Dutch weavers who were settled at Dutch Barton in Wiltshire; men from Holland were employed in the Keswick mines. In the reign of James I. Gerard Malynes (Malines or De Malines) took part in many schemes for developing the natural resources of the country, and made an attempt to work lead mines in Yorkshire and silver mines in Durham in 1606, bringing workmen from Germany at his own charge; and it is said that Prince Rupert brought German miners to Ecton in Staffordshire to teach the use of gunpowder in mining operations [4]).

Household arts were also greatly developed under Dutch influence. In the days of Elizabeth a German had set up a new kind of furnace for brewing, and in the reign of James I. there were Dutch brewers in London [5]). Those of Southwark were famous, and there were at least two Flemish brewers at Wandsworth in this century.

Among the many refugees who came to England in the 16th century, there were a number who worked on the land [6]). As gardening, both ornamental and for kitchen purposes, was hardly known in England before this time, the hands of Flemish farmers, gardeners and labourers found much to do, and the cultivation of many vegetables dates from that time. We have already referred

[1]) A. I. 209-11; I. C. II. 188. — [2]) *ante* p. 107; M.XXXIV. — [3]) A. I. 17. — [4]) D. N. B. 36: 9-11; A. I. 212-3. — [5]) A. I. 217. — [6]) *Ibid.* 177; M.XXII.

to the introduction of growing root crops at Norwich [1]), an industry which became general in the early part of the 17th century, together with the knowledge of various manures, the cultivation of artificial grasses and methods of treating the soil. This was not a little furthered by English agricultural writers, who insisted on following the example of Flanders and imitating the methods employed there; they even introduced the Flemish custom of letting and hiring leases upon improvement [2]).

In the 17th century encouragement was given to the growing of madder, but evidently without much success, for as late as 1758 Philip Miller, a correspondent of Linnæus, who several times visited his Chelsea Garden in 1736, published a book "The Method of Cultivating Madder, as it is practised by the Dutch in Zealand", his object being to introduce this industry, which he had studied during his visits to Holland between 1723 and 1730, into England. In 1730 he had for the first time described the method of flowering bulbous plants in bottles filled with water [3]).

The bay-industry in Essex led to the growing of teasels in that country, as cloth dessing developed the same industry in Yorkshire at a later date [4]).

From Sandwich there was a settlement of Flemish market-gardeners at Wandsworth and its neighbourhood, which sent many a load of fruit and vegetables to Covent Garden in the 17th century.

The 17th century imitation of Dutch ornamental gardening is still noticeable in the formal fashion which has not altogether died out [5]).

In the days of Henry VIII. we have seen that the first Dutch feltmaker settled in London; in 1605 the feltmakers of London obtained a strong corporation [6]). In the 17th century this industry was practised at Wandsworth by some of the Dutch settlers, who thus laid the foundation of the large industry of hat-making introduced by the Huguenots, who utilized as a church in 1655 the building which had been used by the Flemish and Dutch refugees as their own place of worship since 1570.

According to the returns of 1616 there were in London 1363

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[1]) *ante* p. 119. — [2]) A. I. 218; I. C. II. 181-4. — [3]) I. C. II. 373; D. N. B. 37: 420-2. [4]) I. C. II. 373. — [5]) A. I. 217-8. — [6]) Ann. 870.

persons practising 121 different trades [1]), and in 1622 — there were 10000 strangers in London in 1621 [2]) — the goldsmiths complained that there were no less than 184 aliens in their business. From their complaint we learn that it was "By reason of theire great and increasing nomber in buying, selling, and making, of gold and silver wares, jewells, pretious stones, and other employments within this cittie and suburbs.... That the saide aliens and strangers in their habitations are dispersed in manye lanes and remote places .... besides the unlymited number of servants and apprentices aliens kept by the said aliens and strangers.... they make and sell manye deceitfull jewels, pearles, counterfeit stones and other goldsmith's wares of gold and silver .... it being partlie the meanes that the use and exercise of other meane trades are crept into the goldsmithes row in Cheepe and Lombard Street, to the great disgrace of this citie" [3]).

From a petition in 1616 we know what the grievances of the jealous English artisans were. "Their chiefest cause of entertainment here of late", we read, "was in charity to shroud them from persecution for religion, and beinge here, theire necessity became the mother of theire ingenuitie in deviseing many trades, before to us unknowne. The state, noteing their diligence, and yet preventinge the future inconvenience, enacted two speciall lawes: — 'That they should enterteine Englishe apprentices and servants to learne those trades, the neglect whereof giveth advantage to keepe their misteries to themselves, which hath made them bould of late to devise engines for workinge of tape, lace, ribbin and such, wherein one man doth more amongst them than seven Englishe men can doe' .... Since the makinge of the last statute they are thought to be increased ten for one. Their daylie flockinge hithere without such remedie is like to grow scarce tollorable" [4]).

This petition had been called forth by James's promises to the strangers to support them against informers, after a committee had been formed in 1615 to inquire into the grievances of the city companies [5]). As early as 1606 James I. had shown himself favourable to alien artisans, when they petitioned against a Common Council resolution founded on an old Statute, that "all foreign

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[1]) A. I. 176. — [2]) M.XXXIV. — [3]) A. I. 205-6. — [4]) *Ibid.* 168-9. — [5]) *Ibid.* 173.

handycraftsmen under a penalty of £ 5 should be prohibited from exercising their craft within the liberties of the city of London" [1]).

In 1621 a regular Commission sat on the alien question, and taxes were laid on all aliens, except those who were in the service of Englishmen. Those, however, who had brought or should bring in a new trade, were shown special favour and were to exercise their crafts freely for seven years. Those who would not submit to this, were to leave the country. Against a second Commission, appointed in 1622, the aliens protested. When this Commission placed a tax on all English goods sold by strangers, the French and Dutch Congregations appealed against it. There were no more annual returns after those of 1622 [2]).

That "the strangers did not lament much", when James died in 1625 [3]), would seem to point to the fact that his protection did not amount to much, but a great change set in with the accession of Charles I., when it was ordered that aliens should "use their trades without let or hindrance" [4]).

As we have already seen, it was not only in London that the natives resented the interference of the strangers with the existing industries. At Canterbury as well as at Sandwich they were not to trespass on existing callings, but only to practise arts which were new to the town. At Hull they were to come to an arrangement with the local authorities, if they practised existing trades; the craft of shoemaking was not to be practised there without agreement and licence of the fellowship of that mistery in the town. The renewal of the statutes of the corvisors at Lichfield in 1625; the attempts on the part of the cutlers of Hallamshire to obtain a new charter in 1624; the complaints of the Society of skinners, whittawers and glovers in Preston, Wigan, Lancaster, Liverpool, Manchester and Newton-in-Makerfield against "interlopers", and the fact that at Coventry and Hull there were new companies created, or if they had been in existence before, they obtained a new lease of life about that time, would all seem to point to the presence of alien craftsmen in those towns and serious attempts to draw them into the industrial system existing in the country. At Norwich and Colchester the Dutch colonies secured the privilege of organizing their own industry and enforcing their own ordinances, though not without serious difficulty [5]).

[1]) M.XXIX. — [2]) A. I. 174-6. — [3]) M.XXXV. — [4]) A. I. 176 *note* [3]. — [5]) A. I. 170.

It is probably in connexion with the increase of the numbers of strangers in England during the last few years of James I.'s reign, that there was a settlement of Flemish and Dutch tapestry- and carpet-weavers at Mortlake shortly after 1619, for whose convenience a Dutch Congregation met at their place in 1622, after having obtained a licence from the Archbishop of Canterbury the year before to assemble at the Parish Church. It appears that in 1509 a tapestry manufactory had been established at Barcheston in Warwickshire,which did not become of importance before the 17th century. It was Francis Crane who founded the most famous tapestry factory, when he established himself at Mortlake. He was liberally patronized by James and Charles. In 1623 he engaged Francis Cheyne, a native of Rostock in Lower Saxony, as limner. The workmen who came over from the continent were engaged in reproducing the cartoons of Raphael, and several of the royal seats — Windsor, Hampton Court, Greenwich, St. James's, and Norwich — were furnished with hangings from Mortlake. In 1637 there were about 140 workmen, nearly all from the Low Countries. At the time of Cromwell John Holliburie or Hulliberry was their master workman, and the tapestry-house was then occupied by him. During the Civil War the Parliament had seized it as the property of the Crown, but after the Restoration Charles II. protected the manufacture as his father had done. In 1663 there were two Acts, one for the purpose of encouraging the tapestry manufacture of England, and the other for the purpose of discouraging "the very great importation of foreign tapestry". This foreign tapestry appears to have come solely from Flanders, and was valued at 2s. 8d. to £ 8 the Flemish ell.

A few entries of the tapestry weavers are to be found in the Parish Registers at Putney and Mortlake, while some tapestry weavers seem to have settled at Fulham also [1]).

When the Duke of Buckingham was Lord High Admiral, he encouraged Dutchmen and others to settle in England and manufacture great cables and other sorts of cordage in the navy, erecting houses and yards at Chatham and elsewhere for the purpose [2]). In 1664 Pepys wrote: "We made an experiment of Holland's and our cordage, and ours outdid it a great deale" [3]), though this does not

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[1]) M. I-VI, XXX-IV; Beck *in* Tapestry. — [2]) A. I. 217. — [3]) P. IV. 258.

quite tally with the information he gave us half a year later, when he wrote: "went on shore to a Dutch [house] to drink some mum, and there light upon some Dutchmen, with whom we had good discourse touching stoveing [1]) and making of cables. But to see how despicably they speak of us for our using so many hands more to do anything than they do, they closing a cable with 20, that we use 60 men upon" [2]).

In 1616 James Howell, a steward in the London glassware manufactory, and known as an author, was sent to the continent by his employers to obtain workmen and materials. He brought back workmen from Middelburg and Venice [3]).

In order to introduce the manufacture of serges and employ the poor, the justices of Pickering in the North Riding of Yorkshire brought over men from the Eastern Counties for the purpose; a similar transference of artisans from those counties to Chester may have taken place in 1674; there seems to have been opposition to this from the dyers and other local artisans [4]).

New industries were also introduced from Holland during the second half of the 17th century.

When in August 1657 Evelyn went to see Colonel Blount, this officer showed him the application of "the *way-wiser* to a coach, exactly measuring the miles, and showing them by an index as we went on" [5]).

At the time of the Restoration Charles II. was presented with a Dutch yacht, and the next year Commissioner Pett built the "Jenny" in imitation of it. The only yachts in England heard of before were one owned by Queen Elizabeth, and one made by Phineas Pett in 1604. The one referred to by Pepys seems to have been greatly admired. He wrote of its beauty and Pett's imitation again and again, as also of one that Pett's brother was making at Woolwich [6]). Evelyn also refers to it, saying: — "I sailed this morning with his Majesty in one of the yachts (or pleasure boats), vessels not known among us till the Dutch East India Company

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[1]) In sail-making, is the heating of the bolt-ropes, so as to make them pliable.
[2]) P. IV. 353. — [3]) D. N. B. 28: 109-14. — [4]) A. I. 151.
[5]) E. I. 320. The word *way-wiser* looks like a literal translation of the Dutch *wegwijzer*, and would seem to point to a Dutch origin of the name for what is now called "hodometer".
[6]) P. I. 222, 278, 324, 326, 246; II. 40, 103 (where he speaks of two Dutch yachts), 328; V. 48, 81, 98-9.

presented that curious piece to the King; being very excellent sailing vessels" [1]).

It was also soon after the Restoration that the "Dutch clock" was first made in England by Fromentil, a Dutchman, whom Evelyn refers to as the "famous clockmaker", on whom he called to see some pendules with Monsieur Zulichem, "that great mathematician and virtuoso, inventor of the pendule clock, and discoverer of the phenomenon of Saturn's annulus, who was elected into the Royal Society" [2]).

In 1661-2 a request was made by Johannes Siberius Kuffler and his brother-in-law Jacob Drebbel for a trial of their father Cornelius Drebbel's secret of sinking or destroying ships in a moment, and, if it succeeded, for a reward of £ 10000. The secret was left them by will, to preserve for the English Crown before any other State. Kuffler was originally a dyer at Leyden; he married Cornelius Drebbel's daughter. His father-in-law had settled in London, where he died in 1634 [3]). Cornelius was said by Boerhave to have invented the weather-glass, an instrument to which Pepys refers as a "weatherglass for heat and cold" [4]). The editor of Evelyn's Diary states that he was born at Alkmaar in 1572, settled in London in the reign of Charles I., and invented the thermometer, made improvements in microscopes and telescopes, while he had considerable knowledge of chemistry and of different branches of natural philosophy [5]).

It appears that Dutch tiles were also the fashion in England about that time, for Pepys refers to them, and incidentally to those in his own chimney [6]).

When Evelyn was at Amsterdam in 1641, he saw the "Keizer's, or Emperor's Graft [7]), that goodly aquaduct so curiously wharfed with klincard [8]) bricks, which likewise pave the streets, than which nothing can be more useful and neat" [9]).

When in 1666 John Kievit, Burgomaster of Amsterdam, had for political reasons to fly to England, where he remained till 1672 [10]) and was knighted by the King, he examined "whether the

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[1]) E. I. 354. — [2]) *Ibid.* 347, 351; A. I. 213. — [3]) P. II. 204; III. 341.

[4]) *Ibid.* III. 75. There is an excellent work: "Cornelis Drebbel en zijn tijdgenooten" by Prof. F. M. Jaeger.

[5]) E. II. 377-89, additional notes to page 3. — [6]) P. III. 18. — [7]) *ante* p. 124 *note* [5]. [8]) The earlier editions have *clincars* (additional notes to E. II. 402). — [9]) E. I. 24. — [10]) te W. II. 610.

soil about the river of Thames would be proper to make clinker-bricks, and to treat with one about some accommodation in order to it". Kievit made proposals for embanking the river Thames from the Temple to the Tower with brick [1]).

No wonder that Evelyn in his admiration of those "klincard" bricks felt great interest in Kievit's project and accompanied him in his search for brick-earth "in order to great undertaking" [2]) and tells us that half a year later "Sir John Kiviet" came "to article" with him about his brickwork [3]), and rather amusingly informs us that on 24 June 1671 "Constantine Huygens, Seignor of Zuylichem, that excellent learned man, poet, and musician, now near 80 years of age, a vigorous brick man, came to take leave of me before his return into Holland with the Prince, whose secretary he was" [4]).

Pepys also refers to this manufacture of bricks by Kievit and Evelyn, and the editor of Pepys' Diary informs us that Evelyn gave £ 50 for the purpose, and in 1668 subscribed 50000 bricks for the building of a college for the Royal Society [5]).

That Englishmen were also sent to the Continent to learn manufactures unknown in their country, is evident from the life of Andrew Yarranton, engineer and agriculturist, who in 1652, after various adventures, busied himself in schemes for cutting canals and rendering rivers navigable, like those which were being carried out in Surrey at the time. After 1667 he was despatched to Saxony to learn the secret of tin-plate industry. All over England he gave advice as to ironworks, canals and improvements of all sorts. One of the works he wrote, in 1677, is entitled "England's Improvement by Sea and Land to outdo the Dutch without fighting" — a book which contains numerous schemes for making rivers navigable, for improving the iron industry and the linen manufacture, for the establishment of a land bank, and of a system for preventing and checking fire, mostly derived from his observations abroad, especially in Holland and Flanders. Making all the streets of London navigable rivers as a means of beating the Dutch without fighting, is a subject discussed by him in "A Coffee House Dialogue" [6]).

In 1668 there was "a proposition made to the Duke of York by

[1]) E. II. 20; P. VIII. 112 *note* [1]. — [2]) E. II. 22. — [3]) *Ibid.* 29. — [4]) *Ibid.* 60. — [5]) P. VIII, 112 *note* [1]. — [6]) D. N. B. 63: 284-6.

Captain von Hemskirke (van Heemskerk) for £ 20000 to discover an art how to make a ship go two foot for one what any ship do now, which the King inclines to try, it costing him nothing to try; and it is referred to us to contract with the man". It appears that a ship, called The Nonsuch had been altered by van Heemskerk's directions, to make her go faster; van Heemskerk had the command of the ship [1]).

That probably most of the potters of the 17th century and later were Dutchmen is evident from a patent granted to John Ariens van Hamme in 1676 for "the art of making tiles, porcelain, and other earthenware made after the way practised in Holland", and it appears that all the early stone-ware of this period is very much like that of Delft. Delft ware was made at Bristol and Liverpool, though there is no evidence that it was manufactured by Dutch artisans; the Delft ware of Lowestoft and Gunton in the Eastern Counties very probably was. The potteries of Staffordshire have become famous. In 1688 the brothers Elers emigrated from Amsterdam, started the method of saltglazing, and made their red ware at Dimsdale and Bradwell near Burslem. About the beginning of the next century they removed to one of the suburbs of London, where potteries existed at Chelsea, Vauxhall, Fulham, Battersea and Lambeth. Though the brothers took the most curious precautions, yet they failed to keep the secrets of their art [2]).

As early as 1610 Cornelius van Halen of Malines emigrated to London. He was of a family of pan-makers, and introduced the beating of hollow brass-ware, such as pots, skillets, etc. at Wandsworth. The pan-makers kept their art a secret. Pocock travelled through Wandsworth in 1754, and noticed that this trade was still being practised, most probably by the descendants of the original artisans.

The trade-name "batterer" appears in the Parish Register. "Frying-pan houses" are the premises where they most probably plied their trade. "Frying-pan Creek" and "Frying-pan Road" also remind us of the existence of those premises in this locality, while Dutch Yard in High Street likewise recalls those settlers from the Netherlands. A few years ago there stood a house in High Street with noted Flemish architectural features. There is a

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[1]) P. VII. 407; VIII. 15, 23, 265. — [2]) A. I. 177, 216; I. C. II. 351.

cinema on its site now, but the mouldings have been reproduced in the newly erected bank near the Parish Church.

Here also, early in the 17th century, a Dutch settler practised his trade of Whitster, now known as bleaching, and it soon drew people's attention, that the grassy mounds alongside the Wandle in this parish became covered with yards of stuff being "whitened".

In 1668 Pepys refers to a "very able merchant.... Mr. Vandeputt, and his editor queries if this may be Benjamin Vandeputt, draper, sheriff of London in 1685 [1]).

In 1676 the silk-weavers were formed into an independent corporation. There were settlements of these artisans at Sandwich, Norwich, Southampton and Colchester [2]).

It was a Dutchman in London who contracted with the Genoese for all their marble. He "built for himself a pretty dwelling-house". It was to "that rare magazine of marble" at Lambeth, that Evelyn repaired in 1676 to take order for "chimney-pieces, etc." for Mr. Godolphin's house [3]).

At the time of the immigration of French Huguenots towards the end of Charles II.'s and at the beginning of James II.'s reign, there was a settlement of French and Flemish woollen weavers at Bristol [4]).

As it appears from this that there were Flemings among the Huguenot refugees, and as it is well known that many French Huguenots had first taken refuge in the Netherlands and lived there sometimes for many years, before they went to England [5]), it may be useful for our purpose to state that in 1681 Charles granted them letters of naturalization and trading privileges. James II. did a similar thing, when nearly a third of a large number of those who came from Normandy and Brittany, settled at Spitalfields, Long Acre, Soho and in the other London suburbs; the remaining two thirds were distributed over Canterbury, Sandwich, Norwich, Southampton, Glastonbury, Winchelsea, Dover, and Wandsworth. They were not fully naturalized before the reign of Queen Anne. Their influence on industry affected the silk and linen trades, and the manufacture of paper, clocks, glass, locks and surgical instruments [6]).

We may as well add here, that in the 18th century men were

[1]) P. VII. 414. — [2]) A. I. 169 *note* [2]. — [3]) E. II. 108. — [4]) I. C. II. 179. — [5]) A. I. 195 *note* [1]. — [6]) I. C. II. 179-80.

brought from Holland to establish the brass manufacture at Bristol, and that there were battery works at Tintern [1]). In connexion with the brass manufacture it is interesting to draw attention to the fact that before the Reformation the English Churches had many monumental tablets of brass, which were obtained from the Netherlands. Though many of them were wholly or partly destroyed, a few still remain, as at Rutland and Warwick, which, with their giant portraiture and angular letters, still enable us to form an idea of this Flemish work, which was done between 1277 and 1507. The name of Dutch brass is given to an alloy of 3 parts of copper and 1 of zinc, while Dutch leaf is brass beaten into thin leaf. In 1565 Germans were invited to England for the manufacture of brass [2]).

The making of enamels at Battersea was brought in by S. I. Jansen, a Dutchman, in the 18th century.

We must not conclude this part without referring to another kind of immigrant, not exactly conspicuous for diligence and industry, but yet for our purpose important enough. In the days of Elizabeth there were many tramps and vagrants in England, and that there were such people among the thousands of refugees, who shall deny? It is a fact that many gipsies — perhaps not so many as is said by some [3]) — passed to England through the Low Countries in the early years of the 16th century. We mention these people, because some 16th century cant words were borrowed from the Low Dutch dialects, [4]) and they must either have been brought in by such vagrant people, or else have been picked up in the Low Countries by the English soldiers and others who spent some time of their lives there. That there were all sorts and conditions of immigrants in the 16th and 17th centuries may be gathered from the occasional references to giants and dwarfs and other freaks who attracted attention. Thus Stow tells us that in 1581 there were two Dutchmen of strange stature, a giant and a dwarf, in London, and that he saw them himself [5]). Both Pepys and Evelyn thought it worth their while to go and see a tall Dutch woman, six feet ten inches high and 21 years old in 1668-9 [6]); in 1657 Evelyn saw "a hairy woman, twenty years old, whom I had before seen when a child", and we are even told that this was Barbara

[1]) A. I. 179. — [2]) Graham. 124, 130, 153. — [3]) de H. I. 182. — [4]) Skeat. Princ. I. 482-3. — [5]) Ann. 694. — [6]) P. VIII. 192-3; E. II. 38.

