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A table of contents for *The Baptist Quarterly* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_bq_01.php

English in Amsterdam

about the time of John Smyth.

JACOB GYSBERT DE HOOP SCHEFFER, professor at the Mennonite College in Amsterdam, was an indefatigable searcher, who readily placed his knowledge at the disposal of inquirers. His ideals were so high that he postponed writing any great work, until death overtook him in 1893, when he was seventy-four years old. After thirty years an American editor, Dr. W. E. Griffis, has translated some of his lectures, and published them, appearing to be ignorant that meanwhile nearly everything of value has been discovered and published by others.

We do welcome, however, a large-scale picture of the great Bake-house, where the followers of John Smyth lived and worshipped, and which their descendants occupied for a century. The site had been independently identified by the present writer, but Professor Scheffer gives an account of the subsequent history down to 1877, showing that the local residents never lost the tradition of the "English Church" which had met there for a generation. It seems that when there was a fusion of three different congregations into one, which built a fine new meeting-house, worship ceased in the Bake-house. Eleven houses on the same plot of ground had been divided into 23 tenements, all occupied by the English, so that the alley leading to them was called the English Alley. It may not be amiss to say that this is quite different from the Brownist Alley, where the members of Ainsworth's church had a meeting-house similarly combined with tenements. The buildings on English Alley were sold one by one to the Mennonite church, but they have passed again into private hands.

Dr. Scheffer published in 1881 an article on the Brownists in Amsterdam, to which he appended, from a book giving the publication of banns between 1598 and 1617, a paraphrase of all the notices which involved English people. These were translated and published in September, 1905, in the *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, with a few notes. They have been also translated and republished by the American editor, who adds a few guesses as to the English place-names. The difficulty of these as written by a Dutch clerk from mere dictation,

as condensed and copied once or twice, as interpreted by a Dutchman and an American who know apparently little of England, and as disfigured by a very careless American printer, may be seen by one easy case: Dutch printer, Taenbourch; American interpretation, Tonbury, Worchestershire?; present writer's interpretation, Tenbury, Worcestershire. Or take "Christopher Bomay from London, goldsmith, widower of Elizabeth Dryerlandt; and Janneke Leuft Thomas from Hemstede, widow of Dirk Klerck." Now although "Bomay" is said to be an exact transcript of the man's signature, he is well known as Bowman; so that we cannot trust the decipherer. (It is not our purpose to discuss all the facts, or else it is tempting to study afresh this man whose "last wife" in 1593 was married in Penry's house; we don't know if Elizabeth was third or fourth.) His bride appears to have three names, but this is so exceptional that "Thomas" must be the Christian name of her father; and wherever an apparent surname is a familiar Christian name, this possibility must be borne in mind; several other cases have been tracked down, and results given according to English usage. But what was Janie's surname? The American reads it Leuft, Mr. Crippen as Seuft; no name readily occurs to mind like either, though Light is barely possible; yet compare Anna from Wilts, Luyt in 1609, Lytte in 1614. Hemel Hempstead, Berkhamstead, the Hampsteads of Berks, Essex, Isle of Wight, Middlesex, the Hemsteds of Kent, the Hempsteads of Essex, Gloucester, Kent, Norfolk, and the Isle of Wight, offer a bewildering choice. Richard Clark is known from other sources, but hardly affords a clue.

Yet only two other cases still remain in reasonable doubt. William Johns, widower of Judith Milles, from London, himself belonged to "Beynessen," somewhere in Wilts. or Somerset, for the church of Benesson joined with others thence in 1669; the widow of Simon "Willes" does not help. Margery Organ was of "Kasselwey"; her family was in Smyth's group, and she married an Epworth man, but her own place is not obvious. As K has elsewhere been substituted for H, we suggest Hesley, near Austerfield.

