

THE PRE-MIGRATION PHASE
AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE
FOR THE MIGRATION OF FOREIGN ARTISTS
WORKING AT THE TUDOR AND
JACOBEOAN COURTS IN LONDON (1485–1642)

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SUMMARY

This article explores the period before the act of migration, here called the pre-migration phase. It is examining foreign artists working at the Tudor and Jacobean courts in London between the coronation of King Henry VII in 1485 and the abdication of Charles I at the start of the first English Civil War in 1642. The study of the pre-migration phase is essential to answer the question why some artists came to London and why some of them left.

The analysis is based upon the Artist-Migration-Model (AMM, Wagner 2017), which distinguishes between voluntary and coerced migration. The voluntary group includes artists that were already fully established in their home countries, such as Hans Holbein or Anthony van Dyck, and who used their short- or long-term stay at the royal court as a stepping stone to advance their careers. The unusually rich source material for Pietro Torrigiano is used to analyse not only external factors for migration but also how much character traits impacted on the artist's career. Despite his personal flaws, Torrigiano emerges as an expensive and highly reliable artist, vouched for by fellow countrymen with enormous amounts of money.

The role of politically motivated migration is stressed with great urgency as the coming and going of the creative workforce was highly affected by the political situation in mainland Europe as well as in England, particularly during the Civil War. Here the focus is on Cornelis Ketel, child migrant Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, Hans Eworth and Cornelius Johnson. Transcultural networks and community spirit are of enormous importance, as well as the need for artists to position themselves as outsiders in a positive light and adapt to new working and living environments in an efficient and pragmatic way.

The motivations of human migration are often complicated and multifaceted and can be influenced by external as well as personal factors. The analysis of the movement of early modern artists is furthermore a challenging endeavour because of fragmentary documentation and a common lack of archival material. However, in order to fully understand an artist's migration history, a holistic approach is necessary that takes into consideration the complexity of each biography. The introduction of the Artist-Migration-Model (AMM) in 2017 was an attempt to tackle this intricacy, albeit it was done in the full knowledge that a schematic translation is not entirely free of defects.¹

The analysis of the pre-migration phase and the conditions, motivations and reasons behind any short- or long-term movement is essential for the understanding of each unique artistic personality. To conduct this enquiry, I will discuss early modern European artists that were active at the Tudor and Jacobean courts in London between 1485 and 1642. The start of this period is marked by the coronation of King Henry VII and its end by Charles I's abdication and departure from London at the start of the English Civil War.

I will analyse voluntary movement to England through the example of Pietro Torrigiano, and from England by looking at Cornelis Ketel. The phenomenon of child migration will be examined through the case study of Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger. Forced adult migration is going to be investigated by looking at the examples of Hans Eworth (to England) and Cornelius Johnson (from England).

The role of politically motivated migration will become apparent and needs stressing with great urgency. This applies not only to those arriving in England but also to artists forced to return to continental Europe, particularly during the English Civil War.

THE ARTIST-MIGRATION-MODEL AND ITS RELEVANCE

The AMM was first introduced in 2017 as an attempt to capture, categorise, compare and contrast individual migration histories of artists in order to draw conclusions regarding more general trends (fig. 1).² For example, when looking at a selected representative group of European artists through the lens of the AMM, we can state that a majority – predating the industrial revolution – left their place of origin voluntarily with the aim of improving artistic skills or because of financial circumstances.³ Those individuals can be considered as part of the circulating elites.⁴