Vanbeck, of whom there are two portraits, one a line engraving, the other in mezzo tinto. Though her name seems Dutch, she was born at Augsburg [1]). In 1664 Pepys saw at Charing Cross "the great Dutchman that is come over, under whose arm I went with my hat on, and could not reach higher than his eye-brows with the tip of my finger, reaching as high as I could. He is a comely and well-made man, and his wife a very little, but pretty comely Dutch woman" [2]).

It is even alleged that the vice of drunkenness was introduced from the Netherlands in 1581 [3]). However this may be, the terms "Dutch Courage" and "Dutch feast" may possibly have something to do with it.

Scotland

Either the religious refugees did not go as far as Scotland, or they were more readily absorbed in the native population of that country than was the case in England, for it is more difficult to trace them, and we can only make mention of a few more or less isolated cases of immigration and introduction of artisans during this period [4]). We have already referred to the employment of a Dutchman at the mine on Crawford Muir. In 1526 James V. gave mining concessions to some Germans [5]). Several Flemings also obtained mining rights: Cornelius de Vos in 1567, Gray Petierson (Pietersen? or Petersen?) in 1575, and Arnold Bronckhurst (Bronkhorst?) in 1580. A patent for the manufacture of salt was granted to Eustacius Roche [6]). Two Dutch printers were employed at Edinburgh in 1582, and a Huguenot set up a printing-press there in 1584. Desiring to encourage the cloth trade, James VI. approved of an act in 1587 in favour of three Flemish weavers. They were to be naturalized, to be created burgesses of whatever town they selected, and they were allowed to establish a church of their own. A dispute arose between two of the Flemings and the authorities of the Kirk, and the Flemings had either to submit or to leave the Kingdom. Some Flemings who came in 1588, had to bind themselves to remain five years, to bring 30 weavers and fullers, and such other workmen as should be necessary for mak-

[1]) E. I. 321. — [2]) P. IV. 218. — [3]) I. C. II. 169. — [4]) A. I. 182. — [5]) *Ibid.* 134 *note* [1]. — [6]) *Ibid.* 185.

ing bays, serges, and other cloths. They were to take "na prentices bot scottis boys and madinnis", for whom they were to provide during the five years of their apprenticeship, and they were to see that none of their company fell into idleness or want.

In 1600 a hundred cloth-workers were permitted to settle, and a settlement of Flemings was brought about in the summer of that year. Bischof, a refugee, came from Norwich to work in Edinburgh, and twelve weavers from Leyden arrived at Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee and Ayr. They had been brought over by a commission who had been to Flanders, France and England for the purpose. In 1609 there were alien cloth-weavers in the Canongate. At Muthill and Perth there are many names of Flemish origin, and many manorial fulling-mills were utilized for fulling from this period.

In 1590 Peter Groot Heare, a German, and several associates were licensed to make paper for nine years [1]).

The influence of the Netherlands on Scottish industry in the 17th century was similar to that in England. The assistance of foreigners was required for the establishment of new industries. There was a series of attempts to introduce sugar refining; a German was brought over for the purpose in 1669; a Dutch master boiler had come from Holland two years before to work in the Wester Sugar Works at Glasgow; the attempts were successful, and another sugar refinery, combined with a distillery, was started in 1701, skilled alien workmen being employed in it. In 1687 a Fleming, Peter de Brus made a futile attempt to introduce the manufacture of playing cards, for which purpose he brought over workmen. The art of making earthenware was introduced in 1703 by foreigners who had been brought over by Edinburgh merchants [2]). Dutch linenweavers settled at Glasgow in 1725, and the tape manufacture was started by a Dutch artisan in 1732 [3]).

Though the matter does not appear to have been definitely settled yet, there is every possibility, that the game of golf was introduced into Scotland from the Netherlands. That Dutch golfballs were used in Scotland in the 16th century, is evident from a prohibitive duty put on them by James VI. [4]).

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[1]) A. I. 182, 184-5. — [2]) *Ibid.* 219-20. — [3]) *Ibid.* 241-2 *note*[4]. — [4]) Athen. Aug. 24, 31; Sept. 21. 1912.

Ireland

Among the Low Dutch refugees who fled before Alva, there were some who went all the way to Ireland, for there was a settlement of Dutch artisans at Swords near Dublin under the patronage of the Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney. They manufactured ticking and leatherwork [1]). After this we do not again hear of Low Dutch settlers in Ireland before the early years of the 17th century. It is known that several merchants came from Holland and Brabant to Ireland about that time, and that efforts were made to introduce alien craftsmen [2]). In 1603 there were letters from a nobleman in Ireland inviting some of the strangers to come and reside there, especially at Crookhaven and Schoolhaven, which offered many advantages [3]).

When in 1633 Wentworth, Lord Strafford, became Lord Deputy, he brought in Low Dutch linenweavers and successfully developed the linen manufacture. He sowed £ 1000 of Holland flax seed and set up 6 or 7 looms, reporting that the Irish could undersell France and Holland by 20%. After the rebellion in 1641 Waterford, Kilkenny and Galway were cleared of English merchants and artisans, some of whom were driven to Ostend, while foreigners made such good use of the materials that they became formidable rivals to the cloth manufacturers of England. About the same time 60 families from Holland set up a cloth manufactory at Limerick, which industry is said to have decayed during the succeeding wars [4]).

The Duke of Ormond, when Governor in the days of Charles II., established a colony of Flemings at Chapelizod in Kilkenny, where they manufactured sailcloth, linen and cordage; in the same way he had founded colonies of Walloons at Clonmel, Kilkenny and Carrick-on-Suir. At Clonmell they made Norwich stuffs [5]).

Large numbers of Englishmen and aliens were encouraged to settle at Dublin, where the drapery manufacture, transplanted from Devon, had been developing rapidly since the Revolution [6]).

The Irish linen manufacture did not thrive, because England

[1]) A. I. 186. — [2]) *Ibid.* 220.

[3]) M.XXVII. — We have not found any information about the results of this request, which is cited by Moens from Ruytink's "History of the Netherlanders in England", which we have not had an opportunity of consulting.

[4]) I. C. II, 135-6, 138, 140-1; A. I. 220. — [5]) I. C. II. 141; A. I. 220. — [6]) I. C. II. 296-7, 299.

continued to buy her linen in the Low Countries, lest the Dutch ports should be closed to English woollen cloth. A change for the better set in, when the Irish obtained royal patronage and William III. invited Louis Crommelin, a French Huguenot at Amsterdam, then the headquarters of the linen trade, to settle in Ireland. Crommelin came over with his family and first established himself at Lisnagarvey, afterwards at Lisburn, county Antrim. He brought 1000 looms and spinning wheels of an improved construction, and invited a number of families, mostly Huguenots, to come over; they formed a colony among themselves. Afterwards Crommelin became overseer of the Royal linen manufacture of Ireland, and laid the foundations of the success of the north of Ireland linen manufacture. A few years later he organized the sailcloth industry at Waterford. There were also sailcloth factories at Cork and Rathkaile. Besides a few settlers at Belfast there were colonies of refugees at Dublin, Dundalk, Cork and Kilkenny [1]).

Many who had belonged to King William's Dutch army, first in England and later in Ireland, settled in this country. The King made several grants of land to his generals, which the jealousy of the English Parliament forced him to resume afterwards [2]). Many of his officers and men, however, remained in Ireland, settling chiefly at Portarlington and Youghal [3]).

Commercial Relations

If the envy of foreign artisans in England was great in the 16th and 17th centuries, the jealousy of alien merchants was not less so. A remarkable instance of it is evident from the following request made by the commons of the City of London concerning the use of the Leadenhall in 1503. "Please it, the lord mayor, and common council, to enact, that all Frenchmen bringing canvass, linen cloth and other wares to be sold, and all foreigners bringing wolsteds, sayes, staimus, coverings, nails, ironwork, or any other wares, shall bring all such their wares aforesaid to the open market of the Leaden hall, there and no where else to be sold and uttered, like as of old time it hath been used, upon pain of forfeiture of all the said wares showed or sold in any other place than aforesaid; the show

[1]) A. I. 240-1; I. C. II. 303; M.XLI. — [2]) I. C. II. 305; Gr. 700. — [3]) A. I. 245.

of the said wares to be made three days in the week, that is to say, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday; it is also thought reasonable that the common beam be kept from henceforth in the Leaden hall, and the farmer to pay therefore reasonable rent to the chamber; for better it is that the chamber have advantage thereby than a foreign person; and also the said Leaden hall, which is more chargeable now by half than profitable, shall better bear out the charges thereof; also the common beam for wool at Leaden hall, may yearly pay a rent to the chamber of London, toward supportation and charges of the same place; for reason it is, that a common office, occupied upon a common ground, bear a charge to the use of the commonalty; also, that foreigners bringing wools, felts, or any other merchandises or wares to Leaden hall, to be kept there for the sale and market, may pay more largely for the keeping of their goods than free men" [1]).

In the reign of Henry VIII. new efforts were made to oust aliens from the foreign trade, as they had been forced out of internal trade at an earlier date. Thus we find that new payments over and above the customs, tonnage and poundage were levied as "impositions," on the goods imported by aliens, and on the importation of foreign luxuries. By this means special advantages were given to English merchants as well as to English artisans. In 1534 aliens paid the general subsidy voted in this year, at a double rate. Thus alien merchants were gradually driven out of the field altogether [2]). As long, however, as the carrying trade was in the hands of the Hansards and the Dutch, and for want of shipping, the navigation policy which had been initiated by Richard II., could not be enforced; the English would be dependent on alien merchants. In the reign of Elizabeth Merchant-Adventurers and those of the Staple were permitted to use the ships of strangers into the ports of Flanders, Holland, Zealand or Brabant, in their several fleets and shippings of cloth and wool out of the river Thames, as they were made only twice a year at most, for want of a sufficient number of English ships [3]).

What, among other things, they owed to those foreigners, is evident from the fact that in 1527, when there was great scarcity of bread in England, the Merchants of the Steelyard brought from Danzig "such store of Wheate and Rye, that the same was better

[1]) Sur. 140-1. — [2]) I. C. I. 550. — [3]) Smith I. xix. 70 *note* *.

cheape to be solde in London, than in anie other parte of the realme besides" [1]).

So it was of great importance to develop English shipping. In 1540 a very complete act was passed for "the maintenance of the navy", and aliens were encouraged to make use of English ships [2]). For the royal as well as for the mercantile navy, however, able-bodied sailors were needed to man the fleets, and in order to form a school of seamanship, such as the Dutch possessed in their fishing trade — a trade which in England seems to have been almost extinct on the east coast, where the men went in boats and bought the fish from foreigners instead of catching it — Parliament in 1549 enacted a measure for encouraging the fishing trade by promoting the general consumption of fish, and ordained that "all statutes and constitutions about fasting shall be repealed, but that all persons who do not observe the usual fastdays — Fridays, Saturdays, Ember Days and Lent — shall be fined 10 sh. and suffer 10 days imprisonment for the first offence, considering also especially that Fishers, and men using the trade of living by fishing in the sea, may thereby the rather be set on work, and that by eating of fish much flesh shall be saved and increased".

Though apparently meant to reduce the price of meat, this measure must lead to the development of the fishing trade and of seamanship, and thus procure able-bodied sailors to man the fleets [3]).

Robert Hitchcock, who had served in the Low Countries, and had some knowledge of the value of the fishing trade to a nation, wrote in his "The Politic Plat" [4]): "The Flemings and other nations .... seeing our careless dealing, have not only taken this beneficial Fishing from us, but very warily doeth sell the same commodity unto us; and thereby carrieth out of this land both Gold and Silver, and a marvellous quantity of doubble beer, and other thynges satisfying us with these fishes, which, through our owne slothe, we lose" [5]). Like Hitchcock, Jeninges, Keymor and others held that England would be greatly benefited by giving more attention to fisheries [6]).

This encouragement of the fishing trade is probably also the

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[1]) Ann. 537. — [2]) I. C. I. 490-1. — [3]) *Ibid.* 499-500. — [4]) Arber's English Garner II. 144. — [5]) I. C. II. 21, 23. — [6]) C. H. E. L. IV. 309.

reason why some of the refugees who settled at Sandwich in 1561 were allowed to engage in fishing [1]).

Not only did Dutch fishermen carry on their trade in English territorial waters, as they had been doing for a long time past, but Dutch whale-fishers "obtruded themselves into the trade off Greenland", for in 1552 they were forced to depart from there by the English, who discharged some of the Dutch and other ships for their contempt and treachery, of some small quantity of their purchases, "whereupon the sayd Hollanders entruding by force to establish themselves in their sayd pretended fishing trade, prepared for the present sommer a Fleete, consisting of 16 sayle: whereof 3 shippes of warre of the States, and foure others .... For maintenance of his Majesties prerogative, and for defence of their trade and people, the fleet set forth to the sea, and brought the Hollanders, who arrived after them to conditions, of forbearing any harbor, which the English occupyed, and to seeke their trade to the north or south of these partes, which the English used, and that for this voyage only" [2]).

Throughout the 17th century attention was directed to shipping, and the success of the Dutch in the fishing trade led the English to vie with them while imitating their methods [3]). Thus efforts were made in 1661 to prevail on Charles II. to hire a dock for herring-busses to lie up in, and in 1662 the King resolved to give £ 200 to every man who would set out with a Buss [4]).

In the reign of James I. the Dutch succeeded in ousting the English from the whale-fishery off Greenland. Though several joint stock companies for Fishery were founded during this century, they all failed; even as late as 1750 an attempt was made to gain the white herring fishery from the Dutch, and another was to be made to oust them from the cod fishery.

Evidence that the English had not a sufficient number of able seamen as late as the time of Queen Anne, is afforded by the great facilities which were given for the naturalization of foreign seamen, who should serve on English ships for two years [5]).

In spite of all the efforts made to outvie the Dutch in shipping, the latter almost monopolized the carrying trade of the world, although the intercourse between Spain and Flanders between

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[1]) A. I. 150-1, 162-3. — [2]) Ann. 941. — [3]) A. I. 216. — [4]) P. II, 123, 403. — [5]) I. C. II. 115, 283-4, 287.

1629 and 1640 was carried on solely in English ships [1]). When the Civil War broke out, the Dutch managed nearly the whole trade of the English West-Indian Colonies. Cromwell's Navigation Act was intended to provoke the Dutch and to get the portion of the trade which concerned England out of their hands. It forbade importation or exportation of goods between Asia, Africa and America, and England except in English ships that were manned with English crews. What this meant to the Dutch will be clear to those who know that Amsterdam was at that time the centre of the world trade, and that Dutch mercantile fleets appeared in China, on the Gold Coast, in America, on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, in the Moluccas, the eastern Levant, Norway, the Baltic coast of Russia and Sweden [2]).

The Act of 1660 insisted that the shipping should be English built as well as owned by Englishmen, and it prohibited aliens from being merchants or factors in English plantations; admirals and governors of the plantations were to drive out the Dutch from taking any part in the English colonial trade. Goods from the Mediterranean ports might not be brought from Dutch depots, but only direct from the producing countries, with the exception, allowed in 1651, of silk or silk goods, which might be imported from Holland or Flanders, if the owners made oath that they had been brought overland from Italy. The act of 1651 also prohibited importation of fish under pain of forfeiture; this penalty was relaxed in 1660, but double alien customs were imposed on ling, cod, herring, whalebone or blubber imported as a merchant's speculation, and not by the owners of the ship who had prepared the cargo [3]).

This Act also dealt a blow at the Scotch weaving trade, for the Scots had little shipping, and they used to send considerable quantities of cloth to the American colonies, employing Dutch ships for the purpose [4]).

Merchant-Adventurers

The English had without doubt found it much easier to oust the Hansards or Steelyard Merchants from the foreign trade. This

[1]) Gr. 518. — [2]) te W. II. 603; I. C.II. 110-1; Gr. 579. — [3]) I. C. II. 111. — [4]) A. I. 218-9; I. C. II. 334.

was chiefly owing to the action of the Merchant-Adventurers, who in 1551 complained that those merchants, who were far from popular already, had abused their privileges, and urged on the Privy Council that they ought to forfeit them. It is said that the real reason was that they had engrossed the whole wool trade to the detriment of the English, that the foreign merchants of Antwerp and Hamburg monopolized the markets of England and "set such prices, both on what they imported and exported, as they pleased, and broke all other merchants" [1]). After mature consideration their special privileges were resumed [2]), and in the reign of Elizabeth the ancient Steelyard was altogether deserted [3]). A century later Pepys frequently alludes to the Rhenish wine tavern on the ground floor of the "Styllyard" [4]), and it may be interesting in connexion with it to state that one of the rights of the Hansards was to sell Rhenish wines by retail [5]).

The various companies of Merchant-Adventurers, the origin of which we traced in the preceding period, played a very important part in the 16th and 17th centuries [6]). When, in the 16th century, the old trading intercourse with Germany had broken down, there was frequent communication with the Netherlands, and among the many Englishmen who stayed in these countries for a longer or shorter time, and thus became familiar with Dutch institutions and methods, the Merchant-Adventurers formed a large proportion, and the modification of English institutions and habit of thought was perhaps brought about by them as much as by the Low Dutch refugees in England [7]).

According to the constitution given them by Henry VII. in 1505, their headquarters were to be at Calais, where they got into difficulties with the Merchants of the Staple as to their rights and jurisdiction [8]). Ever since 1407 they had had a consul at Bruges, and when Antwerp became the centre of the world trade and the great mart of English trade in the reign of Charles V. [9]), the importance of the Merchant-Adventurers in this town is evident from the fact that the annual export of English wool and drapery to Flanders was estimated at more than two millions in value [10]). There were then a large number of English offices at Antwerp, and

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[1]) M.XIX. — [2]) I. C. I. 497; Sur. 31, 210; Ann. 606. — [3]) I. C. I. 422. — [4]) P. II. 316. — [5]) I. C. I. 422. — [6]) *Ibid.* 416. — [7]) A. I 193-4. — [8]) I. C. I. 495. — [9]) Gr. 389, 411. — [10]) *Ibid.* 395.

it is said that 30000 hands conveyed their goods to the heart of Europe [1]). Exporting wool to Flanders seems to have been so profitable a business, that about 1541 the Norfolk weavers could not get wool enough for their manufacture of yarn, as most of the wool was exported to Flanders by regrators, against whom a statute had to be made [2]).

At the time of the troubles in Flanders in the middle of the century, Edward VI. intended to draw continental merchants from Antwerp to Southampton by opening a great mart at this town, but the project could not be carried into execution owing to the privileges of the Hansards and the Merchants of the Staple, as well as to the unwillingness of the Merchant-Adventurers to quit Antwerp; it is not certain that a serious attempt was made to carry out the project [3]). The extent of the wool trade with Flanders at the time can be inferred from the fact that in 1551 a wool fleet of sixty sail was bound for Antwerp [4]).

When the trade of the Staplers had practically come to an end at the time when the English lost Calais, the Merchant-Adventurers were thriving [5]), and together with the Eastland Company succeeding to the business of the Hanse League.

The difficulties between the Netherlands and Spain caused the Merchant-Adventurers to break up their factory at Antwerp and remove to Hamburg. In 1563 the Council of Philip at Brussels had issued a proclamation at Antwerp and other places "that no English shippe with clothes should come into any places of their low countries". The causes alleged were the plague in London and other English towns, the raising of "imposts aswel upon goods inwards as outwards, as well upon Englishmen as upon strangers", the prohibition by parliamentary statute of "divers wares and commodities out of Flanders or other places being wrought there", and of Englishman or stranger shipping out any white clothes undrest, being of the price above 4 pound, without licence, etc." In reply to this the Queen, at the request of the Merchant-Adventurers, caused the wool fleet to be discharged, and the English cloth fleet was sent to Emden in 1564 [6]). From February 1565 to March 1566 there were five English commissioners at Bruges to try and come to an understanding. They agreed to refer the whole

[1]) de H. II. 40. — [2]) I. C. I. 517. — [3]) *Ibid.* 495-6. — [4]) B. W. M. I. 18. — [5]) I. C. II. 119. — [6]) Ann. 656; A. I. 201.

matter to the princes on both sides, and if they could not agree, the merchants were to have 40 days to repair home with their merchandise [1]). When in 1568 Spanish treasure-ships from Spain to the Netherlands were taken by the English, the Merchant-Adventurers at Antwerp and their goods were arrested by order of Alva, a fate shared a few months later by the Merchants of the Staple at Bruges [2]). This happened at the time when Cecil was urging Elizabeth to a war in the Low Countries against Alva, but as a war would have broken half the merchants in London, it could not be thought of, and the only thing Elizabeth could do was seizing treasure on its way to Flanders and laying a temporary embargo on shipping either side the sea [3]).

The Merchant-Adventurers remained at Hamburg till they were driven out some 10 years later by the Hansards. It was then that Elizabeth retaliated by depriving the Hansards of all the special privileges enjoyed in England, and placing them on the same footing as other aliens, at the same time granting a charter to the Prussian or Eastland Company [4]).

When the Merchant-Adventurers were expelled from the Empire in 1582, they founded a factory at Middelburg [5]). The Scotch staple at Campfer (Veere) dates from 1586 [6]).

