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(Transversal theme ; 1)



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Citizenship and Immigration in 16th- and Early 17th-Century England

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Die folgende Studie untersucht die Rolle des Bürgerschaftsrechts für die Eingliederung von Immigranten im frühneuzeitlichen England. Die Niederländerimmigration im späten 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert und die Schranken und Möglichkeiten der Immigranten als vollwertige Mitglieder der Stadt- und Staatsgemeinschaft am wirtschaftlichen, sozialen und politischen Leben ihrer Gastgemeinschaft teilzunehmen wird anhand von zwei Fallstudien – Norwich und London – beleuchtet. Hierbei wird herausgearbeitet inwieweit die Gastgesellschaft, aber auch die Immigrantengemeinden selbst den Grad der Integration durch das (Stadt-)Bürgerrecht bestimmten. Während die Londoner Stadtverwaltung den Einwanderern in Bezug auf ihre Einbürgerung eher Steine in den Weg legte, eröffnete die Norwicher Magistratur ihren niederländischen Mitbewohnern sehr schnell die Möglichkeit, Bürger der Stadt zu werden. Diese Chance wurde jedoch nur von wenigen Exulanten wahrgenommen. Die Immigranten ihrerseits bauten sich vielmehr bis in die zweite und dritte Generation alternative Netzwerke und Karrieremöglichkeiten sowohl in England selbst als auch mit den Kontinent auf.

*... he cannot be a perfect loyal subject
for that he hath no genealogy
of native English¹*

“[S]undry persons being strangers ... have of purpose brought their wives from the parts beyond the seas, to be delivered with child within this city, and in other places within this realm of England, and thereof do take special testimonials thereby to win to those children the liberty that other Englishmen do enjoy”². This complaint, brought before the Court of Aldermen in London in 1576, could have easily been part of the more recent debate on Irish citizenship where similar concerns were raised about an alleged massive influx of pregnant, predominantly African women, who, after giving birth in the country, could claim Irish citizenship through the birthright of their children³. The discussion of what constitutes rights of residence and rights to participate in a society as a full member is, thus, neither a new nor even a particularly modern phenomenon. In recent times, the scope of citizenship rights has been fundamentally extended (at least in Europe), particularly for women. Moreover, many of the legal boundaries of the nation-states have been superseded by EU citizenship laws. Nonetheless, some of the underlying concepts of citizenship, be it birthright or descent, which had been discussed well before the restrictions of passports to nationals of a respective state are still part of today’s arguments and debates⁴. Citizenship rights are not

necessarily linked to fully-established nation-states, but formed part of earlier discussions in societies with multi-layered perceptions of membership within different political (and social) corporations. The above-cited comment, drawn from an earlier debate about citizenship rights for aliens (who, in 16th century England were also called Strangers) focused on what was required to become a subject of the English crown as well as on what was required to become a citizen of London, England's administrative capital. At the same time as Londoners argued about rights and regulations for newcomers, local magistrates in towns and cities with a large immigrant population elsewhere in England discussed how to incorporate these newcomers into their commonwealth. In the Privy Council, whose members were well aware of the debates within the Corporation of London, further arguments against granting English-born children of foreign parents full recognition as English subjects were put forward. Here, it was argued, a child of alien parents should not be regarded as English, because "he cannot be a perfect loyal subject for that he hath no genealogie of native English but all foreign and strangers unto whom (as to his kindred) nature bindeth him"⁵. Thus, allegiance through descent was put forward as an argument by which territorial allegiance to the land and the ruler of one's birthplace were superseded by the allegiance to the birthplace of one's father and mother, because children of Strangers "retain an inclination and kind affection to the countries of their parents"⁶. The prerequisites of citizenship and the terms of acquisition were frequently debated and amended over the next few decades both at a national and a local level. The issue was eventually resolved by a compromise agreed in 1604, which lasted until the passing of the General Naturalization Act in 1709⁷. English-born children of foreign parents were made denizens, that is citizens with limited legal rights particularly in terms of property-ownership and inheritance patterns.

The following article examines more closely citizenship rights and immigration in early modern society. It discusses the role that the acquisition of citizenship played in determining the successful integration of an immigrant community into the host society. It focuses on immigrants in 16th and early 17th century England which in that period witnessed a massive influx of refugees from the Netherlands. It has been estimated that some 50,000 men, women and children arrived in the country during the reign of Elizabeth I alone⁸. The official correspondence between urban authorities, the Privy Council in London and exile community leaders described the latter as religious refugees fleeing the persecutions of the Spanish authorities in the Low Countries. Unofficially, however, many of them were economic migrants who had left their war-torn country in search of job opportunities abroad. For most of the immigrants a mixture of religious and economic motives may well have caused their departure from the Netherlands⁹. The majority established themselves in London and in towns in south-east England: Sandwich, Norwich, Maidstone, Southampton, Stamford, Colchester, Dover, Canterbury, and a few other places. For comparative purposes the study will focus on the two cities with the largest immigrant communities in England at the time: Norwich and London¹⁰. In response to the influx of foreign newcomers, town councils, guilds and immigrant community leaders in these two cities employed very different tactics, many of which centred around the rights and privileges of citizens. As will be shown, immigrants themselves reacted to both legal restrictions and legal opportunities provided by different forms of citizenship rights. After a brief overview on national rules and regulations, the study will focus on urban mecha-

nisms of inclusion and exclusion through the granting, modification and withdrawal of citizenship rights in 16th and early 17th century England.

Dutch and Walloon immigrants encountered many contradictions in the reception they received from their host societies in England. Both newcomers and the English authorities emphasized the Strangers' role as co-religionists and Protestant "brethren", who had fled their homes "for the sake of true religion"¹¹. Magistrates and ministers of the immigrant (Calvinist) churches, which quickly emerged as the political, social and cultural centres of the alien communities, portrayed the Strangers as God-fearing, law-abiding people, who maintained high standards of religious and social conduct. They led exemplary lives, it was alleged, and so could serve as role models for the native English population. The idea of offering a safe haven for persecuted fellow-Protestants was certainly hatched in part to overcome criticism and fear of unwanted economic competitors among parts of the urban population, who viewed the arrival of the Strangers with suspicion. Membership in the Dutch and Walloon churches was also seen as a means of ensuring religious orthodoxy amongst the alien population at a time when the religious landscape in England herself was still very much in flux¹². Immigration was officially welcomed by the English government¹³. Complaints from the Spanish ambassador in London, who accused Queen Elizabeth of harbouring rebels and financing – directly or indirectly – the Dutch Revolt only moved the queen to advocate a policy whereby Strangers should be scattered among several communities in south and south-east England rather than allowed to cluster all too visibly in the capital¹⁴. The motives of local authorities (and of members of the Privy Council such as Francis Walsingham and William Cecil, who actively promoted the establishment of exile communities in England) to invite Strangers and to grant them quite specific settlement and business rights (often set down in patents and charters either issued by the Queen or by the town authorities themselves) had been based on the hope of economic improvement, particularly in the ailing English textile industry¹⁵. Throughout early modern Europe Dutch and Walloon textile workers were renowned for their expertise in the production of new, fashionable fabrics and it was expected that they would introduce these techniques into the English textile market¹⁶.