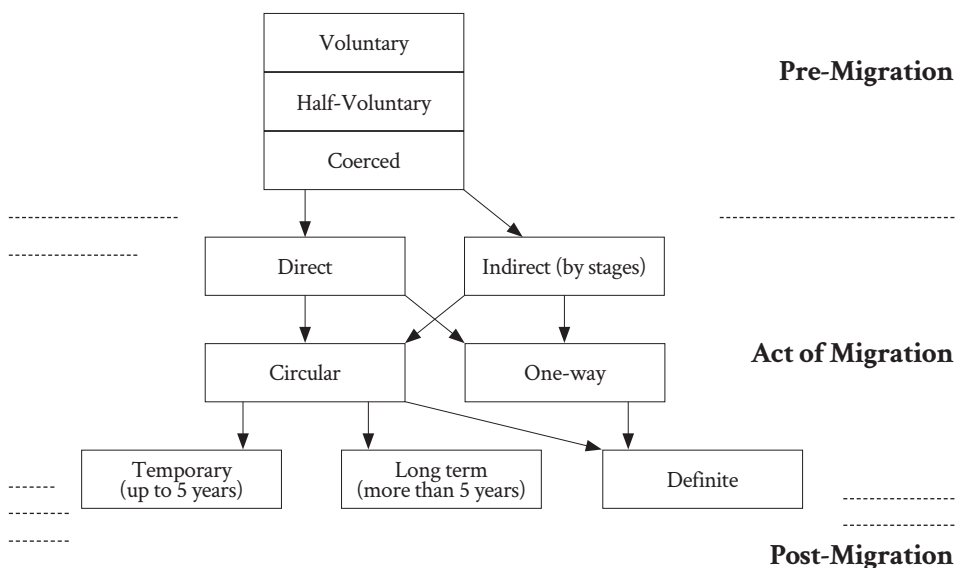
1 Wagner, Kathrin. "The migrant artist in early modern times". In: *Artists and Migration 1400–1850. Britain, Europe and beyond*. Ed. by Kathrin Wagner, Jessica David and Matej Klemencic. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017, 2–20.

2 Wagner 2017, 5–6.

3 Wagner 2017, 17.

4 The term 'zirkulierende Elite' was used by Schwings, Rainer Christoph. *Deutsche Universitätsbesucher im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*. Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1986; *History of the University in Europe*, 2 vols. Ed. by Walter Rugg. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011; Hahn, Silvia. *Historische Migrationsforschung*. Frankfurt a. M.–New York: Campus, 2012.

Lind suggests that ‘journey’ needs to be distinguished more clearly from the term ‘temporary migration’.⁵ However, she agrees with Hahn that we can call it ‘migration’ when the person travelling gives up their place of residence to look for a new one; she also states that it is often difficult to find evidence due to the previously mentioned issue of a lack of primary and archival sources.⁶ Outlining this empirical-evidence-conundrum of early modern migration research is important and necessary. However, it needs to be raised in a wider discussion about the relevance of theoretical models in the humanities and social sciences, where hard factual evidence is often lacking in discussing the early modern period. The



1. Kathrin Wagner. Artists-Migration-Model, 2017

question then arises whether models such as the AMM should be omitted altogether, or used to draw relevant conclusions while openly acknowledging their flaws and imperfections. The latter approach will be taken in this text.

The circumstances of the pre-migration period require close inspection as they set the framework for any movement that is to follow. As outlined in the AMM, they can be categorised as voluntary, half-voluntary and coerced. These conditions affect the actual undertaking of the act of migration and how it is conducted (direct, indirect, circular or one-way). An insight into the motivation of artists leaving their original places of residence is also paramount to the understanding of their later retention. The AMM was devised to investigate early modern artists, sculptors and architects but, in fact, could be used to analyse any migration movement, whether taking place five hundred years ago or today.

5 Lind, Sabrina. “Review of Kathrin Wagner, Jessica David and Matej Klemencic (eds.) *Artists and Migration 1400–1850. Britain, Europe and beyond*”. In: *Journal für Kunstgeschichte*, 24/2, 2020, 164–169.

6 Lind 2020, 168.

THE TUDOR AND JACOBEAN COURTS AND MIGRATION OF FOREIGN ARTISTS

During the period relevant to this discussion – 1485 to 1642 – the Tudor and Jacobean courts were dominated by foreign artists. As one would expect, this dominance, and the consequent lack of employment for native artists, was widely criticised. In 1531, five years after Holbein's first arrival, Sir Thomas Elyot complained that 'in the said artes englisshmen be inferiors to all other people, and be constrayned, if we wyll have any thinge well paynted, kerved, or embrawdred, to abandon our own countraymen and resort unto straungers'.⁷ A century later, Henry Peacham in his *Treatise on Drawing and Limning* (1634) expressed a similar discontent. 'I am sorry that our courtiers and great personages must seek far and near for some Dutchmen or Italian to draw their pictures, our Englishmen being held for Vauniens.'⁸ Christopher Brown described the deeply divided artistic landscape in England as 'effectively a two-tier system of artistic patronage in operation, with the court favouring foreign, especially Netherlandish, artists and less socially elevated patrons having their portraits painted by native artists'.⁹