The Merchant-Adventurers suffered a severe blow in 1608, when James I. endeavoured to develop the arts of dressing and dyeing cloth. Though they lost their charter, the company was not broken up, and as James's attempt failed, they revived at Hamburg and Dordrecht in 1615 [7]).

In 1592 many Englishmen had established large cloth manufactories in twelve Dutch towns, and the number of these merchants increased greatly afterwards [8]). This increase was probably owing to the 140 Walloon families who migrated from Canterbury and other English towns to Holland in consequence of Laud's measures [9]). In the hope of stamping out this new industry in the Netherlands, Parliament reduced the fines and amended the restrictions of the Company, but in 1634 their privileges were again confirmed, though the fines for admission were definitely fixed [10]).

In 1621 they had removed from Middelburg to Delft, from

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[1]) Ann. 658-9. — [2]) *Ibid.* 662. — [3]) Gr. 389-90. — [4]) I. C. II. 24-5. — [5]) *Ibid.* 119. — [6]) I. C. I. 312. — [7]) *Ibid.* II. 120-1. — [8]) de H. II. 68; I. C. II. 340. — [9]) *ante* pp. 110-1; I. C. II. 120. — [10]) *Ibid.* 120-1.

where the factory was transferred to Rotterdam in 1635, where they remained twenty years; for in 1655 they went to Dordrecht, where the Scottish Court of Veere also resided for a short time in the middle of the century. At the outbreak of the third Dutch war in 1672 the Merchant-Adventurers left Dordrecht for Hamburg, where their principal factory had been for many years [1]).

The Long Parliament had continued the company by ordinance in 1643. Besides the factories at Dordrecht and Hamburg, they had Courts at London, York, Newcastle and Hull after the Restoration. There were hardly any at Exeter, and there were complaints from the West of England clothiers, that they were detrimental to England and especially to Devon; they were accused of making a wrong use of their command of the Dutch market. In spite of these complaints, they retained their privileges and drove a thriving trade at Hamburg in the early years of the 18th century, when many shiploads of wool went to Holland from Colchester, serges and other goods from Exeter and Topsham in whole fleets, and other coarse cloth from Hull [2]).

Financial Relations

Among the numbers of refugees who came to England in the 16th century, there were many men of business and capitalists, for they are generally spoken of as a numerous body; in 1616 there were 183 alien merchants in London [3]).

One of the objects for which Edward VI. conceived the project of making a mart of Southampton [4]), was the import of bullion by continental merchants, and this lack of gold in England may be explained by the fact that soon after the first incursion of Low Dutch merchants after the Diet of Worms, the Council feared that the Kingdom would be depleted of its gold altogether, since gold coins were rated much higher in terms of silver in Flanders than in England [5]). By 1561 base foreign coins were so plentiful in England that by proclamation it was forbidden to circulate foreign gold and silver coins in the Kingdom, except the French and the Flemish gold coins [6]). Elizabeth had a mass of base coin collected

[1]) Dr. te Lintum in *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (1904). March 20, 22; June 25, 27; July 19, 20.
[2]) I. C. II. 121; Smith I. LXXXIX. 346. — [3]) A. I. 195, 201. — [4]) *ante* p. 145. — [5]) I. C. I. 542. — [6]) Ann. 647.

and recoined to her great profit and to the credit of those who did the work. The father of Gerard Malynes, a mint-master, who had emigrated to Antwerp about 1552, returned to England in connexion with it, when Elizabeth obtained the assistance of skilled Flemish workmen. The chief refiner employed by Sir Thomas Gresham for the purpose was Daniel Wolstat of Antwerp. About 1586 Gerard Malynes was appointed one of the Commissioners of trade in the Low Countries "for settling the value of monies" [1]).

No wonder that among the Dutch capitalists in London there should have been such as Erasmus Vandepere, who made a scheme concerning a bank for money, and that loans were obtained from Dutch denizens [2]). Even in the 17th century banking was not yet a separate business, but a profitable branch of the trade carried on by goldsmiths [3]), and we know that there were 184 aliens among them in 1622 [4]).

In 1611 a royal proclamation was issued against "all such persons as transport and carrie away gold into any forrayne parts, yet such was the presumption of this tyme, that verie great quantities of English golde were exported of marchants, as well English, French as Dutch, but chiefely by the Dutch, being all stirred thereunto by the great and present gaines arising thereby" [5]).

The presence of strangers was considered very detrimental to the nation, because they made much money, and they were even charged with having sent no less than £ 274000 out of the country in three years. There was a suit in the Star Chamber, and 18 men were condemned to pay £ 138000, later, when Caron had interceded, reduced to £ 20000. In 1617 the Dutch in London had lent the King £ 20000 and now this loan with overdue interest amounting to £ 6000 made up the required amount. A few months later Caron appealed to the King for re-imbursement of £ 26000 of his own money [6]).

Lord Lucas adverted to the State's coin in a speech in the House of Lords in 1670-1 in the following terms: "It is evident that there is scarcity of money; for all the parliament's money called *breeches* (a fit stamp for the coin of the Rump) is wholly vanished — the King's proclamation and the Dutch have swept it all away" [7]).

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[1]) I. C. II. 63-4; D. N. B. 36: 9-11. — [2]) A. I. 206 *note* [1]. — [3]) *Ibid.* 205. — [4]) *ante* p. 126-7. — [5]) Ann. 912. — [6]) M.XXX-XXXIII. — [7]) P. II. 146 *note* [1].

The Bank of England was established in 1694 in imitation of that of Amsterdam [1]).

We have already seen that the draining of the fens was financiered by Dutch capitalists in London as well as in Holland, and it was alleged before the commission on trade in 1669, by Mr. Titus, that a great part of the money employed in rebuilding London was Dutch, though others say it was no more than £ 1000 [2]). In 1616 the Dutch sent King Charles II. a great present of money to stop the match with Portugal and the sending of two ships to the East Indies [3]).

Taxes were levied on internal trade after the example of the Dutch. In 1643 Pym introduced the excise on ale, beer, cider and other beverages; in 1644 flesh, victuals, salt, starch, textile goods and all sorts of commodities were charged with this duty. This tax, named after the Dutch one, of which it was an imitation, was incorporated into the fiscal system of the country in 1660. This imitation of the Dutch in national finance was the outcome of close business connexion between a class of wealthy men of alien extraction and persons in authority [4]).

That this was conscious imitation is evident from the works by Sir William Petty, the English economist, who studied at Utrecht and Amsterdam, and matriculated as a student of medicine at Leyden in 1644. When at Paris he corresponded with Dr. John Pell, the mathematician at Amsterdam. He became one of the founders of the Royal Society. As a political economist he was in favour of the example of Holland in connexion with taxation [5]). Pepys wrote on February 29, 1663-4: "He (Sir Philip Worwick) showed me a discourse of his concerning the Revenues of this and foreign States. That the Hollanders have the best manner of tax, which is only on the expence of provisions, by an excise; and do conclude that no other tax is proper for England but a pound-rate, or excise upon the expence of provisions" [6]).

In the 18th century we hear again of the English copying Dutch methods of taxation, in imitation of which a tax on servants was adopted in 1777, as also on sales by auction. In 1778 a tax was laid on inhabited-houses, levied at a per centage of the

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[1]) I. C. II. 392. — [2]) A. I. 205. — [3]) P. II. 2. — [4]) I. C. II. 219; A. I. 208. — [5]) E. I. 417; D. N. B. 45: 113-8. — [6]) P. IV. 60; V. 436.

annual value. North levied a succession duty similar to that of Holland, and described by Adam Smith [1]).

The erection of the Royal Exchange in 1567 was probably also due to the great increase in the number of merchants at the time. An interesting account of it is given by Stow: "The City of London being of very late yeares, much encreased in people and generall trafique with all Christian nations: so as at this time not only the native merchants and the retaillers and shopkeepers were multiplied and encreased both in wealth and number, but also the City was wonderously replenished with great store of merchants strangers from many forfaine (*sic*) nations residing now in London, whose general repair to this City, was partly for their own saffeties because of the civill warr in France and Flaunders, whose confluence in London was now grown to an unknown greatness in respect of former ages, all which merchants and tradesmen as well English as strangers, for there generall making of bargains, contracts and comerce they did usually meet twice every day in Lombard street (like as they do now, in the Royall Exchange) but for as much as their meetinge was then unpleasant and troublesome by reason of walking and talking in an open narrow street which street beareth the name of the Lombard Merchants which of former time used to walk there at their usual howers, being there constrained either to endure all extremities of weather, viz. heat and cold, snow and raine, or else to shelter themselves in shoppes, for redresse whereof uppon good advise the citizens of London bought divers times houses and many small tenements in Cornehill, and pulled them downe and made the ground fair and plain to build upon, the charge whereof cost them above five thousand pound and then the citie gave that ground unto Sir Thomas Gresham, to the end he should build A Burse or faire place for the assembly of marchants like to that of Antwerp, and the said Sir Thomas Gresham laid the first stone thereof the 7th of June and the whole worke was fully finished in November the next yeare 1567, and then the marchants held their meetings at this Burse for it was generally so called until the Queene came thither which was the 23th of Januarie following, and then by her owne

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[1]) I. C. II. 547-8.

mouth caused it to be proclaimed that it should for ever be called the Royal Exchange" [1]).

The Exchange was built, it is said, by a Flemish architect, and Flemish workmen [2]). After the sack of Antwerp, a third of the merchants of that town paced it [3]).

It was the regulated companies of the earlier part of the 17th century which had a very active share in gradually driving the Dutch out of the colonial and carrying trade [4]), although this object was not at first evident, since in 1610 license was granted to the East India Company to admit merchant strangers into their society to trade and have the same privileges as natives of England [5]). Some years afterwards there arose serious difficulties between the East India Companies of Holland and England [6]). In 1630 extraordinary ambassadors were sent by the States General to arrange a payment of £ 800000 due by the Dutch Company to that of England [7]). Yet, Sir Josiah Child, a director and afterwards Chairman of the English Company, and writer on political economy, imitated the "wise Dutch", as he called them, in which he was supported by his brother, Sir John Child, the military governor of the British Indian settlements [8]).

The Dutch Company introduced tea into Europe in 1610. It was first imported into England from Holland about 1650, the first consignment of it being received from Bantam in 1669 [9]).

Political Relations

In tracing the political relations between England and the Low Dutch Countries during the 16th and 17th centuries, we shall see how those between England and the Netherlands grew more and more intimate as time went on, and as the importance of the northern Provinces increased. When last we referred to these relations, we dealt with the intercourse and meetings between Henry VIII. and Charles V. in 1520. In the next year Wolsey was met by the Emperor at a mile from Bruges, where the Cardinal was going

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[1]) Ann. 667; Sur. 173. — [2]) de H. II. 43. — [3]) Gr. 407. — [4]) A. I. 202. — [5]) M.XXIX. — [6]) *Ibid.* XXXI. — [7]) M.XXXIII. — [8]) D. N. B. 10: 244-5. — [9]) P. I. 249 *note* [8].

for the purpose. He remained at Bruges for thirteen days and then returned to England [1]). In 1522 Wolsey welcomed the Emperor at Dover, after Dorset and others had met him at Gravelines. By easy stages the Emperor travelled from Dover to Greenwich, where he was met by the King, with whom he continued his way to London. Charles visited various places, spent a week at Windsor and was at Winchester about a month after he had left Dover. His navy of 180 "goodlie ships" lay ready for him before Hampton [2]).

In 1523 the Earl of Suffolk marched from Calais into Picardy, where the Lord of Iselston (Egmont, Heer van IJsselstein?) joined him with an army of 3000 footmen and 500 horsemen, Spaniards, Almaines, Cleveners and others [3]).

Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, who between 1502 and 1510 had been clerk or secretary to the English merchants at Antwerp, and in 1512 a merchant trading at Middelburg, brought about the marriage of Henry VIII. and Anne of Cleves in 1539; the negotiations for it brought several German princes and the Chancellor of William, Duke of Cleves, Juliers, Guelders and Berg to London and Windsor. When the marriage had been resolved on, several Englishmen, some sent by the King, some by Cromwell, and others voluntarily, went to see the Lady Anne. Great jousts were held at Westminster, after having been proclaimed in France, Flanders, Scotland and Spain [4]).

In 1543 English troops joined the Emperor's, consisting of Spaniards, Walloons and Dutch soldiers, and laid siege to Landarsey (Landrécy?) [5]).

In 1544 a large English army crossed the Channel to Calais and on their way to Puterell (Montreuil?) joined the Emperor's army commanded by "Countie of Buren" (van Egmont, graaf van Buren), "admirall of the Low Countreyes", and together they laid siege to "Puterell" [6]).

When in 1548-9 there were risings in Cornwall, Devon and in the East and Midland Counties, a large number of German and Italian mercenaries were brought into England, and Lord Gray was sent with a number of "Almaine and Germaine horsemen" to suppress "commotion" in Cornwall. About the same time the

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[1]) Ann. 515. — [2]) *Ibid.* 517. — [3]) *Ibid.* 520. — [4]) *Ibid.* 576, 579; Gr. 348. — [5]) Ann. 587. — [6]) *Ibid.* 585.

Scots with the aid of the French King, who sent "1000 French and Almains", besieged the town of Hadington. The English garrison received the help of 1300 horsemen from Berwick, while an English army of 16000 men, among whom there were "4000 Almaines" commanded by Captain Courtpenie marched to the relief of the town. The siege was raised without fighting, and after the Earl of Shrewsbury had victualled the town and stored it with fresh soldiers, he went back to England. There were frequent skirmishes after this between the English garrison and the French and Scots, until the Earl of Rutland arrived with 3000 Almains and as many borderers, caused the town to be razed, and brought their ordnance and carriage to Berwick. The next year a Fleming went from Berwick to London in order to murder two captains who had served at Boulogne, for which crime he and his accomplices were hanged [1]).

When in 1553 Queen Mary came from Wanstead in Essex to London for her coronation, "the number of velvet coats that did ride before her, as well strangers as others, were 740". Anne of Cleves was present at the ceremony. It seems that on this occasion there was a performance given by one Peter, a Dutchman, who "stoode on the weathercocke of Paules Steeple holding a streamer in his hand of five yardes long, and waving thereof, stoode sometimes on the one foote, and shooke the other, and then kneeled on his knees, to the great marvell of all people. He had made two scaffoldes under him, one above the Crosse, having Torches and Streamers set on it, and one other over the bole of the crosse, likewise set with Streamers and Torches, which coulde not burne the Winde was so great, the sayde Peter hadde sixteene pound thirteene shillings and foure pence given him by the cittie for his costs and paines, and all his stuffe" [2]).

In January 1554 the Count of Egmont and other ambassadors were sent to England by the Emperor to negotiate a marriage between Mary and his son Philip. The Queen was to receive 30000 ducats a year for her jointure with "all the low-countrey of Flanders", and the issue "should be heire aswell to the Kingdome of Spaine, as also to the sayd low-country". The Emperor's ambassador was present when the marriage-ceremony took place [3]).

In 1555 the Prince of Orange arrived at Gravesend, and when

[1] Gr. 358; Ann. 595-6, 603. — [2]) Ann. 613, 616-7. — [3]) *Ibid.* 617, 624.

he visited the Tower, he gave to the gunners ten pieces of Flemish gold at 5 sh. each, and another ten pieces to the warders as a reward [1]). In the next year Philip went with Arundel, Pembroke, Huntingdon and other English gentlemen by Calais to Brussels, from where they returned more than half a year later [2]).

A few months afterwards the King went to Flanders once more to prepare for a war against France, and the Queen sent 1000 horsemen and 4000 foot to aid him. The Earl of Pembroke went in command of the troops, while Lord Robert Dudley was master of the Ordnance. With the help of these English troops Philip took St. Quentin. The governor of Calais marched upon Dunkirk past Gravelines, near which place Lamoraal van Egmont, Prince of Gaveren, encountered the French. English ships took part in the battle firing from the sea. When the French had been defeated, the English sailed with the Flemings to Brittany and took Conquet. After this the English retired to the seaside, but the Flemings, covetous of spoil, went farther inland, where 400 or 500 of them were killed by the French army [3]).

In 1558 a long peace conference took place at Cateau Cambrésis, near Cambray, where the Prince of Orange, Alva, the Bishop of Arras, the Bishop of Ely, Lord William Howard, Baron of Effingham, and Dr. Nicholas Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York, were present [4]). The English had to give up Calais and Guisnes, their last possessions on the continent [5]).

In 1562 the Earl of Warwick's troops were on very friendly terms with 2000 footmen and 500 horsemen under the "Rheingrave"in Normandy, where the English troops had landed at Newhaven [6]).

Contact between English and Flemings on the sea was not always of a friendly nature, though it was brought about, as we have seen, by a desire on the part of the English to do damage to the Spaniards in Flanders. Thus in 1568 William Holstoke brought up to London eleven Flemish hoys, containing a large cargo of French wines [7]). It may in reality have been some of the secret aid which Elizabeth "dribbled out" to the Prince of Orange, in her cold indifference to the heroic struggle in Flanders, when hundreds of her Protestant subjects stole across the Channel to serve as volun-

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[1]) Ann. 626. — [2]) *Ibid.* 627. — [3]) *Ibid.* 631, 633-4. — [4]) *Ibid.* 638. — [5]) Gr. 369. — [6]) Ann. 650-1. — [7]) *Ibid.* 661.

teers in the Low Countries, and Norfolk was appealing to Philip, after the suppression of the Northern Revolt, for the intervention of a Spanish army, a request which was supported by the numbers of Roman Catholic refugees at Antwerp, who were gathering round the fugitive leaders of the Revolt. The Queen would perhaps have done more on behalf of the Dutch, if the wealthier English merchants had not dreaded the ruin of the Flemish trade. Yet the people in general were not averse to a share in the struggle in Flanders, and the numbers of volunteers increased rapidly. Dutch privateers found shelter in English ports, and English vessels with the Dutch flag in top attacked the Spanish traders [1]).

When in 1573 the Earl of Worcester went to the baptism of the daughter of the French King, he and many of his company were robbed on the sea by French and Flemish pirates. Holstoke was at once sent to scour the seas from the North Foreland to Falmouth, and he took 20 ships of English, French and Flemish pirates, altogether 300 men of all nations, who were sent to Sandwich, Dover, Wight and Portsmouth. Their fifteen prizes, merchantmen of various nations, were set at liberty [2]). A few years later, in 1576, there were many complaints of Flushing pirates, who daily robbed English vessels. Holstoke was sent with 1100 men and in six weeks' time took eight Flushing ships and prizes, and 200 "sea-rovers" in them, who were sent to prison at various places [3]).

In 1581 the Duke of Alençon, Monsieur de France, was in London to sue for the Queen's hand. The Low Countries sent ambassadors to observe the success and inclination of the Duke, and when they perceived that his chief desire was for greater authority, honour, wealth and dignity, they meant to impose it on him, if it might please the Queen and her Council to "stand auspicious to their general suite"; agents and commissioners were sent over and they found the Queen "very forward to doe them any kindness, as well as supply their weakness, and to ease their iminent misery, and daunger" [4]).

The result of it all was, that the Duke consented to be their protector; he embarked at Sandwich for Flushing, accompanied by Leicester, Lord Hounsdon, Lord Charles Howard, Lord Willoughby, Lord Windsor, Lord Sheffield, Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Audley, Sir George Cary, Master John and Master Robert

[1]) Gr. 389-91, 413-4. — [2]) Ann. 673-5. — [3]) *Ibid.* 680. — [4]) *Ibid.* 689.

Cary, Sir William Russell, Sir William Drury, Sir George Bower and George Carew, with several other Knights and many gentlemen of note and quality, besides the followers and attendants of Leicester, who had 100 gentlemen and 300 others of inferior rank in his retinue; Hounsdon and Howard had 150 each. In 15 vessels they sailed for Flushing, where they were met by the Prince of "Orendge" and other leaders of the States, with whom they travelled by Middelburg to Antwerp, from where the Englishmen returned to England when the solemnities were over [1]).

After Alençon's treacherous attack upon Antwerp in 1583, he retired by Malines to Denremonde, where he was closely watched by General Norris, with thirteen companies of Scots and English. "From this time", the chronicler adds, "the English were in great estimation with the States" [2]).

Sir Peter Norris had been appointed Field Marshal of the States about 1580. He had defeated the army of Don John near Ghent. He had all command in Friesland, surprised Malines and was at Utrecht at the time of Duke Francis of Valois. When his soldiers mutinied, the mutiny was suppressed with the aid of Sir Francis Vere. After Alençon's behaviour at Antwerp the States invested Norris with fresh power [3]).

In 1585 deputees of the States arrived in London, and it will be interesting to let the chronicler himself describe to us, in his own spelling, how they were received and what they did. They "were lodged about the Tower Streete, and had their diet for the time of their abode here very worshipfully appointed (all at the charges of her Majesty) in the clothworkers hall in Minchone Lane, near to the sayd Tower Streete. They presented to her Majesty the Sovereignty of those countries, to wit, of Brabant, but the commission (for the siege of Antwerpe not full authorized), of Guelder, of Flaunders, of Holland, Zeland, of Utricht, and of Frieseland, and for Brabant Jaques de Grisegreat baily of Bridges: counsellor of the Frankes for Guelerre Rotgar of Barfold, Gentleman: for Flanders Noell de Garste Lorde of Shonewall: for Holland John Wander doest, Lord of Nortwike: Josse de Menin pensionarie of Dordregth, John of Old Barnevelt, pensionarie of Rotradame and D. Francis Maello: for Zeland Jacob Dales, counsellor and pensionarie of Tergoest: for Utricht, Paulus Buis, D. of the lawes: for Frise-

[1]) *Ann.* 689-90. — [2]) *Ibid.* 691. — [3]) *Ibid.* 804.

land S. Fritzma, gentleman, H. Ansona president of Friseland, and Lads langema gentleman. All of these falling on their knees before her majestie, and so remaining for a long space" — follows Josse de Menin's oration in French" [1]).

