

**Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.**

The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.

By

Joseph Hiliary Nockels

s2572931



THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE MA  
HISTORY: ARCHIVAL STUDIES AND HERITAGE FORMATION

June 2020

## **Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.**

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

### **Key Words:**

Authorised heritage discourse, Pilgrims, English Reformed Church, Dutch Reformed Church, secularism, ecumenicism.

### **Abstract**

Contemporary notions of the Pilgrims, the English Separatists resident in Leiden from 1609-1620 before sailing on the *Mayflower* to Virginia, have been continually shaped and prodded by heritage discourses. In this dissertation, two predominate forces are identified as refashioning heritages of the Pilgrims by selectively recording history to meet present-day concerns: independent nonconformist churches, in particular Congregationalists, and modern nation-states. With anxieties of losing tradition, these actors in conjunction have utilised historical narratives of the religious émigrés to reinforce and redefine social identities - creating an overly-simplistic and easy to follow religious past. Through this claims-making, the sense that the Pilgrims were insular and removed during their stay in Leiden has emerged. By pinpointing how these discourses came to be formed in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and where from, this work attempts to cast the Pilgrims in a more interconnected light. Returning to the well-known writings of key individuals, as well as archival materials, a reinterpreted open dialogue between the Pilgrims' leadership and other religious communities in the city will be identified.

Word Count: 18,680.

# Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

## **Table of Contents**

### **Introduction, The Pilgrims in Line with Heritage Studies**

Revising the Pilgrims' First Thanksgiving .....	4
Maintaining Relevance in a Secular World .....	6
Exclusion and Possession in the Case of the Pilgrims' Heritage .....	7
Approach and Methods .....	10

### **Chapter One, John Robinson and his 'sociable' conversations**

Confessional Competition .....	13
Problematizing the Heritage of Robinson .....	14
Linchpin of the Community .....	16
The Arminian Controversy .....	17
'The Lord hath yet more light and truth' .....	19
Robinson and Brownism .....	20

### **Chapter Two, The Pilgrims and the English Reformed Church (a comparative study of community relations)**

A Religious Gathering Opposed to a Worshipping Church .....	23
Trouble in the Reformed Church .....	24
The Pilgrims and the DRC .....	25
The Pilgrims and the ERC .....	27

### **Chapter Three, William Brewster, Printing 'by the help of some friends'**

A Complicated Pilgrim .....	31
The 'Great Iron Screwe' Myth .....	33
Printing Alongside the Dutch .....	35
<i>Perth Assembly</i> .....	36

### **Conclusion** .....

39

### **Appendices**

Individual Heritages and the Pilgrims .....	42
The Pilgrim Window .....	43
Adam Willaerts, <i>The Departure of the Pilgrims from Delfshaven</i> , 1620 .....	44

### **Bibliography**

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

Primary Sources .....	45
Secondary Sources .....	47
<b>List of Abbreviations</b> .....	50

### Introduction: The Pilgrims in Line with Heritage Studies

‘Through the night of doubt and sorrow

Onward goes the pilgrim band,

Singing songs of expectation,

Marching to the promised land.’

Seth Lakeman, ‘Pilgrim Brother’, 2020.<sup>1</sup>

### Revising the Pilgrims’ First Thanksgiving

The story of the English Pilgrims, the group who sought sanctuary from religious oppression before traversing the Atlantic in 1620 and establishing New Plymouth, is one under constant revision.<sup>2</sup> Fleeing the persecution wrought on them by James I, after breaking away from the Established Church – persecution which William Bradford described as so awful ‘former afflictions were but as flea-bitings’ - they fled England for the Netherlands in 1608, arriving in the city of Leiden in 1609.<sup>3</sup> Since the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, revisions of the Pilgrims’ history have sprung up all over the place. Notably, ample attention has been paid to the events and significance, or lack thereof, of the First Thanksgiving. Where academic scholarship has made headway in seeking meaningful dialogue between descendants of Pilgrims and indigenous councils, debates concerning how this now cornerstone of western tradition should be interpreted continue to swirl in public arenas.

Some activists have cast the event as a pretext for bloodshed, enslavement, and displacement; others have seen it as a case of the Pilgrims welcoming the ‘stranger’ as per the precedent laid out by the Old Testament Feast of Tabernacles, Sukkoth (Deut. 16: 13-14).<sup>4</sup> Needless to say, these dissonant interpretations are not easily reconciled. What has occurred is a collision of heritages. ‘Heritage’ can be best defined as a product of present-day interpretation, formed from deciding what is worth inheriting from the past (it differs therefore to history, which is tasked with selectively

---

<sup>1</sup> Seth Lakeman, *A Pilgrim’s Tale* (London: BMG Rights Management, 2020), 3-4.

<sup>2</sup> Like Puritans, the Pilgrims saw life as a pilgrimage towards heavenly bliss; unlike Puritans, they separated themselves from the Established Church instead of attempting to ‘purify’ it from within. In this work ‘Pilgrims’ and ‘Separatists’ are used interchangeably. The term ‘Pilgrim Fathers’ appears dated and will not be used. In terms of when the descriptor ‘Pilgrim’ first became part of the English lexicon, the Separatist Robert Cushman wrote in 1622 ‘... now we are all in all places strangers and pilgrims, travellers and sojourners ...’ That said, Cushman used the term in a generic sense, laying no monopoly concerning the use of the name. B.N. Leverland and Jeremy Bangs, *The Pilgrims in Leiden 1609-1620* (Leiden: Leiden Pilgrims Document Centre, 1984), 1. Jeremy Bangs, *New Light on the Old Colony, Plymouth, the Dutch Context of Toleration, and Patterns of Pilgrim Commemoration* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 449. 481. Keith Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower, English Puritan Printing in the Netherlands, 1600-1640* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> *Bradford’s History of Plymouth Plantation*, ed. Secretary of the Commonwealth (Carlisle, Massachusetts: Applewood’s Historiography Series, 1898), 14.

<sup>4</sup> Bangs, *New Light on the Old Colony*, 480-490.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

recording accepted judgements).<sup>5</sup> Thanksgiving is not only commercialised and part of a saleable past, it is the physical embodiment of intangible feelings of pride for some and anguish for others: a case of 'I remember therefore I was'. In essence, such a festivity is a reduction of rich and complex histories, rendered into easily gainable details to be rapidly ingested by contemporary audiences.<sup>6</sup> For activists resisting such heritages as modern Thanksgiving, the event symbolises an inability to move away from notions of 'settling' as being a purely white-European enterprise, relegating indigenous narratives to that of 'prehistory'.<sup>7</sup> Popular historians and sociologists, such as James Loewen, have attempted to shift the narrative away from simply venerating the Pilgrims: focusing on the maladies which came with the European settlers.<sup>8</sup> On other occasions, the Separatist community has been seen as graverobbers, citing Bradford's *Of Plymouth Plantation* (1651) [hereafter *OPP*]:

'The next morning, we found a place like a grave. We decided to dig it up... We took several of the prettiest things to carry away with us, and covered the body up again.'<sup>9</sup>

Without entering into a deep study of whether the Pilgrims harboured openly hostile sentiments towards indigenous communities, like following settlers certainly did, or indeed were steppingstones enabling colonialism more widely: it is clear that a process of revision has matured in regards to the history of the Pilgrims in America. Heritage discourses, challenging previously held assumptions, and academic scholarship have subsequently begun to blend together. These reinterpretations confront the reader's mind as soon as the *Mayflower* disembarks on Virginian sands. The question is therefore raised - shouldn't a similar revision occur in terms of the Pilgrims' history before their reaching Virginia?

To do no disservice to the current state of scholarship, certain revisions have appeared surrounding the Separatists' time in Leiden, bringing ideas of heritage closer together with academic histories. To continue with the theme of Thanksgiving: Jeremy Bangs makes the link between the now ubiquitous American festivity and the celebrations had in Leiden every October 3<sup>rd</sup>, publicly commemorating the lifting of the Siege of Leiden in 1574. The link seems an apt one, as the siege resulted in the town losing half its population, a familiar ordeal to the Pilgrims after the harsh Virginian winter of 1620-1621.<sup>10</sup> Another recent connection made between Leiden and Plymouth is the observation that the Pilgrims continued the practise of solemnizing civil marriage. Recalling the Pilgrim Edward Winslow's marriage to Elizabeth Barker, Bradford writes: 'he had been so married him selfe in Holland, by the magistrates in their Statthouse'.<sup>11</sup> Bangs, cementing this relationship between Dutch legal structures and Plymouth, sees Bradford as having been heavily influenced by Grimeston's 1608 *Generall Historie of the Netherlands* (which includes the Union of Utrecht (1579) - a model for the Act of Confederation of New England Colonies in 1643).<sup>12</sup> If current scholarship is anything to go by, the

---

<sup>5</sup> Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2009), 1-10. Heritage is often an individual process based on personal interpretation. History and heritage naturally blend together, interacting to form invigorating narratives of the past. G. Ashworth and J. Tunbridge, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict* (Chichester: Wiley, 1996), 1-10. D. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country Revisited* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 1-10.

<sup>6</sup> Ashworth and Tunbridge, *Dissonant Heritage*, 1-10.

<sup>7</sup> Juliana Barr, 'There's No Such Thing as 'Prehistory': What the Longue Duree of Caddo and Pueblo History Tells Us about Colonial America', *The William and Mary Quarterly* 74, no. 4 (2017): 203-205.

<sup>8</sup> James Loewen, 'The Truth About the First Thanksgiving', accessed April 6, 2020.

<http://www.trinicentre.com/historicalviews/thanksgiving.html>

<sup>9</sup> *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation*, ed. Secretary of the Commonwealth (Carlisle, Massachusetts: Applewood's Historiography Series, 1898), 150-160.

<sup>10</sup> Bangs, *New Light on the Old Colony*, 696-700. A similar link is made by the somewhat discreet exhibition at the rear of the Pieterskerk in Leiden.

<sup>11</sup> *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation*, ed. Secretary of the Commonwealth (Carlisle, Massachusetts: Applewood's Historiography Series, 1898), 393.

<sup>12</sup> 'A Generall Historie of the Netherlands: With the genealogie and memorable acts of the Earls of Holland, Zealand, and west-Friesland, from Thierry of Aquitaine the first Earle, succesiuely vnto Philip the third of King of Spaine: Continued vnto this present yeare of our Lord 1608, out of the best authors that haue written of that subject': By Ed. Grimeston (London: A. Islip and G. Eld, 1608). Bangs, *New Light on the Old Colony*, 378-388.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

future of Pilgrim historiography is likely to draw the Dutch chapter of their experience closer together with that of Plymouth.

Despite these revisions, the realisation that our sense of the Pilgrims has been continually shaped and prodded by all manner of heritage discourses: '... the idea of heritage as a means of communication', is yet to fully appear in such scholarship, chiefly due to its lack of maturation.<sup>13</sup> In Bradford's 'Dialogue' (1648), a conversational work written in Virginia, between some 'young men' and 'ancient men' hoping to elucidate the founding of Plymouth and Separatist theology, the notion that the Pilgrims held 'none to be true churches but their own' is absolutely refuted. Bradford states: 'It is manifest slander laid upon them; for they hold all the Reformed Churches to be true churches.'<sup>14</sup> The Pilgrim, subsequently, offers a seemingly contradictory view of Separatism as not being to the detriment of local relations. A research question emerges then, why do we still think of the Pilgrims as having been removed and insular towards other religious groups during their spell in the Dutch Republic between 1609-1620? In short – that they were 'Separatist' in every way, shape and form?

In addition, this dissertation will attempt to answer the following sub-questions: did the Pilgrims truly separate themselves from wider society or was this impossible due to the pressures of daily life? Where did these discourses of the religious émigrés being a self-contained 'band' of individuals originate from and how have they distorted history? This introduction will cast these questions in terms of the field of heritage studies, already mentioned briefly in regards to the contestations surrounding Thanksgiving.

### Maintaining Relevance in a Secular World

A principal motivation behind the view that the Pilgrims were distinct and insular, against the blurred social backdrop of Leiden, has been to convince the public that modern church doctrines (in particular Congregationalism) remain relevant to secular society.<sup>15</sup> Heritage presents communities with the chance to redefine and remake themselves.<sup>16</sup> By utilising such moulded narratives of the past, the contemporary church is able to hold relevance in the face of a society where most do not feel represented by religious figures. The historian Bendroth mentions that 30% of the US population in 1970 considered themselves mainline Protestants. In 2008, this had dropped significantly to 13%. Murray, a contemporary Anabaptist, reiterates this, raising the alarm of global churchgoing which is estimated to be at a reduced 4% by 2024.<sup>17</sup> These figures enlighten us to how Protestant communities feel a pressing need to vocalise their worth. There is a requirement, however, to contextualise this decline of influence in terms of historical experiences and not merely statistics.

Writing primarily for a nonconformist church audience, early works like Henry Martyn and Morton Dexter's *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims* (1905) portrayed the Pilgrims as foundational to many aspects of the modern world: from civil marriage to civil liberties.<sup>18</sup> In the process, groups like Congregationalists bolstered such narratives, attempting to break out of their specified and reduced

---

<sup>13</sup> Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 1-10.

<sup>14</sup> 'William Bradford's Dialogue, or the sum of a conference between some young men born in New England and sundry ancient men that came out of Holland and old England (1648)', ed. Alexander Young, in *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1841), 456-457.

<sup>15</sup> This dissertation was made possible by the UK-based Unaffiliated Congregational Churches Charities (UCCC). As such, although the Pilgrims' history is not only the domain of Congregationalists, particular attention is paid to them. Congregationalism can broadly be seen from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards as orientated around local and particular churches exercising their own autonomy. These churches are seen as centres of mutual help and advice. The clergy has limited power in terms of decision-making.

<sup>16</sup> Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 5.

<sup>17</sup> Margaret Lamberts Bendroth, *The Last Puritans: Mainline Protestants and the Power of the Past* (Charlotte: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 1-2. Stuart Murray, *Post-Christendom, Church and Mission In A Strange New-World* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2004), 1-5.

<sup>18</sup> Henry Martyn Dexter and Morton Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1905), 1-10.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

areas of influence, no longer being 'differentiated' - to use Max Weber's terminology, and no longer being seen to have a narrow set of irrelevant principles.<sup>19</sup> Such sympathies can still be identified in publications like David Beale's *The Mayflower Pilgrims* (2000), which mistakenly presents progressive Protestantism as the natural endpoint of the Plymouth Colony. In reaction, Bendroth sees religious decline as having invigorated the drawing of symbolic boundaries.<sup>20</sup> In other words, 19<sup>th</sup> century battles of identity within religious communities began to concern who was 'in' and who was 'out', built on long-standing myths and heritages concerning perceived foundational influences. In this period of renegotiating the Pilgrims' past, Bendroth believes that modern notions of tolerance and practical ethics were fostered amongst American Congregationalists.<sup>21</sup> Whilst this may be true, what emerged in conjunction was an interpretation of the Pilgrims as a cohesive group linked to specific contemporary communities. Our sense of the Pilgrims as being principally different is, therefore, a product of Congregationalists (amongst others) using the past to reinvigorate interest in their own doctrines at a time of perpetual decline.

Alongside this, as the theorist Nora suggests, creators of such heritage discourses establish *les lieux de memoire* ('sites of memory'), such as monuments, in order to relegate the importance of memory and establish fixed histories.<sup>22</sup> Leiden boasts a plethora of places commemorating the Pilgrims, such as the 19<sup>th</sup> century bronze plaque on the outside wall of the Pieterskerk's baptistry dedicated to John Robinson and the sign denoting the alley where William Brewster is thought to have lived (imaginatively re-dedicated as William Brewstersteeg in 1984). The sign denoting Brewster's supposed residence ties nicely into our following discussion on national heritage formation: as the site of memory includes a note that it was erected as part of 'the first Pilgrim tourism visit from America by airplane'. Both of these sites of memory were funded, in part, by the National Council of the Congregational Churches in the United States.

As said, such places are established, in part, due to fears of the contemporary church's rapid disappearance. When a culture gets in trouble, it is natural to reach back into the past to look for the last moment of anchorage in order to establish human links with perceived predecessors. 'The recovery of things past allays present loss', the scholar Lowenthal mentions.<sup>23</sup> Likewise, Bloembergen and Eickhoff suggest that groups conserve such memories, and with them certain heritage discourses, due to anxieties of lost tradition.<sup>24</sup> This is a natural disposition, especially with modern society undergoing constant renewal and transformation at dizzying pace. Heritage creation, Lowenthal believes, is inescapable and indispensable: as such linkages with history provide a socio-spatial identity for groups.<sup>25</sup> Attachment to the past and a dependence on historic recognition is subsequently seen as natural, built in this case through public memorials and narratives of the Pilgrims' insularity. This dissertation cannot, and will not, maintain that no person or collective group should be interested in their heritage. Instead it attempts to uncover what has been lost from the Pilgrim story through such moulded heritage creations.

---

<sup>19</sup> Max Weber's *The Sociology of Religion*, ed. Ephraim Fischhoff (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962), 1-10. The idea of secularism is more complex and contested than portrayed in this introduction. The work of Peter Berger stresses that 'the world today is as furiously religious as it ever was, and in some places more so than ever', looking mainly towards certain parts of America, Africa and Asia. Nonetheless, Bendroth and Murray are right in citing such a decline in terms of European religiosity. See: Peter L. Berger, 'The Desecularization of the World: A Global Overview', in *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics*, ed. Peter L. Berger (Washington D.C.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 1999).

<sup>20</sup> David Beale, *The Mayflower Pilgrims, Roots of Puritan, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, and Baptist Heritage* (Greenville and Belfast: Ambassador – Emerald International, 2000).

<sup>21</sup> Bendroth, *The Last Puritans*, 3-5.