Although England attracted foreign artists also from Germany, Italy and France, the most important axis between London and the European continent was with the Low Countries, mainly Antwerp. Wool was England's main export to Flanders, and English merchants commissioned portraits and religious paintings while in the region. The link between these two countries grew stronger after Henry VIII declared himself Supreme Head of the Church in England in 1534 and the protestantisation of the country was in full flow. The Revolt of the Netherlands, starting in the 1560s, had a devastating impact on the demand for artworks in the region and many artists from the Low Countries, encouraged by proximity and request, made their way to England.

VOLUNTARY MIGRATION

A lack of reliable source material is often the reason why we are not able to fully reconstruct the movements of artists and their motivations. The case of Pietro Torrigiano (1472–1528) is particularly interesting as it provides sufficient evidence to reconstruct both his migration story and motivation. Torrigiano arrived in London as early as 1507, when he is assumed to have modelled a bust of Mary Tudor for her proposed marriage with Charles I (later Emperor Charles V).¹⁰

7 Sir Thomas Elyot: *The Boke Named the Governour*. Ed. by Henry Croft, 1888, 1, 140. URL: https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=L51OHEai8K4C&hl=en_GB&pg=GBS.PP1 (12.3.2021).

8 Quoted in: Gerson, Horst. *Ausbreitung und Nachwirkung der Holländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Amsterdam: B.M. Israël, 1983, 369.

9 Brown, Christopher. "British Painting and the Low Countries 1530–1630". In: *Dynasties. Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530–1630*. Ed. by Karen Hearn. London: Tate Publishing, 1995, 31.

10 Darr, Alan. "Pietro Torrigiano". *Grove Art Online*, 2003. URL: <https://www-oxfordartonline-com.ezproxy.hope.ac.uk/groveart/view/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oao-9781884446054-e-7000085753?rskey=GAoU8W> (15.3.2021).

It is not often possible to draw conclusions about the character traits of early modern artists, but Torrigiano was notorious for his bad temper and uncontrolled anger, which Giorgio Vasari describes in the *Lives of the Artists*.¹¹

[He] was not only powerful in person, and proud and fearless in spirit, but also by nature so overbearing and choleric, that he was for ever tyrannizing over all the others both with words and deeds.¹²

But the most important event, leading to Torrigiano's departure from Florence, was an argument with Michelangelo, resulting in serious injury. The exact date is not documented, but we can assume that it took place around 1497.

He had a particular hatred for Michelangelo, for no other reason than that he saw him attending zealously to the study of art, and knew that he used to draw in the secret at his own house by night and on feast days, so that he came to succeed better in the garden [of San Marco] than all the others and was therefore much favoured by Lorenzo the Magnificent. Wherefore, moved by bitter envy, Torrigiano was always seeking to affront him, both in word and deed; and one day, having come to blows, Torrigiano struck Michelangelo so hard on the nose with his fist, that he broke it, insomuch that Michelangelo had his nose flattened for the rest of his life. This matter becoming known to Lorenzo, he was so enraged that Torrigiano, if he had not fled from Florence, would have suffered some heavy punishment.¹³

Following the attack, probably in 1498, Torrigiano moved to Rome, where he completed a number of stucco works and other smaller pieces. Over the next few years, the artist joined several armies. According to Vasari, he fought for Cesare Borgia in the war against Romagna (1499–1500), for Paolo Vitelli in the war with Pisa (1499) and for Piero de' Medici in the Battle of Garigliano (1503).¹⁴ A marble statue of St Francis for the Piccolomini altar in Siena cathedral, made in 1501 by 'Pietro Turrisani', is the earliest documented work.¹⁵ It is assumed that Piccolomini, Cardinal Protector of England up until his election as Pope Pius III in 1503, was instrumental in securing Torrigiano's later appointment at the English court.¹⁶ But before moving to England, Torrigiano travelled regularly between Florence, Bologna and Rome, to the Marche and Romagna and even to Avignon.¹⁷ Archival evidence proves that the artist was employed by Margaret of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands

11 Vasari, Giorgio. "Torrighiano scultor fiorentino". In: *Vite*, vol. 2, 1568. Scuola Normale Superiore. URL: <http://vasari.sns.it/vasari/consultazione/Vasari/indice.html> (15.3.2021).