The Queen was resolute in her refusal of the Low Countries [2]), but three months after the arrival of the deputies, she issued a book informing her subjects of the reasons why she resolved to aid them: "The Queene, after many Letters, Messengers, Orations, and humble supplications: in meere pitty of their present misery, and hope to gayne them peace, upon moderate tearmes, utterly renouncing such benefits, high titles, and claime to those provinces, as they offered her, and supposed she would have accepted: at length was pleased, uppon delivery of Brill and Flushing, into her possession, as hostages for her men, and assurance for reburs-ing such sums of money, as uppon the agreement she had already disbursed not only to admit them her subjects voluntary ayd" [3]). Brill and Flushing were occupied by the English until 1616 [4]).

That Elizabeth lent her aid but half-heartedly is apparent also from the fact that the soldiers pressed in London were furnished and clothed in red coats at the charges of the companies and citizens. They went to Holland and Zealand as numbers of others from other parts of England and Scotland had gone before them under general Norris and other officers.

Towards the end of the year Leicester left by Harwich for Flushing with a train of 600 or 700 horse, among them Essex, North, Audley, Russell, Sherley, Bosset, Waller, Clifton and other Knights, squires and gentlemen, in a fleet of 50 sail. At Flushing they were entertained by Sir Philip Sidney, Governor of the town [5]). Prince Maurice, the English ambassador and the "State of the town". Those who hastened to Holland after Leicester were Northumberland, Oxford, Willoughby [6]), Sheffield, Borroughs, Robert and Henry Sidney, and Pelham, Lord Marshal of the Fields. Leicester brought an army of 8000 men to the Netherlands,

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[1]) Ann. 707. — [2]) Gr. 371. — [3]) Ann. 708, 710. — [4]) te W. I. 263.

[5]) Sidney commended Queen Elizabeth for maintaining a fleet of her own ships and of those of "her fast friends the Netherlands" on the coast of Spain (cited in P. VII. 260 *note* [1] from Sir Fulke Greville's "The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney"). Sir Francis Drake was sent on a mission to the Low Countries for the purpose of endeavouring to concert some giant naval expedition (D. N. B. 15: 426-42).

[6]) He died at the Hague.

and the principal commanders were Norris, Vere, Stanley, York the two Morgans, and Williams [1]).

The day after his arrival at Flushing, Leicester sailed towards Middelburg. On the 21st of December, the English fleet was met by some Dutch men-of-war and other vessels with the States of Dordrecht in them, and together they went to this town. On the 23rd the Earl took "scoutes" [2]), and passed to "Rotterdam by a river of fresh water, very narrow, where the boats or scoutes are some by men, some by horses dragged along the river". From Rotterdam Leicester hastened towards "Delph" and on the 27th proceeded to "Dunhage" [3]), where there were many festivities and entertainments in honour of him. Between this date and the 24th of January he kept going up and down between the Hague and Leyden. On the first of March he went to Leyden once more and left two days later for Haarlem, where there were festivities in his honour, and where Essex and Russell mustered and trained 200 horse. On the 10th of March Leicester proceeded to Amsterdam, where there were also festivities and pageants in his honour, among them three allegorical performances by the Rhetorical Chamber "In Liefd' Bloeyende" [4]).

Ten days later he went by Mullen [5]) and Norden [6]) to Utrecht, where he arrived on the 22nd, while Essex went to Lager [7]) on the 26th. The English soldiers were to march to the Hague, but as they had not received their pay, they refused to march and there was a mutiny in Captain Polles' regiment.

On the 30th of March there were feasts at Utrecht, and again on the 23rd of April, when Colonel Martin Skinke was knighted by Leicester in the presence of the Prior of Amerford [8]).

After the English had victualled and provided munition to Grave, they retired and took two sconces. Next there was a review by Leicester of 1300 or 1400 horsemen on a heath between Newkirke [9]) and Amersfoort. On the 7th of May Leicester went from Nijkerk to Arname [10]) by Reine [11]) and Wagonet [12]). The enemy was then driven out of Grave. From Arnhem Leicester proceeded to the camp at Nemegen [13]), where the castle of Lenow [14]) yielded to him. On the 20th Nimeguen surrendered to him, while he was staying

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[1]) Ann. 708-12. — [2]) boats = Dutch *schuiten*. — [3]) the Hague. — [4]) te W. I. 339. — [5]) Muiden. — [6]) Naarden. — [7]) Camp. — [8]) Amersfoort. — [9]) Nijkerk. — [10]) Arnhem. — [11]) Rhenen. — [12]) Wageningen. — [13]) Nijmegen. — [14]) Lent?

at Brankharst [1]), and the next day he returned to Arnhem. On the 23rd Barrikes hoofe [2]) sconce was taken. On Whit Sunday Willoughby, who was lying at Bergenapsome [3]), attacked a convoy coming from Antwerp, and "Berkehoofe" sconce was overthrown by Norris. When the Count of Embricke [4]) had surrendered Grave to the enemy, he was taken prisoner and led before Leicester at "Brunkhurst". On the 31st of May Leicester left Arnhem for Nimeguen and sent 2000 men towards Tille [5]). On the 4th of June Skinke and Captain Williams were sent towards Vendelo [6]) and Leicester left the "Legar" at Nimeguen for Tiel "situate in the Betto [7]), the most fertile or only place of fertility in Guelderland". Leicester proceeded from Tiel to Bomell [8]), visited the castle of Warneborough, and then, leaving 300 Dutchmen at Bommel, down the river Walle [9]) to Garcome [10]) on the 9th.

On the 10th of June letters reached Leicester from Skinke and Williams, to inform him of a night attack on the besiegers of Venlo, and the desertion of the Dutch troops. On the 22nd Venlo was lost to the enemy.

On the 13th Leicester went to Dordrecht, from where he started the next day by boat for Utrecht. On the 23rd he went to Colinborough [11]) to visit the Count, and having gone back to Utrecht, he left this place again for William State [12]) by Dordrecht on the 30th.

Hollocke sent a convoy "from out of Brabant to Berganapsome", which was attacked by troops from Breda under the English captain Welch, who was defeated and made prisoner by Hollocke and Robert Sidney. On the 31st (*sic*) of June Leicester went to Bergen-op-Zoom to the castle of Old Waw [13]); the town had been strongly fortified by Willoughby.

On the 1st of July Leicester proceeded to Suricksea [14]), and the next day went back to Dordrecht; 3000 men were sent from Bergen-op-Zoom to Steenbergen.

On the 3rd Prince Maurice and Sir Philip Sidney marched into Flanders with 4000 footmen and 3000 horse. Sidney took Axell by surprise. Next he came to "Dorpe" or "Drope", where he took 500 "Boores", who were kept to do service. Five sconces were

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[1]) Bronkhorst. — [2]) "Berke hoofe" it says in the margin; Berkenhoeve? — [3]) Bergen-op-Zoom. — [4]) Emmerich. — [5]) Tiel. — [6]) Venlo. — [7]) Betuwe. — [8]) Bommel. — [9]) Waal. — [10]) Gorkum or Gorinchem. — [11]) Culemborg. — [12]) Willemstad. — [13]) Wouw. — [14]) Zierikzee.

taken by the English. On the 8th Maurice returned to Middelburg, leaving everything to be done by Sidney.

On the 10th Colonel Yorke brought to Leicester at the Hague five ensigns taken from the enemy at Axell. Sir Philip Sidney's cornet at Housdon [1]) and some Dutch cornets entered into Brabant, taking booty and spoiling the country, but they were driven back. On the 15th Willoughby was back at Bergen-op-Zoom from Axell and Sir Philip Sidney passed the sea with 3000 men. On the 14th Pelham came to the Hague, and Leicester went to Brill on the 16th "in which passage he took to crosse the water at the Dorpe of Sluce so called" [2]). On the 19th he returned to the Hague. On the 16th the town of Neuce(?) had been taken by the enemy; it was burnt by "the Lackies and Boyes belonging to our soldiers".

On the 22nd the garrison of Sutfin [3]) came to Arnhem. Captain Wilson, Governor of Arnhem, requested Master Anthony Sherley to revenge the injuries done, and near Zutphen they succeeded in recapturing the booty. Master Butlers, Cornet at Deventrie [4]), took booty from Zutphen or "Suthfield", and Master Robert Sidney's Cornet at Gertrenberge [5]) passed with some of Hollocke's horse towards Breda and took 600 oxen.

Leicester left the Hague for Utrecht on the 2nd of August, dined at Tergowe, and continued his way by Oden Water [6]) and Mountford [7]); at Utrecht he was received by Lord North.

On the 29th of July Mewes(?) and Alpin(?) had been taken by the enemy of Berke(?). On the 3rd of August Pelham, the general of the Horse, and others went a long way into Brabant, arrived at the Dorpe Osell Stilvoringbenke [8]), and soon came to a town not far from Hattingambusse [9]). Pelham had 200 "wild Irish kernes, neither fearing shot nor threat", who burnt the town and then went back to "Gerteneberge" [5]).

On the 5th of August Leicester went from Utrecht to Tergouwe and on the 7th back to Utrecht, by Odon Waters [6]). On the 19th he proceeded to Reyne [10]), and the next day to Arnhem. A ship of munition sent by the Bishop of Cologne to the prince, was taken by Skinke at Berke. On the 17th Norris had crossed the IJssel by Arnhem sconce, and on the 21st Pelham did the same with his

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[1]) Heusden? — [2]) Hellevoetsluis? — [3]) Zutphen. — [4]) Deventer. — [5]) Geertruidenberg. — [6]) Oudewater. — [7]) Montfoort. — [8]) Hilvarenbeek. — [9]) 's-Hertogenbosch. — [10]) Rhenen.

Irish kernes going towards the "leagar". On the 24th the "leagar" rose and marched to Eltham [1]) — "nether Eltham and upper Eltham" — where Leicester came from Arnhem on the 27th to march the whole army to Dowsborough [2]) on the 30th. The Scottish regiment was sent to the island on the north side. The army contained English and Dutch regiments, and besides Leicester there were Sherley, Stanley, Pelham, Audley and Norris. When Doesburg had yielded, siege was laid to Zutphen. Skinke, who had meanwhile got out of Bercke, joined the besiegers. On the 15th Leicester went to Deventer, but soon returned when he heard that the prince was advancing upon Zutphen. Two years before Hollocke with all his forces and the English soldiers in Holland had in vain besieged Zutphen for nine months.

In the action before Zutphen on the 22nd of September Sidney was wounded, and then conveyed to Arnhem, where he died of his wound on the 17th of October.

On the 29th of September the besiegers set upon the "lope sconce" of the enemy. On the fifth of October many of the horse came to Deventer and went from there to Langham [3]). On the 7th Leicester went to Arnhem to see Sidney. When the latter had died, his body was sent by water to Flushing, where it was kept a week. Seven representatives of the States of Holland attended his funeral in London.

On the 18th of October Leicester went back to Utrecht; meanwhile 1200 English soldiers got secretly in small parties into Deventer, where Pelham met the Burgomaster in the Statehouse [4]). He took possession of the town.

On the 23rd the States of those parts sat in council with Leicester at Utrecht. On the 28th Leicester travelled by Rotterdam to the Hague, where he arrived the next day. On the 8th of November he visited Delft, from where he went to Rotterdam on the 16th; the next day he left for Dordrecht, from where he went by water to Flushing on the 18th. He was compelled by the ice to land at "Drop, a poor village" and to proceed to Rotterdam in a wagon by land. From this town he went by water to Flushing, but lack of wind "caused his stay against the Isle of Alcoro" [5]). In the

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[1]) Elten. — [2]) Doesburg. — [3]) Prof. Swaen suggests Langham = Laugham = Lochem. — [4]) Dutch *stadhuis* = town hall. — [5]) Walcheren.

morning he landed at "Camphere" [1]) and went in a wagon by Middelburg to Flushing, from where he sailed for England [2]).

If all these details are a proof of the inaction of Leicester's troops [3]), however busy Leicester himself may have been in going about the country, they are certainly evidence of the close contact with the natives of Holland, which must have been the result of this travelling about and the feasts and entertainments given in honour of the leaders. This will account for and may justify the rather circumstantial account we have derived from Stow's pages, from which in conclusion we will quote the following passage, which expresses what Leicester is supposed to have said, when he had got back to England: "And as hee sate in his Chamber, he clapped his hands upon his Leggs saying (if God give me leave) these legges of mine shall never goe againe into Holland, Lett the States gett other to serve their mercenary turne if they will to make themselves rich, for mee they shall not have" [4]).

It was also at sea that English and Dutch soldiers together fought the common enemy.

In 1596 a large English-Dutch fleet, about 150 sail, made ready at Plymouth. The Dutch Admiral was Jan van Duvenvoorde, Lord of Warmond, the Vice-Admiral was Jan Gerbrantsen; the English were commanded by Lord Charles Howard of Effingham. The soldiers were mustered at Plymouth, and trained every day. The fleet sailed for Cadiz on the 14th of June. After a victory at sea, Essex, accompanied by Sussex, "Lodowike of Nassaw" and others, landed with 8000 men. At Cadiz Lodowike of Nassaw, Jan van Duvenvoorde, Melchior Lebben, Peter Regemorte and N. Medkerke were knighted. In the early days of August the fleet was back at Plymouth [5]).

In the same year preparations were made for an expedition to the Azores. Ten men-of-war were sent by the States of Holland. The expedition sailed from Plymouth about the 9th of July, but they were driven back by a storm, which kept them at Plymouth for six weeks. About the end of October they had returned from the expedition [6]).

[1]) (Kamp) Veere.

[2]) Ann. 710, 713-8, 729-40. Stow had all this minute information from a near relation, Henry Archer, one of Leicester's guards (Ann. 740).

[3]) Gr. 416. — [4]) Ann. 712. — [5]) *Ibid.* 770-6. — [6]) *Ibid.* 783-4.

When in 1600 a number of English soldiers in the Low Countries were sent to Ireland, numbers of men in London, in Essex and other counties, were pressed and sent to the Netherlands in their stead, and in the middle of 1601 the citizens of London equipped another 1000, and the counties another 8000, to join the English troops in Holland, while in May 1602 London again pressed a large number of men for the same purpose [1]). As in this year the plague raged in the Low Countries, many of the English soldiers went back to England [2]).

In 1603 the youngest son of the Prince of Orange, Mr. Fulke and the "learned Mons. Barnevile [3]) came to London as commissioners from the United Provinces, and were lodged in Bishopsgate Street.

The treaty of peace between England, Ireland, Spain and France, put an end to all English help to the Netherlands [4]). In August 1604 followed the fall of Ostend, where there had been many English soldiers [5]).

In the next year the Earl of Hertford went as ambassador to Albertus and Isabella of Austria at Brussels. They sailed from Dover to Dunkirk, and travelled from there to Brussels by Nieuwpoort, Bruges, Ghent and Aalst. The Earl stayed at Brussels twelve days and then returned to England by Antwerp and Flushing [6]).

It appears that in spite of the treaty with Spain, English sailors and marines had continued to aid the Dutch by "robbing and spoyling the kings friends", for in 1605 James issued a second proclamation by which he recalled home "all saylors, and souldiers serving at sea, under forraine protection.... contrary to the knowne articles of peace" [7]).

It is well known that Sir William Stanley, Hugh Owen and William Baldwin, who were in the Low Countries at the accession of James I., wanted to "restore a Roman Catholic Religion in England", and that Catesby sent Thomas Winter to Flanders to confer with the Constable of Castile who was there, as Spanish aid was hoped for by the conspirators, who also counted upon the aid of the above-named catholics; even the arms needed by those who

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[1]) Ann. 787, 795, 804. — [2]) *Ibid.* 833. — [3]) Barnevelt. — [4]) Ann. 825, 847-51. — [5]) *Ibid.* 855. — [6]) *Ibid.* 861. — [7]) *Ibid.* 870.

were implicated in the Gunpowder Plot, were bought in Flanders [1]).

When in 1610 the united Protestant princes aided with their troops the Marquis of Brandenburg in his claim to the Duchies of Cleveland and Juliers, against the Emperor's forces, there were also English and Scotch troops commanded by Colonel Cecil in Prince Christian of Anhalt's army. Christian of Anhalt paid a visit to King James in this year [2]).

In 1611 Otto, the son of Maurice of Hessia, attended by 30 persons, and accompanied by the young Count of Nassau, son of Prince Maurice, visited both the Universities in England. Two of Otto's chief attendants were knighted. One of the chief attendants was Master Francis Seagar, an Englishman, sworn counsellor to Prince Maurice [3]).

In 1612 the Palsgrave Frederick V. arrived at Gravesend in connexion with his marriage to the Lady Elizabeth. Both the Palsgrave and Prince Maurice were elected Knights of the Garter. The former was installed in person, but Maurice by his deputy "Count Lodwicke of Nassaw" [4]).

The wedding took place on the 14th of February, 1613, and in April the wedded couple sailed from Margate for "Campheere" [5]), but landed at Flushing, where they were met by Maurice and Frederick Henry. The Palsgrave proceeded to the Hague at once, but Elizabeth remained and dined at Flushing. At Middelburg, where she stayed three days, she was feasted at the "State-house". On the 3rd of May she was at Treur, a Dutch mile from Middelburg, where her English convoy, the Lord Admiral and the Lord of Effingham took leave of her. By water she went to Tergooze [6]), and then by Zierikzee to Arnemuiden, Old Towne [7]), Plat and William-state, where she stayed over the night, while her train remained on ship-board. The next day she went by Doort [8]) to Rotterdam, where she was met by her husband. In the afternoon all went by coach via Delft to the Hague, where they stayed with Frederick Henry. Five days later the Palsgrave set out for Heidelberg, but Elizabeth stayed behind and went on the 11th by Leyden to "Harloam" from where she went by water to Amsterdam, where she arrived on the 13th. Here a dramatic performance

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[1]) Ann. 875; Gr. 483. — [2]) Ann. 908. — [3]) *Ibid.* 912-3. — [4]) *Ibid.* 916. — [5]) Campvere = Veere. — [6]) Goes. — [7]) Oude Tonge. — [8]) Dordrecht.

of "The Marriage of Thetis and Peleus" in Dutch was given in her honour by the Players' Company "De Eglentier" [1]). On the 15th she went to Utrecht, "a Free-state towne of it selfe", on the 17th to Ryne [2]), and on the 18th to Arnhem, where she was nobly entertained by "Grave Vernics". On the 20th she travelled on by "Embrick, Wezel, Deusbrooke, Thistle-dorpe, Mullame (a new towne) to Cullen", and so on to Heidelberg, where her English friends and attendants took their leave [3]).

Until this time, though there was peace with Spain, there had been a close alliance with the United Provinces, and this marriage promised English support to the Protestant powers against the House of Austria, but the death of Salisbury and the dissolution of the Parliament in 1614 left James free to begin negotiations with Spain for the marriage of his son with the Infanta. In 1618-20 James refused aid to the Protestant union of the German princes, and threatened war against Holland, "the one power which was earnest in the Palatine's cause". But the fury of the English people caused by the danger to German Protestantism compelled him to suffer Sir Horace Vere to take some English volunteers to the Palatinate, which had been occupied by the Spaniards [4]). Yet James promised Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, that no effectual aid should be sent to the Palatinate; he dismissed those of his ministers who still opposed his policy, and threatened a war with the one Protestant power still in alliance with England [5]).

The interest taken by the English people in what happened in Holland at the time, was very great, and is evidenced by the facts that immediately after the execution of Oldenbarnevelt in 1619 three different pamphlets were spread in England. (1) Barnavelt's Apologie, or Holland's Mysteries, with Marginal Castigations by Rob. Houlderus, Minister of the Word of God, 1618. (2) Newes out of Holland — Concerning Barnavelt and his fellow-prisoners, their Conspiracy against their Native Country with the Enemies thereof — The Oration and Propositions made in their behalf unto the General States of the United Provinces at the Hague by the Ambassadours of the French King etc., 1619. (3) The Arraignment of John van Olden Barnevelt, late Advocate of

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[1]) te W. 361. — [2]) Rhenen. — [3]) Ann. 916. 918-23. — [4]) Gr. 488-90. — [5]) *Ibid.* 492-3.

Holland and West Friesland, Containing the Articles Alleged against him and the Reasons of his Execution, 1619.

Within four months after this execution the King's Company at Black Friars acted "The Tragedy of Sir John of Olden Barnavelt" [1]) and the play called "The Jeweller of Amsterdam or the Hague" by John Fletcher, Nathaniel Field and Philip Massenger, though not entered on the Stationer's Books before 1654, must have been written between 1617 and 1619, when Field was connected with the King's Company, and John van Wely, the Jeweller of Amsterdam, was murdered by John of Paris, the confidential groom of Prince Maurice [2]).

It was not before 1624 that James was forced by Prince Charles and by Buckingham to break with Spain, to enter into a treaty of alliance with Holland, and to start negotiations with the Lutheran Princes of North Germany [3]). It was in this year that both Wriothesley and his father, Southampton, Shakespeare's patron, who was in command of a regiment of English troops at Roozendaal, died at this town within a few days of each other [4]). James had despatched 600 men into the Low Countries [5]).

