

## THE PILGRIMS AND OTHER ENGLISH IN LEIDEN RECORDS: SOME NEW PILGRIM DOCUMENTS

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The *Mayflower* Pilgrims' Leiden period found them in the midst of many English and Scots, and some Welsh and Irish, living in the Netherlands. In addition to the British, there were thousands of Walloon and Flemish refugees in Leiden, and hundreds of German Calvinists as well. The diversity was increased by the presence of many university students from France, Scandinavia, Germany, Poland and other countries.\*\*

The diversity of people is almost matched by the diversity of documents that can shed historical light on some of them. This essay will describe some of the types of records and give examples from the different categories that in each case provide a little new information about the Pilgrims or other English people in Leiden.

Baptism, betrothal, and burial records are ordinarily a starting point in genealogical research. For much of the population of Leiden these records are relatively complete from the late 16th century or early 17th century on, although, unfortunately, groups on the fringes of society, like the Separatists of John Robinson's congregation, now known as the Pilgrims, did not usually keep good records. Betrothal records kept by the city can provide not only the names of the couple to be married, but also the names of witnesses, sometimes with information on their relationship to the couple to be married. For example, consider the betrothal of two people from England, Francis Cooke and Hester Mahieu, dated 30 June 1603 (Gemeente Archief Leiden [Municipal Archives, hereinafter G.A. Leiden], Kerkelijk ondertrouwregister E, fol. 69v, pub.

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\*\* See: K.L. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism* (Leiden, 1982); *The Pilgrims in the Netherlands, Recent Research*, J.D. Bangs, ed. (Leiden, 1984); J.G.C.A. Briels, "De emigratie uit de Zuidelijke Nederlanden omstreeks 1540-1621/30," *Opstand en Pacificatie in de Lage Landen* (Ghent, 1976), pp. 184-220; J.D. Bangs and G.D. Winius, "Daniel van der Meulen (d. 1600), First Midas of Holland's Golden Age," *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di studi storici Rappoti Genova-Mediterraneo Atlantico Nell'Eta Moderna*, R. Belvederi, ed. (Genoa, 1985); P.C. Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit*, vol. 1, 1574 - Feb. 7, 1610 (The Hague, 1913); *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae* (The Hague, 1875); C.O. Bangs and J.D. Bangs, "The Remonstrants and the Socinian Exiles in Holland," *The Proceedings of the Unitarian Universalist Society*, 20, part II (1985-1986), pp. 105-113.

in D. Plooij and J. Rendall Harris, *Leiden Documents Relating to the Pilgrim Fathers* [Leiden, 1920], fol. 72v and 73). "Franchoijs Couck" is identified as a bachelor from England, with the occupation "woolcomber." Hester Mahieu is described as an unmarried young woman from Canterbury in England. Cooke was accompanied by two witnesses, Phillippe de Veau and Raphael Roelandt, whose names indicate no particular family relationship to either party; Hester, on the other hand, was accompanied by her mother and her sister, both of whom were named Jenne (Jeanne) Mahieu.

The betrothal record is in the "Kerkelijk ondertrouwregister," or ecclesiastical betrothal register. This register listed couples whose weddings were to be solemnized in the Dutch Reformed Church or the Walloon Reformed Church (or sometimes in the German and English Reformed Churches as well). It was not used for couples whose marriage vows were exchanged in any of the dissenting churches, which included the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Remonstrant, Mennonite, and English Separatist or Pilgrim congregations. Betrothals of dissenting couples were recorded before the magistrates in a special register, the "Puiboek" or "Schepenen-Huwelijks-Inteekenregister" (magistrates' marriage record register). Recording the betrothal before the magistrates did not mean there would be no church wedding; it meant merely that the church was not a Reformed church. It is therefore a mistake to think that the Pilgrims rejected either the concept or the practice of a church wedding consisting of non-sacramental prayers, blessings, and invocations, merely because they accepted the legal validity of a civil ceremony of witnessing the vows. Civil registration ensured legal clarity in family and property law, even for those couples whose religious exchange of vows or receiving of religious blessings occurred before clergy who were not paid from the city treasury, and therefore were not civil servants, as were the Reformed ministers. Reformed ministers, because of their salary source, kept records that were part of the city's official documents. Dissenting clergy did not. This is not a theological point, even though the Pilgrims objected to the Catholic sacramental concept of marriage as something not supported by Scripture.

Although the banns were read in the Hooglandsekerk and the Pieterskerk, as was customary, the Cooke-Mahieu marriage is not recorded in the records of these Dutch Reformed churches, which are preserved. The German and English Reformed congregations had not yet been established in 1603. The marriage, therefore, was probably solemnized in the Leiden Walloon Reformed Church, whose marriage records before September 1604 are, unfortunately, missing.