12 I used the Gaston du C. de Vere version for the English translation: Vasari, Giorgio. "Life of Torrigiano. Sculptor of Florence". In: *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 1913. URL: https://www.gutenberg.org/files/28420/28420-h/28420-h.htm#Page_181 (15.3.2021).

13 Vasari 1913.

14 Vasari 1913.

15 Darr 2003.

16 Darr 2003.

17 Darr 2003.

in 1509–1510. Once in England, documents show that Torrigiano was well established among Florentine merchants. Both Bernardo Bardi and Girolamo Migiotto each paid him a monthly salary and in January and February 1515 (modern style 1516), the artist even lodged with two servants in Bardi's house.¹⁸

His first fully documented work in England is the tomb of Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII. The surviving contract is dated 1511 and shows that the Florentine merchants Leonard Fristobald (Leonardo Fristobaldi) and John Cawalcant (Giovanni Cavalcanti) posted a bond of five hundred pounds sterling, guaranteeing Torrigiano's completion of the work.¹⁹

There is every reason to believe that Torrigiano's work in London was greatly admired and that he was regarded as trustworthy. In 1512 Henry VIII commissioned the artist to design and execute the tombs of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York in Westminster Abbey for the sum of £1,500 sterling.²⁰ Several other prestigious commissions followed, such as the High Altar in Henry VII's chapel for £1,000 and the monumental tomb for Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon in 1519. In need of assistants, Torrigiano returned to Italy in 1519 to contract other artists, among them Antonio Toto del Nunziata, Antonio di Piergiovanni di Lorenzo da Settignano and Benedetto Rovezzano. The marital tomb was never executed, most likely due to Henry's loss of interest in his first wife. Torrigiano moved to Spain in the early 1520s, where he was again very active. Documents referring to his widow show that he died in 1528.²¹ According to Vasari, but otherwise unsubstantiated, Torrigiano was imprisoned for destroying a terracotta statue of the Virgin and starved himself to death in protest.²²

But what does all of this tell us about the pre-migration phase and Torrigiano's character traits that might have led to his migration to England? We know that the artist was obstreperous, prone to regular violent outbursts, which probably caused him to move often. His army record further suggests an adventurous nature and, quite possibly, a constant need for money. However, despite these personality issues, we can assume that he had an outstanding professional reputation and network, and his many contacts included fellow artists, patrons and commissioners. The large amounts of money he was paid for commissions and the underwriting of Florentine merchants indicate that his reputation and reliability were not affected by the difficulties of character. When he moved to England, he probably did so voluntarily and was supported by influential men like Cardinal Piccolomini and Cardinal Wolsey. Thanks to detailed documentation of Torrigiano's life, we are provided with an

18 Darr, Alan. "New Documents for Pietro Torrigiani and Other Early Cinquecento Florentine Sculptors Active in Italy and England". In: *Kunst des Cinquecento in der Toskana*. Ed. by Monika Cämmerer. Munich: Bruckmann, 1992, 108–138.

19 Sicca, Cinzia. "Vasari's Vite and Italian artists in sixteenth-century England". In: *Journal of Art Historiography*, no. 9, December 2013. URL: <https://core.ac.uk/reader/80254070> (20.3.2021).

20 Darr 2003.

21 Darr 2003.

22 Vasari 1913.

extraordinary example of an early modern artist whose Wanderlust resulted in a migrational movement that included long-term stopovers all over Europe.