When there were difficulties between Charles I. and his first Parliament, ending in its dissolution, Buckingham resolved to lure the Commons from their Constitutional struggle by a great military triumph, and for the purpose sailed for the Hague to make a general alliance against the House of Austria, in which efforts he failed [6]).

In January 1641 the young Prince of Orange came over to England with a splendid equipage to make love to the King's eldest daughter [7]), and in July of the same year Evelyn embarked in a Dutch frigate, bound for Flushing, convoyed and accompanied by five other stout vessels, whereof one was a man-of-war [8]). and thus started on his tour through Holland, Flanders and France. For a full account of his tour through the Low Countries we must refer the reader to Evelyn's Diary [9]); here he must be satisfied with those parts of it which bear on our subject. He visited "De Vere" [10]), "where the most ancient and illustrious

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[1]) Lately edited by Dr. Frijlinck. — [2]) de Vr. 282-5; 287. — [3]) Gr. 547. — [4]) Revue de Paris. 15 Juin 1923, p. 888. — [5]) *In* Thomas Middleton. D. N. B. 37: 357-63. — [6]) Gr. 497. — [7]) E. I. 15. — [8]) *Ibid.* 17. — [9]) *Ibid.* 17-37. — [10]) Veere.

Earls of Oxford derive their family, who have spent so much blood in assisting the state during their wars" [1]).

At the Hague Evelyn found Lord Finch, a royalist refugee [2]). In August Evelyn arrived at the "Leagure" about Gennep, where he was received a volunteer in General Goring's regiment [3]). Here he took notice of the "wheelbridge, which engine his Excellency had made to run over the moat when they stormed the castle, as it is since described by the author of 'Hollandia Illustrata' " [4]). — In February 1663-4 Pepys sees "Flandria Illustrata with excellent cuts, with great contents" at his bookseller's [5]) — Six days later Evelyn's "Campaign" was over, and it is interesting to cite his opinion of armies and sieges "(if such that of the United Provinces may be called, where their quarters and encampments are so admirably regular, and orders so exactly observed, as few cities the best governed in time of peace, exceed it for all conveniences), I took my leave of the Leagure and Camerades." He then tells us how he "sailed by Teil — a pretty town named Bommell that had divers English in garrison" [6]).

At Amsterdam he was shown a hospital for travellers and pilgrims, built by Queen Elizabeth, and heard an English sermon at the Presbyterian Congregation [7]). At a Brownist's house he found Lord Finch and one Sir John Fotherbee as his fellow-lodgers, as also an English Carmalite who was going through Germany with an Irish gentleman. As generally all the towns in Holland, he found Amsterdam "so accommodated with graffs, cuts, sluices, moles, and rivers, made by hand". One day he was entertained "at a kind of Tavern, called the Bríloft, appertaining to an Anabaptist" [8]). He also called at the famous Hondius and Bleaw's shop [9]).

At Leyden he visited the grave of Joseph Scaliger, and went to see the colleges and schools, "which are nothing extraordinary, and was complimented with a *matricula* by the *magnificus* Professor, who first in Latin demanded of me where my lodging in the town was, my name, age, birth, and to what Faculty I addicted myself; then, recording my answers in a book, he administered an

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[1]) E. I. 17. — [2]) *Ibid.* 18.

[3]) Goring was afterwards a Lieutenant-General in the Spanish army in the Southern Netherlands (E. I. 406, *note* to p. 19).

[4]) E. I. 19-20. — [5]) P. IV. 34. — [6]) E. I. 20. — [7]) *Ibid.* 22. — [8]) *Ibid.* 23-4. — [9]) *Ibid.* 25.

oath to me that I should observe the statutes and orders of the University whilst I stayed, and then delivered me a ticket, by virtue whereof I was made excise-free; for all which worthy privileges, and the pains of writing, he accepted of a rix-dollar. Here was then the famous Dan Heinsius; the no less famous printer, Elzevir's printing-house and shop, renowned for the politeness of the characters and editions of what he has published through Europe" [1]).

In September he passed through Sedan [2]), where Goring had his winterquarters at the time. At Dordrecht he was present at the reception of the Queen-mother, Marie de Médicis, newly arrived from England on her way to Cologne and attended by Arundel and "Herr van Bredrod". At Bois-le-duc "the new citadel was advancing with innumerable hands, and incomparable inventions for draining off the water out of the fens and morasses about it, being by buckets, mills, cockleas, pumps and the like, in which the Hollanders are the most expert in Europe. Here were now sixteen companies and nine troops of horse" [3]).

On the 18th of September he "went to see that most impregnable town and fort of Hysdune [4]), where I was exceedingly obliged to one Colonel Crombe, the lieut.-governor, who would needs make me accept the honour of being captain of the watch and to give the word this night." At Gorcum he met Sir Kenelm Digby [5]) on his way to Cologne [6]).

At Willemstad he found an English garrison. On his way to Bergen-op-Zoom, "with a gentleman of the Rheingraves in a cart or tumbrel, of two wheels and one horse", he met various parties of Goring's army retiring towards their winterquarters, "the convoy skiffs riding by thousands along the harbour. The fort was heretofore built by the English" [7]).

At Antwerp he had some conference with two English Jesuits, confessors to Colonel Jaye's regiment. They took him to hear a Dutch sermon in the Cloister of Nuns. Passing by the shop of Plantijn he "bought some books, for the namesake only of that famous printer [8]).

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[1]) E. I. 26-7. — [2]) Schiedam. — [3]) E. I. 28. — [4]) Heusden.

[5]) Digby had on his voyage to the Mediterranean captured several Flemish and Spanish ships off Gibraltar on 18 Jan. 1627-8. On 30 March he seized a rich Dutch vessel (D. N. B. 15 : 61).

[6]) E. I. 29. — [7]) *Ibid.* 30. — [8]) *Ibid.* 32-3.

On his way by water to Brussels he was struck with "numerous families inhabiting their vessels and floating dwellings, so built and divided by cabins, as few houses on land enjoyed better accommodation" [1]).

At Brussels he paid a visit to the convent of English nuns, "with whom I sat discoursing most part of the afternoon" [2]). The English Resident at Brussels, Sir Henry de Vic, who was there for twenty years [3]), accommodated him with a coach and six to carry him to Ghent, where he was to meet Arundel. On the way he "met with divers waggons, prettily contrived and full of peddling merchandises, drawn by mastiff dogs, harnessed completely like so many coach-horses; in some four, in others six, as in Brussels itself I had observed".

At Bruges they were received with six volleys of shot in compliment to Arundel. They were met by the magistrates, who conveyed Arundel to his lodgings and entertained him at their cost that night [4]).

In 1642 the Queen went to Holland, where she was splendidly received at Amsterdam. Theatrical performances were arranged in her honour by Coster [5]).

In the same year there were preparations for the Civil War in England; some of the English and Scotch officers who were serving under Goring in the Low Countries, were called back [6]), and in 1643, when Fairfax was thrown back on the manufacturing towns of the West Riding of Yorkshire, the Queen arrived with arms from Holland, and by her arrival the royal army was encouraged to threaten the Eastern Counties [7]).

When William Batten was Vice-Admiral to the Earl of Warwick, he chased the Dutch man-of-war on board of which he knew that the Queen was, into Burlington Bay. When Batten afterwards became discontented, and a part of the fleet revolted, he carried the "Constant Warwick", one of the best Parliamentary ships, over into Holland, with several seamen of note [8]).

When Evelyn returned from Paris in 1652, he was afraid to embark at Calais in the evening, lest there should be pirates about the coast, and that the Channel was still infested by Dunkirk

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[1]) E. I. 33. — [2]) *Ibid.* 34. — [3]) P. II. 431 *note* [4]. — [4]) E. I. 35-6. — [5]) te W. II. 569. — [6]) Gr. 547. — [7]) *Ibid.* 548. — [8]) P. I. 162 *note* [1].

pirates is evidenced by his own reference to his wife's uncle being robbed at sea by them three years before [1]).

We have now come to the period when numbers of English royalists followed Charles II. into exile to Holland. The States General recognised him as King, when his father had been beheaded. Even the regicides found a refuge in Holland, though one of them, Dorislaus, was murdered at the Hague [2]).

The Prince of Orange was supported by popular sympathy when he aided and encouraged his brother-in-law, and eleven ships of the English fleet, which had found a refuge in Holland since their revolt from the Parliament, were suffered to sail under Rupert's command. Argyll and his party sent an Embassy to the Hague to invite Charles to ascend the throne, and Montrose disembarked in the north of Scotland with a handful of adventurers from the Continent in a futile attempt to descend on the Lowlands [3]).

When Cromwell tried to open negotiations with the States of Holland, the English envoys were at first denied an audience [4]), but Cromwell's victory over Charles at Dunbar caused Holland to offer an alliance and a Treaty of Commerce with England, and the Parliament secretly — for Cromwell was against it — resolved on bringing about a union between England and Holland. They despatched Oliver St. John with a stately embassy to the Hague. The proposal was rejected, and it is said that this was due to what was happening in Scotland, where Charles was preparing for a new campaign [5]).

Cromwell, after his victories at Dunbar and Worcester, was bent on a victory at sea as well, and war with the Dutch became inevitable when the Navigation Act of 1651 dealt a blow at the Dutch trade and supremacy of the sea [6]). The States did what they could to prevent a war, they sent Cats, Dr. Schaep, and Paulus van der Perre as envoys extraordinary. Cats addressed the Parliament in Latin, and the Council twice, but to no purpose, and their stay in London was rendered so unsafe by abusing mobs, that they were glad to go back to Holland in 1652 [7]).

In connexion with this war we have not come across particu-

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[1]) E. I. 247, 249. — [2]) *Ibid.* 251. — [3]) Gr. 572; E. I. 251; I. C. II. 110; Th. II. 377. — [4]) Gr. 572-3. — [5]) Gr. 576-7. — [6]) *Ibid.* 579-80. — [7]) te W. II. 575-6, 222-3.

lars to serve our purpose such as Pepys supplies us with in connexion with the second Dutch war, so it must suffice to state that, when peace was made in 1654, the Dutch submitted to the Navigation Act, recognised the supremacy of the British flag in British seas, and bound themselves to shut out the House of Orange from power; as a guarantee against the Stuarts being eventually restored with the aid of Dutch troops [1]).

In 1657 English soldiers were sent to Flanders, as Evelyn tells us. Several of them were quartered at his house, and he thanked God when they went away [2]). This must have been in connexion with Cromwell's demand of Dunkirk, when a detachment of his army joined the French troops who were attacking Flanders under Turenne. The English took a part in the taking of Mardyke and still more in the victory of the Dunes, by which the Flemings were compelled to admit the French, and give Dunkirk to the English, who had blockaded it by sea. Charles himself, at the head of Spanish troops, was present at those sieges, and afterwards told stories of the cowardice of the Spaniards in Flanders. The English kept Dunkirk till Charles II. sold it [3]).

Evelyn appears to have constantly supplied Charles with information, obtained by him from the Dutch ambassador Nieupoort [4]), with whom he carried on much friendly correspondence and with whom he was on visiting terms [5]).

Ann Hyde, the daughter of the future Earl of Clarendon, who was with Charles during his exile, was attached to the Court of the Princess of Orange, daughter of Charles I., in 1654, and contracted to James, Duke of York, at Breda in 1659. The marriage was avowed in London the next year [6]).

Once, in 1659, when Evelyn was dining with the Dutch Ambassador, the latter "did in a manner acknowledge that his nation mind only their own profit, do nothing out of gratitude, but collaterally as it relates to their gain, or security; and therefore the English were to look for nothing of assistance to the banished King. This was to me", adds Evelyn, "no very grateful discourse, though an ingenuous confession [7]). Pepys describes Nieupoort as "a judicious, crafty and wise man" [8]).

As the time of the Restoration was drawing near, the inter-

[1]) Gr. 592. — [2]) E. I. 320. — [3]) Gr. 596-7; P. VII. 264. — [4]) te W. II. 595. — [5]) E. I. 322, 332. — [6]) Gr. 617; P. I. 256 *note* [1]. — [7]) E. I. 333. — [8]) P. I. 25 *note* [1].

course between the Low Countries and England increased; it was a constant going and coming of messengers. Several gentlemen were sent in commission to Charles at Breda, to desire him to return to England immediately, and many royalists flocked to Breda by way of Brill, Flushing or Dunkirk [1]), while orders were given for sending ships to all the seaports between Hastings and Yarmouth to stop all dangerous persons that were going or coming between Flanders and England [2]).

When it was known in April 1660 that Charles would go back to England, the soldiers at Dunkirk drank his health in the streets and the national enthusiasm was great [3]). But the people in Holland were no less enthusiastic, and Charles was invited by the magistrates of Amsterdam to visit their city before his departure for England [4]), and he was also requested to come to the Hague [5]). He went to this town, where he had "a very splendid court in the number of persons of quality that were about him", most probably because he had, as Sir Edward Montague wrote to him, "chosen the best place, Scheveling, for his embarking", though he had commanded his vessel to attend at Helversluce [6]). The vessels that were left in the Downs were ordered to go to "Scheveling Bay" and not to bring any passengers with them [7]).

On the 14th of May the English ship which was to take Charles and York to England, arrived at Scheveningen, and it is very interesting to read what Pepys, who was on board, did and saw while he was on shore, especially at the Hague, which was very full of Englishmen, until the King embarked on the 23rd [8]). We shall only draw attention to what is to our purpose.

As soon as the vessel in which Pepys was, had arrived, "some nasty Dutchmen came on board to proffer their boats to carry things from us on shore, etc. to get money by us. Before noon some gentlemen came on board from the shore to kiss my Lord's hands. And by and by Mr. North and Dr. Clarke went to kiss the Queen of Bohemia's [9]) hands from my Lord, with twelve attendants from on board to wait on them, among which I sent my boy, who, like myself, is with child to see any strange thing". Having

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[1]) P. I. 35, 249 *note* [4], 102, 108, 115, 119, 120, 131-4. — [2]) *Ibid.* 99. — [3]) *Ibid.* 104; Gr. 600. — [4]) te W. II. 461. — [5]) P. I. 126. — [6]) Hellevoetsluis. P. I. 128, 145. [7]) *Ibid.* 136. — [8]) *Ibid.* 138-55.

[9]) Elizabeth, who had been married to the Palsgrave in 1613, known as "Queen of Hearts", or "the White Queen" (P. I. 139 *note* [2]).

come back they were sent again to do the same to the Prince of Orange. This time Pepys himself obtained leave to go on shore with them, and took his boy and Judge Advocate with him. When landed, the others got a coach by themselves, but Pepys and Mr. Creed "went in the part of a coach wherein were two very pretty ladies, very fashionable and with black patches, who very merrily sang all the way and that very well, and were very free to kiss the two blades that were with them" [1]).

On the 15th a schoolmaster" that spoke good English and French" showed them the town. By themselves they went to the "Grande Salle", where they saw "the place where the States General sit in council". At a bookseller's they bought three books "for the sake of the binding". For four "rix-dollars" they afterwards hired a Dutch boat to take them on board. "The Dutchman would fain have made all pay who came into our boat besides us two and our company, there being many of our ships company got in who were on shore, but some of them had no money, having spent all on shore" [2]). On the 16th Admiral Opdam came on board, who brought "my Lord a tierce of wine and a barrel of butter, as a present from the Admiral". He "spoke Latin well, but not French or English" [3]).

On the 17th some Dutch people came on board to see the ship, and Pepys went to see the House in the Wood and "Oranje zaal", where he sang with some other gentlemen [4]).

At the Hague he made "a tour or two about the Forehault" [5]), and the next day went by "schuit" to Delft, where "we got a smith's boy of the town to go along with us, but could speak nothing but Dutch, and he showed us the Church where van Trump lies entombed with a very fine monument". He also saw the "Guesthouse [6]), where it was very pleasant to see what neat preparation there is for the poor". At Delft they also visited an "English house to drink in" [7]).

Like Evelyn he went to "Lausdune where the 365 children were born". He describes how he saw the hill where the house in which the children were born, was supposed to have stood, as also the basins in which the children were baptized, standing over a large table hanging upon a wall, with the whole story in Dutch and

[1]) P. I. 139. — [2]) *Ibid.* 140-1. — [3]) *Ibid.* 143. — [4]) *Ibid.* 144-5. — [5]) Voorhout. — [6]) Gasthuis. — [7]) P. I. 145-7.

Latin; a thing which he said was done about 200 years before. Evelyn called Loosduinen a desolate place, but Pepys "went into a little drinking house where there were a great many Dutch boors eating of fish in a boorish manner, but very merry in their way", though he added that the houses here were "as neat as in the great places" [1]).

Going to his lodging at night he "met with a bellman, who struck upon a clapper, which I took in my hand, and it is just like the clapper that our boys frighten the birds away from the corn with in summer time in England" [2]).

On the 22nd the Dukes of York and Gloucester went on board in a Dutch boat, and among the many guests at the dinner-table that day was "my Lord Opdam", and "so many Dutch of all sorts came to see the ship till it was quite dark, that we could not pass by one another" [3]).

The King embarked on the 23rd, and all day the ship was "exceeding full with nothing but Lords and persons of honour on board" [4]). The King landed at Dover, and in June a ship was sent to Middelburg for some of the King's goods [5]).

It is said that at Bruges and Brussels, as well as at Breda, Charles touched the sick — at Breda alone 260 between the 17th of April and his return to England — and a great number of the diseased came from the remotest parts of Germany [6]).

We need not be surprised to find that many Dutch people came to London, either temporarily or for good, after the Restoration, in addition to those who came officially.

Pepys tells us of seeing "Mijnheer Roder of Utrecht", who was knighted in August 1660, and was to marry an English lady, "Sam Hartlib's sister, a great fortune for her to light on, she being worth nothing in the world" [7]), and of meeting at Westminster Hall "the doctor that showed us so much kindness at the Hague", whom Pepys took to the Sun Tavern to drink with him [8]).

Pepys took his wife, herself a daughter of Alex. Marchant, a French Huguenot, who served as captain and major of English troops in Italy and Flanders [9]), to the wedding of Nan Hartlib and

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[1]) P. I. 149; E. I. 27, where the place is called Lysdun. — [2]) P. I. 150. — [3]) *Ibid.* 152-4. — [4]) *Ibid.* 155. — [5]) *Ibid.* 171. — [6]) *Ibid.* 182 note [1]. — [7]) *Ibid.* 190. — [8]) *Ibid.* 194. — [9]) *Ibid.* II. 290 *note* [2].

Mijnheer Roder at Goring House (the present site of Buckingham Palace), where the ceremony took place with "very great state, cost and noble company". In August he promised Sir John Rode or Roth a ship to sail to Holland in from Gravesend [1]).

Some of those English people who had been to Holland, seem to have gone back to England with a very favourable impression of that country, for Pepys had a great deal of discourse with Lady Downing "in praise of Holland", and nearly three years later Hebden, who had been Resident to the States General in 1660, tells him "with what exact care and order the States of Holland's stores are kept in their yards, and every thing managed there by their builders with such husbandry as is not imaginable" [2]). How much attention was given to things as they were done in Holland, is evident from a conversation in 1661 at a dinner at the Trinity House, where Mr. Oudant, secretary to the late Princess Mary of Orange, spoke of the convenience as to keeping the highways from being deep, by their horses in Holland and Flanders going in their carts and waggons as the English horses in coaches, expressing a wish that the same might be done in England as an expedient to make the ways better, of which Pepys thought there was something in it, where there was breadth enough [3]).

On the first of December of the same year Pepys, to his great delight, saw for the first time in his life, "people sliding with their skeates", which he thought a "very pretty art", and a week later he went to the Park purposely to enjoy the sight once more. Evelyn was quite as enthusiastic about it, for he also writes on the first of December; "Having seen the strange and wonderful dexterity of the sliders on the new canal in St. James's Park, performed before their Majesties by divers gentlemen and others with skates, after the manner of the Hollanders, with what swiftness they pass, how suddenly they stop in full career upon the ice" [4]).

Pepys' annotator adds that "iron skates appeared to have been introduceed by the Dutch, as the name certainly was; bone skates, though not so called, are said to have been used in London in the 12th century" [5]).

Though the relations between the two countries were friendly enough at the time of the Restoration — the Queen's bed at

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[1]) P. I. 196, 216, 220. — [2]) *Ibid.* 244, III. 161. — [3]) *Ibid.* II. 382. — [4]) *Ibid.* 406, 411; E. I. 371. — [5]) P. II. 406 *note* [1].

Hampton Court was a present from the States of Holland [1]) — yet at this early date there was already talk of a peace with Spain, and a war with France and Holland [2]).

In September 1660 the Princess of Orange arrived in London, having come by water to Whitehall, attended by "a noble retinue of about one hundred persons, gentry, servants, tradesmen, tire-women and others", who expected to advance their fortunes by coming in with the Princess. About the same time there appeared a broadside, entitled: "Ourania, the High and Mighty Lady the Princess Royal of Aurange, Congratulated on her most happy Arrival, September the 25th, 1660" [3]). Evelyn refers to her having come from Holland in a fatal period [4]).

In October the Amsterdam burgomaster, Simon van Hoorn, was one of an Embassy to England to conclude a Treaty of Commerce, which, however, was not made before nearly two years later [5]). It could not prevent a second war from breaking out, for it did not make an end of the old commercial jealousy, which, like a mouldering fire now and then flared up in petty squabbles at sea, until at last it broke into the long expected blaze [6]).

In January 1661-2 there was a rumour at the Royal Exchange that the Dutch and French were going to join against England [7]).