In 1925 Professor Eekhof, who is best known in this country for his book *Jonas Michaelius, Founder of the Church in New Netherland* (Leiden, 1926), carried out research published by Walter James Harrison, which gives some further information on Hester Mahieu's connections with the Walloon Church (*Mayflower Descendant*, 27[1925]:145-153). Edward

Winslow had remarked that Hester Mahieu was of the Walloon church; Eekhof's research produced the information that she was admitted to communion by confession of faith on 1 June 1603 (about a month and a half before the marriage). Eekhof further discovered the baptismal record for Jean (John) Cooke, son of Francis and Hester, among names of children baptized in the Walloon church for the period of January to March, 1607.

Eekhof missed one significant entry in the Walloon Church records. On New Year's Day, 1608, among those admitted to communion by letter of transfer from another Walloon congregation were "François Cooke et Esther sa femme, de Norwich" (G.A. Leiden, Archives de L'Eglise Wallonne de Leyde, nr. 16, folio 13v). This entry informs us that before 1608, the Cooke-Mahieu couple had lived in Norwich among the Walloons there. They evidently left for Norwich on 8 August 1606, as a note in the Walloon Library of Leiden mentions their departure on that date with letters of transfer (G.A. Leiden correspondence nr. 1325, inquiry of 12 Nov. 1967, answered [presumably by Dr. B.N. Leverland, and signed by the deputy-archivist, W. Downer] on 22 Jan. 1968). Both the departure with attestation and the return to communion in Leiden with a similar letter indicate that François Cooke, as well as Hester his wife, was a member of the Leiden Walloon congregation. The Cookes evidently returned briefly to Leiden, between the quarterly dates of communion, which they missed, in order to have their son Jean baptized within the Leiden Walloon congregation with family as godparents to raise him in case he became orphaned.

Scholars at the Leiden Municipal Archives discovered two other children of François and Hester besides their son Jean: Elizabeth, baptized on 26 December 1611, and a child, whose name is not given, buried in the Pieterskerk on 20 May 1608 (*ibid.*; Register of Baptisms of the Walloon Church in Leiden, 1599-1627; Leiden burial registers). The burial record imparts the further information that at that time Franchoy's Couck lived on the Levendaal, a canal on the southeast side of Leiden. The Cookes' other children, Jane, Hester, Jacob, and Mary, were presumably baptized in the Separatist congregation of Leiden, for which no records are preserved, although it is possible that one or two might have been born in Norwich, or some may have been born in the colony of New Plymouth. Eugene Aubrey Stratton (*Plymouth Colony, Its History & People, 1620-1691* [Salt Lake City, 1986], 270) assumes that Hester and Mary were born there.

On 25 April 1603, François Cooke appeared as witness to the betrothal of Raphael Roelandt, a woolcomber who was to be a witness at his own betrothal a few months later, as we have seen (G.A. Leiden correspondence, nr. 656, 16 Nov. 1966, citing *Rechterlijk Archieven* 89, vol. E, folio 56v).

On 6 November 1603, François Coek appeared as a baptismal witness for the ancestor of the Delano family, Philippe, son of Jan de Lannoy

and of Marie Mahieu (G.A. Leiden, Waalse Kerk Doopregister, by date; Dr. B.N. Leverland, "Het Geslacht van Jan de Lannoy," *Ons Voorgeslacht, Orgaan van de Zuidhollandse vereniging voor Genealogie*, 9[1954]:79-85). The other witnesses were Philippe Marines, Tonnette de Lannoy and Marguerite de Lannoy. François had not been a witness at the baptism of Philippe's sister Jenne on 18 March 1601. Then the witnesses had been Pierre du Bu, Ollie le Pla, Jenne le Mahieu, and Jenne de Lanno (G.A. Leiden, Waalse Kerk Doopregister, by date). On 13 January 1596, Pierre du Bu, together with Gysbert Lano, the groom's father, had been a witness at the betrothal of Jan de Lano of Tourcoing and Mary Mahieu of Lille, the future parents of Philippe de Lannoy. Mary was accompanied by her mother Jane (Jeanne) Mahieu and by an acquaintance, Anthonette Morth (Kerkelijk Ondertrouwregister C, folio 142 [Walloon Church]).

Because Hester Mahieu's mother's name was also Jenne (Jeanne), and because Hester's husband François acted as a baptismal witness for Philippe de Lannoy, a role that was frequently given to relations, it may be concluded that Mary Mahieu was almost certainly Hester's sister. In other words, Francis and Hester Cooke were the uncle and aunt of Philip Delano.