The voluntary return is illustrated through the example of Cornelis Ketel (1548–1616). Ketel was a friend of Karel van Mander who wrote about him extensively in *Het Schilder-Boek* (originally published in 1604). He spent parts of his early career in Paris and Fontainebleau.²³ But while on his way to Italy in 1567, he was forced by a French decree to return to his hometown of Gouda. The unstable political situation in Holland and the lack of commissions forced Ketel to reassess both his work prospects and domicile. In 1573, he lodged with a family friend in London, married, had children and pursued a successful career in portraiture in England. Following in the tradition of Hans Holbein, Ketel even painted a rare portrait of Queen Elizabeth: ‘conterfeytte Ketel de Coninginne van Engelandt nae t’leven’.²⁴

But the most interesting period of Ketel’s life, for our purposes, is the phase that led to his return to continental Europe (Amsterdam) in 1581.²⁵ Personal as well as professional reasons may have contributed to the decision to leave England for good, despite his success as a portraitist. According to some authors, such as To Schulting and Karen Hearn, Ketel was unable to secure commissions on the English market for his large and complex allegorical paintings.²⁶ These were much more appreciated in Holland, especially by the rising burgher elite. Not many of Ketel’s allegories have survived, but there is sufficient evidence in van Mander’s text to acknowledge their existence. A portrait of a man of the Wachendorf Family (1574) that Ketel made for a member of the German Hanseatic League community in London, illustrates the integration of an allegory on the back of a circular portrait.²⁷

It is also possible that some devastating personal losses in the 1570s contributed to Ketel’s decision to return to the continent. After his marriage in 1574 to Aeltje Gerritsdr, also from Gouda, the couple had three children who were baptised in London. The first child (Gedeon) died in 1579 at the age of three; the other two children, Ezechiell (b. 1578) and Eve (b. 1579), are recorded as dead in February 1595.²⁸ Whether they died in London or Amsterdam is unclear, but it remains a possibility that personal losses left an impact on the pre-migration phase during the late 1570s and contributed to Ketel’s wish to return to Holland.

23 Cornelis Ketel’s biography can be found here: Mander, Karel van. “Het leven van Cornelis Ketel, uytnemende Schilder, van der Goude” [The life of Cornelis Ketel, outstanding painter, from Gouda]. In: *Het Schilder-Boek* [The painting book], 1604. URL: https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/mand001schi01_01/mand001schi01_01_0257.php (12.4.2021).

24 Van Mander 1604.

25 N.a. “Cornelis Ketel”. RKD – Netherland’s Institute for Art History. URL: <https://rkd.nl/en/explore/artists/44136> (12.4.2021).

26 Schulting, To. “Cornelis Ketel en zijn familie: een revisie” [Cornelis Ketel and his family: a revision]. In: *Oud Holland* [Old Holland]. Vol. 108, no. 4, 1994, 171–207; *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530–1630*. Ed. by Karen Hearn. London: Tate Publishing, 1995, 105.

27 For more information, see Hearn 1995, 104–105.

28 N.a. “Cornelis Ketel”. RKD – Netherland’s Institute for Art History. URL: <https://rkd.nl/en/explore/artists/44136> (12.4.2021).

COERCED MIGRATION

Karl Bücher noted in 1886 that the significance of movement in past periods was more crucial than in the late nineteenth century.²⁹ He named three reasons for this. Firstly, societies would have developed at a much slower pace without knowledge and cultural exchange. Secondly, the high mortality rate during the Middle Ages and in the early modern period, caused by war, plagues and other fatal illnesses, required movement and migration to avoid demographic and economic hardship. And thirdly, it was common practice during the medieval and early modern periods to move to distant labour markets that were more attractive than local ones.

These observations are important for the discussion of the Tudor and Jacobean courts and the connected art market in London, as they outline the importance of coerced migration. It is interesting, but of course entirely speculative, to contemplate how art at the Tudor court would have developed had Holbein not decided to come back to England in 1531/32 after iconoclastic riots broke out in Basel.

Sociological and historical literature discusses early modern child migration only occasionally.³⁰ It is mostly concerned with labour migration and servanthip. Forced child migration on a large scale, e.g. the shipment of 1,500 children from Lisbon to the West Indies in 1609 to work in the plantations, was justified by offering children work and a better future.³¹ Interdisciplinary research that investigates the role of children, as part of wider transnational networks and as human assets to ensure the survival of knowledge and traditions in the new place of residence, is still pending. For example, Italian builders and stonemasons of the early modern period working in Northern Europe represent an early model of transculturalism that relies heavily on family networks and intergenerational structures.³²