<sup>22</sup> Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History Les Lieux de Memoire', *Representations* 26, no. 1 (1989): 1-2. 7-8.

<sup>23</sup> Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, 67. 95-97.

<sup>24</sup> Marieke Bloembergen and Martijn Eickhoff, "Decolonising Borobudur: Moral engagements and the fear of loss. The Netherlands, Japan and (post-) colonial heritage politics in Indonesia", in *Sites, Bodies and Stories. A comparative approach to history and heritage in colonial and postcolonial Indonesia*, ed. S. Legêne, B. Purwanto, H. Schulte Nordholt (Singapore: NUS, 2015), 33-40.

<sup>25</sup> Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, 1-2.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

### Exclusion and Possession in the Case of the Pilgrims' Heritage

Heritage formation has led to the simplification of the Pilgrims' religious history for the purpose of competing in a crowded market. Unsurprisingly, such heritage discourses tend to gravitate toward well documented and well-known Separatists - excluding women in particular. The story of Sarah Willett Minter, originally from Norwich, has become overcast (if not altogether forgotten) by the ubiquitous archetype of 'women caring for men'. Despite her service as the Pilgrims' midwife, she is largely an 'invisible woman' mainly due to the relentless 'masculinisation' of the religious group's heritage.<sup>26</sup> Bangs, in a re-interpretation of Willett Minter's occupation, mentioned in Leiden's betrothal records, states that unlike the midwife to the English Reformed Church [hereafter ERC], Barbara van der Beke, the Pilgrim was not paid by the city government nor supervised by a supplied physician. As such, she was sure to have exercised resourceful qualities. The midwife would also have been recognised by the Separatist community - such was the custom for the midwife to present any newborn to be baptised.<sup>27</sup> Others, seen in the case of Dorothy May (wife of William Bradford), who tragically drowned in 1620 after falling from the *Mayflower's* deck, have been relegated to particular parts of their biography. In the case of May, her death is now associated with depression, a possible torrid affair with Christopher Jones (captain of the vessel) and suicide: all due to Jane Austin's fictional work 'William Bradford's Love Life' (1869) written to supply entertainment not historical accuracy, in turn strengthening the masculinisation of the Pilgrims' heritage.<sup>28</sup> It does not escape the writer that the following chapters of this work go part way in strengthening this masculinisation of Pilgrim history, focusing on the Separatists' leadership and the public roles they occupied. Effort and consideration is exercised to include women as they appear in the records, especially in the case of Chapter Two (which places attention onto ordinary members of several Leiden congregations). Nevertheless, when considering the insularity of the Pilgrim community, the strongest and most available documentary foundation is provided by the likes of Bradford, Robinson and Brewster.

The creation of easily digestible discourses can occur despite a lack of physical artefacts being present, going against Smith's assertion that 'things' often provide a way to make heritages tangible and visible.<sup>29</sup> If anything, a lack of physical material results in increased academic interest. The intense discussions over the location of Brewster's printing press (considered in Chapter Three) is but one example of researchers piecing together the Pilgrims' presence from scant details.<sup>30</sup> Visitors and researchers often go through processes of emotional mapping, linking mental images to places in order to solicit impactful experiences.<sup>31</sup> The Leiden American Pilgrim Museum (LAPM), set up as part of a chartered foundation in 1997, offers such a perspective. Whilst housed in one of the oldest buildings in the city, dating to around 1370, its historical links with the religious group are sparse. The house was never occupied by Separatists and the museum's paraphernalia, mostly dating from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, has no direct Pilgrim connections. The museum itself stressed that the 'rooms recall Pilgrim times' whilst not functioning as active roots of Separatist history. What emerges then, is a familiar image of the Pilgrims created by general codes and motifs – dressed in black and white, with buckles on their shoes, pointed hats and starched bonnets adorned, multi-sold to different audiences. That said, the LAPM also participates in projects aimed at transcribing 17<sup>th</sup> century documents relating to the religious émigrés, bringing its role as a place of heritage closer to that of an academic

---

<sup>26</sup> Jeremy Dupertius Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims, Travellers and Sojourners – Leiden and the Foundations of Plymouth Plantation* (Plymouth: General Society of Mayflower Descendants, 2009), 385.

<sup>27</sup> Jeremy Bangs, 'The Pilgrims and Other English in Leiden Records: Some New Pilgrim Documents', *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 143, no. 1 (1989): 195-209.

<sup>28</sup> Jane Goodwin Austin, 'William Bradford's Love Life', in *Harper's New Monthly*, June (1869): 135-140.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, 25-30.

<sup>30</sup> D. Plooi, 'Where in Leyden was Brewster's printing office?', in *The Pilgrim Press. A bibliographical & historical memorial of the books printed at Leyden by the Pilgrim Fathers*, ed. Rendel Harris and Stephen K. Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 15-29.

<sup>31</sup> G. Bagnall, 'Performance and performativity at heritage sites', *Museum and Society* 1, no. 2 (2003): 91-93.



## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

reading room. Still, a vagueness emerges from the LAPM, courtesy of heritage formation masking the intricate elements of the Pilgrims' interactions with other groups in Leiden.<sup>32</sup>

Whilst Lowenthal may see heritage as indispensable, it is clear that many cases of stewardship over the past are intrinsically possessive.<sup>33</sup> This can cause disagreement and dissonance, as outlined by Ashworth and Tunbridge, since 'all heritage is someone's heritage and therefore logically not someone else's.'<sup>34</sup> In the case of the Pilgrims, national heritages have led to the debilitation of groups whose interpretations fall outside the bracket of being legitimised by state-sanctioned approval. Due to this, state governments and dominant religious groups become 'authorised', a term coined by Smith.<sup>35</sup> Often these actors blend and operate together, seen in the case of Congregationalists. The denomination during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries was well-positioned for such cultural work, repackaging the past through publications like that of Henry Martyn and Morton Dexter's, particularly in the US. In addition, they were instrumental in the foundation of Harvard, Yale, the University of California, Berkeley, and Howard University in Washington D.C..<sup>36</sup> Those who held influence became seen as credible to speak about the Pilgrims, whilst those who did not were seen to speak without basis. Whilst contemporary academic history might have broadened out in terms of the range of writers on the Pilgrims, traces of this early stage of historiography – where nonconformist ministers exchanged works within their own denominations – remain, for instance in who is seen to have the deepest claim to Separatist history.

19<sup>th</sup> century political figures, cementing their own positions, subsequently allowed subtle details of the Pilgrim experience to become subsumed by anachronistic notions of 'America', 'Holland' and 'England'. During the formal presentation of the original Bradford Manuscript History from England to the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1897, state senators talked of such an exchange as being a 'repatriation' (using the logic that *Of Plymouth Plantation* belonged to the Pilgrims' American descendants).<sup>37</sup> We can identify now, that the Pilgrims' heritage has transcended religious history and seeped into the American psyche. The first instance of this phenomena is seen by Bendroth to be as a result of Daniel Webster, then Senator of Massachusetts, and his 1820 speech near Plymouth Rock as part of the Congregationalist 'Forefathers' Day' celebrations. Onlookers were told to 'hold communion at once with ... ancestors and ... posterity', spurring the unification of scattered independent churches under one collective memory.<sup>38</sup> Heritage, therefore, provides tremendous opportunities for particular groups to articulate their own interpretations of the past.<sup>39</sup> Halbwachs' notion of 'collective memory' is particularly salient here, as the sociologist cites remembrance as a binding agent which offers stability to communal identity.<sup>40</sup> Such instances can be totalizing however, pushing out other voices in the process.

Historians up until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century traditionally abetted and acquiesced to these authorised national discourses. Whilst it is undeniable that the Separatists underwent great ordeals, many articulations from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries are astonishingly grandiose and triumphalist. Warwick

---

<sup>32</sup> During my most recent visit to the LAPM, our small tour group was joined by an American from Pennsylvania. Despite visiting the Netherlands only briefly, he had hovered around the doorway to the museum hours before its opening. Making it clear to the group that he had Pilgrim ancestry, the emotionality he showed over each and every artefact was palpable. LAPM, accessed May 20, 2020. <http://www.leidenamericanpilgrimuseum.org/PageA1>.

<sup>33</sup> Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, 3.

<sup>34</sup> Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 79-82.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, 1-5.

<sup>36</sup> Bendroth, *The Last Puritans*, 6.

<sup>37</sup> Previously thought to have been destroyed, the 17<sup>th</sup> century text was found in the library of the Bishop of London in Fulham and through tireless negotiations given to the United States. *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation*, ed. Secretary of the Commonwealth (Carlisle, Massachusetts: Applewood's Historiography Series, 1898), 1-10.

<sup>38</sup> Bendroth, *The Last Puritans*, 27-29. Interestingly, to return to our discussion of Thanksgiving, 'Forefathers' Day' can be viewed as a partial precursor to the modern festivity.

<sup>39</sup> Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 89-92.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid*, 58-60. Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

Charlton's 'Mayflower Company', an initiative which successfully built and sailed a complete replica of the Pilgrims' 1620 vessel (beginning construction in 1955) to America, remains the most conspicuous case of such sympathies.<sup>41</sup> Charlton, a veteran of WWII, hoped to continue the Anglo-American relations which had been fostered during the conflict: building a permanent link of common heritage revered by both nations. His often chauvinist account of the 1957 voyage forms a blatant attempt to reinsert the Pilgrims' history back into public consciousness. Whilst the romantic effort of building a decorative boat to bring nations closer together remains commendable, limitations can be found over the re-enactment. No women were allowed on board as participants and the project was primarily funded by business interests. Due to this, what emerges from Charlton's efforts is a picture of authorised interests bending the history of the Pilgrims through remoulded heritage. The Pilgrims have consequently become touchstones in our national mythologies, maintained by fresh memorials of 'heroism' and 'endurance'. They are seen by filiopietistic communities as individuals of superior virtue, reminding them of a 'strong time' when God was present in the world.

Continuing this, some historians of the 20<sup>th</sup> century such as the Dutch academic Daniel Plooi, went extraordinary lengths in establishing the idea of the Pilgrims as being especial. Plooi adopted the stance of self-appointed custodian of the Pilgrims' principles, seeing the present as diverting wrongly away from the morally sound past. He stated, in a 1932 lecture to students of New York University, 'what really matters is the preservation of their ideals and principles; and it is a far greater treasure'.<sup>42</sup> What is implied here is that the heritage of the Pilgrims should remain unchanged and merely conserved - with no additions made. In other words, any details lost should remain lost. In 1945, the historian Willison followed suit, proposing a false dichotomy between religious fanatics (Saints) and those who journeyed to Virginia on the *Mayflower* for profit (Strangers). Willison implies that both communities came together once they faced the hard realities of the New World, comparing this extraordinary synthesis to the Second World War effort.<sup>43</sup> By framing the Pilgrims in relatable terms to the war-stricken American population (seeing both struggles as comparable), Willison presented a valiant 17<sup>th</sup> century religious community desperate in their attempts to form a better order of things. The scholarship of the 20<sup>th</sup> century consequently provides a cornucopia of pulled and prodded narratives of the Separatists, with many being written with national purposes in mind.

Thankfully, recent scholarship has begun to peel away this nationalistic lens obscuring the Pilgrims' experiences in Leiden, offering a space to bring heritage analysis into academic literature. Joke Kardux and Eduard van de Bilt's *Newcomers in an Old City: The American Pilgrims in Leiden, 1609–1620* (2001) and *Strangers and Pilgrims, Travellers and Sojourners- Leiden and the Foundations of Plymouth Plantation* (2009) by Jeremy Bangs have done much to enrich historical inquiry, placing the Separatists next to Leiden's Walloon community in particular and embedding them in the greater migration of refugees to the city during the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. Keith Sprunger's 'Other Pilgrims in Leiden: Hugh Goodyear and the English Reform Church' (1972), also reminds us that the Pilgrims were not the city's first English religious group, focusing on the nonconformist and non-episcopal ERC [a principal feature of Chapter Two].<sup>44</sup> Such histories have made it clear that the Pilgrims operated amongst a great range of communities in Leiden, many transcending rigid and anachronistic ideas of nationality.

---

<sup>41</sup> Warwick Charlton, *The Voyage of Mayflower II* (London: Cassell and Company LTD, 1957).

<sup>42</sup> D. Plooi, *The Pilgrim Fathers from a Dutch Point of View* (New York: Arms Pr Inc, 1932), 13-14.

<sup>43</sup> George F. Willison, *Saints and Strangers* (New York: Reynall & Hitchcock, 1945). Bangs attempts to show that such a distinction between the 'Saints' and 'Strangers' is artificial due to the multitude of reasons individuals had for boarding vessels to Virginia. The Strangers, according to Bangs, were not more secular than the Saints: as they 'solemnly & mutually in the presence of God' signed the Mayflower Compact. Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 613-620.

<sup>44</sup> Joke Kardux and Eduard van de Bilt, *Newcomers in an Old City: The American Pilgrims in Leiden, 1609-1620* (Leiden: Burgersdijk & Niermans, 2001). Jeremy Dupertius Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims, Travellers and Sojourners – Leiden and the Foundations of Plymouth Plantation* (Plymouth: General Society of Mayflower Descendants, 2009). Keith Sprunger, 'Other Pilgrims in Leiden: Hugh Goodyear and the English Reform Church', *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture* 41, no. 2 (1972): 46-60.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

### Approach and Methods

With the core period of the Pilgrims' stay in Leiden being slight (1609-1620), a thematic approach has been opted for in order to gain a better sense of their interactions with other communities, challenging heritages built on ideas of their isolation. Sources were consequently selected from key individuals within several Leiden communities, offering a sample of the mentalities among their respective congregations due to their representative positions of leadership.

Chapter One focuses on the life and theological works of John Robinson, pastor to the Pilgrims, written during his time in Leiden. Whilst some leaders stressed the need to keep a certain distance away from other religious groups, Robinson's biography and theological works (in particular his *Justification of Separation* (1610), *Of Religious Communion* (1614) and *Just and Necessary Apology* (1625)) show that such a separation was unwarranted doctrinally. Writing for a joint English-Dutch audience, shown in the analogies peppered throughout his works, Robinson aimed to show that self-containment in intensely interconnected Leiden would only lead to further struggle for the Separatists. In a study of the Pilgrims' contact with other religious groups in the Dutch Republic, such a theology - which would have held clear clout within the Separatist community - presents a firm indication of strong relations within the city existing.

Comparatively, situating Robinson next to the more confessional Separatists of Bradford and Winslow, who expressed concern over the Pilgrims losing their language and their property rights as Englishmen (eventually seeing such reasons as cause to move to the British Colony of Virginia) the pastor's works appear to fit instead into the concept of confessional competition - promoting tolerance to ensure stability.<sup>45</sup> However, Robinson too appears confessional in part, furthering religious conflict in relation to the Arminian Controversy, beginning in 1609 (sparked by varying interpretations of predestination among Dutch Calvinists). Nevertheless, his writings remain useful despite his theological contradictions: as a qualitative focus on his views of baptism, Sabbatarianism, and separation from the Established Church, all aid our discussion in detailing how engaged the Pilgrims truly were with the religious groups around them. Whilst Robinson's theology is well documented<sup>46</sup>, combining these findings with heritage analysis - detailing how contemporary products have been formed from historical misunderstandings of his works - is a new approach.

Chapter Two looks at the ERC and the Pilgrims, presenting a comparison of how they interacted with Dutch authorities and each other. The archival papers of Hugh Goodyear, minister of the ERC from 1617 to 1661, are particularly useful in this respect: detailing extensive financial correspondence between the churches, even after the first crop of Pilgrims left for Virginia in 1620, the product of complex laws surrounding the selling of property in Leiden. With Goodyear acting on behalf of the Separatists despite great geographical distance, it can be extrapolated that a good deal of trust existed between the congregations' leaders - an important observation to our discussion. Generations shifted in Plymouth, however, with Goodyear finding himself dealing with a more antagonistic crop of individuals unaware of the historic ties between the churches. Despite this, a look at Goodyear's book inventories provides a sense that the minister was well-invested in discovering more concerning Separatist theology even after such correspondence grew brusque and burdensome.

Paired with records showing prominent Pilgrims joining the ERC after the death of Robinson in 1625, Goodyear's relationship appears representative of general contact between the nonconformist churches. Corroborating this, schematic materials will also be used, notably betrothal records from the municipal government which highlight that Dutch figures acted as witnesses to Pilgrim marriages and that the ERC lent premises for blessings afterwards. Whilst these records are imperfect, a result of Leiden's clerks being unfamiliar with English names, several moments of connection can be identified

---

<sup>45</sup> 'Edward Winslow's Brief Narration (1649)', ed. Alexander Young, in *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1841), 380.

<sup>46</sup> Walter Burgess, *John Robinson, pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers: a study of his life and times* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1920). Timothy George, *John Robinson and the English Separatist Tradition* (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1982).

## **Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.**

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

- dismantling the idea that the Pilgrims were removed to outside dialogues, and by extension heritage discourses attesting to such beliefs.

Our final chapter will consider the printing activities of William Brewster, another notable Pilgrim. How much reliance did he and Thomas Brewer have on Dutch facilities and expertise? By looking at the contemporary accounts of Bradford and his memoir to Brewster written in 1644, this dissertation will attempt to dispel some classic heritage myths of Brewster's operations and their extensiveness. Bradford does provide a sense of Brewster's subversive activities, printing slanderous works aimed at the Established Church back in England; but to engage in such a conspiratorial life was to have many connections, something neglected by the writer in Plymouth. A wariness should be exercised, therefore, as Brewster's press has been portrayed as a commission from God not only by Bradford's providential orientated *OPP* but by 20<sup>th</sup> century academics also, attempting to elevated the Pilgrims' enterprise at the expense of Dutch printing. Following this, changing perspectives from within the Separatist community to outside of it, a look at the correspondence of Carleton (British Ambassador at the Hague), to his operatives tasked with punishing those printing defamatory works, throws doubt on whether the Pilgrims in fact had any press at all. This, in turn, implies that they gained significant help from the Dutch. By breaking down this familiar motif of the Pilgrims' printing, we can uncover the heritage devices operating under the surface; for what ends and directed by whom.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

### Chapter One: John Robinson and his ‘sociable’ conversations

‘Saints and strangers, how long have you come  
Saints and strangers, where do you run from  
Once we were many, now we are few  
Once we were stronger than you.’