Initially, the patents covering the number of immigrants, their religious freedoms (with their own church and community networks supervised by the respective bishop of the English diocese of their place of residence) and their economic activities (usually severely restricted to textile production and associated trades) might have been regarded as sufficient for both refugees and town authorities to regulate immigrant life in the host society. In cases of dispute community leaders referred to their charters for clarification¹⁷. However, large-scale immigration to cities such as Norwich – where newcomers quickly outnumbered the fixed number of "Therty Douchmen of the Lowe Countrys of Flaunders Alyens borne (not denizens) & being alle householders or master workemen"¹⁸ – and diversification of Stranger activities to areas outside the defined economic boundaries of the charters necessitated a reconsideration of the status of aliens in towns.

Generally, the English common law, civic laws and customs recognised four categories of legal persons: alien enemies, alien friends, denizens and natural-born subjects¹⁹. These cat-

egories dated back to the Hundred Years' War and England's possessions in France. Key criterion for the distinction between a subject and an alien was allegiance, which became further defined by descent. Those born in England or in a country under the allegiance of the dominion of the king were subjects, those born in territories outside the dominion of the king were aliens. *Jus solis*, thus, constituted citizenship. In the case of alien-born children in England, however, as seen in the above quotation, another category applied: *jus sanguinis*, under which those born to foreign parents, by 'nature' lacked the necessary allegiance to the English monarchs, and could, therefore, not automatically become full English subjects. Alien friends – the category applied to their parents, i.e. immigrants from a country on friendly terms with the English crown – were protected by the law, owed temporarily allegiance to the king and were obliged to take the oaths required of subjects. However, their rights fully to participate economically and legally in the host society were restricted. In accordance with the emphasis on property, so prevalent in early modern legal thought, this area was particularly circumscribed for aliens: they were prohibited from owning, inheriting, or bequeathing real property, or from engaging in legal disputes about property. First under Richard III, then under Henry VIII, these restrictions were specified with regard to the economic activities of aliens: they were now prohibited from leasing property, or from opening or keeping shops²⁰. Strangers were included in the payment of royal subsidies, and here the practice of double-taxation, as introduced in 1515, applied. Every alien had to contribute, with the minimum charge of four pence, later eight pence, regardless of their financial circumstances²¹. The newcomers had no right to political participation in town councils, nor were they eligible for the numerous town offices which enabled Englishmen to rise through the ranks of social respectability. To overcome these impediments to social advancement, aliens could become what was technically termed adopted subjects or denizens through the acquisition of letters patent from the crown. Denizenship permitted permanent residency and superior economic rights, which were defined from case to case. Letters of denization could be purchased without prerequisites. The price of purchase varied from 6s. 8d. to £2 12s. 4d. with a considerable rise at the end of Elizabeth's reign²². Denizens were still exempt from owning property, the threshold to full citizenship, and they could not automatically transfer their status to their children. However, they were allowed to keep a shop, which was seen as one of the major incentives to purchase such a patent. They were also allowed to buy land and might send their children to English masters as apprentices, thus promoting both the integration of and career opportunities for second- or third-generation immigrants. Aliens might also become naturalized subjects by a special Act of Parliament "with the assent of the whole nation", but this was very expensive and rarely practised. The difference between a denizen and a naturalized subject lay again in inheritance rights. A naturalized subject could inherit and bequeath his property to his children and enjoyed the full economic freedom and tax-status of a natural-born subject. With the General Naturalization Act, these distinctions were erased and letters of denization or naturalization were granted to immigrants free of charge²³.

Citizenship was also a distinguishing marker in towns and cities. Here, the status of a freeman defined the political and economic rights, and therefore the social status of town dwellers. The freedom of a city could be acquired through an apprenticeship, through patrimony (descent), marriage or redemption. It enabled its owner to free economic ac-

tivities, limited only by guild regulations and the law of town and country and the right actively to participate in town politics. By contrast, non-freemen had limited economic rights and no political voice other than through public protest (a form that was often used to air complaints and force town officials to action). Citizens were not the majority in towns, but they determined politics and the urban economy.

The influx of immigrants in Norwich quickly outstripped the demographic restrictions of the letters patent of 1565, prompting town officials to review the rather vague rights and regulations set down in the initial document. The patent was supplemented two years after the arrival of the first Strangers in the city by a draft of eight articles, which were formulated in consultation with church ministers and elders of the Dutch and Walloon communities who acted as leaders for the newcomers²⁴. Two aldermen, one of whom had to be a justice of the peace, were designated to oversee the Strangers' affairs. New arrivals had to be presented to them with a letter of recommendation from the alien community. Half of the document was concerned with economic regulations of the textile industry. Two articles regulated the aliens' obligation to pay "churche duetye" and "watche mon-eye". Both contributions were "according as other citizens do use"²⁵. The Strangers were, thus, not charged higher rates than the English inhabitants of the city. However, although they had to pay parish contributions to the English parish of their residence, they were exempt from the English charitable institutions and had to rely on their own – often very elaborate but also costly – relief systems organized by the refugee churches²⁶. This system remained intact through several generations of immigrants. While the rules and regulations for the economic activities of the Strangers were frequently reviewed and revised, no further mention was made of these charges, which indicates that they were quietly accepted by the newcomers. Besides these regular contributions, Strangers had to pay a special fee when they travelled abroad. In a letter sent by the Norwich magistrates to the Privy Council, written in 1575 and entitled "Benefite receyved by the Strangers in Norwich for the Space of Tenne Yeres", the city fathers stated: "They [the Strangers] pay every tyme they gooe beyond the seas for a pasporte of the said cittie iijs [three shillings], and charged lykewyse at Yarmouth before they may pass, notwithstandinge that the said straungers gave threescore pounds towards the mendinge of Yermothe haven"²⁷. Again, these fees seem to have been paid without conflict. Similar charges were also levied on the Strangers in Sandwich and elsewhere²⁸.