The artists Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger (1561/62–1635) and John de Critz (1551/52–1632) are two examples of child emigres that illustrate the importance of family and community ties during and after migration, but also prior to leaving the home country, during the pre-migration phase. Both of them came to England as small children during the Spanish persecution of protestants in the Habsburg Netherlands. One might assume it to be normal that a whole family migrates, especially if the political situation in the homeland is making the professional and personal lives of artists difficult. This was the case for John de Critz, son of Troilus de Critz, a goldsmith from Antwerp, who came to England around 1568 at the age of about thirteen with both of his parents. He was trained by Lucas de Heere in London,

29 Bücher, Karl. *Die Bevölkerung von Frankfurt am Main im XIV. und XV. Jahrhundert: Socialstatistische Studien*, vol. 1. Tübingen: H. Laub 1886, 19.

30 Goldberg, Peter Jeremy Piers. "Migration, youth and gender in later medieval England". In: *Youth in the Middle Ages*. Ed. by Peter Goldberg and Felicity Riddy. York: Medieval Press, 2004, 98–99.

31 Hahn 2012, 121.

32 Wagner 2017, 13.

also from Antwerp. After that, de Critz went travelling in France and possibly Italy.³³

More thought-provoking is the example of Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger. He came to London with only his father, Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder, while his Catholic mother Johanna and his sister stayed behind in Bruges.³⁴ This shows that the move to England was not only politically motivated, as Marcus the Younger could have stayed behind with his mother. It was instead strategic and testifies to the very early plans for the boy to continue in his father's trade. The fact that both have the same first name and can only be distinguished by the addition of 'the Elder' or 'the Younger', supports the theory of strategic planning of the child's future career. The name duplication ensured that any success both men had – Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder was a popular painter, draughtsman and printmaker – would always be linked back to the family. The element of family pride must therefore have been ingrained in Marcus the Younger from a very early age. It is, together with a pride in his original inheritance, expressed through the way he developed his artistic identity in London. Despite spending most of his childhood and all his adulthood in England, he added 'Brugiensis' (from Bruges) to his signature for more than forty years.³⁵

It can be argued that the migration of children should be classified as an act of forced migration. The threat of serious harm or death is only one aspect. Most parents, now and then, would protect their children by moving them away from danger, ideally providing the safety of a family network that is moving together. However, this does not diminish the fact that underaged children had no say in decisions about their future domicile. The migration of children, as in the case of Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, albeit for future professional purposes, must therefore be seen as a forced act.

The pre-migration phase of Hans Eworth (1520–1574), the most important figure for an understanding of Tudor painting after the death of Holbein, is particularly interesting and provides another example of how much London benefitted from emigres forced to leave their home. His unique monogram 'HE' enables the attribution of more than forty paintings.³⁶

We know that Jan Eewouts was the brother of merchant and jeweller Nicholas. Jan became a member of the Antwerp St Luke's Guild in 1540.³⁷ There is speculation that he worked as a journeyman painter in the Antwerp studio of Jan and Cornelis Metsys in the early 1540s.³⁸

In 1544, the brothers had been proscribed as members of the Loistens, an Anabaptist sect founded by Loy Eligius Pruystinck that spread rapidly

33 Hearn 1995, 171.

34 Hearn, Karen. *Marcus Gheeraerts II: Elizabethan Artist in Focus*. London: Tate Publishing, 2003, 11.

35 Hearn 1995, 9.

36 Hearn 1995, 63.

37 Walker, Hope. "Netherlandish immigrant painters and the Dutch reformed church of London, Austin Friars, 1560–1580". In: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ)*, vol. 63, 2013, 62.