Seth Lakeman, ‘Saints and Strangers’, 2020.<sup>47</sup>

#### Confessional Competition

This chapter will aim to provide a sense of how John Robinson (c. 1576-1625), an individual synonymous with the Scrooby Pilgrims, has been used in the developments of dominant heritage discourses of the Separatists and to what extent these discourses have tampered with history. Arguably more than any other Pilgrim, Robinson has been mythologised (surprising considering that he never made his way to Plymouth and died in Leiden during 1625). Whilst the writings of Bradford, principally *OPP*, support the premodern idea that social cohesion could only have occurred if the Pilgrims did not grow beyond the size of an early modern village, promoting a level of exclusivity, Robinson’s writings and life attest differently.<sup>48</sup> Subsequently, heritages portraying the pastor as part of an insular community do not entirely hold.

With the Hampton Court Conference of 1604 confirming the Crown’s continued intolerance towards Puritans and Separatists under James I, the situation was tense for critics of the Established Church in England. Appointed to a preaching position at St. Andrew’s, in Norwich, Robinson spoke out against the problems of a poorly educated clergy, the impossibility of excommunicating them, and the inability of his congregation to elect their own ministers without the consent of the bishops. With the Crown’s demands being enforced under the draconian Archbishop of Canterbury Richard Bancroft, Robinson was unsurprisingly dismissed from his post in 1605. The wayward, and now unemployed, pastor moved back to his birthplace of Sturton le Steeple, Nottinghamshire, sometime during 1607, a neighbouring village to Scrooby – the principal hub of Separatism. Before long, he formed a worshipping community alongside Richard Clyfton and William Brewster. Robinson, alongside the community of Scrooby, came to Amsterdam in 1608, moving to Leiden in 1609.<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup> Lakeman, *A Pilgrim’s Tale*, 10-11.

<sup>48</sup> Kardux and van de Bilt, *Newcomers in an Old City*, 46-47. Bradford’s *History of Plymouth Plantation*, ed. Secretary of the Commonwealth (Carlisle, Massachusetts: Applewood’s Historiography Series, 1898), 1-10.

<sup>49</sup> Kardux and van de Bilt, *Newcomers in an Old City*, 10-15. *The Works of John Robinson, Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers, with a Memoir and Annotations*, ed. Robert Ashton (Boston: Doctrinal Tract and Book Society, Vol. 1,

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

In his *Just and Necessary Apology* (1625), written in Leiden before the pastor's death, Robinson does state that 'no particular church ... ought to consist of more members than can meet together in one place'. Yet this was not said out of exclusivity but out of pragmatism – thinking foremostly of the practical consequences of his theology. Unable to envisage an oversized church as being able to control the manner of its congregation privately or publicly, Robinson recommended smaller gatherings. He puts his thinking in clear terms the Dutch reformed churches could understand: 'Any citizen of Leyden may enjoy certain privileges in the city of Delft, by virtue of ... the States-general ... but that the ordinary magistrate of Leyden should presume to execute his public office in the city of Delft, were an insolent, and unheard of usurpation.' Writing for a Dutch audience, Robinson's writings suggest that despite not wanting the Pilgrim church to balloon in numbers other communities were welcome to join and exercise their faith with the Separatists, implying a degree of inclusivity.<sup>50</sup> As suggested, this view was not universally representative of the Pilgrims. Bradford was a follower of confessionalism, the belief that differing interpretations of scripture and church could not be accommodated within communion (a sympathy which Robinson held in part, as we shall see); Robinson's theology largely resembled a form of 'confessional competition' instead. Toleration, for him, was a matter of practicality and managing difference as a means to preserve stability for his own community. Using Robinson as a lens, this chapter will first identify the origins of the dominant discourse that the Pilgrims favoured isolation. After which an analysis of how these heritages have obscured details of the Pilgrim experience in Leiden will be carried out.

### Problematising the Heritage of Robinson

Robinson was widely portrayed as 'courteous, affable, and sociable in his conversation...' to the plethora of ethnic and religious groups of Leiden's multicultural scene, made up mostly of Walloon and Flemish refugees, as well as Scots and German Calvinists. It can be argued, therefore, that Robinson acted against the Pilgrims' physical and mental self-containment from the rest of Leiden society.<sup>51</sup> In turn, he remained insistent that the English Separatists transcend their strict notions of locality. The historians Kardux and van de Bilt note that 'this special cosmopolitan frame of mind is evidenced in Robinson's ... efforts to join in the international religious debates of their time' (a similar trait behind Brewster's printing activities, mentioned in Chapter Three, and when considering the Arminian Controversy).<sup>52</sup> Despite the notion that heritage formation is unavoidable when dealing with history, Kardux and van de Bilt warn of creating new myths when considering Robinson's acceptance of other religious groups.<sup>53</sup> Before anything, we should remember that Robinson, whilst in Leiden, remained a committed Calvinist.

Not long after his arrival in the Dutch Republic, *An Answer to John Robinson of Leyden, By A Puritan Friend* (1609), thought to be written by John Burgess (pastor of the Walloon congregation at St. Peter Hungate's in Norwich), was circulated; a work which attempted to open Robinson's eyes so that he may 'see his errors' in separating from the Established Church. Despite the limitation of Robinson's entire reply having since been lost, his negative sentiments towards the Anglican Church permeate the scholastic style text of answers and responses. Robinson holds true to his beliefs that his previous congregation at St. Andrew's was part of a false church, through being attached to provincially and

---

1851), 16-20. W. Tammel, *The Pilgrims and other People from the British Isles in Leiden, 1576-1640* (Peel: The Mansk-Svenska Publishing Co., 1989), 12. 'John Robinson', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed April 1, 2020. <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-23847>.

<sup>50</sup> 'Just and Necessary Apology (1625)', *The Works of John Robinson, Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers, with a Memoir and Annotations*, ed. Robert Ashton (Boston: Doctrinal Tract and Book Society, Vol. 3, 1851), 14-17.

<sup>51</sup> 'William Bradford's Dialogue, or the sum of a conference between some young men born in New England and sundry ancient men that came out of Holland and old England (1648)', ed. Alexander Young, in *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1841), 451.

<sup>52</sup> Kardux and van de Bilt, *Newcomers in an Old City*, 46-47.

<sup>53</sup> See 'Introduction, The Pilgrims in Line with Heritage Studies'. 'Mayflower 400 Project', accessed October 29, 2020. <https://www.mayflower400leiden.nl>.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

nationally established hierarchies which placed man too highly.<sup>54</sup> Like the Pilgrims more widely, the pastor aimed to interpret scripture with the freshness of the primitive church by separating, renewing old truths masked by the spectacles and liturgies of Anglicanism. This, linking to our discussion of the Pilgrims not being insularly minded, was a doctrine heavily influenced by Dutch Mennonites (much like Robert Browne's thinking, a later feature of this chapter).<sup>55</sup> Through a brief reading of this source, Robinson must be seen as a Separatist, despite his toleration for other reformed churches and groups whilst in Leiden.

Robinson never recanted his separation. Consequently, he was part of a system of confessional competition more than a supporter of non-confessionalism (the abandoning of doctrinal statements for general Christian values). Regardless of this, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century historians have attempted to portray the pastor as semi-Separatist or even as regretful for his theology. The origin of this notion can be found in Robert Baille's *Dissuasive from the Errors of Time* (1645), which presents Robinson as eventually seeing the 'evil' of 'rigid Separation' and welcoming of a reunion with the Established Church.<sup>56</sup> Such a view was put into practice when Robinson's perceived lack of separation was used by the Unitarian Congregationalists in America during the 19<sup>th</sup> century schism with the orthodox sections of their denomination. John Allyn, preaching at Plymouth in 1801, described the pastor of the Pilgrims as modern in his thinking and a sure supporter of Unitarianism (disavowing the Trinity).<sup>57</sup> More recently, others have also seen Robinson as a stepping-stone for modern church doctrines. Argent, in his study of William Ames (1576-1633), a professor at Franeker and forerunner of Congregational ideas of independency, begins instead with an analysis of Robinson.<sup>58</sup> This idea is based largely on Robinson's portrayed proto-Congregationalism in Bradford's 'Dialogue', seen by modern strands of nonconformity as proof that his theology was an endorsement of the future discipline.<sup>59</sup> Nevertheless, with the influence of the Pilgrims waning in America by the mid-1640s, Bradford harboured vested interests in burying old grievances and forging connections with other nonconformist groups, determined to recover a place for the Separatists within the trans-Atlantic Reformation.<sup>60</sup> By bringing heritage analysis together with historical texts, it becomes clear that subsequent generations of Congregationalists have used the works of Baille and Bradford to support their own symbolic boundaries of religious identity: utilising long-standing myths of figures like Robinson to decide who was 'in' and who was 'out' of their tradition.<sup>61</sup> Here we see then how dominant religious discourses originated from misconstrued notions of Robinson's theology, promoting ideas of the Pilgrims as being an insular community.

National heritages have also deployed Robinson as a vehicle. Describing the 1891 unveiling of the commemorative 'John Robinson Tablet' outside the Pieterskerk in Leiden, at the time the second biggest bronze plaque of its kind anywhere in the world, Morton Dexter cited the fervour of emotion surrounding the event – encouraging others to memorialise the pastor.<sup>62</sup> After the editor of the *Christian Leader*, I. M. Atwood, in 1880, accused his father and fellow Congregationalist scholar

---

<sup>54</sup> *An Answer to John Robinson of Leyden, By A Puritan Friend*, 1609, ed. Champlin Burrage (Oxford: Harvard Theological Studies IX, 1920), 1-20.

<sup>55</sup> See Burgess, *John Robinson, pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers*, 1-10. 'Edward Winslow's Brief Narration (1649)', ed. Alexander Young, in *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1841), 386-390.

<sup>56</sup> Mark L. Sargent, 'William Bradford's 'Dialogue' with History', *New England Quarterly* 65, no. 3 (1992): 390-395.

<sup>57</sup> Bendroth, *The Last Puritans*, 34.

<sup>58</sup> Alan Argent, 'English Churches in the Netherlands before 1640', *Congregational History Society Magazine* 9, no. 3 (2020): 156-162.

<sup>59</sup> Sargent, 'William Bradford's 'Dialogue': 418-419. 'William Bradford's Dialogue, or the sum of a conference between some young men born in New England and sundry ancient men that came out of Holland and old England (1648)', ed. Alexander Young, in *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1841), 441-457.

<sup>60</sup> Sargent, 'William Bradford's Dialogue': 407.

<sup>61</sup> Bendroth, *The Last Puritans*, 1-10.

<sup>62</sup> Morton Dexter, 'Proceedings at the Unveiling of the John Robinson Memorial Tablet in Leyden, Holland, July 24, 1891.', in *The Mayflower Descendant* 2, ed. George Ernest Bowman (Boston: Thomas Todd, 1900): 97-103.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

Henry Martyn Dexter of being more of an advocate for the Pilgrims than an objective historian; Morton Dexter appears to have carried on his father's glowing adoration. This, by extension, fuelled his energetic involvement in the commemorations of Robinson, riling his father's critics.<sup>63</sup> Despite his partisan approach, Dexter's work highlights that in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Robinson emerged as a conduit for establishing personal links with the religious past. This led to the shoehorning of national identities into the story of the pastor, tampering the Pilgrims' history.

Following this, the Dutch historian Plooij said, in 1932, that 'his [Robinson's] name stood and shall stand first in the history of the Pilgrims and in the history of the United States', firmly rooting his separation from the Established Church as a precursor to American political independence in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>64</sup> Evidently, the pastor of the Pilgrims has emerged as the heroic architect of Congregationalism and, more impressively, the United States, through authorised actors remaking and reforming the past. Having identified the origins of such dominant discourses, this chapter will move on to correcting some of the details lost through planting Robinson into narratives of religious and national progress, critiquing the image of the Pilgrims as being Separatist in every way.

### Linchpin of the Community

Robinson openly engaged the traffic of Holland and Leiden, making his activities an obvious case study in challenging heritage discourses portraying the Pilgrims as being insular. He had clear influence within the city, something mentioned by Winslow (1595-1655) after his revisiting Leiden some twenty years after his description of events in his 'Brief Narration' (1649). Winslow writes that after Robinson's death, '... the University and ministers of the city accompanied him to his grave with all their accustomed solemnities, bewailing the great loss ... some of the chief of them sadly affirmed that all the churches of Christ sustained a loss by the death of that worthy instrument of the Gospel.'<sup>65</sup> That said, his account is not free of embellishment, a limitation mentioned by Ashton.<sup>66</sup> Written to refute Samuel Gorton's 'Simplicities Defence against Seven-headed Policy' (1646) (which maintained that the Pilgrims left Leiden due to disputes occurring between them), the Pilgrim presents a clear picture of Robinson as being a unifying presence in the community and general city. He writes that Robinson's 'doctrine ... was always against separation from any of the churches of Christ; professing and holding communion both with the French and Dutch churches... tendering it to the Scotch [Scottish] also...'<sup>67</sup> Interestingly, Winslow's comments concerning Robinson appear as an appendix to a report on the progress and state of the Plymouth Colony in Virginia to shareholders back in London. Needless to say, Winslow is glowing in his positive praise of the settlement which he helped organise, as well as desperate to ensure that its financial support kept flowing. This, unfortunately, besmirches the rest of his writing with a degree of hyperbole. Winslow even admits that '... truly what I have written is far short of what it was, omitting for brevity sake many circumstances'.<sup>68</sup> Subsequently, Winslow almost undergoes his own endeavour at heritage formation: remodelling and amplifying the Separatists' recent history in order to portray them as a good financial investment. Winslow's statements involving Robinson are nevertheless representative and in line with the pastor's

---

<sup>63</sup> This critique of Dexter's impartiality can also be felt when reading Dexter and Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*.

<sup>64</sup> Plooij, *The Pilgrim Fathers*, 30-32. Plooij later compares Robinson's personal conscience with that of William of Orange, seeing both as wanting 'all recognized and all entirely free to develop themselves' regardless of religious creed, 36-38.

<sup>65</sup> 'Edward Winslow's Brief Narration (1649)', ed. Alexander Young, in *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1841), 394. Gemeentearchief Leiden, Burial record of John Robinson, 04-03-1625, inv. nr. 0501A, 1317.

<sup>66</sup> *The Works of John Robinson, Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers, with a Memoir and Annotations*, ed. Robert Ashton (Boston: Doctrinal Tract and Book Society, Vol. 1, 1851), 55.

<sup>67</sup> 'Edward Winslow's Brief Narration (1649)', ed. Alexander Young, in *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1841), 385.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*



## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

own written theology, attesting to an individual extensively linked to Leiden's other religious congregations and civil society.

Robinson's sociability with other communities is corroborated by his admission into Leiden University during 1615, gaining privileges of half a ton of beer per month and ten gallons of wine every three months; whilst also shrugging off the control of the local magistrate, being instead placed under the university's legal structures.<sup>69</sup> This matriculation may appear commonplace but by enrolling a well-known Separatist the university ran the risk of angering the English throne.<sup>70</sup> It is plausible then that such a risk would not have been undertaken for any individual, remaining a privilege for those seen as essential linchpins of the community. Whilst the 20<sup>th</sup> century scholarship of Plooiij and Harris reiterates this, believing that Robinson 'was soon on the best terms with the Dutch Church, the Leyden University, and the Magistrates...' upon arriving in 1609, specifics concerning Robinson's connections with Dutch society have largely become lost.<sup>71</sup> The rest of this chapter hopes to reclaim some of these details.

### The Arminian Controversy

No event showcases Robinson's involvement in the wider Leiden religious sphere more than the Arminian Controversy within the Dutch Reformed Church. Stemming from contestations between Arminius and Gomarius, two theologians at Leiden University, by 1609 separate Calvinistic doctrines had emerged: Arminians (Remonstrants) saw the possible merging of church and civic government as favourable and previous ideas of predestination as too rigid, leaving room for human agency; Gomarians (Contra-Remonstrants) rebuked this, believing God to be immutable and unchangeable in His dispensing of justice.<sup>72</sup> Convinced by the encouragement of his Dutch friend Johannes Polyander, Robinson participated in related debates at Leiden University, notably against the Arminian Simon Episcopius in 1615. Bradford's *OPP* depicts Robinson as a defender of truth, easily felling each one of Episcopius's arguments.<sup>73</sup> To view Bradford's descriptions as intentionally and shamelessly exhibiting the Pilgrims' theological adeptness to the future generations of Plymouth is apt (even though it was likely that the pastor spoke on the topic of the separation of church and state and not on the more contentious issue of predestination). Nevertheless, Robinson does appear to show his confessional stripes during the Arminian Controversy, admonishing Remonstrant doctrine. Robinson's tolerance was a mixture, therefore, of accepting that shared values existed between the churches whilst holding that the reformed churches were in hot competition also.