There are no other cases that baffle the inquirer, and we may be glad of these 118 entries where the Dutch custom required the origin of the bride and bridegroom to be registered. We have neglected a few cases where they married Dutch people, our purpose being to find out what English counties were represented at this time in Amsterdam. The results throw a little more light on four Separatist emigrations under Johnson and Ainsworth from London, under White from the west country, under Smyth from the Trent, under Robinson from East Anglia.

It does not seem necessary to reproduce either Scheffer's Dutch, which is not an exact transcript of the registers, or the English of either of his translators, or to exhibit further the critical and constructive processes; but the classified results may now be presented. Those known to be of the Ancient Church are marked *, those known to be Baptist are marked †; but no full church rolls are extant.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

Bartholomew Silman of Alnwick, 1612, bombazine weaver.

YORKSHIRE.

†Swithin Grindal of Tunstall, 1615, ligature maker. Translator of the correspondence with London and Lincoln ten years later.

*Elizabeth and Mary Johnson of Richmond, 1600.

William Latham of Sherburn, "Chierbory," 1600.

LINCOLNSHIRE.

†Edward Armfield of Epworth, 1611, damask-weaver: the family lived here for a century.

Elizabeth Glinde of Gilby, 1612.

Ursula Hardstaff of Gedney, 1615, widow of Thomas Bywater.

Elizabeth Meryweder of Ingoldsby, 1613.

†John Murton of Gainsborough, 1608, furrier.

†The Piggotts of Axholm, most lived here for long, though Thomas returned with Murton, and edited Smyth's last work; Francis 1608, hodman; Elizabeth 1610.

†Dorothy Strutt of Axholm, 1612, cousin to Francis Piggott.

†The Thomsons of Louth: Solomon 1612, bombazine weaver, and his father Anthony.

NOTTINGHAM.

The Bannisters of Retford. Gertrude 1608.

*Richard Clyfton of Sutton cum Lound.

Henry Collins, "Cullandt," whose banns had been put up by Clyfton at Sutton, but who had to flee in haste, and was the first from these parts to be married here, 5 July 1608. Bombazine weaver.

Margery Dale of Lound, 1608.

Margery "Grymsdiche," of Sutton, bride of Collins, 1608.

†The Hodgkins of Worksop, lived here long: Jane, 1608; Alexander, 1615, damask-weaver.

Jane Hodry, 1613.

Rosamond Horsfield of Worksop, 1609; went on to Leyden.

James Hurst of Retford, 1608, bombazine weaver.

William Jepson of Worksop, 1609, carpenter; went on to Leyden.

Margaret Morris of Scrooby, 1615.

†Margery Organ of Hesley? 1611.

The Roberts family; John, 1616, painter.

Margaret Strutt of Basford, 1608.

Elizabeth Sharp, 1612.

Thomas Willason of Bevercoates, 1603, bombazine weaver.

John Williams of Retford, 1608, bombazine weaver.

Jervis "Zetwell" (which may be a misreading of Neville, well known in connection with Smyth), 1601, box-maker.

DERBY.

Dorothea Berrit, 1608.

William Davids, 1616, embroiderer.

STAFFORD.

Robert Davenport, 1609, hawker.

Giles Silvester of "Adamchartle," or Holm Chartley? 1613.

LEICESTER.

Peter Alken of Melton Mowbray, 1616, bladesmith.

Mary Arnold of Leicester, 1613, with parents Anthony and Ellen.

Moses Johnson of Leicester, 1601, bombazine weaver.

*Richard Mansfield, 1614, bombazine weaver.

Robert Newman of "Syts," perhaps Syston, 1608, bombazine frizzler.

*Joseph Tatham, 1601, bombazine weaver.

Margaret Williams, 1606.

RUTLAND.

Ruth Walker of Market Overton, 1615, and father Edward.

NORTHANTS.

*John Beauchamp, 1608.

Alice Goodfellow, 1607.

*Deliverance Penry, 1611.

NORFOLK.

*Henry Ainsworth of Swanton, 1607, teacher.

Anne Colman of Worstead, 1610.

John Dericks of Norwich, 1607, bombazine weaver.