The two aldermen who had to supervise the Strangers' affairs, however, were quickly replaced by a new system, which put the responsibility for the good conduct and government of the alien community firmly into the hands of their own leaders. In 1568 the Norwich magistrates ordered the representatives of the refugee churches to set up a group of "Eight [Dutch] and Four [Walloon]" so-called Politic Men, who were responsible for crime control within their community²⁹. The committee's twelve members – usually from the higher echelons of the refugee society – were annually elected by the Strangers. Before they could take up office, they were presented to the Mayor's Court for approval. They met weekly to act as judges and arbiters in disputes among Strangers. Three volumes recording the activities of the committee are still preserved in the Norfolk Record Office and in the British Library respectively. They offer an insight into the Politic Men's remit and responsibilities³⁰. Their sphere of competence ranged from the supervision of orphans

in the community to that of 'economic watchdog' – the committee registered apprenticeships among Strangers, punished breaches of economic laws, and settled business disputes between immigrants and, occasionally, between Englishmen and Strangers. They vetted newcomers before accepting them as members of the refugee churches, and they kept the registers of immigrant numbers which were regularly checked by the magistrates. In many cases they also acted as guardians of their compatriots' moral conduct and manners, thus discharging a role usually reserved for parish councils and courts. Even violent crimes such as assault and manslaughter were occasionally dealt with by the Strangers' organizations without interference from the town authorities³¹. Similar institutions apparently designed after the Norwich model were also established in other immigrant communities in England, notably in Canterbury and in London³².

The records of the Norwich committee offer an impressive insight into the day-to-day business of the Politic Men, who tried to avoid appeals to the Mayor's Court, but would, as an ultimate source of justice, refer irreconcilable cases to the English courts³³. Cases that were eventually dealt with by the English authorities did not receive any special treatment by the Mayor's Court. Dutch or Walloon delinquents were treated with the same rigour as (but not more harshly than) their English counterparts³⁴. Here, apparently, the Strangers had succeeded in creating a status for their members which made them equal to native Englishmen and – women in the city's law courts – a privilege that was rare among minorities in early-modern towns both in England and elsewhere in Europe³⁵. This acceptance of the Strangers as integrated, but different, members of the city's population certainly also reflected the Norwich magistrates' strong religious leanings towards continental Calvinism, which was particularly prevalent from the 1560s onwards³⁶. Here, the leaders of the Strangers churches were regarded as allies in the common fight against misdemeanours and other breaches of the social order. Banishment from the city, a punishment which fell outside the jurisdiction of the immigrant councils, was often requested from the city magistrates for persistent offenders or for those immigrants who refused to join the churches and became notorious for (often alcohol-fuelled) violence. In these cases, the Mayor's Court normally just executed the request of the immigrant leaders without undertaking its own inquiry³⁷. The records clearly demonstrate the magistrates' rationale for the devolution of their power to alien institutions. Well into the early decades of the 17th century, the minutes of the Politic Men were kept in Dutch or French, not in English. Court cases involving men and women who were unfamiliar with that language, and probably with some of the legal concepts of the host society, would have been much more difficult and time-consuming than a tribunal manned with Dutch and Walloon compatriots, whose integrity was guaranteed through a detailed vetting process, which was supervised by the English authorities.

For the Strangers their courts were a welcome means to deflect the authorities' attention from immigrant matters while at the same time guaranteeing urban stability by close supervision and control of their compatriots' activities. The separate, but integrated system of authority remained intact well into the 17th century. It survived Archbishop Laud's attacks on the refugee churches and their institutions in the 1630s. It also survived the gradual decline in membership of the Dutch and Walloon churches among second- and third-generation immigrants who only reluctantly regarded the acquisition of the status

of a freeman as a more attractive road to economic and social success than membership in an immigrant network. As early as 1598, the Mayor's Court in Norwich offered freeman-status to the immigrant population under the same conditions as were required for native English freemen, but this offer was not taken up by many aliens³⁸. Those who had been actively engaged in a trade or craft refused to embark on another seven-year apprenticeship and obviously did not encourage their sons to be apprenticed with English masters³⁹. The simple purchase of citizenship remained an opportunity restricted to a few rich merchants such as Jacques de Hem, who paid £50 into the municipal coffers in 1602 and had his seven children officially registered as citizens at the Mayor's Court in the same year⁴⁰. Pressure to acquire citizenship was eventually increased by the Mayor's Court. On 11 April 1614 the following entry was recorded in the Mayor's Court Book:

It was this day agreed that concernyng the Strangers of the Dutch Congregation those that are not Denizens shall be p[er]mitted to use the manufacture of hoaseynge within this Cytty and liberties thereof notwithstandinge they come not in for their freedoms. They payenge a forren fyne for their Tolleracon therin. And for the other that are Denizens as well those that are borne wthin this kyngdome as those borne out of the land and sithence have been made denizens; that they shall be to all purposes as those that are English borne⁴¹.

The city fathers were obviously interested in attracting members of the lucrative trade of hosiery, which was firmly in the hand of the Strangers, to apply for citizenship. Fifteen days after this decision Peter Wallewein alias Wallwyn, one of the most prosperous hosiers in the city, appeared at the Mayor's Court and was offered the right to work in his trade for £20. As part of this permit, "he should be exempt from all publique chardges as bearinge of the feat Sheriffs Amerciaments & the like & from attendinge and servinge at sessions"⁴². Wallewein flatly refused this offer and offered to pay a mere £5 for the privilege. This, in turn, was rejected by the Mayor's Court which forbade Wallewein to continue his trade in the city. The affair dragged on for a whole year and affected other Stranger hosiers, who also refused to buy these permits or to circumvent them through the purchase of denizen- or freeman-status. Eventually, in July 1615 the affair was settled in favour of the Court. On 5 July 1615 the Mayor's Court Book recorded the compliance of the alien hosiers – who agreed to the payment, but did not take up the alternative option of acquiring citizenship⁴³. Others, however, did and the registers of freemen show a significant rise between 1613 and 1619 in alien-born or sons of alien-born hosiers. 17 out of 29 newly-registered hosiers were of Dutch or Walloon descent⁴⁴.