In March the regicides Okey, Corbet and Barkestead were made prisoners by Sir George Downing at Delft — Sir Henry Mildman, one of the King's judges, had died at Antwerp [8]) — and in connexion with this Sir William Pen tells Pepys the following interesting story about Downing, who is said to have told Pen "of a speech he made to the Lords States of Holland, telling them to their faces that he observed that he was not received with the respect and observance now, that he was when he came from the traitor and rebell Cromwell: by whom, I am sure, he hath got all he hath in the world, — and they know it too"; to which Lord Braybrooke adds the following note: "Charles, when residing at Brussels, went to the Hague at night to pay a secret visit to his sister, the Princess of Orange". After his arrival "an old reverendlike man, with a long grey beard and ordinary grey clothes, entered the inn and begged for a private interview. He then fell on his knees, and pulling off his disguise, discovered

[1]) P. II. 234. — [2]) *Ibid.* I. 249. — [3]) *Ibid.* 250. — [4]) E. I. 341. — [5]) te W. II. 570. — [6]) Gr. 628. — [7]) P. II. 168. — [8]) *Ibid.* 180 *note* [3].

himself to be Mr. Downing, then Ambassador from Cromwell to the States General. He informed Charles that the Dutch had guaranteed to the English Commonwealth to deliver him into their hands, should he ever set foot on their territory. This warning probably saved Charles's liberty". The Captains who brought the regicides from Delft to London, said that the Dutch were long in letting them go, as they had been taken prisoners in their country [1]).

In June 1662 Pepys laments that there is great talk of a fear of a war with the Dutch, and that the King has great difficulty in setting out only five ships, the English having "no money, no credit and no stores". He hopes that the order to select twenty ships to be forthwith set out, is only a scarecrow to the world, "to let them see that we can be ready for them; though God knows" [2]).

Meanwhile the anti-Dutch feeling was growing, and the chief article of impeachment against Lord Bristol in July 1663 was "that he should be the occasion of the peace made with Holland lately upon such disadvantageous terms, and that he was bribed to it" [3]). In October Pepys was assured of the great likelihood of a war [4]), and went to "St. Catherine's to look at a Dutch ship or two for some good handsome maps, but met none" [5]).

That the intercourse between Holland and England was still very great at the time, is apparent from the fears in which the Londoners lived of the plague which was then raging at Amsterdam, and as it seemed to grow, the English compelled all ships coming from Amsterdam, Hamburg and other infected places to "perform their Quarantine in Holehaven [6]), a thing never done by us before" [7]).

Pepys was meanwhile inquiring about the Dutch management of the Navy, of Sir Charles Warren, who, he thought, would help him to "some account of things of the Dutch Admiralty, which I am mighty desirous to know" [8]).

It was rumoured in England that the Dutch in Holland were showing great public contempt for King Charles, by picturing him with his pockets turned inside out, hanging out empty, or with two courtiers picking his pockets, or led by two ladies while

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[1]) P. II, 202-3, 205. — [2]) *Ibid.* 270. — [3]) *Ibid.* III. 203. — [4]) *Ibid.* 292. — [5]) *Ibid.* 316. — [6]) Holy Haven, a creek on the south coast of Essex. — [7]) P. III. 324, 360. — [8]) *Ibid.* 359.

others abuse him [1]). A little later, however, Pepys bought a book entitled "Délices de Hollande" [2]), and speaks in terms of high praise of Mr. Benson, the Dutchman, with whom he was merry and played at cards, and of the "very well bred and knowing woman, born at Antwerp, but speaks as good English as myself, an ingenious woman", the wife of a Captain of one of the King's ships [3]). He had an equally favourable opinion of Sir William Pen's wife, "a fat, short, old Dutchwoman.... one that hath more wit than her husband" [4]). He tells us of finding his wife full of sad stories of her "roguish brother, who is going for Holland and his wife, to be a soldier" [5]). About the same time Evelyn was on visiting terms with Constantine Huygens, "Signor" de Zuylichem, Secretary to the Prince of Orange, and also with Mr. Oudart [6]).

In May 1664 the plague was increasing at Amsterdam, and in July it had spread all over the country, "even to little Dorps and villages", as Sir George Downing wrote to Lord Clarendon [7]).

In February 1663-4 all the Court were "mad for a Dutch war" and in some underhand way the King got the merchants to bring in their complaints to the Parliament, "to make them in honour begin a war, which he could not in honour declare first, for fear they should not second him with money" [8]). Everybody now expected a war, and it was said in a newsletter, that the Dutch were preparing many ships, and raising 6000 men, and had no doubt of conquering by sea; that "the States knew how to master England by sending moneys into Scotland for them to rebel, and also to the discontented in England, so as to place the King in the same straits as his father was, and bring him to agree with Holland" [9]).

In May Pepys saw the first appearance of a war with Holland by a letter to him from Mr. Coventry [10]), who tells him a fortnight later that it is not the skill of the Dutch, but the pride and the laziness of the English merchant, that causes the former to excel the English in matters of trade [11]). In June two Dutch ambassadors, one, van Goch, for the States, and one for the East India

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[1]) P. III. 361. — [2]) *Ibid.* 370. — [3]) *Ibid.* 390; IV. 23. — [4]) *Ibid.* IV. 221. — [5]) *Ibid.* 32. — [6]) E. I. 381. — [7]) P. IV. 128, 166 *note* [1], 198. — [8]) *Ibid.* 52, 93, 95-6, 101. — [9]) *Ibid.* 103, 108 *note* [1]. — [10]) *Ibid.* 131. — [11]) *Ibid.* 144.

Company, arrived to treat about the wrongs of which the English complained. [1])

In September Sir George Carteret informed Pepys that the Dutch were trying to get out of it, and might, as he thought, offer terms of peace, to which Pepys added his fervent prayer that "God send it" [2]). There were frequent reports of de Ruyter's death in this year, which may be looked upon as evidence of the fear in which many Englishmen stood of the renowned Dutch admiral [3]).

Meanwhile hostilities began, though the war was not proclaimed at the Royal Exchange before the 4th of March 1664-5 [4]). In November 1664 the Dutch Bordeaux fleet, consisting of 20 or 22 merchantmen and two men-of-war, was brought into Portsmouth and elsewhere, and a week later it was reported that the Dutch had sent part of their fleet round Scotland [5]). In December Pepys was told that the Dutch began to "buckle", and that the King was offered £ 4000 to make peace, while others had similar offers from the Dutch [6]). The report that the Dutch had prepared a fleet to go the backway to the Straights, "where without doubt they will master our fleet" [7]), causes Pepys to "fear them mightily", call them a "most wise people, and careful of their business", and state that "after all our presumption we are now afeard as much of them, as we lately contemned them" [8]). When in January 1664-5 he was told that there was a Dutch fleet off North-Foreland, by Margate, he called it "a strange attempt that they should come to our teeth, God preserve us against them, and pardon our making them in our discourse so contemptible an enemy".

In the early days of the month, the Dutch had taken some English colliers to the north [9]). Three Dutch ships were taken off Cadiz on the 19th [10]). In February it was rumoured that a Dutch ship in the north had run ashore and been taken by a troop of horse [11]). In April three Dutch men-of-war — the next day it said "privateers" — one commanded by the younger Evertsen, were taken. Evertsen had been shot through the hat, and when brought before the Duke of York, he is said to have observed that he "wished it had been through the head, rather than be taken".

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[1]) P. IV.. 156. — [2]) *Ibid.* 246-7. — [3]) *Ibid.* 162. — [4]) *Ibid.* 366; Gr. 628. — [5]) P. IV. 292, 296, 303. — [6]) *Ibid.* 309. — [7]) In the Straights the English lost only a couple of ships (P. IV. 330). — [8]) *Ibid.* 314, 319. — [9]) *Ibid.* 324, 329. — [10]) *Ibid.* 334, 339. — [11]) *Ibid.* 359.

Evertsen was set free in consideration of his father Cornelius, who had done the King several services before the Restoration. At the same time news came of the Dutch Smyrna fleet having been seen on the back of Scotland [1]). The English fleet of 106 ships lay in wait of it off the Texel, where eight merchantmen were taken by them [2]). On the 24th and 25th of May a large Dutch fleet of seven squadrons set out and the Dutch fleet being mistaken for the English, the Hamburg fleet, with the man-of-war, their convoy, fell into the hands of the Dutch [3]). On the 3rd of June the Dutch were defeated, and from 8000 to 10000 men killed and taken [4]).

On the 5th of July Evelyn was ordered to have "500 men, who had been recovered of their wounds, to be carried on board the Clove Tree, Carolus Quintus, and Zeeland", which had been taken by the English, and in September near 3000 prisoners were sent to him to dispose of. On the 29th he went to Erith "to quicken the sale of the prizes lying there". After this he delivered the Dutch Vice-Admiral, who was his prisoner, to Mr. Lowman of the Marshalsea, who gave him bond in £ 500 to produce him at his (Evelyn's) call. Evelyn pitied "this brave unhappy person, who had lost with these prizes £ 40000 after twenty years' negotiation in the East Indies". Evelyn dined in one of these vessels "of 1200 tuns, full of riches" [5]).

In July Ostend was given up to the English, and at the same time Lord Sandwich was to the north of the Texel [6]). About the 10th of September he took two Dutch East India ships, and six or seven others; a few days later another 21 ships [7]).

When in October 1665 there were 85 Dutch ships off the Texel lying in wait for the English Easterland fleet on their way to England, and the Hamburg fleet on their way out, while at the same time there was talk of the Dutch seeking the protection of France, there were some who wished the Dutch might come under the protection of the King of England by fair means, and proposed that all Dutchmen and their families, that would come and settle in England, should be declared denizens [8]), and on the 11th of February 1665-6 the following remarkable statement was made by Pepys: "Yesterday came out the King's declaration of war

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[1]) P. IV. 394; E. I. 391-3. — [2]) P. IV. 404, 409. — [3]) *Ibid.* 412, 417, 421. — [4]) *Ibid.* 430-2. — [5]) E. I. 396-8. — [6]) P. V. 11-2, 22. — [7]) *Ibid.* 72, 76. — [8]) P. V. 100.

against the Dutch to come over hither with promise of their protection, that every body wonders at it" [1]).

In October there were rumours again of the Dutch fleet being before Margate, and some of the crew endeavouring to land in order to steal sheep [2]).

On June 2nd Lord Alesbury and Sir Thomas Liddall, coming from Flanders, brought news that they had seen the Dutch fleet and run from them; on the 4th the Dutch fleet was discovered at anchor between Ostend and Dunkirk, and the ensuing fight ended in a victory for the Dutch, in which Sir George Ascue was made a prisoner, and the English lost many ships and good commanders. According to Evelyn the "Prince" and nine or ten more men-of-war besides 2000 prisoners were taken by the Dutch. As the English had not taken one ship of the Dutch, they could "only report themselves a victory" [3]).

The body of Sir William Berkeley, who was killed in the fight, was embalmed at the Hague and sent over to England. It is said that he "was killed before his ship was taken, and there he lies dead in a sugar-chest, for every body to see, with his flag standing up by him;" — he lay in state in the chapel of the Great Church at the Hague [4]). "And Sir George Ascue is carried up and down the Hague for people to see". Pepys adds: "It seems the Dutch do mightily insult of their victory, and they have great reason", though his annotator says: "This treatment seems to have been that of the Dutch populace alone, and there does not appear to have been cause of complaint against the Government" [5]).

Sir William Coventry, after this defeat, is reported to have said that the issue of all stood on this point, that by the next fight, if the English beat, the Dutch would certainly be content "to take eggs for their money" [6]).

It is interesting to hear from Pepys in July: "The yarde being very full of women (I believe above 300) coming to get money for their husbands and friends that are prisoners in Holland.... By and by the women got into the garden, and come all to my closett window, and there tormented me, and I confess their cries were so bad for money, and laying down the condition of their families and their husbands, and what they have done and suffered for the

[1]) P. V. 220. — [2]) *Ibid.* 118-9. — [3]) *Ibid.* 306, 309, 315; E. II. 7; te W. II. 571. — [4]) P. V. 331. — [5]) P. V. 330. — [6]) *Ibid.* 345.

King, and how ill they are used by us, and how well the Dutch are used here by the allowance of their masters, and what their husbands are offered to serve abroad, that I do most heartily pity them" [1]).

In July the Zealanders were beaten and lost two ships, while they escaped into the Weelings and Goree [2]).

In August Pepys was told of Englishmen having been landed on the Dutch coasts, which must refer to the burning of 160 ships of the Dutch within the Fly, reported to Lord Arlington by the Duke of Albemarle, who had sent 1000 men under Sir Robert Holmes and Sir William Jennings to destroy the islands of Vlie and Schelling [3]).

In reference to this James Hayes wrote to Williamson: "On the 9th at noon smoke was seen rising from several places in the island of Vlie, and the 10th brought news that Sir Robert had burned in the enemy's harbour 160 outward bound valuable merchantmen and three men-of-war, and taken a little pleasure-boat and 8 guns in 4 hours. The loss is computed at a million sterling, and will make great confusion when the Dutch see themselves in the power of the English at their very doors. Sir Robert then landed his forces, and is burning the houses in Vlie and Schelling as bonfires for his great success at sea." It seems that the English were led to this by a renegate Captain of the Hollanders, who thought he had been ill-used by de Ruyter, and himself took a part in the expedition [4]). After this the English took 10 or 12 merchantmen [5]).

In September the great fire destroyed a great part of London, which various Dutch poets refer to as a just punishment for the doings of the English in Terschelling; one of them, Samuel van Hoogstraten, was in London at the time [6]), while the English, who could not trace the cause of the conflagration, attributed it to a "hellish contrivance of the French, Hollanders and fanatic party" in London, and it is certain that the foreigners and Roman Catholics had a bad time of it in London [7]).

At the same time the Dutch fleet had gone to the north, and the English were uneasy about their Gottenburgh fleet [8]).

In October Buat and others in Holland unsuccessfully plotted

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[1]) P. V. 358. — [2]) Goeree. P. V. 380-1. — [3]) Vlieland, Terschelling. — [4]) P. V. 396, 399-400. — [5]) *Ibid.* 402. — [6]) te W. II. 323. — [7]) P. V. 427; E. II. 15; M. XXXVIII-IX. — [8]) P. V. 437.

to obtain a peace with England, while in November Pepys and Sir George Downing concerted measures to release the English prisoners in Holland [1]). Evelyn writes that he mustered about 600 Dutch and French prisoners [2]). In the same month and the next some more Dutch ships and men-of-war were taken, also by the convoy of the Gottenburgh fleet [3]).

On January 24th 1666-7 the "Bredagh" was lost on the shoals of the Texel [4]), and on February 6th the St. Patrick was boarded off North Foreland by two Dutch privateers and carried off to Holland [5]).

Meanwhile peace negotiations seem to have been started between Kievit, Burgomaster of Amsterdam, and Lord Arlington, who, through his marriage with a Dutch lady, Isabella, daughter of Lewis of Nassau, Lord of Beverwaert and Count of Nassau, natural son to Prince Maurice, had some interest in Holland [6]).

In these negotiations the English counted on the support of the Orange party in Holland and the impopularity of de Witt. Harry Coventry and Lord Hollis were to be sent to Holland for the purpose [7]). The English proposed to meet in conference at the Hague, but the Dutch proposed the Boysse [8]), Breda, Bergen-op-Zoom, or Maestricht. Breda was eventually fixed upon, and the Ambassadors extraordinary started for Holland on the 16th of April [9]). Later, in June, Pepys observed that "the Dutch look upon them as come to beg peace, and use them accordingly". It is said that at Flushing, and even at Breda, they were but ill received, and that at the latter town there was only an unfurnished house for them to occupy, but this was contradicted by others, who held that they were received with great civility [10]).

On the 26th of April the Dutch were reported to be off the English coast with a fleet of 24 large ships [11]), in vain endeavouring to intercept English colliers, after which they made for the Firth of Forth, perhaps to trouble the Scotch privateers "which have galled them of late very much, it may be more than all our last year's fleete". On the 5th of May, after firing 400 or 500 shot in

[1]) P. VI. 12, 74. — [2]) E. II. 18. — [3]) P. VI. 117. — [4]) *Ibid.* 145. — [5]) *Ibid.* 164.

[6]) Lady Arlington was not the only Dutch lady in the English nobility; the Viscount of Hereford, at Ipswich, married one of Brederode's daughters, a grandchild to a natural son of Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, and described by Evelyn as "a good-natured and obliging woman" (E. II. 114).

[7]) P. V. 361 *note* [1]; VI. 183-4. — [8]) den Bosch (Bois-le-duc). — [9]) P. VI. 194, 233, 267. — [10]) *Ibid.* 319, 321, 348-9. — [11]) *Ibid.* 290, 303.

Burnt Island in the Frith, but without doing any damage, it is said, they went off to Shetland [1]).

About the same time the Captain of one of the ships in which the English Ambassadors sailed for Flushing, as well as the Board afterwards, told Pepys that the seamen of Holland defied the English, calling them "dogs", and were against peace; that the great people opposed peace, but that the common people wished it [2]).

In June England promised to furnish Spain with some men for Flanders against the French [3]).

On June 3rd an English fleet of 60 sail under the Duke of Beaufort was at the Isle of Wight, and the Dutch with 40 sail at the Gunfleet, where preparations were made to receive them, if they attempted to land [4]). On the 8th the Dutch came to Harwich with a fleet of 80 sail, while on the 10th they had come down to Sheerness. An Ostend man-of-war, convoying three ships to London, lost these ships to the Dutch somewhere off the Nore, and on the 17th the Dutch took Sheerness. On the same day they broke the chain at Chatham, which town the English feared would also fall into their hands [5]). They took the "Royal Charles" and burned three men-of-war, of which conflagration a drawing was made on the spot by the Dutch artist W. van de Velde. On the 13th another fleet came up into the Hope [6]).

French and Flemish ships with prisoners on board were parted by the English from the other vessels, and their powder taken. Pepys heard it said that there were many Englishmen on board the Dutch ships, who spoke English to one another, saying: "We did heretofore fight for tickets; now we fight for dollars", while the authorities were at a loss what to do to prevent English seamen from running over to the Dutch [7]). Pepys' sister wrote to him from Leigh, opposite Sheerness, that "both seamen and soldiers swear they would rather serve the Dutch than the King, for they should be better used", and Andrew Marvell, in his "Introduction to a Painter" describes the unpaid English sailors as swimming to the Dutch ships, where they received the money which was withheld from them on their own ships [8]).

On the 21st of June the Dutch fleet was reported to be in sight

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[1]) P. VI. 305-6. — [2]) *Ibid.* 327-8. — [3]) *Ibid.* 346. — [4]) *Ibid.* 348 *note* [3]. — [5]) *Ibid.* 354, 357-8. — [6]) *Ibid.* 361; Gr. 629. — [7]) P. VI. 365-6, 368. — [8]) *Ibid.* VII. 28-9.

at Harwich, and Pepys lamented the facts that at Whitehall they began "already to damn the Dutch, and call them cowards, and think of them and their business no better than they used to do, which is very sad" [1]; that no news was heard from "our Treaters at Bredagh", and that the seamen of England "would, if they could, go over and serve the King of France, or Holland rather than us" [2].

During the first few days after the action of the Dutch at Chatham, there were various rumours about a fleet of 80 ships coming up the river, some of them being seen at the upper end of the Hope [3]; about their landing 3000 men near Harwich and attacking Landguard Fort, and being beaten off, though the official account is that "the Dutch fleet of 80 sail has anchored in the bay; they were expected to land, but they tacked about, and stood first northward and then southward, close by Orford lighthouse, and have now passed the Ness towards Harwich; they have fired no guns, but made false fires (Cal. S. P. 1667, 258)", and the Dutch are all drawn down the river; they are not many within Sheerness, yet enough to secure their men, who are said to be fortifying the Ness. (Cal. S. P. 1667, 200)". "It seems very remarkable to me", Pepys writes on the 30th of June, "and of great honour to the Dutch, that those of them that did go on shore to Gillingham, though they went in fear of their lives, and were some of them killed; and notwithstanding their provocation at Schelling, yet killed none of our people nor plundered their houses, but did take some things of easy carriage, and left the rest, and not a house burned" [4].

While the peace negotiations were going on at Breda, the Dutch fleet sailed proudly along the English coast, and was seen in so many places — Harwich, Portsmouth, Plymouth, Dartmouth and others — that Sir William Batten is said to have exclaimed: "By God! I think the Devil shits Dutchmen" [5].

On the 23rd of July it was reported that a fleet of 30 billanders had come up into the Hope and fought with the English ships there, the firing of which Pepys heard near Gravesend "most distinctly and loud". The English ships were forced to retreat, and the Dutch went down the river as far as Shellhaven [6].

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[1]) *Ibid.* VI. 380, 382. — [2]) *Ibid.* 385, 389-90. — [3]) *Ibid.* 393, 395. — [4]) *Ibid.* 399, 405-6; VII. 4-5. — [5]) P. VII. 30. — [6]) *Ibid.* 34-5.

On the 27th there was a fight at Harwich, and the Dutch were reported at the Nore. A couple of days later Pepys had information from an English fisherman, a released prisoner, which caused him to write: "In all things, in wisdom, courage, force, knowledge of our own streams, and success, the Dutch have the best of us, and do end the war with victory on their side" [1]).

On the 9th of August the peace was ratified at Breda [2]).

It appears that the Dutch got their English prisoners to work and carry their ships home for them, rewarded them well for their work, and released them when they reached Holland, "which is done like a noble, brave and wise people", Pepys adds [3]).