Ursula Drury of Kenninghall, 1604, Norwich, 1614.

*Christopher Laund or Lawne, who conformed, and wrote a book denouncing the Separatists; 1610, button-maker.

Ada Spyker of Yarmouth, 1605.

Richard Witt of Burston, or of Burstall in Suffolk, or of Burstead in Essex, "Brust," 1604, sailor.

SUFFOLK.

Matthew Auckland of Brightwell, 1610, glover, 1615.

Margery Halie of Ipswich, 1607, widow of *Richard Appleby :
 compare Mr. *Halies.
 Magdalen " Jans " of Ipswich, 1606.
 Thomas Marston of Harleston, 1600, mason.
 Edward Scheys, 1607, tailor.
 Walter Smith of Bury St. Edmunds, 1610, tobacco-pipe maker.
 Anna Thomas of Ipswich, 1616.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

John Clark of Newton, 1604, cobbler.
 Jane Coulson of Wisbech, 1607.
 William Hoyt of Wisbech, 1609, brother of
 Jacomyne May of Wisbech, 1609.
 Dorothy May of Wisbech, 1613, bride of William Bradford of
 Leyden.
 Thomas Mitchells, 1606, turner, on to Leyden.
 Elizabeth Smyth, 1612.

HUNTINGDON.

Hendrik Hendrickszoon of Stilton, 1608, draper. That is the
 way he himself signed, but his original name was probably
 Henry Harrison.

BEDFORD.

Richard Galy, 1611, mason.
 Edward Philip, 1613, bombazine weaver.
 Anne Sharp, 1611.
 William Williams, 1607, bombazine weaver.

ESSEX.

Jane Cras, 1603.
 The Harts of Hatfield; Jonathan 1612, bombazine weaver,
 and father John.
 Edward Hynes of Hatfield, 1604, bombazine weaver.
 Richard Mortlock of Harwich, 1611, 1613, blacksmith.
 Elizabeth Williams, 1601.
 Jane Williams or " Tangin " of Ingatestone, 1611.

LONDON.

*Sarah Bellatt, widow of Arthur Billet from Llanteglos, near
 Fowey, 1602.
 *Christopher Bowman, 1602, goldsmith.
 *David Breston, 1606.
 *†Thomas Cannadyne, 1607, embroiderer.
 Julian Christoffels, or Raphier? 1601.
 Anna Clerk, widow of Raphier, 1598.
 Mary Clerk, 1616.
 Timotheus Elkes of London, 1613, physician.
 Rose " Grempre " or Greenbury, 1604.

- Catherine "Grienberg," sister of Rose "Grienberch," 1604.
 Sarah Hagel, 1615, and her father John.
 Frances Holmes, 1601, 1605.
 Susanna Ingles, 1612.
 Judith Jans, 1606, widow of *William Holder.
 "Saertje Jans," 1601, widow of Luke Nicholson.
 Mary "Jens," 1610, step-daughter of Roger Waterer.
 Robert "Jelison," or Elison, 1606.
 "Claes Jonge" or Nicholas Young, 1616, cooper.
 Elizabeth *George and Catherine Martyn, 1599.
 Henry Mot, 1615, cane chair maker.
 "Saartje" Paris, 1612, compare *Richard Paris.
 Roger Payne, 1606; bombazine frizzler; and perhaps Sarah,
 John, Imneken, whose abode is not mentioned, 1615.
 Mary Perkins, 1611, and father Thomas.
 Thomas Porter, 1604, tallow chandler.
 Abraham Pratt, 1612, barber aboard a ship.
 William Richardson, 1605, bombazine weaver.
 Thomas Salisbury, 1612, box-maker.
 Thomas Sanford, 1616, silk ribbon weaver.
 Jane Smyth, 1606.
 *Daniel Studley, 1614.
 Jane Swaine, 1611.
 John Thomas, 1605, mason; Mary, 1616, and mother Mary.
 Anthony Trafford, 1609, hatter.
 *Roger Waterer, 1610, messenger between the members in
 London and Amsterdam.
 Aelken Wilkins, 1606.
 Benjamin Wright, 1599, engraver.