38 N.a. "Hans Ewouts". URL: <https://rkd.nl/en/explore/artists/26925?langen=> (15.4.2021).

throughout Flanders. The Inquisition started its prosecution in 1544, and Pruystinck, together with four other members, was executed in October of the same year.³⁹ Hans and Nicholas were lucky enough to survive but their property was confiscated, and they had to flee the city. In late 1545, Nycholas Ewotes is recorded in the London borough of Southwark.⁴⁰ We do not know if Hans arrived at the same time or at a later point. It is possible that he stayed behind on the continent and only joined his brother in London in the late 1540s. In 1546, Jan Ewouts appeared in Amsterdam, applying for permission to sell books.⁴¹ The name Hans Eworth and its various modifications, such as 'John Ewottes' or 'John Euwoots', is traceable in connection to various addresses in Southwark in 1549. Here the artist could have practised outside of the jurisdiction of the City of London guilds. In the same year, the first works appear with the signature 'HE'. We have no evidence of a wife or children that might have stayed behind. But we do know that his sister-in-law Heylken, wife of Nicholas, remained in Antwerp. In 1550, she approached the deken of the Guild of St Luke, asking him for help with the collection of rent on a house and also to act on her behalf since her husband was an exiled fugitive.⁴² As already seen with the Gheeraerts family, this is another example of a man migrating alone, leaving female members of the household behind. The close proximity to London might have contributed to this decision.

But London and the royal court did not only become a safe haven for foreign artists who had to escape from political and religious prosecution. During the 1640s, many artists had to leave the city because they feared for their lives. The English Civil War (1642–1651) was fought between parliamentarians and royalists, mainly over the issues of governance in England and religious freedom. King Charles I, who was eventually executed in 1649, left London in 1642. A number of foreign and local artists, especially those who had previous connections to the royal household, followed suit.

Cornelius Johnson (1593–1661), called by Karen Hearn 'the forgotten man of seventeenth-century British art', was one of them.⁴³ Born to Flemish/German immigrants in London, he was baptised at the Dutch church of Austin Friars. His mixed heritage attributed to him a variety of names, such as Cornelis Jonson van Ceulen or Cornelis Janssen van Ceulen.⁴⁴ According to George Vertue, he returned to London from Amsterdam in 1618/19, which most likely means that he received some training abroad.⁴⁵ He found a market that was still mainly targeted towards the production of portraits but whose main practitioners, Robert Peake, Robert Larkin, Nicholas Hilliard

39 N.a. "Loisten". Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online. URL: <https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Loisten> (15.4.2021).

40 Hearn 1995, 63.

41 Hearn 1995, 63.

42 Walker 2013, 62.

43 Hearn, Karen. *Cornelius Johnson*. London: Paul Holberton, 2015, 7.

44 Hearn 2015, 7.

45 Vertue, George. "Note Books". In: *Walpole Society*, XVIII, 1929–30, 54.

and Isaac Oliver, had either died or were about to die.⁴⁶ Immigrants such as Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger and John de Critz, and a few years later Daniel Mytens, started to dominate the artistic scene. For most of his later career, Cornelius Johnson stood in the shadow of Anthony van Dyck, who came to England in 1632.

Johnson exemplified, like few other artists, the importance of transcultural connections and a mutual support system within the immigrant community. Following his return to England in 1618/19, he painted portraits that could not have been any more Dutch, both in presentation, composition and handling of paint. Two works made in 1619, portraits of Sir Thomas Boothby and Ann Grafton, exemplify his training in the Netherlands. By the early 1620s, Johnson was fully integrated into London's large immigrant Dutch community. In 1624 he married Elizabeth Beck (or Beke, or Beek), who came from another large Dutch community in Colchester.⁴⁷ The couple settled in the North London parish of St Ann, Blackfriars, outside of the jurisdiction of the City guilds and therefore popular with foreign artists and craftsmen. Johnson established himself painting portraits of the leading members of the Dutch community, such as Willem Thielen (1634), Minister of Austin Friars, and Derrick Hoste (1628), a Calvinist merchant and member of the British East India Company supplying the Spanish royal household. His wife, Jane Hoste, née Desmaistres, was Johnson's first cousin.

Johnson also cultivated a clientele among important members of English society. Among them were senior legal figures, such as the lawyer Thomas, 1st Baron Coventry, and Sir John Finch, appointed as Lord Chief Justice in 1633 and Lord Keeper in 1640.⁴⁸ However, it seemed that Johnson, unlike his contemporaries Daniel Mytens and later Anthony van Dyck, received few royal commissions, apart from three full-length portraits of Charles I's children that he painted in the late 1630s. When Anthony van Dyck died in 1641 at the age of only 42, Johnson's time seemed to have come. But any hopes to assume the master's mantle were cut short by political events and the need to leave the country due to Johnson's closeness to the royal court. The start of the first English Civil War in 1642 pitted King Charles I's supporters against those of the Long Parliament. John Vertue reports that Johnson and his family emigrated to the Netherlands in October 1643 because of 'being terrifyd with those apprehensions & the constant perswasions of his wife'.⁴⁹ In March 1644, the records of the English church in Middelburg report the arrival of Cornelius Johnson and his wife. In 1645, they became official members of the English church in Amsterdam.⁵⁰ His signatures indicate that Johnson was now cleverly marketing himself as a painter from London and