Robinson was a strict believer in predestination (the notion that salvation came not from human effort but from God's free grace in his mercy, choosing the elect), influenced heavily by the works of William Perkins (1588-1602) (who had already disagreed with Arminius in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>74</sup> Bangs's assertion, subsequently, that Robinson's *A Defence Of The Doctrine Propounded By The Synod of Dort* (1624)<sup>75</sup> was sympathetic to both sides appears to hold little water when reading over the pastor's statements. Robinson employs satire and cutting humour, strong even for the time, to humiliate the Arminians, thereby participating in the toxicity of the debates around him. The Arminians appear as 'adversaries' and 'crooked men' in the text, with Robinson maintaining that they have

---

<sup>69</sup> *The Works of John Robinson, Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers, with a Memoir and Annotations*, ed. Robert Ashton (Boston: Doctrinal Tract and Book Society, Vol. 1, 1851), 28.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> *Leyden Documents Relating to the Pilgrim Fathers, Permission To Reside At Leyden And Betrothal Records; Together With Parallel Documents From The Amsterdam Archives*, ed. D. Plooiij, J. Rendel Harris (Brill: Leiden, 1920), 1.

<sup>72</sup> Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 480-484.

<sup>73</sup> *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation*, ed. Secretary of the Commonwealth (Carlisle, Massachusetts: Applewood's Historiography Series, 1898), 28-29.

<sup>74</sup> Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 509-511. 261-263. Kardux and van de Bilt, *Newcomers in an Old City*, 18.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 350-360. 489-495. Tammel, *The Pilgrims and other People*, 3-9.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

formed 'a strange perverting of the Scriptures...'<sup>76</sup> It appears, in this instance, that Robinson acted against his usual motivations of fostering peace, love and unity. Nevertheless, his involvement in such a controversy still challenges the notion of a self-contained Pilgrim community. As Robinson had used Luther and the early Protestants to back his separation from the Church of England, his words were used by Dutch Contra-Remonstrants to justify their actions against the more liberal Remonstrants.<sup>77</sup> This, in turn, challenges the built-up heritage discourses of the Pilgrims as being isolated away from the contestations of the Dutch.

These divisions within Dutch Reformed Church could have past the Pilgrims by, even if some of their security depended on the strength of the institutions around them. That said, the Contra-Remonstrants, after achieving control of Dutch systems of government, could easily have amassed enough of a following to make things difficult for the Separatists - if Robinson had not shown his support. After all, establishing a completely separated and secretive congregation would have made the authorities suspicious. Nevertheless, Robinson appears to have been fully invested in the Contra-Remonstrant cause regardless, not merely as a show of faith. The pastor remained immovable in his position that God pulled some, predetermined before the creation of the universe, up to heaven and left others behind. Portraying the pastor as a woolly supporter of non-confessionalism or modern liberal theology is difficult and risks mythmaking.<sup>78</sup> In response, his opponents depicted Christ as a physician, tending to everyone, opposed to the callous God of the Contra-Remonstrants who only treated half the hospital ward.<sup>79</sup> For Robinson this view was a case of humanity imposing their own will onto God: 'an ignorant assertion, showing the ground of their error by not putting difference between God's work and man's'.<sup>80</sup> Throughout his *Defence of the Synod of Dort*, Robinson writes with greater and greater bellicosity, seeing the Arminians' positions as bred from 'ignorance and incurable diseases of thought'.<sup>81</sup> Subsequently, it is clear that Robinson spent great energy engaging theological issues beyond his immediate Pilgrim community.

The Synod of Dort (1618-1619) was the culmination of hostilities between the already strained Dutch Calvinist camps. Conveyed under the pretence of unifying the Dutch Reformed Church, what occurred instead was a chastising of the Remonstrants: with many being put on trial, captured and deposed despite Contra-Remonstrant assurances. On July 3<sup>rd</sup> 1619, they refused to sign a declaration presented to them by the States General forbidding all their religious activities. Under pressure from James I, Prince Maurits had already violently removed the Arminians (whom had previously held more political influence) from Leiden the previous year.<sup>82</sup> Robinson's entire record – having participated in the Dutch Republic's religious factionalism of the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, promoting dangerous division and violence, was not particularly marketable for the contemporary church (especially liberal Congregationalists prizing values of acceptance). Broadly speaking, such an instance did not serve the church's present needs or future hopes. What occurred then was a forthright 'improving' of history through heritage formation, as Lowenthal observes, re-articulating the past in line with contemporary motivations.<sup>83</sup> Robinson's writings on predestination have, subsequently, largely been forgotten in the remaking of the modern church – a church which has largely rejected notions of predestination altogether.

A clear case of this is identified when attempting to chase down Robinson's works. The most accessible copy of Ashton's edition of Robinson's works in three volumes is not found at any

---

<sup>76</sup> 'Defence of the Doctrine Propounded by the Synod of Dort', *The Works of John Robinson, Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers, with a Memoir and Annotations*, ed. Robert Ashton (Boston: Doctrinal Tract and Book Society, Vol. 1, 1851), 443. 366.

<sup>77</sup> Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 512-520.

<sup>78</sup> For attempts at depicting Robinson as a hero and forerunner of liberal Protestantism, see Robert Merrill Bartlett, *The Pilgrim Way* (Philadelphia: The Pilgrim Press, 1971).

<sup>79</sup> 'Defence of the Doctrine Propounded by the Synod of Dort', *The Works of John Robinson, Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers, with a Memoir and Annotations*, ed. Robert Ashton (Boston: Doctrinal Tract and Book Society), 311-320.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid*, 397-400.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid*, 434.

<sup>82</sup> Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 486.

<sup>83</sup> Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, 499-501.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

Congregationalist library but via the Liberty Fund: an online reserve of publications proclaiming to enrich the development of research into individual liberty, founded by the conservative and libertarian philanthropist Pierre Goodrich in 1960.<sup>84</sup> It is observable, therefore, that the church has largely forgotten about such works, allowing Robinson's words to be utilised for others' present motives. Heritage in this context is almost inevitably about the 'good' things, events and cultural expressions that lend credence to a sense of cultural and communal pride in identity: not antagonist division. Robinson, in his backing of the Gomarians, aided the ascendancy of decidedly intolerant views. Such a contradiction cannot be rendered into an effective heritage, contending with the church's current problems of diminished support. Such a contradiction is therefore forgotten and cut away like an unwanted rope on the *Mayflower's* deck.

### 'The Lord hath yet more light and truth'

The pastor of the Pilgrims involved himself with the wider Leiden community in ways other than joining religious contestations. These instances are again neglected in the face of a heritage discourse which promotes the idea of the Separatists as being self-contained compared to other reformed groups. Whilst making sure to acknowledge that Robinson was an orthodox Calvinist, he was also no believer 'in the finality of human interactions with the Bible'. Instead, he felt that God revealed his will and grace to humanity in stages.<sup>85</sup> In describing Luther and Calvin, Robinson wrote 'they were precious shining lights in their times' but that the Pilgrims ought to 'take heed what we received for truth, and well to examine and compare it and weigh it with other scriptures...' No denomination knew the entirety of God's plans and 'religion was not always sown and reaped in one age'.<sup>86</sup> This is not a new interpretation, Argent highlights that 'Robinson bemoaned the state of the reformed churches'. For example, that 'the Lutherans could not be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw... They stick where he left them; a misery much to be lamented.'<sup>87</sup> Robinson advocates, therefore, that God's love and mercy had been shared amongst the churches with all of them being worthy to an extent. In a rare case of heritage retaining theological nuance, the anthemic hymn of George Rawson 'We limit not the truth of God to our poor reach of mind' (1835) highlights Robinson's belief that the 'Lord hath yet more light and truth to break forth from his word', a sentiment spoken to the Pilgrims before their embarkation to North America.<sup>88</sup> This theology gave room for cooperation and connection, challenging ideas that the Pilgrims were an insular community.

During his life in Leiden, Robinson exercised gentle-mindedness towards even some of those from the Church of England and Roman Catholic Church. His *Justification of Separation* (1610) reads, '... I doubt not but the truths taught in Rome have been effectually to the saving of many'.<sup>89</sup> Similarly,

---

<sup>84</sup> Whilst maintaining to be apolitical in nature, the Liberty Fund has continually supported right-wing political candidates, notably Ronald Reagan's presidential campaign. This dissertation does not support the possessive nature of some heritage discourses, nor that the contemporary reformed church should have complete control over Robinson's works and their interpretation. Nevertheless, by allowing such groups as the Liberty Fund to have free reign in moulding the Pilgrims' heritage, more problems stemming from the reworking and tampering of history will arise. 'Liberty Fund', accessed April 7, 2020. <https://www.libertyfund.org/>.

<sup>85</sup> 'Defence of the Doctrine Propounded by the Synod of Dort', *The Works of John Robinson, Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers, with a Memoir and Annotations*, ed. Robert Ashton (Boston: Doctrinal Tract and Book Society, Vol. 1, 1851), 19-20. 'Edward Winslow's Brief Narration (1649)', ed. Alexander Young, in *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1841), 391.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid, 71-73. *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation*, ed. Secretary of the Commonwealth (Carlisle, Massachusetts: Applewood's Historiography Series, 1898), 445.

<sup>87</sup> Argent, 'English Churches in the Netherlands': 156-162.

<sup>88</sup> 'We limit not the truth of God to our poor reach of mind (1835)', accessed 21 April, 2020. <https://www.hymnal.net/en/hymn/h/817>. *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation*, ed. Secretary of the Commonwealth (Carlisle, Massachusetts: Applewood's Historiography Series, 1898), 40-50. A read of John Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. Ford Lewis Battles (Philadelphia, PA: The Westminster Press, 1960) forms a sense that even the great reformer held patience and charitable judgment for other creeds. He writes: 'Wherever we see the Word of God purely preached and heard ... there, it is not to be doubted, a church of God exists', 1-5.

<sup>89</sup> Dexter and Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 517.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

Robinson's *Of Religious Communion* (1614) highlights a certain willingness to approve conversation with some from the Established Church: something unthinkable for many Separatists.<sup>90</sup> More obvious, is his support of the reformed churches in his *Just and Necessary Apology* (1625). Highlighting the similarities between their doctrines, Robinson writes 'Touching the Reformed Churches, what more shall I say? We account them the true churches of Jesus Christ, and both profess and practise communion with them.'<sup>91</sup> The pastor is not without criticism of the Dutch, taking issue in particular with the practise of baptising those with parents not active in the church. These points of difference are seen to be 'neither so small, as that they deserve to be neglected ... nor yet so great, as to dissolve the bond of brotherly charity, and communion.'<sup>92</sup> However, there is a caveat, like always. Robinson admits that one of his prime motivations for writing such a work was to push back against the falsehood that the Pilgrims became so odious to the Dutch magistrates that they were forced to leave the city.<sup>93</sup> To banish such accusations, Robinson displays his faith as open and positive: not based in condemning others. Subsequently, any source criticism of Robinson's later works should question the level of exaggeration in his portrayal of community relations between the Pilgrims and reformed churches. That said, by consulting Robinson's whole theology, the Pilgrims were by no means self-contained as a group whilst seeking refuge in Leiden.

### Robinson and Brownism

Another indication of how heritage discourses, depicting the Pilgrims as clinging together and isolated, have caused a need for re-evaluation involves the use of the label 'Brownist'. Despite many of the Pilgrims showing a keenness to deny the genetic relationship between Brownism and later Separatism, the name continued and continues to be used in reference to them. Brownism, stemming etymologically from the Tudor Robert Browne (1550-1633), was born as a doctrine after Queen Elizabeth I attempted to enforce the Book of Common Prayer and Act of Supremacy (hoping to form a unified Protestant Church). Browne, despondent with such proclamations and seeing the very concept of a national church as reprehensible, called for the immediate separation from 'corrupt' Anglicanism before fleeing to the Netherlands in 1581.<sup>94</sup> Thereafter, he became synonymous with heresy for many inside and outside of the Established Church.

Countless times, the Pilgrims attempted to disassociate from Browne. Winslow writes that Robinson '... commended us ... to avoid and shake off the name of Brownist ...'. Robinson himself states that his community had been 'contemptuously' called Brownists.<sup>95</sup> Interestingly, Browne's name carried such a stigma that the Burgomasters of the City of Leiden also disassociated from it. Despite it not being wholly necessary due to the Dutch's attitude of offering open sanctuary, the Pilgrims requested permission to reside in Leiden during February 1609, after leaving Amsterdam. This was most probably due to the laws surrounding orphans. By gaining legal permission, those born without parents would not be returned to England.<sup>96</sup> The city gave passage, 'provided that such persons behave themselves honestly, and submit to all the laws and ordinances ...' To some effect, they became citizens of the city.<sup>97</sup> Incensed at this, seeing the Dutch Republic as having lent legitimacy to Separatism, James I called for his Ambassador at the Hague, Sir Ralph Winwood, to investigate

---

<sup>90</sup> Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 461-465. 'Edward Winslow's Brief Narration (1649)', ed. Alexander Young, in *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1841), 390-400.

<sup>91</sup> 'Just and Necessary Apology', *The Works of John Robinson, Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers, with a Memoir and Annotations*, ed. Robert Ashton (Boston: Doctrinal Tract and Book Society, Vol. 3, 1851), 8.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid*, 16. 42.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid*, 7.

<sup>94</sup> Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 10-11. Kardux and van de Bilt, *Newcomers in an Old City*, 13-15.

<sup>95</sup> 'Edward Winslow's Brief Narration (1649)', ed. Alexander Young, in *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1841), 398.

<sup>96</sup> Leverland and Bangs, *The Pilgrims in Leiden*, 1-5.

<sup>97</sup> *Leyden Documents Relating to the Pilgrim Fathers, Permission To Reside At Leyden And Betrothal Records; Together With Parallel Documents From The Amsterdam Archives*, ed. D. Plooi, J. Rendel Harris (Brill: Leiden, 1920), 1-10. Gemeentearchief Leiden, Request to settle in Leiden, 12-02-1609, inv. nr. 0501A, 51.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

Leiden's admittance of the group. In reply, the Burgomasters implied that King James had been 'misinformed' that Leiden 'had any understanding with some of the Brownists', stating they had only granted 'free and unrestrained ingress' to good honest Christians.<sup>98</sup> By differentiating the Pilgrims from the Brownists, despite some similarities theologically, the Dutch authorities were able to circumvent the English Crown.

Still, the most obvious aversion for Browne is reserved for Bradford, who relegates the whole of Brownism to 'but a nickname as Puritan and Huguenot'. Bradford also rejects that he was a founder of Separatism, which was already laid out in the gospels according to the Pilgrim.<sup>99</sup> Of course, in the long history of English Separatism links between Brownism and the Pilgrims cannot always be avoided but why are historians so insistent on continuing its anecdotal use?<sup>100</sup> In many cases, modern heritage guides the pen – fuelled by church scholars wanting to highlight the Pilgrims radical separation, promoting interest in their own doctrines. Argent, in the opening sentences of his work, cannot resist the comparison:

'Robinson's separatist church, originally based in Scrooby, Nottinghamshire and similar in teaching to the Brownists (those English dissenters who followed Robert Browne) ...'<sup>101</sup>

The Pilgrims, and individuals like Robinson, are ineffective in terms of promoting contemporary church relevance if they are not seen to be an extension of a wider theological movement. By utilising the name of Browne, who later recanted his separation, the idea of the Pilgrims as being heroically especial and uniquely successful in their dissension is again cemented.<sup>102</sup>

One key similarity between Robinson and Browne does aid our discussion however, the observation that both had strong ties to other traditions before and whilst living in the Netherlands. Religious doctrine is borne from an interplay of communities. As such, the idea of Separatism emerged amongst a melange of cultures. Browne gained inspiration from Dutch Anabaptists whilst in Norwich during the 1580s due to the sizeable number of religious refugees in the area escaping the Inquisition and the violence of the Dutch Revolt.<sup>103</sup> Likewise, in the same city, Robinson's congregation of St. Andrew's directly faced the Walloon church of St. Peter Hungate's.<sup>104</sup> In fact, two passengers on the *Mayflower* (Francis Cooke and Hester Mahieu) came from that neighbouring place of worship, seen in the letter of transfer the couple made from Norwich to Leiden.<sup>105</sup> The Pilgrims' theology subsequently came from places where continental refugee churches had flourished. In particular, Robinson's way of thinking about God was certainly influenced by Walloons and rigid Calvinists in the Dutch Reformed Church. As boundaries of what was acceptable doctrine fluctuated in Leiden, Robinson was able to manage community relations between those in and outside of the immediate Pilgrim sphere via confessional competition - but to think of such an approach as insular is a mistake.

---

<sup>98</sup> Ibid, 1-5.

<sup>99</sup> 'William Bradford's Dialogue, or the sum of a conference between some young men born in New England and sundry ancient men that came out of Holland and old England (1648)', ed. Alexander Young, in *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1841), 441-442.

<sup>100</sup> See Keith Sprunger, 'Other Pilgrims in Leiden': 46-60. Dexter and Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*. Plooi, *The Pilgrim Fathers*.

<sup>101</sup> Argent, 'English Churches in the Netherlands': 156-162.

<sup>102</sup> 'Robert Browne', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed March 10, 2020.

<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-3695>

<sup>103</sup> Kardux and van de Bilt, *Newcomers in an Old City*, 13-15.

<sup>104</sup> 'Transcript of Mayflower Passenger Records' in Tammel, *The Pilgrims and other People*, 298. Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 168.

