

The London Dutch Refugees in Search of a Home, 1553-1554

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LUSTILY singing one of John a Lasco's favourites, the Second Psalm,

Hoe rasen so die Heydenen te hoop? En die volcken betrachten ydel dinghen . .

A small company set sail from Gravesend, September 17, 1553. Welcomed by the English after the death of Henry VIII as refugees from religious persecution in the Netherlands, they now, after the death of the boy king Edward and the accession of the Catholic Mary, were once more embarking on a voyage in search of a new haven and a new freedom of worship. Before they found their promised land, they were to sail through a watery wilderness and endure the bitterness of winter and the hatred of men. Whether one draws from this saga of the sixteenth century a lesson in Christian constancy or of Protestant bigotry, it stands as one of the most dramatic and heroic episodes of a colorful era. The long and lugubrious history of intolerance does not begin with the religious dissension of the sixteenth century, nor does it end with the ecclesiastical subsidence of the next.

The episode described in this article will serve, with poignancy doubled and redoubled by Catholics and Protestants alike, as an example taken at a time when the ferment of modern ideas was surely and gradually, though as yet imperceptibly, forcing a new interpretation of religious truth and the rights of conscience upon the minds of men. The folk who thus sailed away in autumn were members of the Dutch church of Austin Friars in London, established under letters patent of Edward VI, July 24, 1550.**(1)** Enjoying unprecedented freedom, they were all the more shocked by the sudden turn the accession of Mary brought to Protestantism. Representing the largest refugee community in England, this church had assumed responsibility for assistance to other groups and to their fellows still struggling against the Spaniard in the Low Countries. Several leaders of European fame were associated with it, among them John a Lasco,**(2)** John Utenhove,**(3)** and Martin Micronius.**(4)**

Its impact on the polity and belief of the English establishment is not to be underestimated. But now word in no uncertain terms had come from the Privy Council to the effect that the Dutch Protestants must leave England forthwith. Edward had died in July; by September they were ordered out on very short notice.**(5)**

(1) A recent book recounting the history of this church from its foundation to its resurrection after destruction by a German bomb on October 15, 1940, is by J. Lindeboom, Austin Friars: History of the Dutch Reformed Church in London, 1550-1950 (The Hague, 1950). The standard survey of the Dutch refugee movement as a whole is A. A. van Schelven, De Nederduitsche Vluchtelingenkerken der XVIe Eeuw in Engeland en Duitschland in hunne Beteekenis voor de Reformatie in de Nederlanden (The Hague, 1909). For a special treatment of these and other refugees as an economic force see Frederick A. Norwood, The Reformation Refugees as an Economic Force (Chicago, 1942).

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The number of individuals who participated in this migration is subject to dispute, but apparently the larger figure of about four hundred is preferable. **(6)** When they sought for means of leaving England, they discovered two Danish ships ready to sail to Denmark. One was of fair burden, the other rather small. Since the Reformation had come to Denmark permanently under the rule of King Christian III, **(7)** a good friend of Edward VI, the refugees thought that here was the heaven-sent opportunity to escape from England and attain security at the same time. Without further consideration of the willingness of the Danish court to accept them, they engaged the ships and set sail in September. **(8)**

(2) Born 1499 of a noble family, died 1560 in Poland. He studied at Bologna, and learned Hebrew with Conrad Pellican in Basel, 1524-25, lodging with Erasmus. Between 1525 and 1538 he was in Poland. In the early 1540's he was in the Rhineland and Emden, and then returned fully Protestant, along the lines of Zwingli. Having visited Cranmer in England previously, he came to London in 1550 to become superintendent of the Dutch church. See Hermann Dalton, *Johannes a Lasco* (Utrecht, 1885). Cf. article by Dalton in *Realencyklopedie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, XI, 292-96, and George Pascal, *Jean de Lasco* (Paris, 1894).

(3) Born in Ghent, died 1565. He fled to Cologne in 1544 because of persecution and then took up residence in Strasbourg. His second visit to England, in 1549, prepared him to serve the Dutch church established there as elder. See Fredrik Pijper, *Jan Utenhove, zijn leven en zijn werken* (Leiden, 1883). There is a long note on him in Jan Hendrik Hessels, ed., *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum* (Cambridge, Eng., 1887-97), II, 3, n.2.