KENT.

- Timothy Moses of "Penchaster in Kentshire," 1613: John
 Moses of Sandwich was at Leyden.
 Henry Reckode of Sandwich, 1615, comber.
 Elizabeth Sodwell, or Isabel Serwell, 1600.

SUSSEX.

- Thomas Brown, 1611, bombazine printer.
 Thomas Cox of Chichester, 1609, tailor. This name and Ciren-
 cester appear in the most marvellous spellings. "Justina
 Kox, Sissethel," 1611.
 Anna Paris, "Checheschester," 1606.
 Edward Pekzeal of "Wordinghegen." Either Worthing, or
 Fordingbridge, as he was cousin to Jane Charter of Salis-
 bury. Compare *Pecksall "the prophet." 1611, tailor;
 banns forbidden.

HAMPSHIRE.

- Thomas Adams, 1605, glover.
 Richard Barents of Lyndhurst, 1601, skilled journeyman smith.
 Henry Collgell of Hurst Castle, 1602, tailor.
 Ralph Hamlin of Fordingbridge, 1609, tailor: with brother
 Henry and mother Judith.
 Maria Hutton of "Dubbesbridge," Fordingbridge? 1611.
 Anne Hutton of "Boolem"? 1613.
 *Cuthbert Hutton of "Daelton," Downton? 1608, pewterer.
 Elizabeth Nares, 1614, divorced from Stephen Bradley.
 Oliver Smyth of Southampton, 1612, tailor.
 Barbara Stubbard of Southampton, 1612.
 William Waldern of "Clackfort," Clatford? 1615.

DORSET.

- Constance Coward of Weymouth, 1602.
 Rainold Hart of Abbotsbury, 1613.

DEVON.

- William Penrose, 1611, bombazine weaver.

CORNWALL.

- Marjorie Willoughby of Fowey, 1613; compare Bellat of
 London.

WILTS.

- Jane Charter of Salisbury, 1612.
 Josewy Cobart, 1611, bombazine weaver.
 Anna Elinat, 1604.
 Edward Hamlin of Salisbury, 1612, bombazine weaver.
 William Hawkins, 1604, hodman.
 John Higgins of Chippenham; "Jan Haecgens, Chipnom," 1605,
 bombazine weaver.
 William, *John, and Thomas Huntley of Bradford, 1600, bom-
 bazine weavers.
 "Sytgen Jansd" of Bradford; daughter of John Stevens?
 Robert Jaques, 1612, bombazine weaver; compare *Robert
 Jackson.
 William Johns of "Beynessen," 1613, bombazine weaver.
 Anna Light, 1609, 1614.
 Thomas Norwayer of Chippenham, 1607, bombazine weaver.
 Jane Richmond of Hilperton, 1600.
 Anna Sanders of Salisbury, 1613; compare *Clement Sanders.
 Charles Shirkley or Thicels of Salisbury: his signature as a
 bridegroom in 1611 is read Thicels, as a widower in 1617
 Shirkley.
 Margaret Sly of Hilperton, 1601.
 John Stevens of Bradford, 1600, 1602.

Annie Thomas of Warminster, 1601.

*John Whatley of Westbury, 1601, bombazine weaver.

*Thomas White of Slaughterford, "Sechtenfort"; 1604.

Frederick Yearbury of Beckington, 1601, tallow-chandler.

SOMERSET.

"Aelken Braedje" of Wells; Ellen Brady? 1610.

*Alexander Carpenter of Wrington, 1600; on to Leyden.

Anthony Fetcher of (Frome) Selwood, 1600, bombazine weaver.

Thomas Giles of Hampton, 1606, 1614, cutler.

Susanna Goldt of the West Country, 1610.

Elizabeth Henry, 1611.

Mary Hill of "Oppen," 1600; probably Upton, as she married a Bradford man.