According to Mr. L'Estrange in his Gazette, the Dutch prisoners of war were treated in an inhuman manner, but Evelyn remonstrated and wrote to him "a very spirited letter, desiring that the Dutch Ambassador (who was then in England) and his friends would visit the prisoners and examine their provisions" [4]).

By treaty the diet of the prisoners on both sides was to be paid for before they should be released. The 300 Dutch prisoners at Leith, and those at Chelsea and other places were released for nothing, but the Dutch, who had many more prisoners than the English, would not discharge them without having first received payment according to the Treaty. They demanded £ 1100 for Sir George Ascue, and £ 5000 for those in Zealand alone and taken in the King's ships, for there were others, who had served in merchantmen [5]).

In December there were complaints among the London merchants of an Ostend privateer molesting English merchantmen and searching them, beating their masters, and plundering them on pretence of carrying Frenchmen's goods [6]).

In January 1667-8 there were negotiations with the Dutch for the purpose of making a league against the French, whose power was becoming a menace both to Holland and England. Sir William Temple had been despatched to the Hague by Arlington for the purpose; and the result was the Triple Alliance between England, Holland and Sweden. In March a fleet of 25 English and the same number of Dutch ships was to be fitted out [7]).

Meanwhile the relations between England and the Dutch gov-

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[1]) P. VII. 38, 43-4. — [2]) *Ibid.* 61. — [3]) *Ibid.* 87, 102. — [4]) E. II. 221 *note.* — [5]) *Ibid.* 28-9. — [6]) P. VII. 252. — [7]) *Ibid.* 287, 291, 368; Gr. 637.

ernment were not at all what they should have been, and as a proof of the activity of English spies at the Hague, we need only refer to the facts that Sir George Downing told Pepys on the 27th of December 1668: "that he had so good spies that he hath had the keys taken out of De Witt's pocket when he was in bed, and his closet opened, and papers brought to him, and left in his hands for an [hour], and carried back and laid in the place again and keys put into his pocket again"; that "he (Downing) hath always had their most private debates that have been but between two or three of the chief of them, brought to him in an hour after" [1]; and that in May 1669 Pepys himself had the approbation of the Duke of York "to go into Holland to observe things there, of the Navy". He was to go secretly, but to pretend to go somewhere into the country. On this tour he made collections concerning the French and Dutch navies. Before he started, he had a merry evening at "The World's End, a drinking house by the Park", with his wife and some friends, one of them a Dutch gentleman [2].

In 1670 war was declared by England and France against Holland. England was to receive an annual subsidy of £300000 from France, for which she was to send a small number of troops to the continent, but to do most of the naval fighting [3]. Meanwhile the relations between the Prince of Orange and the English Court were growing more intimate, and in November of the same year the Prince paid a visit to the King, his uncle. It was on this occasion that Evelyn met Huygens [4].

There was an obstinate battle off Solebay between de Ruyter and the Duke of York, who was held at bay by the skill and desperate courage of the Dutch, while Buckingham, who was negotiating at the Hague, asked the Prince of Orange, if he did not see that his Country was lost [5].

Shaftesbury carried on a secret correspondence with the Prince of Orange. In 1674 peace was made and negotiations were started in secret for a marriage of William of Orange and Mary, eldest daughter of the Duke of York by Ann Hyde [6].

When in 1677 the French appeared on the Flemish coast, and the people of England were eager for a war with the French, who had been successful in Flanders and had defeated William of

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[1]) P. VIII. 188. — [2]) *Ibid.* 327, 333; I. xxx. — [3]) Gr. 639. — [4]) E. II. 52-3. — [5]) Gr. 640. — [6]) *Ibid.* 646-7.

Orange at Cassel, Charles began to feel uneasy and owned that he "could never live at ease with his subjects", if he should abandon Flanders. The Prince of Orange was invited to England and in October his marriage with the Lady Mary was declared [1]).

On the 15th of November, the Queen's birthday, the Prince and his bride danced at the Court, and on the 19th the newly married couple left for Holland.

Negotiations for peace between France and Holland had been going on at Nimeguen for some time already, for in June 1677 Evelyn tells us, that the Lord Ambassador Berkeley had returned from them [2]), and in the same month, July 1678, in which the Peace of Nimeguen was concluded, the Earl of Ossory went to Holland to take command of the English forces [3]). Charles had six Scotch and English regiments in the service of the United Provinces [4]).

It was about this time that many Dutch people in England were naturalized, and bought landed property [5]).

After the dissolution of the Parliament in January 1679, and even before the new Parliament assembled in March, Charles sent his brother James into exile at Brussels, Sir William Temple was recalled from the Hague, and appointed Secretary of State [6]), and the difficulties about the succession began, which ended in Charles's ordering Monmouth to leave the Kingdom. He retired to Holland, from where he returned to England towards the end of the same year. Temple, Essex and Halifax had formed a plan to bring the Prince of Orange over to England during the prorogation, to introduce him into the Council, and prepare the country for his accession to the throne. The plan was proposed by Halifax, prompted, it is said, by the Prince of Orange, for Halifax is generally regarded to have been the mouthpiece of the Prince, and supported by the States of Holland; but Shaftesbury distrusted the Prince, and wanted to place the Duke of Monmouth on the throne. The other three ministers induced Charles to call back James, and Monmouth was banished [7]).

After the discovery of the Rye House Plot, Monmouth and many others found a refuge at the Hague, where Monmouth, like the Earl of Argyll, who had been condemned to death in Scotland,

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[1]) Gr. 648-9; E. II. 116. — [2]) E. II. 117, 109. — [3]) *Ibid.* 119. — [4]) Gr. 633, 663. — [5]) *ante* p. 111. — [6]) Gr. 652; E. II. 129. — [7]) Gr. 655, 658; E. II. 134.

but escaped, met with a kind reception from the Prince of Orange, who believed that Charles would recall his son. The death of Charles and the accession of James put an end to the Duke's hopes [1]).

In order to make the Great Alliance of all Europe against France, which had been William's great object since the peace of Nimeguen, he endeavoured through Halifax to bring about a reconciliation between Charles and his Parliament, knowing that this would be the only means of making Charles financially independent of France. William even went to London for the purpose himself in 1682, but his attempts were futile, and then it was that he got Halifax to secure the rejection of the Exclusion Bill: by supporting the cause of James, he knew that he could preserve his wife's right of succession to the throne [2]).

After the death of Charles both Argyll and Monmouth determined to invade Great Britain, the one in Scotland, the other in England. The two expeditions sailed form Holland within a few days of each other. Argyll landed at Cantyre, but no fight took place, as his troops were scattered, and he was made prisoner and executed. With but 150 men Monmouth landed at Lyme, where the farmers and traders of Devon and Dorsetshire ranged themselves under his standard. Somerset and Taunton welcomed him, but he failed in an attempt on Bristol and Bath, and fell back on Bridgewater. He attacked the King's troops on Sedgemoor, but with the well-known fatal result. The six Scotch and English regiments in Holland had been sent by William of Orange to help suppress this rebellion. They had been encamped on Blackheath "excellently clad and well disciplined", but as their services were not required, they went back to Holland again [3]). They came back to England with William after his accession to the throne [4]).

Before the declaration of Indulgence in 1687, the King appealed to William to declare himself in favour of the abolition of the penal laws and of the Test; the leading malcontents in vain asked him to interfere in arms; letters of warning and promises of support reached him from such English noblemen as the Hydes, the Bishop of London, Devonshire, Nottingham, Shrewsbury and Danby, while Churchill announced Anne's resolve to stand by the

[1]) Gr. 661, 664-5. — [2]) *Ibid.* 660, 677. — [3]) Gr. 665; E. II. 223, 225, 230. — [4]) Gr. 685.

cause of Protestantism [1]). Matters, however, were coming to a crisis, and ten days after the birth of a Prince of Wales, William received a formal invitation to come with an army to restore English liberty and protect the Protestant religion. One nobleman after another hurried to Holland, while William was collecting troops and forming a fleet in the Scheldt. On the 5th of November the fleet, consisting of 600 transports, escorted by 50 men-of-war, anchored in Torbay, and landed 13000 men, who entered Exeter. Plymouth secured William's rear, Bristol threw open its gates, and he marched on Salisbury. On the 14th his headquarters were at Honiton. On the 2nd of December he was expected at Oxford [2]). On the 13th William advanced to Windsor, and was invited by James to St. James's. The messenger, the Earl of Feversham, the General of the English forces, was detained a prisoner by William, who, while accepting the invitation, required James to retire to some distant place, that William's own Guard might be quartered about the Palace and City. On the 18th William arrived at St. James's, and filled Whitehall with his own Dutch Guards. "All the world", Evelyn writes, "go to see the Prince at St. James's, where there is a great court. There I saw him, and several of my acquaintance, who came over with him". A week later Evelyn had a Lieutenant-Colonel and eight horses quartered upon him [3]).

On the 11th of April 1689 the coronation of William and Mary took place. From this moment the two great Protestant Powers were firmly united in their struggle against France, and an English brigade joined the Dutch army on the Sambre [4]).

On the 26th of May there was "a most splendid embassy from Holland to congratulate the King and Queen on their accession to the Crown [5]).

Large numbers of Dutchmen followed William to England, where they acquired fame and fortune, held high appointments in army and navy, but for this very reason incurred the ill-will and hatred of the natives, who seem to have made no difference between the new-comers and those who were settled there already, and in what way this feeling found expression in William's Parliament in 1694, we have already seen [6]).

In August 1689 William sent Schomberg, an exiled Huguenot,

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[1]) Gr. 678. — [2]) *Ibid.* 679-81; E. II. 283-5. — [3]) E. II. 286-7; Gr. 682. — [4]) E. II. 295; Gr. 684. — [5]) E. II. 299. — [6]) *ante* p. 111-2.

as General to Ireland to the relief of Londonderry, and as early as this date the English began to show their discontent at the King's slow proceedings and "the incompetent instruments and officers he advanced to the greatest and most necessary charges" [1]). Schomberg's men seem to have been raw recruits, and as they lay at Dundalk during the following winter, large numbers of them were swept off by the plague. Reinforcements were sent, and in spring he had an army of 30000 men. William himself also crossed to Ireland, landed at Carrickfergus and marched south to the Boyne, where Schomberg fell and James was defeated. After this William besieged Limerick to no purpose; he was recalled to England, and Churchill, now Earl of Marlborough, who had been recalled from Flanders, landed with a division in the South of Ireland. In the summer of 1691 Ginkell, the new English General, took Athlone, and defeated the united Irish and French forces at Aughrim, in consequence of which Limerick had to surrender [2]).

While William was away in Ireland, the Dutch fleet fought the French unsuccessfully at Beachy Head. The English fleet under Herbert, whose aid the Dutch had been hoping for, never appeared. In 1692 the French fleet under Tourville was put to flight off Barfleur by the allied Dutch and English fleets under Russell.

In the spring of 1691 William was in Flanders at the head of an English army, and while the French fleet suffered this defeat, William suffered one at Steenkirk. He almost gained a victory over Luxembourg at Neerwinden in 1693, but his first great triumph was the capture of Namur in 1695. This victory induced him to call a new Parliament, which, however, forced him to resume prodigal grants of land which he had made to his Dutch favourites.

The peace of Ryswick in 1697 made an end of the war, in which Dutch and English soldiers had been fighting side by side, though several regiments had been sent for from Flanders in 1696, when the French threatened a descent upon England [3]).

That William employed Dutch troops in various parts of England is evident from the fact that Zuylestein's Regiment was retained in the north of England; it was at Durham in 1691 [4]).

That the Dutch and British soldiers did not always get on peacefully together, is evidenced by a story Evelyn tells us of a

[1]) E. II. 300; Gr. 692. — [2]) Gr. 693-4. — [3]) *Ibid.* 695-6, 699-700; E. II. 312, 319, 340. — [4]) Cal. State Papers Dom. 1690-91, 265, cited by D. N. B. 63: 427.

Dutch soldier who, on the march through England of some regiments of Highland dragoons, was reproached with cowardice by one of the Scotch dragoons, struck off the head of one with his sword, and cleft the skull of another down to his chin [1]).

In 1698 William was forced by his Parliament to send his Dutch Guards out of the country in spite of his entreaties, for its partiality to his Dutch favourites had made him very unpopular. This had chiefly been caused by his preferring his young favourite, the Earl of Albemarle [2]), to be first Commander of his Guard, over the Duke of Ormond's head [3]).

In April 1700 the Parliament sent fourteen commissioners into Ireland "to dispose of the forfeited estates there, towards payment of the debts incurred by the late war, but which the King had in a great measure given to some of his favourites of both sexes, Dutch and others of little merit" [4]).

It was at the beginning of the new century, that William demanded the withdrawal of the French troops from Ostend and the other coast towns of Flanders, and was authorized by Parliament to conclude a defensive alliance with Holland; his patience and skill found their reward in a warm welcome on his return from the Hague, where he had concluded a new Grand Alliance [5]).

Though not under William, yet for the next ten years English and Low Dutch soldiers once more fought shoulder to shoulder in the plains of Flanders, as they had done so often before, and as they were to do again in later, and as far as Flemish soldiers are concerned, in very recent times.

Colonial Relations

As regards contact between the English and the Dutch in other parts of the world, we may draw attention to the fact that the Dutch laid the foundation of New York, New Jersey, Delaware and Pennsylvania [6]). The first English book dealing with America, "Of the New Landes", published in 1520, was a translation of the Dutch "Die Reise van Lissebone", which had appeared in 1508; in 1598 van Linschoten's Itinerario was translated into English under the title "Voyages to Goa and Back", and William Phillip's

[1]) E. II. 328. — [2]) Arnold Joost van Keppel. — [3]) Gr. 702; E. II. 352. — [4]) E. II. 359. — [5]) Gr. 704-5. — [6]) de Vr. 20.

translation of Langhenes' "The Description of a Voyage made by Certain Ships of Holland into the East Indies, 1595-1597" appeared in the same year, as did also his translation of van Linschoten's "His Discours of Voyages into ye Easte and West Indies". "The True and Perfect Description of Three Voyages Performed by the Ships of Hollande and Zeland on the North-Sides of Norway, Muscovia, Tartaria towards the Kingdoms of Cathaia and China" appeared in 1609 as a translation by Phillip of Gerrit de Veer's "Waerachtige Beschrijvinghe van drie seylagiën, ter werelt noyt soo vreemt ghehoort", which had been published in 1599 [1]).

Hudson had been employed by the Dutch. Dutch settlers had occupied Manhattan Island, and despite the prior claims, alleged by Argall, the Governor of Virginia, in 1613, held their own there. It was a Dutch vessel which in 1620 introduced the first cargo of negro slaves into Virginia.

During the second Dutch war, in 1664, New Amsterdam was taken by the English and became New York; the whole district of that name, from the Hudson to the inner Lakes, was tranferred to British rule [2]). De Ruyter had managed to keep the West Indian Islands out of the hands of the English. In September 1674 Evelyn went to the Council about fetching away the English left at Surinam, etc. since the reconciliation with Holland, and two months later he went to the Council once more on the Surinam business, because the Dutch had detained some Englishmen in prison since 1665 [3]).

It is said, in connexion with New York, that sometimes, when the English "had strength" in those parts, the inhabitants were English subjects; at others, when that strength had declined, they were subjects of the United Provinces, and that on King Charles's claim the States disowned the title, but resumed it during the English "confusions" [4]).

The Dutch poet, Jacob Steendam, who was at New York from shortly after 1650 to 1662, is still looked upon by the upper classes of the United States as the earliest poet of their republic [5]). Down to 1764 the service in the Dutch Reformed Church was held in Dutch, though for a century it had not been taught in the schools.

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[1]) de H. II. 35, 56-7; de Vr. 253-5; D. N. B. 45: 191-2. — [2]) I. C. II. 146, 150; Gr. 758. — [3]) te W. II. 571; E. II. 93. — [4]) P. IV. 245 *note* [1]. — [5]) te W. II. 211.

In Flatbush, in Long Island, Petrus van Steenburgh, appointed in 1762, was the first who taught English in the school which had been established in 1659, and his successor, Anthony Welp, appointed in 1773, was the last schoolmaster who was required to teach Dutch [1]).

As regards contact between the Dutch and the English in the East, there is a reference by Stow to the East India Company visiting "Achine, the cheife citty of Sumatra, Pryaman, haven townes in Sumatra, and the citty Bantam in Java Maior, whose chiefest wealth consisteth in Cloves, and Pepper. In the mountain of Java Maior are many canybals, etc. Amboyna, Tarenate, Machean, and Tidore, which are Isles, of the Moluccoes, and the Isles of Banda. Captain Keeling being generall of the 3rd voyage, brought hither a fowle called cassuare" [2]).

The Dutch had been in the Spice Islands before the English, and eventually drove them out altogether. In 1622 the massacre at Amboyna took place, which Dryden made the subject of a drama; in 1664 the English lost Poleroon. In 1682 there were disputes at Bantam, which compelled the English to retire and establish themselves at Bencoolen [3]).

In January 1663-4 Pepys referred to the state of the Dutch in India "which is like to be in a little time without any controll: for we are lost there, and the Portuguese as bad", while less than two weeks later he wrote, that there was "Great talk of the Dutch proclaiming themselves in India, Lords of the Southern Seas, and deny traffick there in all ships but their owne, upon pain of confiscation; which makes our merchants mad". He also tells us of £ 60000 being due from the Dutch to London merchants for injury done to them in the East Indies during the first war, and that, when the Dutch delayed paying the money after the peace, Oliver Cromwell threatened that he would grant letters of mark to those merchants against them, after which they are said to have hastened to pay every farthing for fear of him [4]).

In May 1668 Pepys wrote that the Dutch were decaying at Bombay exceedingly, it being believed that these people would revolt from them there, and they would be forced to give over their trade. It is certain that the cession of Bombay to England about

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[1]) de Vr. 86-7. — [2]) Ann. 904. — [3]) I. C. II. 125-6. — [4]) P. IV. 26-7, 37, 43-4, 46.

that time embittered the commercial jealousy between the Dutch and the English [1]).

Though the great contact between the Dutch and the English in Africa dates from the end of the 18th century, yet in 1662 we hear from Pepys that "two East India officers of ships" told him that "the people of the Cape of Good Hope paint themselves all over with the grease the Dutch (who have a port there) sell them and soot" [2]).

We hear a great deal about what happened or was supposed to have happened at the Guinea Coast in April 1664, when it was taken by the fleet of the Royal African Chartered Company under Robert Holmes, to be soon afterwards retaken by de Ruyter. We cannot forbear repeating the rather amusing story which Pepys tells us of a "Swede or Hamburgher" who had told that he saw the Dutch tie the English, men, women and children, back to back, and throw them into the sea. Similar stories were told in Holland about the English. For telling this lie, the "Swede or Hamburgher" was a couple of days afterwards "whipt round the 'Change: he confessing it a lie, and that he did it in hopes to get something. It was said that he was delivered over to the Dutch Ambassador to do what he pleased with him. "But", continues Pepys, "the world do think that there is some design on one side or other, either of the Dutch or French, for it is not likely a fellow would invent such a lie to get money, whereas he might have hoped for a better reward by telling something in behalf of us to please us". Two days later Pepys and others feared "that there was something of truth in it" [3]).

The West Indian Company in London had been carrying on trade with the Gold Coast ever since it had been established [4]).

To realize that there must have been much contact between the Dutch and the English ever since the 16th century, we need only think of such men as Sir Francis Drake, circumnavigator and admiral, who is known to have been in the West Indies, Ternate, Celebes and the Cape of Good Hope [5]); William Dampier, who sailed all round the world, was in New Holland, Acheen and all parts of N. and S. America, besides being a prisoner in one of the Dutch settlements between 1704 and 1707, after crossing the Paci-

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[1]) P. III. 126; Gr. 628. — [2]) P. II. 429. — [3]) *Ibid.* IV. 113, 312, 360-1, 363. — [4]) Gr. 628. — [5]) D. N. B. 15: 426-442.

fic from Peru [1]); of James Dickinson, who repeatedly visited America [2]); of the numbers of English emigrants to North America who returned to England in the 17th century; and of the settlement of Penn and his fellow Quakers in Pennsylvania in 1682 [3]).

This contact must have grown more intimate in those colonies which passed from Dutch into English hands in the 17th and especially in those which were taken from the Dutch in the 18th and the 19th century, such as parts of the mainland of India, Tanjore, Ceylon, Malacca, Banda, Amboyna, Cochin, the Cape of Good Hope, and a few West Indian Islands, and at a more recent date the independent Dutch republics in South Africa [4]).

Literary Relations

In conclusion we will deal with the literary [5]) Anglo-Dutch relations, which were certainly not the least important in the 16th and 17th centuries. As we did at the close of the preceding period, we may refer the reader again to the various Histories of English and of Dutch Literature and in particular to the Cambridge History of English Literature and the works by J. te Winkel, W. de Hoog and T. de Vries.

The numbers of English people in Flanders during the former half of the 16th century, must have been attracted by the brilliant and merry "landjuweelen", so popular in Flanders and Brabant as early as the 15th century. Between 1500 and 1565 there were as many as 90 in these countries, while in Zealand there were only 6. Those held at Antwerp in 1496 and in 1561 are considered to have been the most brilliant and famous. There was a magnificent one at Diest in 1541, witnessed by the English Resident Clough, who wrote a long account of it in terms of the highest praise; the procession of the Brussels people especially was to him like a dream: he had never seen such a thing, and never expected to see such a thing again. Clough must have been one of many English people present at this performance. In 1539 there had been one at Ghent [6]).