(4) Born in Ghent, fled to Germany and there met Utenhove. Came to England in 1549 and became first minister of the Dutch church. See Jan Hendrik Gerretsen, *Microniuis* (1895).

(5) Bishop Steplsen Gardiner apparently was active in urging the expulsion of the refugees (Calendar of State Papers, Spanish, XI, 217). We find the Privy Council inviting the refugees at Glastonbury to leave quietly (John Roche Dasent, ed., *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, IV, 341, 349). Not all the Dutch in London departed in September, for some remained a few months under the leadership of Peter Delaenus. But this marked the definite end of the first period of the strangers' church, as is indicated by the terse reference made by the Privy Council on August 27, 1554, to Austin Friars, which "standeth presently shut up without any Divine Service used in the same . . ." (*Acts of the Privy Council*, V, 68).

(6) Various estimates give 165 (Fernand de Shickler, *Les églises de réfugiés en Angleterre* [Paris, 1892], I, 68), 175 (Van Schelven, *Vluchtelingenkerken*, p. 106), about 400 (Hessels,

Archivum, II, 5, n. 2; 38, n. 2; 98i n.2), 350 plus families (Pijper, Utenhove, p. 102; and others). The figure revolves around the question as to whether the number 175 means the complement of each vessel or both together. Articles in the Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London (among others, Henry J. Cowell, "The Sixteenth-Century French-Speaking and English-Speaking Refugee Churches at Frankfurt," XIV [1929-33], 62-95; George B. Beeman, "The Early History of the Strangers' Church, 1550-1561, XV [1933-37], 261-82) are largely dependent on the works just cited, at least for the Continental aspect of the movement.

(7) Not Christian II, as Van Schelven states (*Vluchtelingenkerken*, p. 105).

(8) The sources of information on this memorable voyage are rather limited. Lasco sent brief letters from Emden to Henry Bullinger on March 3, 1554 (*Corpus Reformatorum*, Calvin Opera, XV, 64). Bullinger replied, writing to Utenhove, May 17, 1554, giving thanks for the safe arrival of Lasco and Utenhove in Emden. He suggests that one D. Chytraeus, a professor at Rostock, would be more friendly than others (cf. Hessels, *Archivum*, II, 45). He also wrote to John Calvin on March 13, 1554 (*Corp. Ref.*, Calvin Opera, XV, 8i), recounting their sufferings up to the expulsion from Denmark. Of some value on the Danish portion of the trip is the later work of Ludwig Harboe, *Nachrichten von dem Schicksale des Johann von Lasco und seiner aus England vertriebenen reformierten Gemeinde in Dänemark* (Copenhagen, 1758). It first appeared as a foreword to D. G. Zwergius, *Det Siellandske Clerisie* (Copenhagen, 1754).

There are several purely polemical pieces connected with men like Joachim Westphal and Menno Simons. But the source that renders all of these relatively unimportant is the thorough account made by Utenhove, *Simplex et Fidelis narratio de instituta aC demunt dissipata Belgarum, aliorumque peregrinorum in Anglia ecclesia*. A carefully edited edition by F. Pijper appears in Samuel Cramer and F. Pijper, eds., *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica* (The Hague, 1903-14),

IX (1912), i-151, with an "Inleiding," 3-28. This is one of the rare books of the sixteenth century. Published at Basel in 1560, there are extant only a few copies on the Continent, one in the British Museum, one in the Rare Book Room of the New York Public Library. A microfilm of this copy in my possession was used for this article. At one time a question was raised over the authorship, principally by Abraham Kuypers. But this doubt has been eliminated by more recent scholars, notably Fredrik Pijper. A more serious charge has been that of polemical intent. No one conversant with the literature of the sixteenth century is surprised to discover polemic in even the most scholarly and profound works, and no one who reads Utenhove's book will miss the bias, but there is no indication that Utenhove distorted facts. The book is as reliable as any account by any direct participant can be. Utenhove wrote to Calvin explaining the purpose of the work, saying that the truth about the exile from England would be known to the whole world, and that now men would know what kind of man Westphal is (July 30, 1558, *Corp. Ref., Cal. Opera*, XVII, 268). Melancthon had no objection. Calvin's reaction to the suggestion that he write a recommendation is interesting: he refused, believing it would not be "useful" (*ibid.*, XVII, 379). Its importance is enhanced by the foreword by Lasco, who refers to ". . . iro clarissimo D. IOANNI UTENHOVIO, collegae nostro, et nostrarum in Anglia pridem Ecclesiarum presbytero: cuius sane tiri probitas, fides, gravitas, eruditio atque integritas ipsa notior pius passim omnibus, quam ut illa egeat commendatione" (p. 5). Utenhove completed work on the book by August, 1557; early in 1558 Lasco wrote the foreword; and early in 1559 the manuscript was in the hands of Joannes Oporinus in Basel (cf. Hessels, *Archivum*, II, 77, n. 9; Pijper, Utenhove, pp. 178-83).