The betrothal information of Philip's parents indicates that the Mahieu family came from the area of Lille. Hester's sister Jenne Mahieu, widow of Nicola Cordonne, was betrothed to Jan de la Roche, from Rheims, on 4 May 1602 (G.A. Leiden, Kerkelijk Ondertrouw, vol. D, folio 181). He is identified as a soldier under Captain Averyn Court, garrisoned in Ostende, then under siege by the Spanish, but with access by sea to Zeeland and Holland. At the betrothal, he was accompanied by Anthon Lambert and Esthienne Voljaermes. Jenne Mahieu, who is described as being from Armentiers, which is a village near Lille, was accompanied by Jenne Mahieu, identified as her stepmother, and by Antonette Mahieu, identified as her stepsister.

Hester's sister Anthonette Mahieu, identified as being from Houpehyne near Armentiers, widow of Guillaume de Sint Merty, was betrothed to Guillaume de Renquyre, woolcomber, from St. Thomas, on 27 April 1605 (G.A. Leiden, Rechterlijk Archief inv. nr. 89, vol. F, folio 35v; cited in archival correspondence nr. 656, dated 16 Nov. 1966). They were married in the Leiden Walloon church on 15 May 1605. At the betrothal, Guillaume was accompanied by his brother Jaecque de Rencquire and by Nicola Warnie, his acquaintance. Anthonette Mahieu was accompanied by her mother, Jeane Mahieu, and by her aunt, Jacquemyne Lamam.

Antoinette Mahieu and her mother Jane had been witnesses on 18 February 1605 to the betrothal of Philippe de Lannoy's widowed mother, Marie Mahieu, with Robert Mannoo, a woolcomber from Namur, who was the widower of Symone Pachte (Leverland, "Het Geslacht van Jan de Lannoy," 80). It follows from the date of remarriage

that Philippe's father, Jan Lano, must have died in 1604, when Philippe was less than a year old. On 27 February 1604, Marie de Lano (Philippe's mother) was a witness to the betrothal of Margriete de Lannoy, who was most probably Jan Lano's sister, and thus an aunt of Philippe's (*ibid.*, 80-81). Margriete de Lannoy, widow of Olivier le Pla (both of whom had been witnesses for Philippe's sister Jenne's baptism), remarried with Jan de Rousseau, a woolcomber from Moevau near Lille, widower of Jannetgen Salmon. The witnesses to Margriete de Lannoy's first betrothal, whose date is unknown at this time, were Sjan (Jeanne) de Lannoy, her mother, and Nowe de Lannoy, her sister (*ibid.*, 81). Philippe de Lannoy's grandparents' names were, therefore, Gysbert de Lannoy and, probably, Jeanne de Lannoy, and Jeanne Mahieu and, as will be shown below, probably Jacques Mahieu.

Another sister of Hester Mahieu's, Françoise, was betrothed on 22 April 1611 to Daniel Cricket, a woolcomber from Sandwich in England (G.A. Leiden, *Rechterlijk Archief*, 88, vol. A, folio 166v, cited in archive correspondence, nr. 93, dated 29 May 1967). She was accompanied by her cousin, Mary le Pon, and by her sister, Mary le Mahieu. Françoise is described as being from Bondu, which is a hamlet near Lille and Armentiers. Daniel Cricket was accompanied by Laurens Lanse, his master, and by Jacques Mahieu, his acquaintance. They were married before the magistrates on 10 June 1611, which suggests that they belonged to John Robinson's Separatist congregation.

Lille, also known in Dutch as Rijssel, now lies in northern France. Formerly it was a part of Walloon Flanders. Heavily Protestant, the area was captured by Catholic armies under Parma in 1578, and many Walloon Calvinists fled to England directly, while others fled north towards the Protestant cities of Bruges and Antwerp. When those cities fell in 1585, refugees went across to England or north to Zeeland and Holland. We may assume that Hester Mahieu's parents were among these refugees, taking with them their young daughters Mary and Françoise. Hester was evidently born in Canterbury, although the Walloon Church records there do not contain references to the family. It is quite possible that her father was Jacques Mahieu, the witness to the betrothal of Françoise Mahieu and Daniel Cricket. Jacques Mahieu and his wife, whose name was not recorded, were received into communion in the Leiden Walloon Church on 10 June 1590, with letters of transfer from the Walloon Church in London, dated 30 April 1590 (G.A. Leiden, *Archives de L'Eglise Walonne de Leyde*, inv. nr. 40, p. 205 [Actes du consistoire 1584-1611; in the list of members of the church following the list of elders and deacons], cited in archive correspondence 1325 of 22 Jan. 1968). This would mean simply that after Hester's birth her parents moved to London. With their deep roots in the Walloon refugee experience, Hester Mahieu and Franchois Cooke appear much less English than their names and birthplaces originally indicated.

To use baptism, betrothal, and burial records is quite commonplace in genealogical and biographical research, and the Leiden Municipal Ar-