46 Hearn 2015, 12.

47 Hearn 2015, 16.

48 Hearn 2015, 19.

49 Vertue 1929–1930, 54, 61.

50 Hearn 2015, 55.

remained popular with local customers, such as Jan Cornelisz Geelvinck, burgomaster of Amsterdam (1646), as well as British clients, exemplified in the double portrait of William, Earl of Lanark and 2nd Duke of Hamilton, and John Maitland, later Duke of Lauderdale (1649). After settling in Utrecht in 1652, Johnson dropped the addition 'Londini' from his signature following the outbreak of the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652–1654).⁵¹

No matter where Cornelius Johnson lived and worked, he was always aware of his position as an outsider. He knew how to market this position, whether in London, Middelburg, Amsterdam or Utrecht. His excellent transcultural network was the foundation stone of his life as a migrant artist, enabling him to be a successful portrait painter independent of political events, even when they impacted on the choice of his place of residence.

CONCLUSION

Although more detailed data about foreign workers at the court of London need to be analysed, it is widely accepted that both the Tudor and the Jacobean royal households, and the wider catchment area of the capital strongly benefitted from the incoming community of artists from mainland Europe. There is no lack of research about the big court names, such as Holbein and van Dyck, who were attracted to England by the strong incentive of financial gain and rise in status. What had not been examined clearly enough up until this point – and what has been established in this paper – is how much the coming and going of the remaining creative workforce was affected by the political situation in mainland Europe as well as that in England, particularly the effects of the Civil War.

The study of the pre-migration phase is essential to answer the question why artists came to London and why some of them left. Two groups emerge from such a discussion of voluntary and involuntary arrival and departure. The voluntary group includes names who were already highly established in their home country, such as Hans Holbein, Pietro Torrigiano or Anthony van Dyck. Interestingly, none of them remained long in London during their first stay. Holbein returned to the city in 1532, probably affected by the political situation in Basel, and van Dyck came back in 1632, most likely having understood the potential of rising to fame in England. Torrigiano, who never stayed long in any place, saw London as a stepping stone in his career as a European artist. Despite his personal flaws, he emerges from the picture as an expensive but highly reliable artist, vouched for by fellow countrymen with enormous amounts of money.

The vast majority of artists working at the London courts, however, were deeply affected by the political situation in mainland Europe and England alike. We looked at the example of Cornelis Ketel, who arrived in London due to political turbulences in Holland but decided to return to continental Europe

⁵¹ Hearn 2015, 59.

in 1581. This decision might have been influenced by the wish to be more than a portrait painter but possibly also by a difficult personal situation shaped by the loss of several family members. It was also established that child migration was an important element for the recruitment of future artistic workforce, as demonstrated through the example of Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger. The emphasis needs to be put on the forced nature of child migration and more research is needed to fully understand this phenomenon.

Many artists, possibly a majority, arriving in and leaving London, were not doing so voluntarily. Hans Eworth, whose life as a member of the Flemish Loistens sect, escaped prosecution and possibly death by fleeing the country in 1544. Conversely, Cornelius Johnson, an artist close to the English royal household, was forced to leave London after the abdication of Charles I in 1642. His example, as so many others, illustrates the importance of transcultural networks and community spirit, as well as the need to use their position as outsiders in a positive light and, supported by relevant networks, to adapt to a new working and living environment in an efficient and extremely pragmatic way.

To conclude, the artistic development at the royal courts in London, and beyond, benefitted from political turbulence in Europe, and most of all in the Low Countries, especially during the latter part of the sixteenth and earlier seventeenth century. The aspect of forced migration of the creative workforce requires more investigation as it has become clear how far it shaped the Tudor and Jacobean court culture in a most striking way.

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