The many theatrical performances of the "Rhetorical Chambers" in those days at various places [7]), must also have drawn

[1]) D. N. B. Reissue 5: 452-7. — [2]) D. N. B. 15: 34-5. — [3]) Gr. 660, 759; *ante* p. 109-10. — [4]) I. C. II. 537; Gr. 809, 819, 909.

[5]) We use this as a convenient name to include literature, science and art.

[6]) te W. 205-6, 208. — [7]) *Ibid.* 175-81, 183, 185, 190-4, 196-7.

many English residents, whether merchants or soldiers, and in connexion with this we may refer to the fact that John Heywood wrote his Epigrams at North Mimus, where More, his wife's uncle, wrote Utopia, and that Heywood's interludes were the earliest of their kind in England, though they were familiar on the Continent [1]), and that in 1553 he retired to Malines.

In connexion with his Epigrams it may be observed, that the most famous Jest-books were translated from the Dutch into French as well as into English. In this way the German Ulenspiegel passed through a Dutch translation (Antwerp 1520-30) into English; this was printed by Copland between 1548 and 1560 [2]).

Numerous were the English translations of Dutch books in the 16th century, many of them printed at Antwerp, which was one of the largest book-markets of Europe in the days of Philip II. [3]), by Gerard Leeu, van Doesburg, van Meteren, who often went to London and took Miles Coverdale in his service [4]), Plantijn and Verstegen. The last-mentioned was the son of a Dutch cooper, who had emigrated to England in 1500 and called himself Rowlands. Soon after 1576 young Richard Rowlands resumed the name of Jonkheer Richard Verstegen [5]), went to Antwerp, set up a printing press, became an English writer, and engraved some of the cuts himself. He was still living at Antwerp in 1620 [6]).

Henry Lyte's translation of the "Cruydeboeck" by Dodoens, Antwerp 1554, from the French translation of De l'Escluse (1557), was first printed at Antwerp for the purpose of securing the woodcuts of the original [7]).

Dutch books were sometimes published in England, especially during the time of the Inquisition, by English printers such as John Daye, Rich. Grafton and H. Bynneman in London, or by Dutchmen, such as Antonium van Solemne at Norwich [8]).

The first Emblem-book "The Theatre of Voluptuous Worldlings" was given to England by a Dutch refugee, Jonkheer Jan van der Noot, Spenser's friend; it was published in 1569 [9]).

Of Marnix van St. Aldegonde's "De Bienkorf der Heiliger Roomscher Kerke" there appeared English translations "The Beehive of the Romishe Churche" in 1578, 1580, 1598, 1623 and

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[1]) D. N. B. 26: 331-3. — [2]) de Vr. 178-80. — [3]) te W. II. 284. — [4]) de Vr. 188. — [5]) te W. II. 292. — [6]) D. N. B. 49: 352. — [7]) *Ibid.* 34: 364-5. — [8]) de H. II. 50; *ante* p. 118. — [9]) te W. I. 297; de H. 46-8; de Vr. 193.

1636, that of 1580 with the above title by Geo. Gilpin, the Elder[1]). In 1590 Robert Norman wrote "Safegarde of Saylors", translated from the Dutch [2]).

Among the Dutch scholars in England in the 16th century after Erasmus, we must not forget to mention Hadrianus Junius (Adrian de Jongh) of Hoorn, who was invited to come to England by Bishop Bonner about 1543, and became family physician to the Duke of Norfolk at Kenninghall near Norwich, and tutor to the Duke's son in 1547. When Norfolk was beheaded, Junius lost his office and his property, books and manuscripts. Till 1550, when he left England for Holland, he was physician to a noble Lady. He was in England again in 1554, when he wrote a poem in honour of Mary and Philip, which was printed in London. In 1568 he paid another, his last, visit to England [3]).

Dutch painters who were in London about that time were Lucas de Heere, who painted Elizabeth leaving her palace, and Cornelis Ketel [4]).

Of far more importance for our purpose is the fact that many English writers spent a longer or shorter time of their lives in the Low Countries. To those mentioned in the preceding period, and those already referred to in this chapter, we may here add the names of some fifty 16th and early 17th century writers who for some reason or other spent part of their lives in one part or other of the Low Dutch Countries, especially Flanders and the United Provinces. During the first half of the 16th century [5]): Andrew Boorde or Borde, John Bale, George Joye (occasionally known as Clarke, Geach, Gee or Jaye), Sir Thomas Elyot, Sir Thomas Wyatt, John Palsgrave, Sir John Cheke, Bartholomew Traheron; during the latter half of the 16th and the early years of the 17th century: George Gascoigne, John Foxe, John Dickenson, John Dee, William Turner, Christopher Marlowe, who may have been a volunteer in the Netherlands, W. Bullokar, Sir John Smith or Smythe, Sir Fulke Greville, first Lord Brooke, Thomas Stapleton, John Banister or Banester, Laurence Tomson, Thomas Paynell, Alexander Montgomerie, John Studley (uncertain), George Chapman, who may have been a volunteer under Sir Francis Vere, Sir Walter

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[1]) te W. V. 56; de H. II. 50-1; de Vr. 249, 251-2. — [2]) D. N. B. 41: 114. — [3]) de Vr. 182-5. — [4]) te W. I. 295-6, 313; V. 62-3.

[5]) For particulars we refer the reader to their lives in D. N. B. and C. H. E. L.

Raleigh, Sir Francis Drake, Thomas Churchyard, Thomas Cartwright, Nicholas Breton, Thomas Lodge, John Taylor, the "water poet", John Woodall, Richard Stanyhurst, Cyril Tourneur, Turnour or Turner, Gerard Malynes, Malines or De Malines, who was born at Antwerp, John Smith, who was also in Virginia, Ben Jonson, Francis and Jervis Markham, Sir Thomas Overbury, Josuah Sylvester, Thomas Coryate, William Bradfort, who sailed as one of the Pilgrim Fathers in the Mayflower, John Donne, George Hakewill, Sir Jerome Horsey, Sir John Ogle, who remained on active service in the United Provinces for nearly thirty years and married a daughter of Cornelius de Vries of Dordrecht, to whom and their four children a grant of denization was made in England in 1622 [1]). We do not know, if the "English Nightingale" Utricia Ogle, "the enchanting little bird", to whom Huygens dedicated some of his poems, as also his collection of music, was one of Sir John's daughters. Hooft's admonition "O Ogle, ooghelyn der jeugdt: de min te vlieden is geen deugdh" [2]) in 1641, she did not heed before 1645, when she was married to Sir William Swann, a captain in the service of the States [3]).

During the last twenty years of the 16th and the first half of the 17th century, various companies of English actors, generally on their way to or from Germany, gave performances in the United Provinces. The first English players arrived in the Netherlands with the Earl of Leicester; one of them is referred to by Sir Philip Sydney as Will, the Lord of Leicester's yesting player. After Leicester's departure they came again and again. In October 1590 Robert Browne's Company performed at Leyden, and the next year they came again, recommended by Lord Howard to the States General, and intending to make a tour about Zealand, Holland and Friesland and "d'exercer leurs qualitez en faicts de musique, agilitez et jœux de commedies, tragedies et histories". In 1592 there were English players at Arnhem, in 1597 at Groningen, Franeker and Utrecht. John Browne remained on the Continent for more than thirty years. At Leyden John Woods acted in 1604, John Spencer in 1605, and William Pestel in 1608. At the Hague they often gave performances, and repeatedly between 1605 and 1612 at the fairs. John Green's Company performed at Utrecht in

[1]) D. N. B. 42: 39-41. — [2]) O Ogle, little eye of youth: virtue need not flee from love. — [3]) te W. II. 154.

1613, 1619 and 1620. From an attack made upon them by Bredero we know how popular the English players were in the Netherlands about 1615. Robert Reynolts and Edward Pudsie gave performances in 1636. In 1639 Butler and John Payne brought over their Company. In 1643 Peter Trizel Parker seems to have acted in Dutch. In 1646 John Payne and William Roe associated themselves with a Dutch Company to give performances at Amsterdam and the Hague.

After 1645 English players seem to have acted but rarely in Holland. The only performance recorded about the middle of the century was one at Dordrecht in 1656.

At Ghent there were English actors about 1603 [1]).

In the 17th century there were also several eminent Dutch scholars and authors in England, either for a time or permanently, some of whom had frequent intercourse with Englishmen of distinction. As early as 1600 Jacob Cats visited Oxford and Cambridge, and attended the lectures of Prof. William Perkens [2]). In 1626 he was knighted by Charles I.; a similar distinction had fallen to the share of Vice-Admiral Reael the year before, when the States General had sent him to London to congratulate Charles on his accession [3]).

Heywood's Pleasant Dialogue, which appeared in 1637, was extracted from Jacob Catsius, whose "Emblems" is known in England as "The Household Bible" [4]).

Constantine Huygens paid his first visit to England in 1618, and when he was there again in 1621 and 1622 as secretary to the Ambassador François van Aerssen, he met several prominent people at Sir Robert Killigrew's, among them John Donne and Sir Walter Raleigh's widow. In October 1622 he was knighted by James I. In 1624 he was once more in London as secretary to the Embassy [5]). In 1671 when the Prince of Orange paid a visit to King Charles, he was attended by Huygens, to whom Evelyn refers on the occasion of his farewell visit to him in the following terms: "that excellent, learned man, poet and musician, now near 80 years of age" [6]).

Henry Oldenburg, a native of Bremen, was one of the founders

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[1]) te W. I. 450-1; II. 255-6; V. 120, 124; de H. II. 67. — [2]) te W. II. 32. — [3]) *Ibid.* 139, 151, 218. — [4]) de Vr. 196-7. — [5]) te W. II. 62, 66, 71; I. 509; de H. II. 106-8. — [6]) E. II. 60.

and secretary of the Royal Society. In the archives there is a draft petition (undated) by him for a patent for Huygens's New Invention of Watches "serving as well for ye pocket as otherwise, usefull to find ye Longitudes both at Sea and Land", the right in which had been assigned to Oldenburg by the inventor [1]). In 1667 Oldenburg was a close prisoner in the Tower for some time, as he was suspected of writing intelligence [2]).

Christian Huygens, Constantine's second son, is frequently referred to by Evelyn, the first time on the 1st of April 1661, when he undertook a few trips from Paris to London. In the same year he was elected a member of the Royal Society [3]).

Franciscus Junius was librarian to the Earl of Arundel after 1620, and translated his "De Pictura Veterum", published at Amsterdam in 1637, into English. In 1640 he was mentor and instructor to de Vere, Earl of Oxford, who served in the Dutch army from 1642 to 1646, and accompanied the Earl there. Both returned to England after the peace of Westphalia. In 1650 Junius went back to Holland till 1674, when he repaired to Oxford. A year and a half later he went to live with his nephew Isaac Vossius, canon at Windsor, where he died in 1688, leaving his writings, dictionaries and manuscripts to the Bodleian Library [4]).

Isaac Vossius settled in England in 1670, and was a great favourite with Charles II., who appointed him a canon at Windsor. In March 1673 Evelyn met "the learned Isaac Vossius" at a dinner-party at Arlington's, where the Duke and Duchess of Monmouth were also present; and again at "My Lord Chamberlain's" in October 1675. W. E. Gladstone called him "A Dutch Milton". His father, Gerard Vossius, had once been offered a Chair in Oxford University, but declined it. Laud procured him a prebend without residence worth £ 100 a year [5]).

In fact, "the chief glories of scholarship in the 17th century were clustered together in Holland .... Dutch scholarship was the ripest in Europe from 1600-60 and included G. J. Vossius, Isaac Vossius (his son), Claude Saumaise or Salmasius, P. Cluverius (one of the many "sojourners" with John Prideaux, rector of

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[1]) D. N. B. 42: 94-96; *ante* p. 119-20: — [2]) E. II. 27. — [3]) te W. II. 194; E. I. 347. — [4]) de H. I. 8-10.

[5]) Ch. Enc.; C. H. E. L. VII. 307, 309; E. II. 81, 103; de H. II. 61.

Exeter College, Oxford), Daniel Heinsius, N. Heinsius (his son), Hugo Grotius, J. F. Gronovius" [1]).

After this it is not surprising to hear that "Dutch presses had a large English market" [2]), that the best literary productions, such as Lucifer by Holland's greatest poet, which was translated in 1653, found their way into English literature; that Defoe drew some of his material for Robinsoe Crusoe from Henrik Smeekes's "Beschrijvinge van het magtig Koningrijk Krinke Kermes" [3]); that Mr. Fraser, a learned Scot, went to Holland to buy curious books and manuscripts of great value at the sale of "the learned Heinsius's" library [4]); that Henry Hexham wrote an English-Dutch, Dutch-English dictionary in 1658, and that William Sewel, the grandson of a Brownist who had emigrated to Holland, wrote a dictionary as well as a Dutch Grammar in English, in the early years of the 18th century [5]).

No wonder that the English should have been struck with the curious, mysterious and often ingenious novelties of applied science that were introduced from Holland.

Thus Evelyn, in February 1655-6, refers to "a pretty perspective and well represented in a Triangular box, the Great Church of Haarlem in Holland, to be seen through a small hole at one of the corners, and contrived into a handsome cabinet", which was "so rarely done, that all the artists and painters in town flocked to see and admire it" [6]), while Pepys saw "the experiment (which I had often heard talk of) of the chymicall glasses which break all to dust by breaking off a little small end; which is a great mystery to me". His annotator informs us that they are formed by dropping melted glass into water, that they are still called after Prince Rupert, who brought them out of Germany, where they are named "lacrymæ Bataviæ" [7]).

There were also a fair number of Dutch artists in London in the 17th century. It is well known that Sir Anthony van Dijck lived and painted in England for several years in the reign of Charles I., while Evelyn mentions Edward Pierce, a celebrated painter of history, landscape and architecture, who worked under him [8]).

Evelyn sat for his picture in oil to Vanderborcht, the younger,

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[1]) C. H. E. L. VII. 306-7. — [2]) *Ibid.* 308. — [3]) te W. II. 586; V. 170; de Vr. 291. — [4]) E. II. 181. — [5]) de H. I. 31, 38; de Vr. 367. — [6]) E. I. 312. — [7]) P. II. 170. — [8]) E. I. 294, 411.

painter and engraver in the service of Lord Arundel, who had picked him up at Frankfort. After the death of his patron he entered into the service of the Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II., and "lived in esteem in London for a considerable time". He died at Antwerp [1]).

Dirk Stoop came to England in the suite of Catherine of Braganza, and as a court-painter, designed and etched a series of plates, descriptive of the ceremonials and pageants on the occasion of her marriage. It is said that he etched a large portrait of the Queen, of which there are only two impressions known, one in the Pepysian library, and one in the print-room of the British Museum [2]).

More than once Pepys refers to Jacob Huysman, a great pícture-drawer, a Dutchman, "which is said to exceed Lilly". Walpole held that he rivalled Lely. Huysman drew a picture of Queen Catherine, to which picture he was himself most partial. He created himself the Queen's painter, and to justify it, made her sit for every Madonna or Venus that he drew. Pepys had his wife painted by him. His portrait of Izaak Walton, the author of "The Compleat Angler" is famous [3]).

In connexion with a print of Nonesuch House we read the name of "Hoefnagle" [4]).

In April 1663 Pepys went to Sir William Batten's "to see a little picture drawing of his by a Dutchman, which is well done". Pepys does not give the name of the "picture-drawer", but it is not at all unlikely that it was Huysman, whose name Pepys seems to have heard for the first time in August 1664, for he then refers to him as "one Hiseman, a picture-drawer, a Dutchman". A month later he calls him Houseman. In July 1666 Pepys once more goes to a Dutch painter, whose name he does not give, but this time to see "landskipps, for a winter-piece of snow, which indeed is a good piece, and costs me but 40s., which I would not like the money again for, it being, I think, very good" [5]). As in January 1668-9 Pepys called with this wife at Dancre's the great landscape painter, we have some idea that Henry Dankers, an engraver and painter employed by Charles II. to paint views of his sea-ports

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[1]) E. I. 15, 400-1. — [2]) P. III. 260-1 *note* [1].
[3]) *Ibid.* IV. 228, 247, 422; VI. 282; D. N. B. *in* Izaac Walton 59: 273-7.
[4]) E. II. *note.* — [5]) P. V. 366.

and palaces, who remained in England till, as a Roman Catholic, he preferred to leave England at the time of the Popish plot, was identical with the Dutch painter whose "landskipps" Pepys went to see in July 1666 [1]).

In April 1669 Pepys and his wife went to John Loten, a landscape-painter long established in London, but there saw "no good pictures. But", Pepys writes, "by accident he did direct us to a painter that was then in the house with him, a Dutchman, newly come over, one Evarelst [2]), who took us to his lodging close by and did shew me a little flower-pot of his doing, the finest thing that ever, I think, I saw in my life; the drops of dew hanging on the leaves, so as I was forced, again and again, to put my finger to it, to feel whether my eyes were deceived or no. He do ask £ 70 for it: I had the vanity to bid him £ 20; but a better picture I never saw in my whole life, and it is worth going 20 miles to see it" [3]).

In January 1677-8 Evelyn showed Lord Sunderland, the Secretary of State, a "rare piece of Vorsterman's (son of old Vorsterman)", a view, or landscape, of Lord Sunderland's palace at Althorpe in Northamptonshire [4]).

We must certainly not forget to mention William van de Velde, the Elder, painter of sea-fights to Charles II. and James II., and his son William, who received a pension of £ 100 to colour his father's drawings, and is known as one of the greatest of marine painters. Neither of them ever returned to Holland [5]).

We may add to this, that one portrait of John Williams, Archbishop of York, is ascribed to van Dijck, two to Cornelius Janssen, and that there are engraved portraits by van der Gucht and Houbraken [6]).

It is very interesting to observe the pleasure which Evelyn took in the comic pictures called "drolleries". So in August 1641, when he had arrived at Rotterdam, he visited the "annual mart or fair, so furnished with pictures (especially landscapes and drolleries, as they call those clownish representations) that I was amazed", and bought some of them, which he sent to England. He also purchased an "excellent drollery by F. Cowenberg", which he presented to his brother George of Wotton, where it was still in 1850.

In 1650 Charles II. was presented with "two rare pieces of drol-

[1]) P. VIII. 205. — [2]) Simon Verelst. — [3]) P. VIII. 289. — [4]) E. II. 118. — [5]) *ante* p. 184; Ch. Enc. — [6]) D. N. B. 61: 414-20.

lery, or rather a Dutch Kitchen, painted by Dowe, so finely as hardly to be distinguished from enamel" [1]).

After this no one will be surprised to hear that the English word "Easel", first recorded by the Oxford Dictionary in 1634, was borrowed from the Dutch artists in England, when the very spelling in ea indicates the sound of the corresponding vowel in the Dutch original "ezel", as in those days ea sounded as it still does in "great".

Considering the reputation of the United Provinces for learning and scholarship, it is but natural that many English students and writers should have gone for a longer or shorter time to that "central fosterplace of sciences for all Europe" [2]), either driven by political circumstances, as during the Civil War and in the years immediately before the Revolution, or by inclination. Such were, among many others in addition to those we have already referred to in the preceding pages: Sir Balthazar Gerbier, painter and architect, born at Middelburg about 1591. He went to England with Noel Caron in 1616, and was naturalized and knighted in 1628. In the middle of the century he was at the Hague again, where he published Dutch tracts. In 1658 he obtained a patent from the States General, and called himself "Patroon ende Commandeur van de Geoctroyeerde Guiaense Colonie". He sailed from Amsterdam for Guinea with his wife and family and a number of colonists. In 1661 he went back to England and betook himself again to architecture, on which he wrote some works. Van Dijck painted a half-length of him [3]); Owen Felltham [4]), Sir Thomas Browne, who became M. D. at Leyden, Sir William Brereton, Thomas Fuller, Sir Thomas Urquhart or Urchard. Samuel Butler, Richard Lovelace, whose father served under Sir Horace Vere and was killed in the Netherlands, and whose youngest brother was enabled by him to study tactics and fortifications in Holland, Abraham Cowley, Michael Honywood, Daniel Whistler, who graduated M. D. at Leyden and afterwards became Fellow and ultimately President of the College of Physicians [5]), Joseph Moxon, Andrew Marvell [6]), Sir Richard Fanshawe [7]), Nehemiah Grew, who graduated

[1]) E. I. 20, 27-8, 343. — [2]) H. Paul's Grundriss I. 15, cited by de Vr. 35. — [3]) D. N. B. 21: 227-9; P. III. 147.

[4]) For particulars about Felltham and the other writers mentioned here, we refer to D. N. B., unless otherwise stated.

[5]) P. II. 170 *note* [1]; IV. 354 *note* [5]. — [6]) de Vr. 309. — [7]) P. I. 188 *note* [5].

M. D. at Leyden and became Secretary of the Royal Society at the death of Henry Oldenburg, Thomas Otway, Nathaniel Fairfax, who graduated M. D. at Leyden, John Locke [1]), Bishop Burnet, who was naturalized in Holland, married a wealthy Dutch lady, and became William's Chaplain in 1688 [2]), and Matthew Prior [3]).

The close literary relations between the two countries did not cease with the demise of William III., and hundreds of students, among whom some of the foremost scholars and authors, flocked to Leyden in the 18th century, a fact which must no more be left unobserved than the political and military contact during the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries. Only, British influence on the Netherlands has been so much greater than Dutch influence on Great Britain since the early years of the 18th century, when the United Provinces gradually declined, that, for our purpose at least, we think we may draw the line at the death of William of Orange.

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[1]) te W. V. 159; de Vr. 341-4. — [2]) de Vr. 338-40. — [3]) *Ibid.* 331-3.