The Norwich city authorities thus took a keen interest in raising citizenship numbers among prosperous Strangers, such as hosiers, who fulfilled the expectations of economic innovation through the introduction of new products and their technologies in the textile industry. Yet, alien artisans in those trades in which they were regarded as in competition with the native labour market were not encouraged to become registered with English guilds or acquire Norwich citizenship. The economic activities of Dutch and Walloon bakers, for instances, were severely restricted to products for consumption only within their own community. In times of agrarian crisis, such as the 1590s with high flour and bread prices, alien bakers and their activities were severely circumscribed. Well into the 1630s, no alien baker was registered with the Norwich baker's guild, which had a strong lobby in town government and enjoyed close personal relations with Norwich's Mayors

and Aldermen and which obviously favoured the exclusion of alien competitors on the bread and cake market⁴⁵.

Notwithstanding the opportunity it afforded to participate in town politics through committees and offices on the different levels of town government, citizenship was apparently not an attractive career path for Strangers and their descendants. Peter de Keyser, alias de Keser, was the first alien-born office holder in Norwich from the Dutch community: he became constable of St. Peter Mancroft in 1592. De Keyser had already spent many years in England and had acquired a letter of denization in 1584⁴⁶. On 12 September 1587 he had been made freeman of Norwich and worked as a hosier in the city. His career in town administration, however, did not prosper. Unlike his English colleagues who used the office of constable as a springboard to higher office in the city, de Keyser disappeared from the municipal records. Other officeholders of Dutch or Walloon descent are only recorded in the 17th century and, here again, the interest in status enhancement through the *cursus honorum* of municipal duties remained rather lukewarm. None of those men who eventually acquired municipal offices rose above the rank of constable⁴⁷. In matters of business and politics, Strangers clearly preferred the informal networks that they had established both among their fellow-immigrants and also with members of the English urban elite⁴⁸. This is probably not surprising among the first generation of Strangers who might have regarded their stay in the country as temporary and who maintained close social and economic ties to their places of origin, but even second- and third-generation immigrants did not respond enthusiastically to the opportunities provided by the city's authorities to become Norwich citizens.

Citizenship rights in Norwich were, thus, closely related to economic opportunities. However, the acquisition of citizenship rights was not necessarily envisaged by the Strangers as a high road to social and economic success. Alternative networks linked to their places of origin, opportunities to rise through the social ranks of immigrant organizations such as the Politic Men, or the church elders for instance, offered sufficient status enhancement for aspiring immigrant families who, at the same time, forged close ties with Norwich's native merchantile and political elite⁴⁹.

Immigrant experiences in London seem to have differed substantially from the life of their compatriots in Norwich. Surprisingly, the London city authorities had not issued rules and regulations for the newcomers. Neither did they acquire letters patent from the Queen. The first royal initiative to invite Dutch and Walloon refugees to England dated back to the reign of Edward VI, who was particularly interested in the establishment of an exile Calvinist church in London. The patent of 1550 granted to this first wave of immigrants headed by Calvinist divines such as Johannes à Lasco regulated the religious organization of the newcomers, but it was not concerned with other issues such as economic rights or restrictions⁵⁰. The Calvinist community of Strangers in London was dissolved with the accession of Mary Tudor to the English throne. After her death, arrangements for the return of the refugees were made, but, again, religious considerations overshadowed other questions of alien resettlement in the city⁵¹. The supervision of a large influx of Strangers into a city which underwent dramatic social, economic and demographic changes during the 16th century, was, thus, extremely difficult⁵². Here as

in Norwich the Strangers' churches were seen as the main regulators of alien behaviour. In order to strengthen the churches' authority the London city fathers issued a decree in 1568, after which non-religious refugees were only allowed to stay in the city for one day and one night. One persistent bone of contention in regard to the Strangers' opportunities to acquire London citizenship was their economic status. Unlike Norwich, London had a very powerful guild system, where the livery companies strictly regulated their crafts and trades. Guild membership required, but also facilitated citizenship. As Joseph Ward has recently observed, in early modern London livery company membership was a class marker, because members had access to markets and opportunities which were formally denied to others⁵³. It also was a marker for political participation and involvement in town government. Companies, therefore, reacted swiftly and sharply against unwanted competition. The Statute of Artificers of 1563 stipulated that artisans must serve a seven-year apprenticeship before they could ply their craft, but it is unclear whether continental immigrants were likewise required to serve an English apprenticeship. Some guilds, such as the Goldsmiths' or Weavers' Companies accepted the (usually shorter) Dutch or Flemish equivalents. Other guilds such as the Merchant Tailors had no policy of admitting aliens, thus forcing them to work illegally or outside the city's jurisdictions in the suburbs. Aliens quickly became aware that in order to practice their trades legally and unmolested by English informers they needed to acquire at least denizenship. In the early 1560s ministers and elders of the Dutch and Walloon churches lobbied members of the Privy Council persistently in that regard. A petition with the list of supplications for denizenship was presented to the Council which highlighted young men with the desired skills in the textile trade. In order to strengthen their case, the community leaders of the Walloon Church had supplemented the 101 candidates by a list of 133 members of their communities who were already long-term denizens (some of whom had married English wives) and had acquired property and positions in the city thus demonstrating the long-term beneficial effects of the Strangers' integration to the Council. This strategy was eventually successful. On 29 December 1561 Lord Keeper Bacon was granted powers to enrol denizens at pleasure for a suitable fee. Those included on the lists were interviewed and assessed for their suitability and by June 1562 at least 50% of those listed had been granted denizen-status⁵⁴. This strategy, however, presented only a short-term solution to the Strangers. In the second part of the 16th century the London authorities constantly raised the criteria for the acceptance of immigrants into the city's economic and political networks and made integration through citizenship or denizenship increasingly difficult. After 1574 children of aliens or even denizens born in England were no longer permitted to work as apprentices with English masters. Protest from aggrieved denizens, who pointed to the considerable amounts of money that they had invested in the acquisition of their status, met with some sympathy in the House of Commons, where they pressed for a bill to reverse London's new rules. Yet this did not have the desired result⁵⁵. The Strangers were more successful in blocking another bill, by which the children of aliens should be forced to pay the alien rate of subsidy. It was rejected in the House of Commons on the second reading⁵⁶. Further anti-alien initiatives, particularly with respect to their economic activities, were discussed both in London's Common Council and in both Houses of Parliament, but the Strangers still had powerful advocates for their interests

and no further legislation was passed in the 16th century⁵⁷. The existing measures, however, closed alien opportunities for integration into their new surroundings and made the acquisition of citizenship for many Strangers too expensive to consider. In 1606 the London Common Council again reinforced the restrictions which limited employment and trading rights exclusively to citizens. A new act forbade

persons not being free of the said city ... to sell, or put to sale any wares or marchandises within the said City or Liberties of the same by retaile, or keep any open or inward shop, or other inward place or room for them [sic] sale, or putting to sale, any wares or marchandises, or for use of any Arte, Trade, Occupation, mystery or handicraft within the same⁵⁸.