(9) Utenhove, *Narratio*, pp. 21 ff. Pijper and Pascal devote two or three pages to this Danish portion.

(10) Various spellings, probably the island near Kristiansand. Pascal, *Jecan de Lasco*, p. 243, apparently confuses this place with the next haven.

(11) "Malstranensem" in Utenhove, *Narratio*, p. 23, and the secondary works. Probably Marstrand. at that time Norwegian, now Swedish.

(12) *Ibid.*, p. 26.

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Leaving Gravesend far behind, the two caught the breezes of the North Sea and sailed toward the hoped for peace of Denmark. But shortly a storm, always dangerous in the shallow North Sea, tossed the ships so far apart and off their course that they were separated and forced to find their own way to the Continent.**(9)** After almost a month the smaller ship arrived safely at Elsinore (Helsingor), in the north of Seeland on the Sound. Those who had congratulated themselves that they had won passage on the larger ship now had good reason to bewail their fate. For they were driven on the perilous coast of Norway and forced to take refuge in an abandoned harbor known as Flekkerö.**(10)** Here Lasco, Utenhove, and Micronius, after giving thanks for their escape from the reefs through the fog and storm, turned to assess their condition and found it bad. The people were already worn out, had little food left, and did not know just where they were. When food was located, a great feast brightened their outlook and retrieved hope. After sojourning for six days waiting for a favourable wind, they sailed on. Previously, however, five or six of them, despairing of the sea route and in fear of starvation, set out on foot along the Scandinavian coast on the way to Denmark. After six months one of them arrived more dead than alive at Copenhagen. The rest, after two days at sea, were again driven upon the shore, this time in the shelter of Malstrand.**(11)** There they stayed ten more days. At this juncture the three leaders decided to board a small boat with a few companions and proceed along the coast, arriving at Elsinore after three days. The ship arrived a few days later, by October 29. All now thought their arduous journey was done. It was just beginning.

There followed a tedious series of negotiations with the king of Denmark, Christian III, and his counsellors, lay and ecclesiastical. Since the monarch was holding court at Kolding, on the east side of Jutland, Lasco, Utenhove, and Micronius journeyed over to seek audience early in November. After waiting for two days they were called in, not to talk with the king but to listen to a sermon by Paul Noviomagus, the court preacher, on the text Philippians 3:17-2J.**(12)**

After emphasizing the real presence he launched into a thinly veiled attack on the refugees, calling them false prophets and sacramentarians. Then and only then were they granted an audience with Christian, who received them kindly enough and accepted their petition for refuge.**(13)** He withheld his judgment until later. After waiting several days they decided to force the issue and sought a disputation with Noviomagus, in the presence of the king. This brought, on the fifteenth, the royal answer: Although the strangers would not be permitted to worship openly according to their own rites, they might remain if they would conform to the Danish Lutheran practice. If they wanted to leave, the king would assist their departure. Finally, there would be no public disputation. He did accept the lengthy written reply they had prepared against the sermon of the court preacher. This resulted in a visit by Noviomagus, during which he sought to defend his sermon. He told them the king held them in suspicion because of their practice of the Lord's Supper in London and because of sectarians in their midst. But he himself wished them well. Apparently everyone in Denmark rooted for them in their presence.

(13) Incorporated in *ibid.*, pp. 28-38. The document is interesting for its moderation and idealism. It also reflects the freedom with which the refugees had worshipped in England under Edward. Toward the end it strikes the altruistic note: "Non nostram ipsorum, sed Christi gloriam quaerimus: multoq[ue] libentissime humana in nobis (etiam cum nostra pudefactione) f[er] closing parenthesis not in original, agnoscentur omnia, si n[on] modo Christi Domini gloriam, in sua doctrina, per nostri pudefactionem illustrari uere tideamus. Illi enim crescere, nos autem minui oportere, libenter- rtum loanne Baptista profiteamur."