<sup>105</sup> Gemeentearchief Leiden, ecclesiastical betrothal record (*kerkijk ondertrouwregister*). Francis Cooke and Hester Mahieu's marriage record, fol. 72v-73. For the letter of transfer, stating 'Francois Cooke et Esther sa femme, de Norwich', see Gemeentearchief Leiden, Archives de L'Eglise Wallonne de Leyden, Francis Cooke and Hester Mahieu letter of transfer, 1608, inv. nr. 16, folio 13v.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

### Chapter Two: The Pilgrims and the Reformed Church (a comparative study of community relations).

‘Dear Isle of England  
So long and farewell  
For this new world whispers  
Of tales we can tell’

Seth Lakeman, ‘Dear Isle of England’, 2020.<sup>106</sup>

So far, we have established that certain individuals, such as John Robinson, forged connections with other religious groups whilst in the city of Leiden. This chapter aims to broaden out this observation, to include the whole Pilgrim community. To do this, we must exchange our focus on Robinson’s confessional competition, thinking of the practical consequences of his theology, for a more generalised view of pragmatism. By considering the relations between the English Reformed Church, Dutch Reformed Church and Pilgrims, we can see that immediate practicalities and expediency were central to interactions in Leiden - relegating doctrinal considerations. Whilst Bangs suggests that ‘the principle of Separation meant that the truly godly should not associate at all with the not quite so truly godly ...’, the Pilgrim community could not avoid mixing themselves up with wider Dutch society out of necessity and a need to conduct business.<sup>107</sup> According to Kardux and van de Bilt, this phenomena occurred in moments of ‘real sympathy and cordial unity’.<sup>108</sup> Whilst such human interactions did occur, often they were not moments of occasion, sympathy or heightened emotion but moments of practicality. These interactions were driven, as we shall see, from changes in law, a need for religious premises and language difficulties.

Studying these connections is not to imply that the Separatists did not prize the need to defend their niche in the ever-widening puritanical spectrum, as the academic Richard Condon states: ‘a nuance in an ideological difference is a wide chasm’ and any distinctions kept by the Pilgrims went towards justifying their own theology’s existence.<sup>109</sup> Feelings of principle and the demands of daily life clashed and conflicted, therefore. Moving away from the obvious sociable character of Robinson, perhaps other Pilgrims truly wanted to separate themselves away from Leiden society bodily and spiritually. Nevertheless, pressured by circumstances - they simply could not.

---

<sup>106</sup> Lakeman, *A Pilgrim’s Tale*, 3.

<sup>107</sup> Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 72.

<sup>108</sup> Kardux and van de Bilt, *Newcomers in an Old City*, 1-2.

<sup>109</sup> George, *John Robinson and the English Separatist Tradition*, 1-3.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

Well-researched comparisons between the ERC, DRC and Separatists have largely been ignored by heritage discourses built by modern nonconformists and nation-states. As early as 1932, Plooi made known that minor differences 'did not prevent intimate friendship among them'.<sup>110</sup> This neglect, however, is not surprising, considering that these heritage discourses rely on contemporary groups making direct links to the Separatists at the expense of others. After all, claims to certain historical forebearers cannot be elevated if they do not appear distinct in history. To secure the past to a present community, legacies have to become that community's own and no one else's.<sup>111</sup> The Pilgrims as a distinct group are usable to present communities, whereas the Pilgrims as part of a murkier tapestry of local relations tarnishes the legend of an intrepid 'band' of nation makers. This chapter, by using records from the ERC (predominantly the Goodyear Papers), schematic betrothal records and testimonies from Pilgrim leaders will highlight several occasions where the ERC, its mother church the DRC, and the Separatists were in close contact. As suggested, avoiding contact with people outside the Separatists' immediate circles was impossible; associations had to be made if the Pilgrims were to survive in a foreign city like Leiden.

Leiden had its own share of Protestants of English origin well before the Pilgrims settled in 1609. Representing around one hundred and forty five families, the English Reformed Church was a large presence in the life of the city - compared to the smaller Pilgrim community which totalled around one hundred individuals initially.<sup>112</sup> Established under Elizabeth I, the ERC was formed from military garrisons of Englishmen and Scots stationed in the Low Countries to fight the Spanish in the late 16<sup>th</sup>, in the case of the Dutch Revolt, and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Placed under the Dutch Reformed Church [hereafter DRC], they were entitled to a physical place of worship, with their ministers' pay being largely a municipal issue.<sup>113</sup> This offered them a certain institutional footing, with Leiden's authorities facilitating their place in society, linking to our next section.

### A Religious Gathering Opposed to a Worshipping Church

One disclaimer when considering the Pilgrims side by side with the ERC is that both groups' places in Dutch society naturally differed. Whilst being firmly nestled within the DRC, the ERC had their own gatherings largely due to language barriers. Instead, as the other 'alien daughter churches' did, they worshipped under the watchful eye of the authorities.<sup>114</sup> Due to their origins and associations, relations between the ERC and DRC relied heavily on cordial diplomacy between their respective countries. Appointing a minister from England to the ERC grew increasingly difficult in times of war, for example during the Anglo-Dutch Wars (occurring in the period 1650-1675), and easier when the States General felt the need to appease their Protestant allies due to their giving military aid, seen before James I's handing over of the 'cautionary towns' of Den Briel and Vlissingen in 1616.<sup>115</sup> Subsequently, whilst the ERC had moments of independence, minimal supervision from the city government easily became strengthened when a situation arose.<sup>116</sup> The ERC was closely linked with the DRC whether it liked it or not, due to its predicament of being caught in the middle of deliberations between the English and Dutch authorities.

---

<sup>110</sup> Plooi, *The Pilgrim Fathers*, 127.

<sup>111</sup> D. Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 23-24.

<sup>112</sup> Gemeentearchief Leiden, Request to settle in Leiden, 12-02-1609, inv.nr. 0501A, 51.

<sup>113</sup> The Dutch Reformed Church, whilst not strictly a national church, was a part of the international Calvinist following to sweep through Europe. Its deacons were decided by magistrates (whom also organised the appointment of ministers within the ERC and other daughter churches). A. Veenhoff and M. Smolenaars, *Hugh Goodyear and his papers* (Manchester: Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society), 1-9. Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 120-126.

<sup>114</sup> Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 120-126. Alice Clare Carter, 'The Ministry to the English Churches in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 33, no. 1 (1960): 6-8.

<sup>115</sup> Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 192.

<sup>116</sup> Sprunger, 'Other Pilgrims in Leiden', 46-47.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

In comparison, the Pilgrims enjoyed a striking difference in facilitation compared to that of the ERC. Whilst the DRC was obliged to facilitate the ERC's operations, Robinson's congregation were under no illusions of gaining similar assistance. They were deemed but a *vergadering* (a religious gathering opposed to a worshipping church).<sup>117</sup> This links to historians, such as Bangs, warning of judging the religious tolerance of the 17<sup>th</sup> century Dutch Republic by modern democratic standards.<sup>118</sup> Even 20<sup>th</sup> century academics with a known tendency for emphasising the acceptance of religious creeds in the Netherlands, as a point of contemporary pride, appear tepid in their writings on the subject. Plooij states that 'they [the Pilgrims] were received and esteemed at Leyden on equal terms with any of the native-born Dutchmen' but maintains elsewhere that the Dutch 'anvil upon which religious ... liberty was beaten out' gave primacy to the ERC.<sup>119</sup> This difference in facilitation offers a certain caveat to our discussions of how the Pilgrims interacted with the DRC - and how closely. We shall see that tight relations persisted, however, despite Leiden's authorities prioritising the ERC.

The difference in interest paid to Leiden's two main English congregations can be best seen in terms of providing places of worship. Leiden's magistrates presented the use of the St. Catherine Gasthuis for the ERC.<sup>120</sup> Needless to say, Robinson's flock were forced to be content with lesser circumstances. In 1611, the pastor (along with his wife Bridget Robinson, and companions Ralph Thickins and William Jepson) took ownership of a house called the 'Groene Poort' situated on the Pieterskerkhof.<sup>121</sup> Before this costly purchase, accounting for the sum of eight thousand guilders in total, the Pilgrims had no knowable base of worship.<sup>122</sup> Through Robinson's connections to Polyander, the fierce Contra-Remonstrant who convinced him to debate with Episcopius (mentioned in Chapter One), the Pilgrims eventually gained permission to worship in the Faliede Bagijnhof, part of the university library.<sup>123</sup> This space was shared by other religious groups and used by the Pilgrims mostly out of circumstance due to increasingly dogmatic ordinances from the States General. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of July 1619, the authorities, hoping to flush out Arminians, moved to restrict religious meetings in private homes.<sup>124</sup> Despite these laws being aimed at Remonstrants, the Pilgrims worshipping at the Groene Poort found themselves impacted. Thomas Brewer (a figure featured in Chapter Three) cited in his will 'the poor congregation of this town of Leiden in the library here', suggesting not only the whereabouts of the religious refugees but a sense of solemn circumstances also.<sup>125</sup> Robinson's congregation were worshipping in conditions, therefore, which could not be seen as ideal. Whilst the ERC were able to weather the changes ordered down by the States General, the Pilgrims, as a less recognised community, were easily in breach of law. A certain difference between the English congregations' relations with the DRC must be acknowledged. Nevertheless, this did little to dissuade, and if anything enticed, the Pilgrims to make strong contact with the DRC.

### Trouble in the Reformed Church

As we have seen, the DRC and ERC had close contact – both being, in essence, part of the same church structure. What is surprising then is that it appears Robinson's community, which separated themselves from the Church of England at great risk, was more modest and less rigid in its doctrine and relations with the quasi-national DRC than the non-Separatist Puritans in Leiden. Therefore, the notion of an insular Pilgrim community appears reduced. If anything – the ERC displayed the attitudes that many heritage discourses lead us to believe of the Pilgrims. Returning to our last section,

---

<sup>117</sup> Ibid, 50.

<sup>118</sup> Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 120-126.

<sup>119</sup> Plooij, *The Pilgrim Fathers*, 24.

<sup>120</sup> Sprunger, 'Other Pilgrims in Leiden': 55-57.

<sup>121</sup> Gemeentearchief Leiden, Purchase record of the 'Groene Poort', 1611, inv. nr. 0501A, 6614.

<sup>122</sup> It appears that in 1622, not long after the Pilgrims first journeyed to Plymouth, Robinson organised the sale of a quarter of the property. Perhaps such a large space was no longer needed? Gemeentearchief Leiden, House ownership record of De Groene Poort, 02-02-1622, inv. nr. 0508, 84G.

<sup>123</sup> Kardux and van de Bilt, *Newcomers in an Old City*, 37.

<sup>124</sup> Nationaal Archief, Inventaris van het archief van de States-Generaal, (1431) 1576-1796, Handelingen van de Staten-General, Stukken betreffende religieuzen, inv. nr. 12579.20.

<sup>125</sup> Gemeentearchief Leiden, Will of Thomas Brewer, 07-12-1617, inv. nr. 0506, 179.



## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

however, it remains the case that the ERC has surer institutional footing: allowing them the ability to become more outspoken against the DRC than the Pilgrims.

Most of the disagreements between the ERC and DRC concerned differences in observing the Sabbath, shown in the ERC's church records recalling excommunications. In 1638, the barber surgeon Henry Stafford and his family were thrown out of the ERC for cutting the hair of customers on the sacred day of rest. Stafford maintained that he would lose business due to his Dutch competitors working on the Sabbath.<sup>126</sup> This strict response to the barber surgeon appears representative of the ERC's rigid views on not emulating its Dutch counterparts. In the same year, Nicholas Allen who 'a few times frequented the Dutch preachers and churches' was excommunicated simply for attending the DRC.<sup>127</sup> Written to offer a precedent against members making greater contact with the Dutch, these entries present a striking comparison to the Pilgrim leaders' sympathies. 'As for the Dutch ...', Robinson remarks, 'it was usual for our members that understood the language ... to communicate with them, as one John Jenny, a brewer, long did, his wife and his family, &c. and without any offence to the church.'<sup>128</sup> Whilst these instances of disagreement date from well after the Pilgrims' voyage to America in 1620 and Robinson's death in 1625, the divisive atmosphere between the ERC and DRC was a long time in the making.

Hugh Goodyear, ordained as the ERC's minister in Leiden during 1617, appears to have been at the centre of much of this disagreement between the two enclaves of the reformed church. Sir William Boswell, Ambassador to the Dutch from 1632 to 1649, received such comments as: 'Mr Goodyear ... is refused here amongst the Dutch. The reason is because they conceive him to be of a disagreeing disposition...'<sup>129</sup> Reiterating this, the Goodyear Papers reveal a personal reluctance from the Lancashire pastor to assimilate into Dutch society.<sup>130</sup> For a man who had two Dutch wives and was well-versed in the language, he remained heavily resistant to DRC ways.<sup>131</sup> Sprunger, in his study of the ERC, believes that 'his opinion of the religious and moral standards of his home remained higher, which he used as a yardstick by which he judged others'.<sup>132</sup> In these private reflections, Goodyear praises the English, whilst Leiden was seen to 'wanteth the power of godliness which is in those rare Christians in Manchester'.<sup>133</sup> Therefore, Goodyear's relationship with the DRC offers a sense that contact did not necessarily mean closeness.

The Pilgrims held a similar frustration with the DRC's lack of adherence to Sabbatarianism. Seeing his community as practising what the Dutch only preached, Winslow writes that how little good they '... did, or were like (ly) to do, to the Dutch; in reforming the Sabbath...' was a personal pity to him.<sup>134</sup> However, unlike Goodyear, their response to this was calm and measured. Mentioned in his *Just and Necessary Apology*, Robinson presents the case that the DRC only differed to the Pilgrims in terms of practise and not in judgement. Citing the 1581 Synod of Middelburg, which saw a petitioning of the magistrate to decree the protection of the Sabbath, the pastor brings the DRC closely in line with the

---

<sup>126</sup> Acta Kerkeraad Leiden, July 23, 1638, no. 003.

<sup>127</sup> Acta Kerkeraad Leiden, September 17, 1638, no. 003.

<sup>128</sup> 'Edward Winslow's Brief Narration (1649)', ed. Alexander Young, in *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1841), 393.

<sup>129</sup> British Library, Boswell Papers February 12/22, 1632-1633, fol. 80, MS. 6395.

<sup>130</sup> Mentioned further in the following sections, the Goodyear Papers have been largely digitised by Leiden's Gemeentearchief. Aiming to find 'friendly relations, if not more, between the Pilgrim colony and the English Reformed Church', the records were first found by Plooi in 1921. Plooi, *The Pilgrim Fathers*, 82-83.

<sup>131</sup> Goodyear divorced his first wife, Sara Jansdr. van Wassenbach, in 1643 and married again five years later to Cornelia Schoor Aartsdr. See GA, archief van de Weeskamer te Leiden, Hugh Goodyear, predikant bij de Engelse Gereformeerde Gemeente: Inventaris en provisionele scheiding, 8 January 1643, inv. nr. 5791. Hugh Goodyear, predikant bij de Engelse Gereformeerde Gemeente: Huwelijksvoorwaarden van Goodyear met Cornelia Schoor Aartsdr., 22 April 1648, inv. nr. 5792.

<sup>132</sup> Sprunger, 'Other Pilgrims in Leiden': 52-55.

<sup>133</sup> Veenhoff and Smolenaars, *Hugh Goodyear*, 20-21.

<sup>134</sup> 'Edward Winslow's Brief Narration (1649)', ed. Alexander Young, in *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1841), 380-382.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

Pilgrims on the issue.<sup>135</sup> Whilst Goodyear drove a wedge between the ERC and DRC over Sabbatarianism, the Pilgrims remained amiable to their surroundings – building relationships out of pragmatism. This insatiable want to separate and dissent, built up by heritage discourses of the Pilgrims, appears more appropriate in the case of the ERC.

### The Pilgrims and the DRC

Calm relations amongst the DRC and Pilgrims can be seen in various types of records, banishing the notion of a quiet and conservative community content on keeping to themselves. Cosying up to the authorities may have benefited the Pilgrims' position but such connections appear to be more than mere formality, motivated by something other than protection and security. Bradford attests to the serene relations between the DRC and Pilgrims, quoting Leiden's officials as stating 'we never had any suit or accusation come against any of them; but [the Walloons'] strife & quarrels are continual.'<sup>136</sup> Nonetheless, instead of simply peppering our contemporary account with such quotations, we must be wary and consider that Bradford (who only began to write *OPP* from Plymouth in 1630) was attempting retrospectively to portray to the future church a community free of divisions and antagonism.<sup>137</sup> Before entering into any discussion of the relations between the Pilgrims and others in Leiden, we must be aware that in certain instances Separatists underwent a rhetorical campaign, attempting to portray themselves as congruous, especially bound together in grace, and by extension synecdoches of God.

However, in this case, *OPP* does appear representative of relations between the churches. Leiden's betrothal records, partially reproduced by the historians Plooiij and Harris, offer further insight into the close linkages between the Dutch and Separatists. Marriage for the Pilgrims was a civil act and not a sacrament, a position which they adopted from the Dutch and continued in Plymouth. Subsequently, ceremonies occurred in front of the *schepenen* (bailiffs) with a blessing happening in a church afterwards.<sup>138</sup> Ordered to be created by the magistrates, Leiden's betrothal records between 1609-1620 make no provision in separating English and Dutch marriages. What is presented to the reader, therefore, is a series of betrothals which are hard to distinguish in terms of nationality. With the use of Dutch patronyms, suffixes and vowel combinations caused by Leiden's clerks unfamiliarity with English names, a sense of assimilation (at least on paper) is felt. One example is John Cooper: who appears as Jan de Cuyper and Johanness Cuperus.<sup>139</sup> Though only artificial, such a merging of names illustrates a sense of communities coming together.

This illustration is given weight by looking at the individual entries, which show that the Pilgrims had clear connections with the Dutch. Roger White and Elizabeth Wallis, both members of Robinson's congregation, married in the March of 1621, before Jan Jansz Orlers and Pieter Cornelisz as witnesses. Orlers is noted elsewhere as a fellow Contra-Remonstrant and friend of Robinson (as well as Brewster as shown in Chapter Three).<sup>140</sup> The Dutchman also organised the sale of part of the

---

<sup>135</sup> 'Just and Necessary Apology', *The Works of John Robinson, Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers, with a Memoir and Annotations*, ed. Robert Ashton (Boston: Doctrinal Tract and Book Society, Vol. 3, 1851), 46.

<sup>136</sup> *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation*, ed. Secretary of the Commonwealth (Carlisle, Massachusetts: Applewood's Historiography Series, 1898), 27.