Strangers were not exempt from corporate obligations and had to serve their turn as watchmen or constables, but here, as in Norwich, the immigrants did not perceive the rise through the ranks of town office as a desirable way to social advancement⁵⁹. As in Norwich, aliens found more suitable career opportunities within their own communities. Membership in the refugee churches actually rose in the second half of the 16th century from 58% in 1568 to 70% in 1593, probably in response to the above disincentives to citizenship in the city⁶⁰. In 1593 only 70 aliens, or 1%, were recorded as free denizens (those with the letter of denization and the freedom of the city)⁶¹. Thus, only a small percentage of aliens achieved upward mobility through citizenship rights. Here, as in Norwich, in comparison to mid-century figures the Stranger population declined in the last decades of the 16th and the first years of the 17th centuries. In the capital as well as in the other immigrant communities alternative job opportunities on the continent might have been viewed as more attractive than life and work in London which seemed to be increasingly restricted.

No less than today citizenship rights in early modern Europe provided an important safety net for members of a community, be it at a national or local level. Citizenship rights determined social and economic inclusion or exclusion within the community. For Dutch and Walloon immigrants in 16th and early 17th century England, however, the acquisition of citizenship rights was just one means (and also a costly one) of successful integration into the host society. The Norwich town authorities regulated immigrant life in close co-operation with immigrant community leaders and they also opened alternative safety lines for immigrants through a detailed set of rules and regulations: these allowed the Strangers a high degree of autonomy in matters of civic order and its supervision and also struck a balance between curbing competition with native artisans and encouraging technology transfer. Those of the London authorities, by contrast, lacked these provisions. Councilors in the capital only reacted ad hoc to complaints and grievances from pressure groups both within the native population and from immigrant communities. While Norwich's city authorities tried to encourage the acquisition of citizenship, particularly for the more prosperous Strangers, London made it increasingly difficult for Strangers to become integrated on an equal footing with the native population. In both cases, the Strangers did not see citizenship as a high road to economic and social success. Individual career options for those men and women who had already uprooted themselves once and had developed a high degree of mobility included a return to the home country and onward migration either to other places in England or to the newly-established United Provinces where towns (particularly in Holland) competed to attract immigrants by offering spe-

cific advantages such as tax privileges, free housing and free citizenship⁶². Even for those who chose to stay in London or Norwich, aspirations to become part of the city's elite were balanced by the career opportunities within their own networks which were seen as real alternatives to the *cursus honorum* in English town governments. These separate networks remained intact for second- and third-generation immigrants and, generally, a *modus vivendi* was found between natives and immigrants. Particularly in London aliens found their economic niches, often overlooked or quietly tolerated by the city authorities⁶³. Despite frequent complaints from all sides, and despite frequent threats of violence against illicit artisan work and other breaches of rules and regulations for Strangers mob activities against immigrants (who tended to cluster in certain areas of towns) certainly remained the exception and did not emerge as a more or less organized form of 'self-help' against unwanted competitors in an increasingly difficult job market⁶⁴. Through a careful interplay between town authorities, their patrons in the Privy Council, and guild representatives, immigrants managed to negotiate a separate social, cultural and economic space for themselves, based on the notion of religious solidarity, economic progress, and the diffusion of desirable skills in 16th and early 17th century England.

NOTES

- ¹ Public Record Office [hereafter: PRO], SP 12/157/2.
- ² Corporation of London Records Office [hereafter: CLRO], Repertories of the Court of Aldermen, 1544-1604 (19), f. 38v.
- ³ After a referendum held in summer 2004 where the overwhelming majority of 79 percent of voters had approved changes to the existing citizenship laws, the Irish government implemented a new law which reduced the right to Irish citizenship for children born to non-Irish parents in Ireland after 1 January 2005 to those whose father or mother was lawfully resident in Ireland for at least three out of four years preceding the child's birth. Previously, Irish citizenship had been granted to every child born in the country regardless of the nationality of their parents or the duration of their stay in the country. For further details see <http://foreignaffairs.gov.ie/services/citizenship>.
- ⁴ Since 1852 passports in the United Kingdom have been issued to UK nationals only. Before this date a passport could be issued to a person of any nationality as a promise of "safe conduct" from the King or Queen.
- ⁵ PRO, SP12/157/2.
- ⁶ J.H. Hessels (ed.), *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum*, 3 vols, Cambridge 1889, vol. 3, part 1, pp. 270-72, CLRO, JOR 20, part 1, fols. 176v-177v.
- ⁷ *Journal of the House of Commons*, vol. 1, 1604, 21/4. For the General Naturalization Act see D. Statt, *Foreigners and Englishmen, The Controversy over Immigration and Population, 1660-1770*, Newark 1995.
- ⁸ Estimates about the number of refugees are notoriously difficult. For a recent discussion see N. Goose, *Introduction*, in N. Goose - L.B. Luu (eds.), *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, Brighton 2005, pp. 1-40.
- ⁹ For a discussion of the motives of early modern migration and historiographical trends in migration research see A. Schunka, *Glaubensflucht als Migrationsoption. Konfessionell motivierte Migration in der Frühen Neuzeit*, "Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht" 10/05, pp. 547-566.
- ¹⁰ Estimates of the alien population of Norwich calculate around 3,000 Dutch and Walloons resident in the city in 1569-70, while the native population numbered around 8,000. Immigration figures doubled in the following decade while the overall population rose to 14,000-15,000 people. In these peak years of immigration (which were, however, capped by severe outbreaks of the plague in the 1570s) the percentage of immigrants in the city rose to a substantial 30%. With the perspective of alternative migration options opening up, particularly to the Northern Netherlands, Dutch and Walloon immigration into Norwich fell at the beginning of the 17th century. Immigrants also started to leave the city for more lucrative employment opportunities in