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Later another counsellor sought them out and proclaimed on the solid ground of Scripture: "Blessed is the man who walketh not in the counsel of the sacramentalists, nor standeth in the way of the Zwinglians, nor sitteth in the seat of the Zürichers."**(14)** The three exiles disdainfully rejected what they regarded as a childish perversion of Scripture. The chapter was running out. On November 17 they were ordered to leave Denmark, they and all their flock. The king made a friendly gesture by paying the expenses incurred during their visit to Kolding and gave them funds to help their departure. But when they sought permission to leave the old, halt, and very young over winter, they were rebuffed. Only the children of Lasco himself, with their teacher, might remain. All the rest must leave, whether by land or by sea. On the nineteenth the three left Kolding on their way to Bremen and thence finally to Emden. Lasco and Utenhove went there directly, arriving December 4. They were well received by Countess Anna of Oldenburg and were given permission to arrange for the establishment of a refugee church there with some others who had stayed behind in England and now were in Emden. Micronius stopped off at Hamburg, and then sought to assist the main body of refugees, who, after being stranded in Copenhagen, had departed for various Baltic ports.**(15)**

The main party had been well received by the municipal authorities of Copenhagen.**(16)** They were exempted from public burdens and given permission to rent houses and follow their sundry trades. Although they were forbidden to establish schools for their children, they were happy. Their treatment so far had led them to expect cordial relations. But the arrival of the order from the king, November 26, together with the explanatory letter of Lasco, plunged them again into gloom. What would become of them in the middle of the winter? How could they leave Denmark with families, feeble, ill, infants? Even the Danish senate took compassion and appealed to the king to postpone the expulsion until spring. He or his council was adamant. By now it was December 8, and they were told to be out by evening of the next day. Then the authorities extended them three days. With great difficulty permission was obtained to leave behind a seriously ill man and his family. All the rest were to leave at once. They divided into four groups, three to go by sea to Rostock, Wismar, and Liubeck, the fourth by land to Gedser (on the southern tip of the Danish archipelago), and thence over the Baltic Sea to Rostock.**(17)**

The archival studies of Ludwig Harboe **(18)** report, in a list printed in Danish, that fifty-seven sailed on one ship, ten on a small vessel, fifty on the ship to Wismar, and thirteen overland to "Giidtzöer." About thirteen sick and infirm were left behind. At the height of a thick snowstorm, the ice churning in the Baltic, three ships set sail with orders never again to touch the coast of Denmark. After about two terrifying days they sighted the German coast.

(14) Ibid., p. 94.

(15) Van Schelven, *Vluchtelingenkerlen*, p. 107, describes briefly the movements of these: Pascal, Jean de Lasco, pp. 249 ff., deals with his man in more detail.

(16) Utenhove, *Narratio*, p. 100.

(17) Ibid., p. 115. Pijper, Utenhove, tells the story to this point, following Utenhove's account. He errs in giving the date of departure as November 13 rather than December 13. He, and most of the other secondary sources, ignore the rest of the journey.

(18) Quoted by Pijper in a footnote to his edition of the *Narratio* in *Bibliotheca Relorinatoria Neerlandica*, IX, 89, n. 1.

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One of the ships anchored at Warnemünde, the Baltic port for Rostock. **(19)** After repeated petitions the voyagers were allowed to stay, but only for eight days. Thence they proceeded to Rostock, the old university city on the Warnow River, where they met the group that had come overland from Denmark. Apparently some went on to Wismar, while others remained because of the cold. The Reformation in a strongly Lutheran form had been introduced to Rostock in 1534. **(20)** As a result of the hostility of the local pastors, therefore, the refugees were forced to leave by January 12. **(21)**