<sup>137</sup> John J. Fritscher, 'The Sensibility and Conscious Style of William Bradford', *Bucknell Review* 17, no. 2 (1969): 80-90. Fritscher remarks that Bradford 'was not beyond developing characterization, using moral vignettes ...' He avoids centring issues of disagreement when writing of the Pilgrims in Leiden, directing distrust towards specific individuals like John Cushman (who was in charge of organising the details of the voyage with the Company of Virginia). In this way, Bradford attempts to create an atavistic image of the Pilgrims as harmonious, resembling the primitive church.

<sup>138</sup> *Leyden Documents Relating to the Pilgrim Fathers, Permission To Reside At Leyden And Betrothal Records; Together With Parallel Documents From The Amsterdam Archives*, ed. D. Plooiij, J. Rendel Harris (Brill: Leiden, 1920), 1.

<sup>139</sup> Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 496-500.

<sup>140</sup> *Leyden Documents Relating to the Pilgrim Fathers, Permission To Reside At Leyden And Betrothal Records; Together With Parallel Documents From The Amsterdam Archives*, ed. D. Plooiij, J. Rendel Harris (Brill: Leiden, 1920), 43.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

Groene Poort in 1622.<sup>141</sup> Consequently, the betrothal records of the city show a glimpse of the connections the Pilgrims gained whilst in Leiden. James Mackonochie's marriage to Blytgen Peters on May 4<sup>th</sup>, 1613, offers another insight in terms of how Dutch and English communities came together surrounding the civil act of marriage. A glove maker from Scotland, he was accompanied by *Mayflower* passenger Thomas English and a Dutch friend named Geertgen Hillebrants.<sup>142</sup> Although English and Hillebrants were not directly connected, being brought together through a mutual friend, Mackonochie's marriage shows that daily life led to unavoidable contact between communities.

Turning briefly to a visual source [shown in Appendix Three], Adam Willaerts's (1577-1664) painting, *The Departure of the Pilgrims from Delfshaven* (1620), offers another vantage point in terms of assessing the Pilgrims' relationship with the DRC and Dutch more broadly.<sup>143</sup> Previously thought to be minimal, historians like Bangs, Kardux and van de Bilt have all attempted to amend ideas of how much concern the Dutch paid to the Pilgrims' embarkation to Virginia.<sup>144</sup> Depicting the view of the leaving *Mayflower* and *Speedwell*, from where the Vliet Canal meets the Schie and then the sea via the Maas Estuary, the painting supports the notion that the Dutch public knew of the planned emigration. This view holds, as the Dutch had made the formal offer to support the Pilgrims if they were to journey to New Amsterdam before Thomas Weston enticed them to Virginia instead.<sup>145</sup> Whilst being wary of certain providential parts of Bradford's narrative, Willaerts's work appears to give body to his description of the 'many Christian friends from Amsterdam and neighbouring towns who 'could not refrain from tears' at their departure on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of July 1620.<sup>146</sup> Some, such as Burnham have suggested that Bradford's 'matter-of-fact' and 'plain' style of writing was meant as a conscious dismissal of the noisy trades and traffic of Holland, seeing Dutch merchants speaking in hushed tones as going against honest forms of behaviour.<sup>147</sup> However, painted for a Dutch audience, Willaerts's focus on the Pilgrims' voyage appears to offer support for their goal of forming a new colony, suggesting that the Separatists built up long-standing relationships with their hosts. Consequently, heritage discourses portraying the Pilgrims as estranged from the DRC and wider Dutch society appear flimsy and refutable.

### The Pilgrims and the ERC

The relationship between the ERC and Pilgrims is one in need of revision. An architectural feature dedicated to the Separatists, the 1920 stained glass window of the Begijnhof Chapel in Amsterdam (originally an English Reformed Church dating to 1607) showcases one instance of heritage discourse manufacturing narratives of the religious group. The Pilgrims under Robinson only remained in Amsterdam for a short while before moving onto Leiden, having few relations with the ERC in the city.<sup>148</sup> The window, therefore, conflates and merges the histories of both these puritanical groups.

---

<sup>141</sup> Gemeentearchief Leiden, House ownership record of De Groene Poort, 02-02-1622, inv. nr. 0508, 84G.

<sup>142</sup> *Leyden Documents Relating to the Pilgrim Fathers, Permission To Reside At Leyden And Betrothal Records; Together With Parallel Documents From The Amsterdam Archives*, ed. D. Plooi, J. Rendel Harris (Brill: Leiden, 1920), 13.

<sup>143</sup> For more on the verification and appraisal of Willaerts's work see Bangs, *New Light on the Old Colony*, 155-160.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.* Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 591-600. Kardux and van de Bilt, *Newcomers in an Old City*, 53.

<sup>145</sup> The Dutch authorities would later make the same offer to Jesse de Forest's Walloon community which worshipped at the Vrouwenkerk. They too preferred to sail under English backing but once they were made aware of the lack of funds came to New Amsterdam. Over the years, they formed tight relations with Plymouth and those who had also previously been in Leiden. Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 590-595. *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation*, ed. Secretary of the Commonwealth (Carlisle, Massachusetts: Applewood's Historiography Series, 1898), 50-55.

<sup>146</sup> *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation*, ed. Secretary of the Commonwealth (Carlisle, Massachusetts: Applewood's Historiography Series, 1898), 72-75.

<sup>147</sup> Michelle Burnham, 'Merchants, Money, and the Economics of 'Plain Style' in William Bradford's *Of Plymouth Plantation*', *American Literature* 72, no. 4 (2000): 695-720.

<sup>148</sup> The reasons for the Pilgrims leaving Amsterdam are again mentioned at length in the appendices.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

This section will hope to revise such heritages as the Pilgrim window (which is considered further in the appendices), unpicking the actual relations held between the communities whilst in Leiden.

The city's betrothal records not only show numerous links between the Pilgrims and DRC but the ERC as well. As said, marriage was a civil act to the Separatists. After the ceremony in front of the town's officials, it is likely that some of the Pilgrims made use of the ERC's church building at the St. Catherine Gasthuis. The marriage of Bartholomew Smith and Elizabeth Carlisle in 1618 mentions no Dutch church where the blessing was given - customary for such records.<sup>149</sup> Instead, they were probably blessed by the hand of Goodyear on ERC premises. This sharing of premises may have gone some way in convincing those who remained in Leiden after 1620 to join Goodyear's congregation. Amongst others who joined the ERC after Robinson's death in 1625, was Robinson's own wife Bridget and her two surviving children.<sup>150</sup> Such a decision by Bridget Robinson was perhaps an act of homage to her husband, as the pastor of the Pilgrims was 'disposed to do his utmost to remove the separation between his congregation and the other English congregations in Holland'.<sup>151</sup> Reiterating the findings of Chapter One, Robinson and his widowed family acted as a clear bridge between the ERC and Pilgrims. Despite many joining the ERC, no mass migration occurred between the congregations. Still, some of the 'most prominent followers, who had stayed in Holland (William Jepson and John Keble) joined the English Church as deacons'.<sup>152</sup> Whilst the Pilgrims remaining in Leiden built new links with the ERC on top of old ones, borne from a shared use of premises, what is even clearer is that connections between those who left for Virginia and the ERC were also maintained and strengthened.

Found by Plooi in 1921, as part of the Orphan Masters' (*Weesmeesters*) Archive, which took ownership of Goodyear's property holdings after his death in 1661, the Goodyear Papers contain a depth of correspondence, held in forty-two folders, between the Pilgrims in Plymouth and the ERC minister. Goodyear, like Robinson, was a linchpin of the community and an individual who cannot be easily seen as a blinkered Calvinist. He held strong connections with those in America and elsewhere in mainland Europe, playing host to many foreign guests including the Puritan Hugh Peter (parliamentarian and principal founder of Harvard University). These guests came with increasing regularity – so much so, that in 1627 Goodyear called for his salary to be increased due to 'foreign preachers and the church members who ordinarily come addressed to him from other kingdoms'.<sup>153</sup> Much like Robinson, a closer focus on the records of Hugh Goodyear are important if we are to understand the linkages and similar sympathies between the Pilgrims and the ERC.

After his death, as per custom, an advertised catalogue of Goodyear's personal library was issued and disseminated publicly on the 15<sup>th</sup> March 1662.<sup>154</sup> The document contains thirty-six pages of works, with more than fifty being penned by Catholics. Whether Goodyear was reading such books to perfect his arguments or edify himself on his 'enemies' ways is hard to gauge. What is easier to gain a sense of, when looking at this catalogue, is his involvement with the Pilgrims. Although we cannot extrapolate Goodyear's entire theology from the books he owned, interestingly many of the works in his library were similar to, and in some cases the direct works of, the Separatists. The expected texts

---

<sup>149</sup> *Leyden Documents Relating to the Pilgrim Fathers, Permission To Reside At Leyden And Betrothal Records; Together With Parallel Documents From The Amsterdam Archives*, ed. D. Plooi, J. Rendel Harris (Brill: Leiden, 1920), 43.

<sup>150</sup> Robinson lost three children whilst in Leiden, one in 1618, 1621, and 1623. See Gemeentearchief, inv. nr. 0501A, 1316. After consultation of all the relevant records of passengers of the Mayflower, Little James, Anne, Fortune and Mayflower II: it appears that no relatives of John Robinson ever made the Atlantic journey to Plymouth or America for that matter. Henry Martyn Dexter and Morton Dexter proposed that his surviving son had but this has since been debunked. Dexter and Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 490-500. Bangs, *Stranger and Pilgrims*, 393.

<sup>151</sup> Plooi, *The Pilgrim Fathers*, 88.

<sup>152</sup> *Leyden Documents Relating to the Pilgrim Fathers, Permission To Reside At Leyden And Betrothal Records; Together With Parallel Documents From The Amsterdam Archives*, ed. D. Plooi, J. Rendel Harris (Brill: Leiden, 1920), 1-2.

<sup>153</sup> Veenhoff and Smolenaars, *Hugh Goodyear*, 5.

<sup>154</sup> GA, archief van de Weeskamer te Leiden, Hugh Goodyear, predikant bij de Engelse Gereformeerde Gemeente: Boekencatalogus, 15 maart 1662, inv. nr. 5810.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

of Martin Luther and Erasmus, as well as Jean Calvin's commentaries; alongside the writings of eminent Dutch figures like Hugo Grotius, are all found in the opening few pages, after which lesser known figures emerge. Goodyear's library contains four books by the French Calvinist Peter Ramus (1515-1572), including his work on Aristotle which was a key influence on Bradford especially. Ramus's style of breaking down aspects of knowledge and the arts by their function and nature, forming 'encyclopaedias' of each, had a bearing on the 'plain' style of the Pilgrim and *OPP*.<sup>155</sup> Copies of William Perkins's works dated to 1613 and a book in his defence entitled 'God's Arraignment of Hypocrites – As like-wise a Defence of Master Calvin against Bellarmine : And of Master Perkins against Arminius' show that Goodyear was knowledgeable on the issue of election and extreme predestination. Perkins, as mentioned in Chapter One, was a primary influence on Robinson in terms of imagining the definition of church as 'a peculiar company of men predestined to life everlasting ...'<sup>156</sup> An older document of Goodyear's household contents from 1643 shows that Goodyear was already in possession of Perkins's works and another defence of the theologian by one A. Warton.<sup>157</sup> Despite the limitation that a person's belongings only offer a material side to their life and not a full idea of their disposition or mentality: the ERC minister kept these works for at least nineteen years, likely longer, suggesting that he harboured some attachment to them. Important to our discussion, three works by actual Pilgrims are included in Goodyear's library: a work of Henry Ainsworth's, one by John Cotton, and John Robinson's *Justification of Separation*.<sup>158</sup> From Goodyear's catalogue of books, consequently, we can infer that the ERC minister was at least keeping close tabs on the Separatists. More than that, we may begin to infer that Goodyear held some similar theological sympathies.

Another key indication that the ERC's leaders and the Pilgrims retained close contact can be seen through materials surrounding the sale of Mr and Mrs Masterson's house on the Uiterstegracht. Richard Masterson and his wife Mary journeyed to Plymouth in 1630 with one of the last crops of Separatists from Leiden, leaving their house under the care of their friend Christopher Ellis. Before being in Plymouth long, Richard Masterson passed away, leading the first minister of the settlement Rev. Ralph Smith to marry Mary Masterson. During this entire time the Mastersons' home in Leiden remained unsold. Goodyear presented the perfect agent on the ground: he was bilingual, well-known in the community and a fellow student at Cambridge to Smith. A bountiful correspondence emerges therefore, all of which cannot possibly be included in this work, concerning the sale and purchase of the house.<sup>159</sup>

Smith initially appears conflicted at the prospect of bringing Goodyear into an issue which was proving to already be a bureaucratic nightmare, writing: 'I confess I'm sorry and ashamed to be so troublesome to you in such a business...' The minister places the issue of the house on the Uiterstegracht in the context of wider misfortune, citing his eighteen removals in six years and the recent stealing and burning of his belongings as well as his general weariness – a weariness which would lead Smith to abandon his post as minister of Plymouth in 1636.<sup>160</sup> These letters show that in a moment of desperation, Smith chose to reach out to Goodyear, deeming him honest and trustworthy – suggesting a cemented friendship and offering a true insight into the relationships between the

---

<sup>155</sup> Ibid. Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower*, 5. Fritscher, 'The Sensibility and Conscious Style': 80-90.

<sup>156</sup> GA, archief van de Weeskamer te Leiden, Hugh Goodyear, predikant bij de Engelse Gereformeerde Gemeente: Boekencatalogus, 15 maart 1662, inv. nr. 5810, 15-16.

<sup>157</sup> GA, archief van de Weeskamer te Leiden, Hugh Goodyear, predikant bij de Engelse Gereformeerde Gemeente: Inventaris en provisionele scheiding, 8 januari 1643, inv. nr. 5791, 7-8.

<sup>158</sup> GA, archief van de Weeskamer te Leiden, Hugh Goodyear, predikant bij de Engelse Gereformeerde Gemeente: Boekencatalogus, 15 maart 1662, inv. nr. 5810, 14. 15. 17.

<sup>159</sup> For the entire range of records involving the sale of the Mastersons' home see GA, archief van de Weeskamer te Leiden, Hugh Goodyear, predikant bij de Engelse Gereformeerde Gemeente. Organised by name of correspondent, inv. nr. (date):

Nathaniel Masterson, 5855 (12 July 1660), 5850 (14 July 1659), 5852 (17 July 1659).

Mary Smith, 5826 (1634), 5843 (19 October 1650).

Ralph Smith, 5820 (1628), 5823 (1 July 1633), 5827 (4 April 1636), 5829 (1638), 5832 (26 July 1641), 5834 (1640), 5835 (1649), 5844 (1650), 5848 (17 October 1656).

<sup>160</sup> Plooi, *The Pilgrim Fathers*, 82-97.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

churches. Important in breaking down the characterisation of the Separatists as being insular, Goodyear's correspondence highlights that, even after sailing to Virginia, the Pilgrims remained vocal and in close contact with the ERC in Leiden.

On the flip side, we can see that this strength of relationship was felt by Goodyear towards the Pilgrims also. As Smith warned, the sale of the house did prove to be time consuming and protracted. The upkeep even came at a financial cost to Goodyear. 'Your house hath been mightily burdened', he writes to Plymouth, 'to pay interest for 300 gilders these many years... whilst I had it in my custodie, I spared no charge to keep it in good reparation.'<sup>161</sup> The laws of mortgaging and selling immovable properties were extremely strict in Leiden, notary deeds had to be drawn up and an entry into the *belastingboek* (tax book) was needed for the magistrates to sign on.<sup>162</sup> There was also another complication. Richard Masterson had fathered two children, Nathaniel and Sarah Masterson, who by law had a stake in the house. In 1659, with Smith and Mary Masterson passing away, Goodyear found himself dealing with the more insolent son, who asked him to finalise the sale of the house and payment of the rents as soon as humanly possible.<sup>163</sup> It appears from the records that during this time Goodyear found himself under significant pressure. Richard Broomer, a representative of Nathaniel Masterson, wrote to Goodyear: 'My request to you is that you would be pleased to befriend me in neglecting no opportunity to send the money, for besides that I have forgone it now many years. I now have great need of it'.<sup>164</sup> What had begun as a heartfelt request by an old college friend had suddenly soured, leading Goodyear on a fool's errand. The good faith which had existed between Smith and the ERC minister was largely lost. Frustrated and exasperated, Goodyear eventually gave the house over to the Lords of the Catharine Hospital, unable to fulfil the sale of the property before his death.<sup>165</sup> Goodyear, at great cost - financially and mentally - attempted to aid those Pilgrims who journeyed to Plymouth. This could perhaps be seen as another case of non-confessional belief on the ERC minister's part, seeing the Separatists as part of a greater Christian tradition despite differences in their doctrines. What can definitively be said is that the Pilgrims depended on Goodyear and their close links to the DRC and ERC whilst in, and after their time spent in, Leiden. Therefore, a community which kept themselves to themselves does not fit this revised picture of the Pilgrims.

Our last chapter will focus on the sources surrounding William Brewster and his printing activities alongside Thomas Brewer – something now synonymous with the Pilgrim struggle. How substantial were these operations? This question has occupied many historians of the religious exiles. This following chapter will argue that Brewster gained assistance from numerable and notable Dutch printers whilst in Leiden. The notion of the Pilgrim press as a divine and miraculous commission from God, allowing dissenting voices to emerge in the typographical age, is as much embellished as it is a product of heritage discourse. Brewster was no isolated printer, working away at his own press. He was part of a wider trend of pamphleteering and a benefactor of Dutch expertise.

---

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid, 119-120.

<sup>163</sup> GA, archief van de Weeskamer te Leiden, Hugh Goodyear, predikant bij de Engelse Gereformeerde Gemeente: Nathaniel Masterson, 17<sup>th</sup> July 1659, inv. nr. 5852.