- the United Provinces. For the figures for Norwich see R. Eßer, *Niederländische Exulanten im England des 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1996, p. 49; J. Pound, *Tudor and Stuart Norwich*, Old Woking 1988, p. 28f. The Stranger population in London was comparable to immigrant figures in Norwich with 7.000 aliens registered in 1593, but compared with London's overall population at this time, the Strangers accounted for a mere 3½ percent of London's inhabitants. For more detailed figures see Goose, *Introduction*, in Goose - Luu (eds.), *Immigrants* cit., pp. 14-29.
- ¹¹ Hessels, *Ecclesiae* cit., vol. 2, p. 124, 'Supplication of the Ministers, Elders & c. of the Community of Strangers in London, to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, London 29 January 1560'; *ibid.*, pp. 899-900, 'Petition of Strangers belonging to the Dutch and French Congregation of London, to her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, London 29 April 1599'.
- ¹² See, for instance, the letter of the Privy Council to Bishop of London, Edwin Sandes from 29 June 1574: "...Our desyre is that as soche which resorte to no devine service allowed of in this realme, but use the cloke of religion for other practices, should be commanded to departe the realme", Hessels, *Ecclesiae* cit., vol. 2, pp. 499-501, here: p. 500.
- ¹³ A more critical perspective on government policy to encourage immigration is presented by L.B. Luu, *Natural-Born versus Stranger-Born Subjects: Aliens and their Status in Elizabethan London*, in Goose - Luu (eds.), *Immigrants* cit., pp. 57-75.
- ¹⁴ See J. Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion*, 4 vols, London 1709-1731 and Oxford 1820-1840, reprint New York 1966, vol. 2, pp. 540, 574.
- ¹⁵ For Norwich, see: Norfolk Record Office [hereafter: NRO], 17/d, Dutch and Walloon Strangers Book [hereafter: DWSB], 1564-1643, 16-18. For the largest immigrant communities in London no specific charters or letters patent were issued. This practice, however, remained the exception. All other major immigrant cities issued more or less detailed orders for the newcomers. In recent years individual exile communities in England have been studied in some detail. See, for instance, M.F. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities at Sandwich During the Reign of Elizabeth I (1561-1603)*, Brussels 1995; Eßer, *Niederländische Exulanten* cit.; B. Magen, *Die Wallonengemeinde von Canterbury von ihrer Gründung bis zum Jahre 1635*, Frankfurt/Main 1973; A. Spicer, *The French-Speaking Reformed Community and their Church in Southampton, 1567- c.1620*, Stroud 1997. See also Goose - Luu (eds.), *Immigrants* cit. and L.B. Luu, *Immigrants and the Industries of London 1500-1700*, Aldershot 2005.
- ¹⁶ The debate on the impact of the Strangers on England's textile industry has dominated much of the older historiography on early modern migration. It was informed by the paradigm of 'modernization'. This debate is of no further relevance to this article, but a few references might be useful here: H. Schilling, *Innovation through Migration. The Settlement of Calvinistic Netherlanders in 16th and 17th Century Central and Western Europe*, "Social History/Histoire Sociale", 16, 1983, pp. 7-33; Id, *Confessional Migration and Social Change. The Case of the Dutch Refugees of the 16th and 17th Century*, in P. Klep - E. van Cauwenberge (eds.), *Entrepreneurship and the Transformation of the Economy (10th-20th Centuries)*, Essays in Honour of Herman van der Wee, Leuven 1994, pp. 321-333. For a general overview on government-initiated projects and the textile industry in early modern England see Luu, *Immigrants and the Industries* cit., Chapter 3.
- ¹⁷ See, for instance, Hessels, *Ecclesiae* cit., vol. 3, pp. 1209.
- ¹⁸ NRO, 17/d, Dutch and Walloon Strangers Book, 1564-1643, fol. 16-18.
- ¹⁹ M.J. Jones, *British Nationality Law and Practice*, Oxford 1947, pp. 31-32.
- ²⁰ I. Scouloudi, *Returns of Strangers in the Metropolis 1593, 1627, 1635, 1639: a Study of an Active Minority*, Huguenot Society of London, Vol. 57, 1985, p. 41.
- ²¹ J. Youings, *Sixteenth-Century England*, London 1984, p. 127.
- ²² Luu, *Natural-Born versus Stranger-Born Subjects: Aliens and their Status in Elizabethan London*, in Goose - Luu (eds.), *Immigrants* cit., pp. 60-61.
- ²³ The act was repealed only three years after it was passed, but several bills for similar statutes were introduced towards the middle of the 18th century. See D. Statt, *The City of London and the controversy over immigration, 1660-1722*, "The Historical Journal", 331, 1990, pp. 45-61.
- ²⁴ Not all refugees joined the Strangers churches in spite of strict regulations to this effect both by the town magistrates and the Dutch and Walloon community leaders.
- ²⁵ DWSB, fol. 18v.