Anne Jans of Bruton, 1611.

William Marie Johanssoon of Wrington, 1603, bombazine weaver.

William Jansen of Taunton, 1611, bombazine weaver.

Els Luys, widow of Thomas Dickers, 1604.

William Masit of "Passit," Portishead? 1613, bombazine weaver.

Susanna "Muessinck" of Wrington, 1610.

Thomas Syarth of Barrington, 1615, bombazine weaver.

Mary Thomas of Froom, 1605.

Samuel Whitaker, 1611, bombazine weaver; and probably Anne, mother of Frances Holmes; compare *Geffrey Whitakers.

Edward Williams of Barrington, 1604, woodsawyer.

CARMARTHEN.

Rees Howell, 1602, bombazine weaver.

GLOUCESTER.

John Brown of Bristol, 1610, glover.

Margaret Eylon, 1602.

Timothea Freckleton of (?Kings) "Standley," 1607.

Anne Hanson of "Cirnter," 1613.

Anne Heyes of "Chissester," 1600, "Glocester," 1602; compare *Mother Heas.

"Annetje Lyfela, Sissester," 1606; perhaps Annie Loveller, Cirencester.

Dorothea and Thomas Perkins, Thornbury, 1613.

WORCESTER.

Richard Bennett, 1602, turner; 1610, ivory-turner; Francis and Joseph probably, as they all signed at once in 1612.

Elizabeth Jones of Tenbury, 1609.

John Osborne, 1607, case maker.

WARWICK.

- *Thomas Cockey of Stratford, 1598, chief manservant.
 William Cok of Loxley, 1610, bombazine weaver.
 Susanna Sanders, 1608; compare *Matthew Sanders.
 John Trout and daughters of Stratford, 1604.
 Thomas Yellison or Ellison of Stratford, 1613, button-maker.

BUCKS.

- "Celiken Jelisd., Brakkelaë," 1613; as her father Thomas witnessed the register, her name may have been Celia Yellison or Ellison, of Brackley.
 Elizabeth Joisd. of "Delberry," probably Aylesbury, 1605.
 Richard Plater of Buckingham, 1613, compositor.

OXON.

- Prudence Blass of Burford, 1608.
 Anna Harris of Handborough, 1616.
 John Simons of "Baster" or Bicester, 1606, schoolmaster.

BERKSHIRE.

- Frances Cotton, 1607; and John Cot[ton] of Uffington, 1611, cutler.
 "Hans Hatmercer," probably *Elder Stanshall Mercer, 1602.
 Aelken Martins of Bray, 1607.
 Elske Tillet of Newbury, 1613.
 Anna Trafford, 1607.
 Edmund Webb, 1607, bombazine weaver.

The occupations of the men are interesting. Not one had any work on the land; though in England many must have been employed at agriculture, Amsterdam was chiefly water, interspersed with crowded artificial islands. Only two worked afloat, one as a sailor, the other as a ship's barber. A few were in the building trade, three as masons, two as hodmen, one as sawyer, one as carpenter, one as painter. One was a cooper, one a turner, one made chains, three made boxes. One was a blacksmith, one a bladesmith, two were cutlers, one a skilled journeyman smith, one a pewterer, one a goldsmith, one an engraver, one an ivory-turner. One was a hatter, one a furrier, one a cobbler, three were glovers. Thirty-three wove bombazine, two frizzled it, one printed it; one combed wool, another wove it into fustian. Two wove damask, one silk ribbons, two embroidered, two made buttons; there were six tailors, a draper, a hawkier. One made tobacco-pipes, and there were two tallow-chandlers. One superior manservant, a compositor, two teachers, and a physician complete the list of those who specified their occupations.