At Wismar, one of the ports on Mecklenburger Bay, not far west of Rostock, their story of persecution is repeated, with dramatic overtones. Here were reunited two groups, the one from Rostock and the one that had sailed here from Denmark. The latter had a difficult passage through stormy waters laden with grinding ice that almost stove in the ship. Once in the estuary leading to the city, their ship was frozen tight. Half frozen themselves, they were brought the rest of the way to Wismar with the aid of local fishermen. **(22)** They were welcomed at first by the authorities in this prosperous Hanseatic city where the duke of Mecklenburg, Johann Albert, was in residence. Soon, however, charges of Mennonite propaganda were raised. At this juncture Micronius, who had left Denmark with Lasco and Utenhove, arrived (January 25) with the intention of defending the refugees in disputation. In consequence a rather notable debate was held February 6 and 15 between Micronius and Menno Simons himself. **(23)** Dealing largely with the Incarnation, it had little result except to arouse the inhabitants against the exiles. A more serious argument now developed between the Lutherans themselves, led especially by the zealot disputant Smedenstede.

The outcome of all these debates was the same: no agreement was reached, the exiles ordered out. They might well have suffered less if they had talked less. Micronius especially was ambitious in taking on all comers, regardless of consequences. Duke Johann Albert would have permitted them to stay over winter, but the Lutheran ministers made it impossible. Toward the end of February they were once more on their way, this time to Lübeck.

There they met the group that had sailed directly from Denmark. But they arrived at the worst possible time, shortly before publication of an ordinance requiring all of them to leave within four days. Lübeck had come over to the Reformation in 1530 under the leadership of Johann Bugenhagen, who arrived in the city that year. **(24)**

(19) Utenhove, Narratio, p. 118.

(20) Cf. Axel Vorberg, Die Einführung der Reformation in Rostock, Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, No. 58 (Halle, 1897), especially pp. 55-56.

(21) Utenhove, Narratio, p. 119.

(22) Ibid., pp. 120 f. The Anabaptists of this city, barely tolerated themselves, were very active in providing for their comfort. Cf. Charles H. Smith, The Story of the Mennonites (Berne, Ind., 1947).

(23) Utenhove, Narratio, pp. 122 ff. Out of the debate came the tracts by Micronius and Simons respectively, Waerachtigh Verhaal and Een gants claer en duylick Anttwoord. Cf. Realencyklopadie, XIII, 57. Micronius was Zwinglian on the Lord's Supper; he was influenced by his friend Bullinger.

(24) Heinrich Schreiber, Die Reformation Lübecks, Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, No. 74 (Halle, 1902) p. 69. Close relations were maintained between this city and Rostock.

The group from Copenhagen had made a fast voyage of two days to Travemünde, on the estuary leading to Lübeck. From there they made their way overland by wagon, stopping along the icy road to send two of their number forward with their petition. The authorities were reluctant but finally allowed them to enter the city.**(25)** The Lutheran theologians gave them no rest, and as a result their sojourn was already almost over when Micronius and the others from Wismar arrived. This was the final blow. Disputing over the nature of the body of Christ after the Resurrection and his condition at the right hand of God, one point of agreement only was reached: the refugees must depart the city within four days. This was on February 26.**(26)**

Since Hamburg, on the Elbe flowing into the North Sea, is adjacent to Lübeck on the Baltic, the wanderers had little difficulty traveling from the one city to the other. But their troubles began as usual after they had arrived. The stage was set for a classic example of religious intolerance and persecution. Hamburg had become Lutheran by 1529. According to the fifty-ninth article of the Recess of that year, anyone who was not henceforth of the Lutheran persuasion "would not be tolerated in this city and its environs, would be prosecuted and upon conviction punished," for "unity of religion is the best bond of peace and of trust in political affairs."**(27)** Into this atmosphere strode the adamant figure of Joachim Westphal, whom Hermann Dalton has called "the obstinate, belligerent exponent" of the Lutheran teaching on the Lord's Supper."**(28)**

To enter Hamburg was indeed to enter the den of the lion. The refugees did not know this, however, because since October, 1553, other refugees from England, largely English, had been received in a friendly manner by the authorities. As news of their approach from Lübeck came, however, the attitude of those responsible for the public peace changed. Micronius, as always, did the worst possible thing—engaged in a disputation with Westphal over the question of the authority of church and Scripture, Micronius defending the latter. By March 3 Westphal had become bitter, calling the refugees "devil's martyrs . . . much worse than thieves and poisoners, for they poison true doctrine and steal away the Word of God and murder souls."**(29)**

The outcome was inevitable: they were ordered out within a few days. They found a ship and set sail for Emden toward the end of March. When John Calvin heard what had been done to them at Hamburg, he wrote a tract against Westphal in May, 1554, in which he said:

(25) Utenhove, *Narratio*, pp. 165 ff.