- ²⁶ The Strangers churches in England offered detailed provisions for the maintenance of the poor, the guardianship of orphans, and general support, such as subsidies to travel expenses for members of the community who moved to other communities and for newcomers. For further details see the community studies cited in footnote 15.
- ²⁷ S.P.D. Eliz., Vol. CXXVII, no.18, repr. in R. Tawney - E. Powers (eds.), *Tudor Economic Documents*, 3 vols, London 1924, vol. 1, p. 316.
- ²⁸ Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities* cit., p. 126.
- ²⁹ DWSB, 1564-1643, p. 19v.
- ³⁰ DWSB, 1564-1643; British Library [hereafter: BL], MC 181/1, MS2204, Norwich Strangers' Book 1583-1600, BL, Add. MS 43,862 Book of the Norwich Dutch Church 1605-1615. Douglas Rickwood has provided a transcript and a detailed discussion of the Dutch and Walloon Strangers Book in his unpublished M. Phil. thesis, *The Norwich Dutch and Walloon Strangers' Book of Orders, 1564-1643*, University of East Anglia 1989.
- ³¹ See, for instance, the entry in the Book of the Norwich Dutch Church, 1605-1615, fol. 124. On 27 April 1613 the Politic Men charged two men and three women of the Dutch community with payment of a fine of 6s. 4d. as a penalty for violent and aggressive behaviour. For a detailed discussion of the role of these committees in Norwich, see Eßer, *Niederländische Exulanten* cit., pp.72-84. For similar arrangements in London, see A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth Century London*, Oxford 1986, pp. 181-214.
- ³² For the Walloon community in Canterbury, see Magen, *Die Wallonengemeinde von Canterbury* cit., pp. 147-157. For the establishment of Politic Men in the London Dutch community see O.P. Grell, *Dutch Calvinism in Early Stuart London. The Dutch Church in Austin Friars 1603-1642*, Leiden 1989, p. 86.
- ³³ See, for instance, NRO, Book of the Norwich Dutch Church, fol. 23, 23v, 116, 160, 165v; NRO, The Books of the Proceedings of the Mayor's Court [hereafter: MCB] 1603-1615, fols. 470v, 473. The guardian of Lydia Colens, Remens van Rockeghems, was accused of misusing Lydia's inheritance, but refused to reveal the financial transactions which he undertook, allegedly, on behalf of the girl. The Politic Men repeatedly asked for his collaboration in this matter and eventually had him summoned before the Mayor's Court. After the hearing, van Rockeghems not only revealed his dealings, but also paid a fine for obstructing due procedures.
- ³⁴ For further details see Eßer, *Niederländische Exulanten* cit., pp. 156-160.
- ³⁵ For a discussion of the treatment of outsiders at urban courts see, for instance, J. Eibach, *Städtische Straffjustiz als konsensuale Praxis: Frankfurt a.M. im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, in R. Schlögl (ed.), *Interaktion und Herrschaft. Die Politik der frühneuzeitlichen Stadt*, Constance 2004, pp. 181-216.
- ³⁶ This tendency gathered momentum after 1556 when 10 Aldermen died after an influenza-epidemic and were replaced by staunch Protestants with Puritan leanings. See: M. McClendon, *The Quiet Reformation: Norwich Magistrates and the Coming of Protestantism, 1520-1575*, Stanford 1999.
- ³⁷ See, for instance, MCB 1576-1581, fol. 518; MCB 1582-1587, fol. 473; MCB 1587-1595, fol. 797.
- ³⁸ Registration as a freeman required an additional charge of 13s. 4d. which was to be paid into the city coffers. For further details see Pound, *Tudor and Stuart Norwich* cit., pp. 46-57.
- ³⁹ P. Millican (ed.), *The Register of the Freeman 1548-1713*, Norwich 1934, pp. 150, 186, 60, 61, 110, 222.
- ⁴⁰ The Assembly Minute Books, NRO, No. 5, 1583-1613, fol. 240v., MCB, No. 14, fol. 119v, 8.2. 1605.
- ⁴¹ MCB No. 14, fol. 429v.
- ⁴² MCB No.14, fol. 431.
- ⁴³ MCB No.15, fol. 18. See also fols. 20, 21, 22.
- ⁴⁴ Millican, *The Register of the Freeman* cit.
- ⁴⁵ Eßer, *Niederländische Exulanten* cit., pp. 216-223.
- ⁴⁶ Pat. 37 Eliz., p. 10, in R. Lemon (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Elizabeth 1581-90*, London 1865, p. 384.
- ⁴⁷ Eßer, *Niederländische Exulanten* cit., pp. 160-161.
- ⁴⁸ For links between the exiles and their places of origin see R. Eßer, *News Across the Channel – Contact and Communication between the Dutch and Walloon Refugees in Norwich and their Families in Flanders, 1565-1640*, "Immigrants and Minorities", 14, 2, 1995, pp. 139-152.
- ⁴⁹ Members of the extended Wallewein family, for instance, frequently acted as Politic Men, made generous

- donations both to the Dutch Church in Norwich and the English parish church of their place of residence and also maintained close ties to their places of origin and family and friends in other places of refuge on the continent. See, for instance, Adrijan Wallewein, Prerogative Court of Canterbury Wills [hereafter: PCC] 107, 25 Stafford, 26.01.1601; Peter Wallewein, PCC138, 80 Drake, 26.03.1620; Judith Wallewein, PCC 151, 5 Skynner, 26.09.1626; Peter Wallewein sen., Norfolk Archdeaconry Court Wills 78, Sharpe, 04.06.1629.
- ⁵⁰ For details on the establishment of the first Strangers Church, see Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, cit., pp. 23-46.
- ⁵¹ For details see *ibid.*
- ⁵² S. Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds. Structures of Life in Sixteenth Century London*, Cambridge 1989; I. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London*, Cambridge 1991.
- ⁵³ J.P. Ward, *Immigrants, Guilds and the Labour Market*, in Goose - Luu (eds.), *Immigrants* cit., pp. 76-87 (at pp. 77-78).
- ⁵⁴ The Dutch church borrowed £40 from two of its members to help poorer brethren who could not meet the considerable expenses. For further details, see Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities* cit., pp. 146-149.
- ⁵⁵ PRO, SP 15/24/67.
- ⁵⁶ T.E. Hartley (ed.), *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I, 1558-1581*, Leicester 1981, pp. 481-2, 486.
- ⁵⁷ For further details see Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities* cit., pp. 291-295.
- ⁵⁸ *An Act of Common Councill*, cited in J. P. Ward, *Immigrants, Guilds and the Labour Market* cit., p. 79.
- ⁵⁹ CLRO, Rep. 16, fols. 246v, 255v, 257v, Rep. 18, fol. 326.
- ⁶⁰ Luu, *Immigrants and the Industries of London* cit., p. 151.
- ⁶¹ Scouloudi, *Returns* cit., p. 13.
- ⁶² M. Hart, *Freedom and restrictions: State and economy in the Dutch Republic, 1570-1670*, in K. Davids - L. Noordegraaf (eds.), *The Dutch Economy in the Golden Age*, vol. 4, Amsterdam 1993, pp. 105-130.
- ⁶³ Luu, *Immigrants and Industries* cit., p. 167.
- ⁶⁴ For a recent discussion on xenophobic attacks on Dutch and Walloon exiles in early modern England, see N. Goose, 'Xenophobia' in *Elizabethan and Early Stuart England: An Epithet Too Far?*, in Goose - Luu (eds.), *Immigrants* cit., pp. 110-136.