From other sources we could more than double the list of

names, especially of those who were members of the Ancient Church or the Baptist; but we could not directly identify their localities. Bradford says that in 1607 there were about 300 communicants in the former. We must not forget that in that year the Dutch authorities formally constituted another congregation, composed chiefly of English and Scotch, ministered to by John Paget, lately chaplain to the English regiment, but now settling down as pastor. His position was singular, for he was in episcopal orders, though he had been ejected from Nantwich for nonconformity, and he preferred posts abroad, where he need not conform or be ruled by any bishop. On the other hand he had accepted the Dutch Confession of Faith, and this congregation belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church, whence he derived his jurisdiction, being assigned to a "classis" or presbytery. Doubtless many of the people mentioned in these marriage registers belonged to his congregation. Yet he incidentally mentions that there were three or four hundred in the Ancient Church, whereas his building could barely hold two hundred.

Three or four geographical groups are revealed. One was connected with London, and its story as the "Ancient Church" has been told again and again. It deserves attention as the first Separatist Church to continue for any length of time; it presently had as its pastor John Canne, who popularised marginal references to the Bible, was mistaken by Edward Terrill for a Baptist, helped the infant Broadmead church, favoured the Fifth-Monarchy, was chaplain to the garrison of Hull. The church in Amsterdam which he deserted lingered on till in 1701 there were only about six left; they handed over their property to, and joined, the State Church originally constituted under Paget, still worshipping on the Bagynhof, in English.

A second group belonged to Hants, Wilts, and Somerset. We knew that it had come under Thomas White, whom we can now identify as from Slaughterford, midway between Chippenham and Marshfield; but its importance has not been generally recognized. When White himself deserted it, the members naturally attached themselves to one or other of the Separatist churches in the city. It was evidently through these people that Smyth's books went up the Hampshire Avon, so that we find early churches at Fordingbridge, Downton, Salisbury, Rushall. They may have prepared the way for the later churches on the Wiltshire Avon, but these were Particular Baptist.

A group of people from the Severn and the Warwickshire Avon is revealed, and may well repay investigation. There is much probability that this indicates another Separatist emigration which has escaped notice.

The northern group from the neighbourhood of Gainsborough

and Scrooby deserves close attention. Ever since the publication of Governor Bradford's manuscript story of the Pilgrim Fathers and the Old Colony, it has been customary to assume that the majority of the Pilgrims and of the Leyden church came from where Yorks., Notts., and Lincs. meet. The investigation of the Leyden marriage and house registers by the Dexters has quite disproved that, although the delusion dies hard. It is well worth while stating again that the only Pilgrims who came from this part of the kingdom were the Bradfords and the Brewsters, whose fame must not make them to be multiplied in number. Robinson's work had been chiefly in Norwich, and many from the eastern counties came over. He organised a new church in Amsterdam, and early in 1609 one hundred persons, or thereabouts, men and women, applied for leave to settle in Leyden. For eleven years this church was augmented further from England, but many members never went to America; many of the Old Colony settlers were attracted thither by the influence of Edward Winslow, far and away the most capable man they had. He drew from his own district up the Severn, naming his own town Marshfield, his estate Kerswell; he brought a large contingent from where his sister had married near Dorchester. It is deeply to be regretted that the tercentenary of the Pilgrim Fathers left all these facts unstudied, and hashed again irrelevant details as to Scrooby.

Most of the people from near Scrooby stayed in Amsterdam, as this list well indicates. A few, like Clyfton, may have thrown in their lot with the Ancient Church, but most became Baptist with John Smyth. Professor Scheffer gives glimpses of them for over a century living in the twenty-three tenements they bought on "English Alley." As they thus melted into the Dutch population, and the Mennonite body, it is quite explicable why no English have cared to study them closely. All the more welcome, therefore, is this belated translation of the Dutch lectures.

W. T. WHITLEY.

EARLY WARRINGTON NONCONFORMITY. By Arthur Mounfield, F.R.Hist.S.

It is a pleasure to see a monograph by a competent antiquarian. He confines himself deliberately to the Presbyterian church and the Academy. But his researches incidentally led to documents which give a number of Baptist and Quaker names before 1687, and he plainly states that both these bodies were organised before the Nonconformists. We will hope that he will presently tell their story in the same way.