<sup>164</sup> GA, archief van de Weeskamer te Leiden, Hugh Goodyear, predikant bij de Engelse Gereformeerde Gemeente: Richard Broomer, London, 6<sup>th</sup> December 1650, met klad van het antwoord, 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1651, inv. nr. 5846.

<sup>165</sup> GA, archief van de Weeskamer te Leiden, Hugh Goodyear, predikant bij de Engelse Gereformeerde Gemeente: Stuk betreffende de ontvangsten en uitgaven van een huis op de Uiterstergracht, 1657-1661, inv. nr. 5860.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

### Chapter Three: William Brewster, Printing ‘by the help of some friends’

‘The great iron screw  
The heart of me and you  
With all our might we’ll pull it tight  
To bind the chosen few’.

Seth Lakeman, ‘The Great Iron Screw’, 2020.<sup>166</sup>

#### A Complicated Pilgrim

As we have seen, the products of heritage are often intangible: expressed through feelings of pride, pleasure and nostalgia; and built through familiar visual codes.<sup>167</sup> In the case of the 17<sup>th</sup> century Pilgrims, one such code or motif is the printing press of William Brewster and Thomas Brewer. For contemporary audiences, it forms one of the better-known aspects of the Separatists’ narrative before their coming to Virginia in 1620. However, its familiarity has, in turn, also led to interference. This is seen in the beating out and remoulding of the Pilgrims’ history into an easily consumable story of an isolated press waging a war of truth against the wider impure world. This chapter will argue instead that the Pilgrims’ press operated against a wider backdrop of expertise and politics - relying heavily on connections made with the Dutch. These relationships were necessary due to the Pilgrims having limited equipment (shown once providential myths are dispelled) and shared political aims. With censorship being enforced more harshly, the Dutch also aided the Pilgrims when they fell under suspicion of producing slanderous works aimed at the Established Church and English Crown. This, by extension, should dispel the notion that the Separatists clung together at the expense of dialogue with the rest of Leiden.

Born in Scrooby during the 1560s<sup>168</sup> Brewster became instrumental in Separatist gatherings, providing his large home as the premises. This led him to be singled out and, alongside Bradford, to be incarcerated in Boston, Lincolnshire, during 1607: after an unsuccessful attempt to reach the Dutch Republic, in which their hired mariner ransacked the groups’ belongings, ‘searching them to the shirts for money’.<sup>169</sup> Undeterred, the Separatist managed to escape from the Port of Hull sometime the year

---

<sup>166</sup> Lakeman, *A Pilgrim’s Tale*, 10.

<sup>167</sup> Ashworth and Tunbridge, *Dissonant Heritage*, 25-30.

<sup>168</sup> Being one of the oldest Pilgrims to have gone to Virginia, Brewster is said to have died on the 18<sup>th</sup> of April, 1643. ‘Memoir of the Elder William Brewster (1644)’, ed. Alexander Young, in *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1841), 462.

<sup>169</sup> *Bradford’s History of Plymouth Plantation*, ed. Secretary of the Commonwealth (Carlisle, Massachusetts: Applewood’s Historiography Series, 1898), 16-18. ‘Memoir of the Elder William Brewster (1644)’, ed. Alexander

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

after. In terms of religious fervour, Brewster appears to chime with the familiar codes of being a Pilgrim. As such, heritage discourses have gathered and swooped around the printer, much like the figures of Bradford and Robinson discussed earlier in this work.

However, a disclaimer must be made. Brewster's experience cannot be seen as wholly representative of the wider Pilgrim community. Unlike others, Brewster was able to make a living by tutoring foreign students and trading.<sup>170</sup> As established, 'the unusually open character of the Dutch market... made for a distinctly polyglot environment in the Low Countries'.<sup>171</sup> Whilst some academics like Burnham have suggested that this was bewildering for the English Pilgrims, seeing the 'trades and traffic' of Holland as spelling confusion and danger, Brewster appears to have actively engaged the mercantile networks of the 17<sup>th</sup> century Netherlands.<sup>172</sup> Acquiring raw material, such as ribbon, via loans, Brewster was already an established trader before fleeing England. In 1617, Jonathan Brewster (William Brewster's son) entered into a joint holdings company with the wealthy Thomas Brewer, an individual with links to Goodyear's ERC.<sup>173</sup> William Brewster was an arbiter to this agreement, showing his interest in such business ventures and through them in forging connections with other congregations (relating to the arguments made in Chapter Two). This commercial adroitness may have been built off the back of the influence Brewster gained as an assistant to William Davison, Secretary of State for Elizabeth I. Brewster helped negotiate the appointment of the Earl of Leicester as Governor General of the United Provinces after the assassination of William of Orange in Delft in July 1584. Between 1585-1586, he was sent in ambassage to take possession of the cautionary towns (Flushing, the Brille and Rammekins) as collateral for the financial investments paid to the Dutch provinces against the Spanish the previous year.<sup>174</sup> Brewster was a distinct breed of Pilgrim, therefore – with previous political influence. To compare his experience to that of the Separatists who earned little as unskilled workers would be mere conflation.<sup>175</sup>

To further this briefly, Brewster's business operations may have directly damaged the wellbeing of those Pilgrims poorer than himself. This cements previous discussions that heritage discourses tend to weave favourable national and religious histories together. Unsurprisingly, such parts of Brewster's operation have since been neglected. Bangs states that he 'stands out as a likely exploiter of child labour in sweatshop conditions'.<sup>176</sup> Reiterating this, *OPP* provides a clear basis that the children of Separatists, whilst in Leiden, regularly worked longer and tougher hours than their parents; Bradford writes, 'For many of their children ... willing to bear part of their parents' burden, were ... so oppressed with their heavy labours, that ... their bodies bowed under the weight of the same ...'<sup>177</sup> Whilst his notable printing operations appear to shroud some of his other activities, Brewster is likely to have profited from the misfortune of others. This realisation cannot be computed by heritage discourses aimed at improving history. Like Robinson's unbecoming involvement with the Contra-Remonstrants, Brewster's faults have since been cut out of discussions concerning the Pilgrims. A

---

Young, in *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1841), 462-463.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid, 465.

<sup>171</sup> David Read, 'Silent Partners, Historical Representation in William Bradford's Of Plymouth Plantation', *Early American Literature* 33, no. 3 (1998): 299-300.

<sup>172</sup> Burnham, 'Merchants, Money and the Economics of 'Plain Style': 695.

<sup>173</sup> Gemeentearchief Leiden, Joint venture of Jonathan Brewster and Thomas Brewer, 07-12-1617, inv. nr. 0506, 179. In 1616, Goodyear moved into the residence of Brewer, choosing a lodging embroiled in the surrounding religious controversies. Leiden University's roll of students, dating from January 14, 1617, reads 'Hugh Goodyear, Englishman ... Dwelling at Thomas Brewer's'. Tammel, *The Pilgrims and other People*, 340-344.

<sup>174</sup> Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 409-416. 'Memoir of the Elder William Brewster (1644)', ed. Alexander Young, in *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1841), 462-464.

<sup>175</sup> Many of the Scrooby Pilgrims, upon their arrival in Amsterdam, worked as hodcarriers or loaded and unloaded ships. Brewster was able to avoid such employment due to his affluence. Nevertheless, heritage discourses have provided the Pilgrim with a veneer of being part of Scrooby's 'simple country folk'. Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 72. Burnham, 'Merchants, Money and the Economics of 'Plain Style': 700.

<sup>176</sup> Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 438-440.

<sup>177</sup> *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation*, ed. Secretary of the Commonwealth (Carlisle, Massachusetts: Applewood's Historiography Series, 1898), 40-50.



## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

deeper look at these constructed narratives are key if we are to challenge built up heritages of the religious group.

That said, the printer did experience hardship whilst in Leiden, burying a child near the Hooglandse Kerk soon after their arrival in the June of 1609.<sup>178</sup> Bradford also suggests that Brewster, despite his significant influence, was bid to live in dreary conditions in the Stinksteeg with 'cherfullnes and contentation' before moving to St. Ursula's Lane some months later.<sup>179</sup> Interestingly, the General Society of Mayflower Descendants in 1955 chose the meagre alleyway (where slops would have been taken out of the closing pubs and public urination was widely exercised late at night) as their place to commemorate Brewster – despite him living more permanently elsewhere.<sup>180</sup> Such a place offers a sense of Brewster being resolute in the face of a hostile world, living in poor conditions. Ideas of the Pilgrims being resistant to outside influences are naturally extrapolated from there. The thin street is now a site of memory, fixing in place the well-crafted history of the insular Separatists, formed by such authorised groups as the General Society of Mayflower Descendants.

The commemorative plaque and renaming of the Stinksteeg (now William Brewstersteeg) is not the only case of imaginary ideas of space forming socio-spatial identities in regards to the Pilgrims and Brewster. Having narrowed down the location of the famed printing office to just off the Pieterskerkhof, Plooiij encourages his readers to 'visit the spot where Brewster struggled and prepared the victory of freedom of consciousness'.<sup>181</sup> To offer a common thread through the subsequent portions of this chapter's discussion, it is clear that the Pilgrims' printing operations conjure up emotionality for visitors who seek human links with the religious exiles. Whilst heritage discourses gain authority by working through physical remains, which in turn assure us that there was indeed a verifiable past to speak of, such structures are themselves mute. They require interpretation. Plooiij's attempts to piece together the history of the Pilgrim press is, in addition, an attempt to form an anchorage by which contemporary visitors can connect and engage with the interpreted narrative of the Separatists. Therefore, places, however minimalistic and bare, such as the believed location of Brewster's press, are not innocent backdrops but filled with politics and ideology.<sup>182</sup>

### The 'Great Iron Screwe' Myth

For nonconformist churches, as displayed through 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century Congregationalists, Brewster's printing activities present an unmistakable, and likewise unmissable, opportunity to form heritage discourses concerning their doctrinal relevance to society. The Pilgrims' printing has been framed as a divine commission and readily fits into 'providentialism orientated history' (the notion the Separatists were singled out by God as the new Israelites and explicators of His plan).<sup>183</sup> The opening paragraphs of *OPP* cast the Pilgrims as firm participants in the history of persecuted dissenters, beginning with the primitive church, whilst also hoping to show 'what manner of men the Pilgrims were' for future generations.<sup>184</sup> A similar case that the Separatists had one step in the future and one in the past is observed in regards to their printing operations. Brewster's work has been seen as a continuance of the miraculous press of Luther as well as a forebearer of 'free-enterprise culture' and an updated typographical age.<sup>185</sup> In a society like our own, obsessed with new and constant

<sup>178</sup> Gemeentearchief Leiden, Burial of a child of William Brewster, 20-06-1609, inv. 0501A 1315.

<sup>179</sup> 'Memoir of the Elder William Brewster (1644)', ed. Alexander Young, in *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1841), 412. Dexter and Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 506.

<sup>180</sup> Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 438-440.

<sup>181</sup> Plooiij, 'Where in Leyden was Brewster's printing office?', 29.

<sup>182</sup> Michael Keith and Steve Pile, 'Introduction Part 1: The Politics of Place', in *Place and the Politics of Identity*, ed. M. Keith and S. Pile (London: Routledge, 1993), 6-10.

<sup>183</sup> Read, 'Silent Partners': 291-292. As shown in the previous chapters, providentialism was a staple of Bradford's *OPP* and featured in works up until the 20<sup>th</sup> century such as Bartlett, *The Pilgrim Way*.

<sup>184</sup> *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation*, ed. Secretary of the Commonwealth (Carlisle, Massachusetts: Applewood's Historiography Series, 1898), 10.

<sup>185</sup> Burnham, 'Merchants, Money and the Economics of 'Plain Style': 710.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

transformation, visual motifs like the Pilgrims' press are boundary stones from a different age, consecrating the relevance and worth of certain groups.<sup>186</sup> In other words, actors like the contemporary church have sought to show how they, through early modern printing, were essential in the forming of modern culture – despite operating now with reduced influence courtesy of secularisation.

Whilst this dissertation has sought to remain firmly in Leiden, when discussing myths concerning the history of the Pilgrims' printing, perpetrated by heritage discourses, a brief transportation to the mid-Atlantic is needed. The mistaken tale of Christopher Jones, the captain of the *Mayflower*, using a 'great iron screw' from the printing press to hitch up the vessel's fallen beam must be challenged. Mentioned by Bradford in *OPP*, all that is suggested is that 'there was a great iron screw the passengers brought out of Holland, which would raise the beam into his place.'<sup>187</sup> Nevertheless, Charlton's following of the myth highlights the best case findable of heritage impairing the Pilgrims' history. He writes:

'No British family was more intimately identified with the birth of the American nation ... Edward Winslow, a printer, who had taken his press along with him, for when the main beam collapsed he jacked it up with his press, a support which kept the ship intact for the rest of the trip'.<sup>188</sup>

In Charlton's passage we see multiple faults, mentioned in the previous chapters. The insistence of including the 'birth of the American nation' highlights how the durability of the Pilgrims has been transplanted into nationalised heritages of American exceptionalism.<sup>189</sup> Consequently, the Pilgrims are again used as part of an anachronistic and overly-simplistic national narrative. What is also suggested by Charlton's grandiose passage, written in order to elevate the Pilgrims for primarily an American audience, is that progress came across the Atlantic with the Pilgrims' press, spreading civilization from Europe to North America. Such a narrative wrongly relies on seeing the continent as prehistoric and stationary before such colonial endeavours.<sup>190</sup>

More recently, the likes of Breugelmanns and Bangs have argued that such an implement was likely to have been used as a jack in the loading of the ship, and that by looking at texts such as Joseph Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises* (1678-1680) a 'screw' could easily have referred to a tool for lifting roofs.<sup>191</sup> Kardux and van de Bilt surmise that it was perhaps a building hoist.<sup>192</sup> Arguably, no other part of the Pilgrims' narrative has been prodded and romanticised more. Needless to say, there are multiple issues besides the ones listed above in reply to Charlton. Breugelmanns attests that no press would have been brought as there was not nearly the audience or demand for publications in the New World compared to England (where Brewster and Brewer had previously sent their works): even attaining paper would have been an issue.<sup>193</sup> It has been observed that heritage justifies itself by proclaiming to be part of an 'accurate record', giving value to certain things, in this case the Pilgrims' press.<sup>194</sup> The iron screw myth, however, appears to hold no veracity; it is instead part of a vainglorious and nationalised heritage discourse.

---

<sup>186</sup> Nora, 'Between Memory and History': 1-6.

<sup>187</sup> *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation*, ed. Secretary of the Commonwealth (Carlisle, Massachusetts: Applewood's Historiography Series, 1898), 92.

<sup>188</sup> Charlton, *The Voyage of Mayflower II*, 30-31.

<sup>189</sup> Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, 118-122.

<sup>190</sup> Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 600-610.

<sup>191</sup> *Joseph Moxon's Mechanick Exercises: Or, The Doctrine of Handy-Works* (1703), ed. Gary R. Roberts (Wilmington: Toolemera, 2016). Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 601-609. Ronald Breugelmanns, 'The Pilgrim Press: a press that did not print (Leiden 1616-1619)', *Quarendo* 39, no. 1 (2009): 34-44.

<sup>192</sup> Kardux and van de Bilt, *Newcomers in an Old City*, 41-42.

<sup>193</sup> Harris and Jones, 'Introduction', 1-4. A comparison of book consuming publics is outside the purview of this study. Nevertheless, the 17<sup>th</sup> century saw in broad terms a diversification of knowledge and subsequently division of power. Eisenstadt talks of printed texts not disseminating but 'cross-fertilising' Europe as audiences engaged in a new 'era of intense cross referencing between one book and another'. Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, 'Some Conjectures about the Impact of Printing on Western Society and Thought: A Preliminary Report', *The Journal of Modern History* 40, no. 1(1968): 1-56.

<sup>194</sup> Ashworth and Tunbridge, *Dissonant Heritage*, 11.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

Attached to the argumentation that Brewster and Brewer relied heavily on Dutch expertise and equipment, dispelling the myth of the iron screw is a must and opens up new ground once done. The tale of the *Mayflower's* beam being hoisted back up by a dismantled part of the printing press is seen by Harris and Jones as evidence that 'the printing-house plant was not so meagre as... imagined'.<sup>195</sup> Whilst this may be true in terms of tracts printed, Bangs sees a decentralised way of working, with the Pilgrims relying on Dutch presses, as more plausible.<sup>196</sup> What exact equipment they had use of is hard to gauge, but it is not certain that they had a functioning press. Kardux and van de Bilt suggest that, because the Pilgrims had their own typesetting, it was likely they had a press. Looking at the letters sent by King James's Ambassador to the Dutch Republic, Dudley Carleton, offers an interesting rebuttal to this.<sup>197</sup> Carleton was the principal force in weeding out printers of slanderous works in the provinces (as we shall see in our last subchapter). In the September of 1619, Brewster's belongings were seized in connection with the printing of a work entitled 'Perth Assembly' (yet another reason why, if impounded, a press was unlikely to have made its way to the deck of the *Mayflower*). The Ambassador writes '... his printing letters, which were found in his house in a garret ... are all seized and sealed up', adding a few days later, '... having kept no open shop, nor printed many books fit for public sale in these provinces, their practice was to print prohibited books ...' <sup>198</sup> Despite ransacking Brewster's home and places of connection, no press was found - only 'printing letters'. Whilst they had their own typesetting, this may have only been an indication that they had access to another's press. Put simply, to print without the assistance of the Dutch was unlikely, showing the Separatists to have been more embedded in Leiden than heritage discourses allow.