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SOURCES

Letters Patent of Queen Elizabeth to Thirty Douchmen to inhabit and trade in the city of Norwich, 1 Nov. 1565

Elizabeth by the Grace of God etc. To all and singular our Justices officers ministers and subjects whatsoever Greetings know ye that for divers considerations as speshally moving as well for the helpe repaire and amendment of our Citty of Norwich by planting in the same men of knowledge in sundrye handye crafts as also for the relief and convenient placinge of certeyne Douchmen of the Lowe Countryes of Flaunders being verye skilfull herein We of

our Especiall grace certeyne knowledge and meere mocyon have Lycenced given and granted and by these presents for us our Heyers and successors doe Lycence geve and grant full power Lybertye and Authorety to our wellbeloved the Mayor cittyens and comynaletye of our Cittie of Norwch afforesayde and to their successors and unto Jno Powell William Stene Henrye Clarke Peter van Brughen and Bartelmew Johnson and to such other amounting in the whole to the Nombre of Therty Douchemen of the Low Countrys of Flaunders Alyens borne, not denysons beinge all housholders or Maister woorkmen as by the Mayor and Com'ynaltye or our said Cittie of Norwch for the time beinge under their Com'on Seale are or shall be Licenced and admitted to be Inhabiting wthin our Cittie of Norwch aforesaid. And that as well the sayde Mayor Citezens and Com'ynaltye and their successors and evyre p'ticuler p'son having or that shall have any house or houses wthin our said Cittie of Norwch as also the saide Jno Powell Wyllyam Stene Henrye Clarke Peter van Brughen Bartilmew Jnoson and the rest of the said thirtie Douchmen of the Lowe Countries of Flaunders alyens and evrij of them and in defaulte of evry or any of them such as in forme hereafter specyfyed shall succede them shall and may lawfully have enjoy and use all and every benefit com'odetie thing and things wh. hereafter in these p'sents are expressed Lymtyed appointed or specyfyed that is to say. First that the sayd Mayor Citezens and com'ynaletye may receive allowe and p'mit to be Inhabiting within our sayd City of Norwch the said Jno Powell William Stene Henrye Clarke Pieter van Brughen and Bartilmew Jnoson and the resedue of the said thirtie Douchmen of the Lowe Countries of Flaunders wth theyr Servants and famelies being Douch people or English and that the sayd Mayor Citezens and com'ynaltye and their successors and evrye p'ticuler p'son of them may graunt set or lett to ferme for terme of severall yeares or under Leeses of houses or shops to evrye or any of the sayd thirtie Douchmen of the Lowe Countries of Flaunders alyens for to dwell and Inhabitt in evry or any dwelling house shop mesuage or Tenement wth the app'tenances wthin the sayd Citie of Norwch in as ample manner as they may doe unto any of our Lieg or subjects naturally Borne wthin this our Realme of England. And if any of the sayd Thirtie Douchmen Alyens before mentioned shall fortune to dye or otherwyse to departe and to leave his or their habitacions wthin the sayd City of Norwch that then from time to time instead of evrye such so dyenge or departing or Leaving his habitacion there they the sayd Mayor Citezens and Com'ynaltye may Lawfully and saffely as is afforesayd receive allowe and admit to inhabit wthin the sayd City of Norwh such other Douchmen alyens and their families for the time being under their Com'on seall as they shall thinck to be meet their to inhabit And also they and all other p'son or p'sons having any house or houses in the sayd Citty shall and may lawfully and safely as afforesayd graunte or set and Lett to ferme any dwelling houses shops mesuage or tenement wthin the sayd citty of Norwh That is to say one house or mesuage wth their app'tenances to evrij such Douchman alien in forme aforesaid Licenced to inhabit for yeares or at will as they can agree And that the sayd Mayor Cittiens and Com'ynalty and evry other of the before Rehearsed p'son and p'sons shall and may Lawfully doe and execute the premises from time to time without any contempt offence or Diplesure of us or Heyers or successors and wthout any forffiture or penalty or anij other Losse or damage to be incurred forfeyted or sustained the severall estatutes or acts of parliament made in the first yeare of the rainge of King Richard the third or in the two and Thirty yeare of the Reigne of our most Noble and dear father King Henrye the Eight or other wtsoever to the contrary in any wyse notwithstanding And Further or our especiall grace certeyne knowledge and meer mocion we doe graunte for us our Heyers and successors that the sayd John Powell William Stene Henrye Clarke Peter van Brughen Bartholomew Johnson and all and everye of the rest of the sayd thirty Douchmen Aliens wch in their severall housholds or families for the time

being shall inhabit within the said Citty of Norwh as in afforesayd wth their servants not exceeding the number of tenn in each of their families and households and in the whole at any one time not exceeding the number of thirtie households for the hole exercising of the faculties of making Bays Arras Sayes Tapstrey Mockadoes Staments Carsay and such other outlandish com'odities as hath not bene used to be made wthin this our Realme of England. May lawfully and safely inhabitt wthin the sayd Citty of Norwh and there exercise the sayd Faculties above mencioned onely and none other and for those Intents and purposes may safelie and Lawfully hyre and to take to ferme dwellinghouses shops mesuage or tenements of forme aforesayd And that uppon occasion of death or departure of any of the says thirty Douchmen Aliens for time to time dyeing or departing as is afforesayd the other Douchmen Alyens succeeding as aforesayd wthin the number aforesayd shall and may doe and use the Like to all Intents and purposes as he or they shall fortune so to dye of departing have done and that wthout any sute vexcation or Trouble of any p'son or p'sons And also wthout any paine penalty or other forfeiture Lose or damage to be incured forfeited to us our heires or successors for the same the said severall estatutes Acts of p'lament as aforesayd or any other Acte statute p'ision usage custome p'cripcion Law or other thing whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding Nevertheless our plesure is that in the hole thirtie households they not exceed at any time the number of thre hundred p'sons being aliens in men women and children and these our Letters pattents shall be as well to the Mayor cittizens and com'ynalty and evry of them as to the sayd aliens and to all and every other p'son and p'sons to whom it shall appertaine a Lawful and sufficient warrant and discharge for the doeing and executing of all the premises and our further plesure is that no Informacion be received in any of our Courts to impeach or mollest any p'son or p'sons so doeing or using the benefit or Libertie of this our Graunt uppon paine of our displeasure provided always that these our Letter pattents shall continue untill by our other Letters pattents under our great seall of England to the sayd Mayor and com'ynalty hereafter to be directed the same shall be revoked and repealed In Witness whereof etc. witnes of our selfe at Westminster the fife day of November the seaventh yeare of our Reigne.

Concordat cum Recordo

R. Kighley

Norfolk Record Office 16/d, *Dutch and Walloon Strangers Book, 1564-1643*, fol. 16-18.
 Printed in William John Charles Moens, *The Walloons and their Church at Norwich*, 2 vols, Lymington 1887-1888, vol. 2, pp. 244-245.