(26) [ibid., p. 191.

(27) Quoted in *Realencyklopedie*, VII, 380.

(28) Dalton, *Johannes a' Lasco*, p. 497. Born about 1510 at Hamburg, he studied theology at Wittenberg under Luther and Melancthon, spent some time there lecturing and preaching. Cf. Hessels, *Archivum*, II, 84, n. 12. In 1540 or 1541 he became pastor of St. Catherine's Church in Hamburg. In 1552, just two years before Lasco's flock arrived, he published a warning against any who would deny the real presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper: *Farrago conjusaneorum et inter se dissidentium opinionum de coena Domini, ex Sacramentariorum libris congesta* (*New Schatz-Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, XII, 328).

(29) Quoted in Cowell, "Refugee Churches at Frankfurt," *Huguenot Society of London, Proceedings*, XIV, 67.

He has not contented himself with preventing them from finding shelter, and with obliging them to disperse in the midst of a very rigorous winter, but as far as lies in his power would exterminate them from the world. I see now that our not approving of their conclusions suffices to incite them to a strange and barbarous cruelty against all of us indifferently, and that they are bursting with such venomous pride against us that they would rather have peace with the Turks, and brotherhood with the Papists, than any truce with us.**(30)**

It was an old story now for these folk who had left England in the fall of 1553. They had sought refuge in at least six places. They had been rebuffed and driven out everywhere. Little wonder if some of them despaired. A last effort, as it were, took them to East Friesland, where the widowed Countess Anna of Oldenburg was reported well disposed toward devout and homeless Christians. In sharp contrast to the bigoted devotion to ecclesiastical unity manifested in the decrees at Hamburg, an ordinance of 1545 at Emden provided:

In case, however, anyone should be found who had been exiled only for the sake of the Gospel, who was willing to live agreeably, and who could furnish sufficient testimony, such a one men must not drive out of the land.**(31)**

A favorable wind drove their ship through the North Sea to Emden, where Lasco and Utenhove already had found a home and were prepared to make them welcome.

Here assembled the various fragments of the Dutch refugee movement, the last to arrive being those who left England with the Delaeni, Walter and Peter, in the spring of 1554. The strangers were partially assimilated into the indigenous Protestant movement in Emden, but not entirely. They were not a pure refugee church, largely because of the similarity of language. But a special diaconate was established for their service and assistance." **(32)**

The people were very friendly, and the magistrates permitted the exiles to follow their trades freely. After the middle of the century Emden flourished. It became the center for the refugee churches, indeed the center for the Dutch Reformed Church, culminating in the great synod of 1571. Within a few years some six thousand Protestants came to join the fellowship of Calvinist refugees in the city that was to be called "Moeder der vluchtelingen en ballingen" and "Herberg der uitverkorenen Gods."**(33)**

Most of them stayed in Emden at least until the death of Queen Mary. Utenhove is found in Norden in 1556, but in October he accompanied Lasco to Poland, where both worked until 1559. Returning to western Europe, where he published his memorable history, he crossed the Channel to England, bringing with him the original charter granted by Edward VI in 1550. The Dutch Reformed Church re-established in England by Elizabeth, however, was not on the broad and firm basis of the letters patent. Perhaps the most suitable final word on this sixteenth-century religious saga is said by Utenhove himself, near the end of his *Simplex et Fidelis* narratio:

In conclusion we wish that all pious men, seeking to follow Christ, should entertain no evil against those who have persecuted us thusly on our cross, and that they should not desire, like James and John of old, that the fire of heaven should descend on them for their inhospitality; but that rather, following the teaching of Christ and in unity with our God, they should fervently pray that they might be converted and saved.**(34)**

(30) Ibid., p. 68.

(31) Dalton, Johannes a Lasco, p. 502, n. 3.

(32) Cf. Norwood, Reformation Refugees, pp. 22-23, 309, 149. See also Van Schelven, "Zur Biographie und Theologie des Valerand Poullain," Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLVII

(1928), 227-49.

(33) Dalton, p. 503.

(34) Utenhove, Narratio, pp. 237-38.

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