### Printing Alongside the Dutch

The debate about whether the Pilgrims owned their own printing press ties neatly into a discussion of how Brewster and Brewer possibly interacted with the Dutch publishers around them. Sprunger states that 'the books produced in the Netherlands helped to galvanize and sustain the Puritan movement of Britain...'. This, he believes, was largely down to the 'trumpet' of Dutch printing, its high level of quality output and the extensiveness of its operations.<sup>199</sup> To print was to engage in a conspiratorial life. For the Pilgrims, authors were the easiest to come by with many having connections to the Separatists already: what was more challenging was finding financial backers, smugglers and booksellers.<sup>200</sup> Brewster and Brewer, in a business like printing, were likely to have used any trustworthy contacts they could find.

Bangs writes, 'The Pilgrims as Separatists believed that they should avoid unnecessary mixing with people who did not belong to their group'. Whilst this could be seen (at most) as a tendency amongst the most devout, Brewster's operations cannot be seen to fit such an encapsulation of the Pilgrims' mentality.<sup>201</sup> What is remarkable, highlighting the interconnectedness of the city, is that Jan van Hout (the signer of the 1609 papers permitting the Pilgrims to reside in Leiden) ran a press. His nephew Jan Orlers was also an acquaintance of Brewster's and the Separatists', mentioning them in his 1614 *Description of Leiden*.<sup>202</sup> Appearing in such a work, the first holistic historical description of Leiden, provides the impression that the Pilgrims were foundational to the fibre and atmosphere of the city. At the very least, they were prominent and notable enough to include.

---

<sup>195</sup> Harris and Jones, 'Introduction', 5-7.

<sup>196</sup> Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 601-605.

<sup>197</sup> Kardux and van de Bilt, *Newcomers in an Old City*, 41-44.

<sup>198</sup> 'Ambassador Carleton's Letters', ed. Alexander Young, in *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1841), 389. 390.

<sup>199</sup> Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower*, 1-2.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, 14-17.

<sup>201</sup> Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 266-270.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.* *Beschrijving der stad Leyden: behelzende het begin, den voortgang en aanwas van die stad, de stichting der kerken ..., mitsgaders een verhal an alle de belegeringen ... tot de laatste zwaare belegering en verlossing, voorgevallen in het jaar 1574 / ... uit verscheide schriften en papieren bijeenvergaderd en beschreeven door Jan Jansz. Orlers*, ed. Cornelis Heyligert (Leiden: Pieterskerk-Choorsteeg, 1781), 1-10.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

Comparing frontispieces gives an additional sense that the Pilgrims bought their printing letters whilst in the Dutch Republic, instead of bringing their own over from England. Not only did they rely on Dutch expertise in regards to the press then but the printing type also. The use of symbols like the 'little bear', now affectionately called the 'Brewster bear' by many, was widely practised up until 1620 by Dutch printers including Jan Jansz at Arnhem; as well as Jan Claesz van Dorp and Govert Basson at Leiden.<sup>203</sup> The output of the Pilgrims' printing was Dutch in style, therefore, due to Brewster and Brewer using similar stationary. What emerges subsequently, is a picture of the Separatists being reliant on Dutch help, not the orchestrators of a huge effort against the Established Church and bishops by themselves.

The Dutch were clearly sympathetic to the Pilgrims' printing aims, forming a bookish ministry and undermining the Anglican Church from afar. Bradford talks of Brewster and Brewer setting up their printing operations 'by the help of some friends'.<sup>204</sup> Whether these individuals were all from the Separatist community or not is omitted. Apart from Edward Winslow, who indeed helped Brewster, it remains nigh impossible to conclude who assisted in establishing the printing office.<sup>205</sup> Nevertheless, the Pilgrims did print works favourable to the Dutch. Sprunger states that the *Exposition of the Tenne Commandments* (1617) by John Dod and Robert Cleaver was one such example: 'Dod had many admirers in the Netherlands, and the Leiden printers gladly helped to spread his message...' <sup>206</sup> Despite having a meagre capability in terms of facilities, courting favour with the printers around them subsequently led to high demand. Bradford remarks that 'they might have had more than they could do'.<sup>207</sup> Additionally, Dutch printers appear to have exchanged works as gestures with the Pilgrims. Jan Claesz van Dorp gave an English copy of Thomas Brightman's *The Revelation of S. John illustrated with an Analysis & scholions* (1616), the only English work he ever printed, to Brewster. The Pilgrim took this work to Virginia, with it appearing in his Plymouth inventory.<sup>208</sup> Likewise, the Pilgrims printed 'Quibus adhibita est Prefactorio clarissimi viri', by Johannes Polyander (an acquaintance of Robinson and an individual mentioned in Chapter One), showing again the Pilgrims' involvement with Dutch Calvinism and its controversies.<sup>209</sup> Consequently, Brewster's printing was not an isolated operation. Instead of using the historic familiarity the motif of the Pilgrims' press creates as cause for exceptionalism, we should employ it as a device for interconnectedness.

### **Perth Assembly**

It should not come as a surprise, looking at Brewster's relations with Dutch printers and Robinson's involvement in the Arminian Controversy, that the Pilgrims played a role in political developments in the Dutch Republic. The case of the *Perth Assembly*, however, sharply shows that the group had not abandoned their criticisms of the Established Church either. With James I strengthening his influence on life in the Dutch provinces, exemplified through the pressures placed on Prince Maurits during the feud between the Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants (cited in Chapter One), authorities in the Netherlands grew warier of allowing the publishing of anything which could be taken as an affront on

---

<sup>203</sup> J.A. Gruys, 'Ornamental bears and other animals', in *The Pilgrim Press. A bibliographical & historical memorial of the books printed at Leyden by the Pilgrim Fathers*, ed. R. Harris and S. Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 172-174. 'Pilgrim Hall Museum, Plymouth, Printing Press Books', accessed 26 April, 2020, [https://pilgrimhall.org/pdf/Pilgrim\\_Press.pdf](https://pilgrimhall.org/pdf/Pilgrim_Press.pdf).

<sup>204</sup> 'Memoir of the Elder William Brewster (1644)', ed. Alexander Young, in *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1841), 466.

<sup>205</sup> 'Mayflower 400', accessed May 3, 2020. [leiden400.nl](http://leiden400.nl).

<sup>206</sup> Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower*, 172-173. Sheffield Hallam University, Adsetts Centre, 'A plaine and familiar exposition of the tenne commandments: With a methodicall short catechisme, containing briefly all the prinipall ground of Ground religion by John Dod and Robert Cleaver', 1617, inv. nr. 606982816.

<sup>207</sup> 'Memoir of the Elder William Brewster (1644)', ed. Alexander Young, in *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1841), 466.

<sup>208</sup> Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 547-548. 'Elder William Brewster's inventory and the settlement of his estate (1644)', ed. George Bowman, *The Mayflower Descendent* 3, no. 1 (1901): 15-30.

<sup>209</sup> 'Memoir of the Elder William Brewster (1644)', ed. Alexander Young, in *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1841), 670.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

their English allies. 1618 saw a decree issued, banning the publication of books, songs and news reports which were seen to be seditious; names of authors and translators were mandated to be clearly shown as well as the location of the printing office.<sup>210</sup> Such was the backdrop of the Pilgrims' printing activities.

The aforementioned Ambassador at the Hague, Dudley Carleton, became the Crown's key figure in halting the printing of anything deemed to be slanderous.<sup>211</sup> In 1619, the Pilgrims became embroiled in one such instance. Initially believed to be the work of Richard Schilders, operating out of Middelburg, a tract was published maintaining that James I planned to introduce episcopal forms of governance in Presbyterian Scotland. The work, entitled *Perth Assembly*, in actuality was a product of the Scottish minister David Calderwood and printed in Leiden.<sup>212</sup> Taken back to England in false bottomed wine barrels, the operation appears to have been extensive.<sup>213</sup> We can stipulate then, that the Pilgrims were by no means isolated from events in Leiden but actively engaged in political controversies, hoping to force certain structural changes in the Established Church by discrediting the Crown.

Before long, Brewster fell under suspicion. Writing on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of July, Carleton presented the Pilgrim as a target for his operatives:

'One William Brewster, a Brownist, hath been forsome years an inhabitant and printer at Leyden, but is now within three weeks removed in London, where he may be found out and examined, not only of this book *De Regimine Ecclesiae Scoticana*, but likewise of *Perth Assembly* ...'<sup>214</sup>

A few months later, on September 10<sup>th</sup>, it was reported by one aide that Brewster had been captured. This, only two days later, had to be retracted, with Carleton receiving a rather embarrassing apology: '... Brewster was taken at Leyden; which proved an error, in that the schout [scout] ... being a dull drunken fellow, took one man for another'.<sup>215</sup> In a letter from the Mayor and councillors of Leiden to Jacob van Brouhoven of the Provincial Government, it appears that Brewster was finally, if briefly, detained along with Brewer (who as a student of the university was not subject to ordinary courts and subsequently was released under his own terms).<sup>216</sup> Carleton, for months prior, saw the prospect of the Pilgrims as being involved in the printing of 'prohibited books to be vented underhand in his majesty's kingdom' as highly likely.<sup>217</sup> Despite that, Brewer's sentence appears to have been minimal. Relating to Chapter Two, this shows the institutional footing of the ERC, with the Dutch authorities willing and able to protect Brewer - a member. He went voluntarily to England, with the Crown covering his expenses, only to return to the Netherlands within three months.<sup>218</sup> Brewster, a worshipping member of the Separatists unlike Brewer, appeared to face a much severer sentence - enough for him to engage in an elaborate escape plot.

One of the clearest instances of the Pilgrims' close involvement with the Leiden community, attesting to the notion that they were not Separatist in every way, is how Brewster was able to thwart English surveillance and escape his incarceration from the university prison. Bradford speaks of Brewster as having been a popular tutor, especially to Germanic students hoping to learn Latin.<sup>219</sup> Clearly, Brewster formed a connection with these scholars beyond normal expectations. Rallying to him, they

---

<sup>210</sup> Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 543-544. Nationaal Archief, Inventaris van het archief van de States-Generaal, (1431) 1576-1796, registers van ordinaris minuut-resoluties, 1576-1684, inv. nr. 01.01.02, 43.

<sup>211</sup> Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 34-35.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid.

<sup>213</sup> Kardux and van de Bilt, *Newcomers in an Old City*, 41-44.

<sup>214</sup> 'Ambassador Carleton's Letters', ed. Alexander Young, in *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1841), 380.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid, 389. Kardux and van de Bilt, *Newcomers in an Old City*, 40-44.

<sup>216</sup> Gemeentearchief Leiden, Prison request of William Brewster, 19-09-1619, inv. nr. 0501A, 301.

<sup>217</sup> 'Ambassador Carleton's Letters', ed. Alexander Young, in *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1841), 390.

<sup>218</sup> Dexter and Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 579-581.

<sup>219</sup> 'Memoir of the Elder William Brewster (1644)', ed. Alexander Young, in *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1841), 667.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

created a stir enough for him to escape the city.<sup>220</sup> Assistance perhaps did not end there: Brewster exercised a series of patronyms in the months afterwards, one being Master William Williamson.<sup>221</sup> Bangs attests that Williams was a family name but its construction appears remarkably similar to some of the mistaken betrothal entries by Leiden clerks, who accidentally used Dutch patronyms for English residents.<sup>222</sup> Whilst denying that Brewster's alias was of Dutch influence, Bangs does state: 'that Brewster was allowed to escape is almost certainly due to protective collusion by the Leiden government'.<sup>223</sup> It is inconceivable then, that he would have remained so well hidden, before journeying to Virginia in 1620, if not for Dutch help. Unlike the case of Brewer, the Leiden officials could not be seen to aid a Separatist – such secrecy was needed. It remains evident, therefore, that the Pilgrims were not disconnected from the political fracas around them nor as insular as portrayed by certain heritage discourses. Neither were the Dutch authorities disconnected from the religious émigrés – lending them help during moments of vulnerability.

---

<sup>220</sup> Harris and Jones, 'Introduction', 8-10.

<sup>221</sup> This patronym appears in a 1619 court case concerning the payment of a debt of six guilders and ten stuivers for wine, delivered on credit, in Leiderdorp. Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 554-563.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid. Harris and Jones, 'Introduction', 8-10.

<sup>223</sup> Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 554-563.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

### Conclusion

This study has attempted to mature the revision of Pilgrims' heritage during their stay in Leiden, beginning the process of raising it to the level of scholarship focusing on Virginia. Answering the research question of why we continue to think of the Pilgrims as having been insular during their spell in the Dutch Republic, various heritage discourses have been pinpointed as perpetrators of this misunderstanding. By placing Separatist history alongside heritage studies, this study has formed an appropriate way to challenge contemporary groups' attempts to vocalise their worth by showing themselves to be close, and often the only, descendants of the Pilgrims. Notably, independent churches and nation-states have reduced the history of the religious group to a set of easily gainable details to be rapidly ingested by present-day audiences.<sup>224</sup> Understandably, at a time of religious decline in much of the western world, shown by Bendroth and Murray, these groups have attempted to use the Pilgrims' familiar story to break out of their diminished areas of influence. They have done so in the hope of encouraging interest in their own doctrines by establishing improved histories of certain religious heroes, such as Brewster and Robinson.<sup>225</sup> Following the theories of Lowenthal and Halbwachs, it appears natural for communities to reach back into the past for their last moment of anchorage in order to establish a sense of identity. Nevertheless, due to this, churches and nations have invigorated the drawing of symbolic boundaries within and outside of their own traditions – tampering history, promoting exclusion and encouraging dissonant heritages. What has emerged then, through this process of heritage formation, is a view that the Pilgrims were principally different from the rest of the reformed churches in Leiden and subsequently that they separated themselves from contact with them.

Seeing Robinson as more nuanced than previously portrayed, Chapter One presented the case that he was never non-confessional nor regretted his separation from the Anglican Church. This misconception, presented initially by Baille's *Dissuasive from the Errors of Time* (1645) and taken up by 20<sup>th</sup> century historians and churches, is subsequently disavowed. Instead, Robinson is seen as an active participant in confessional competition (promoting the religious toleration of other groups as a means of ensuring stability for the Pilgrims). Of course, if the Pilgrims were to have established a completely secretive community in Leiden the Dutch authorities would have become suspicious, so a degree of dialogue was always to be expected. However, Robinson went beyond this. Described as courteous, affable, and sociable in his conversation by Bradford, the pastor presents a firm example of how the Pilgrims were anything but physically and mentally self-contained. Robinson openly engaged the traffic of the United Provinces, involving himself in the religious toxicity surrounding the Synod of Dort (1618-1619) in his *Defence of the Doctrine Propounded By The Synod of Dort* (1624). Another observation previously neglected is that Robinson expressed charitable views of others' creeds based on his disbelief that God had revealed his entire will and grace to any particular church, whilst maintaining his orthodox Calvinistic beliefs, shown through his *Justification of Separation* (1610), *Of Religious Communion* (1614) and *Just and Necessary Apology* (1625) as well as Winslow's 'Brief Narration' (1649).

Chapter Two presented the notion that interactions were numerous and unavoidable between the ERC, DRC and Pilgrims against the backdrop of busy and babbling Leiden. Necessity and

---

<sup>224</sup> Particular interest was paid to Congregationalists due to the backing of the Unaffiliated Congregational Churches Charities (UCCC). The use of the Pilgrims' history is, of course, the purview of more than one church tradition.

<sup>225</sup> Through this study, it was observed that uncomfortable details concerning the Pilgrims (such as Robinson's involvement in the antagonism of the Arminian Controversy and Brewster's possible exploitation of poorer Pilgrims' labour) were largely expunged whilst positive details were amplified. What has emerged, therefore, is an 'improved' heritage built by those deemed credible and authorised (following the terminology of Smith).

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

expediency often won out against the émigrés' religious doctrine of separation. Nevertheless, heritage discourses drawn up by nonconformist churches and nation-states have since resisted this. With 20<sup>th</sup> century groups attempting to emphasise their own specific links to the Pilgrims, the notion that the Separatists were especial and distinct has been formed as a by-product. Making sure to consider the difference in facilitation offered to the ERC, which was closely nestled within the structure of the Dutch Reformed Church, and the Pilgrims - tight relations still persisted between the groups.

This facilitation appears to have allowed the ERC to become more outspoken against the Dutch, despite a common structure, especially over differences of Sabbatarianism as shown by Sprunger and church council records. By contrast, Robinson's *Just and Necessary Apology* (1625) appears to suggest that the Pilgrims responded in a calmer measure. It cannot be neglected that cosying up to the authorities may have benefited the Pilgrims' independence, but such relations seem to have been more than mere formality. Dutch figures can be found as witnesses to Pilgrims' betrothals and artwork such as Willaerts's *The Departure of the Pilgrims from Delfshaven* (1620) show that the community had long-standing ties to those in and around Leiden. Therefore, heritages depicting the Pilgrims as estranged from the DRC, and wider Dutch society, can be effectively challenged.

Robust relations also existed between the Pilgrims and the ERC, with the reformed minister Hugh Goodyear being a powerful force in establishing common relations. A common use of church premises, prominent members joining the ERC after Robinson's death; and Goodyear's own belongings, all attest to some degree of connection. Most notably, an open dialogue remained between Goodyear and those in Plymouth, shown through the Goodyear Papers at Leiden's Gemeentearchief - signifying that a degree of trust existed between the reformed groups.

Chapter Three considered a familiar motif of the Pilgrims, Brewster's printing press. Seen to be part of God's great commission against the evil of the world by Plooi, the Pilgrims' printing office has emerged as a symbolic site of memory allowing contemporary visitors to form socio-spatial identities. This, like the construction of heritage discourses seen in the first two chapters, has become a way to draw symbolic lines in religious communities of who can claim the Pilgrims and who cannot. For independent churches in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Pilgrim press presented an unmissable opportunity to form heritage discourses advocating for their doctrinal relevance to society, highlighting their role in the establishment of a free enterprise culture. Critiquing Charlton, Harris and Jones, the myth that the Mayflower's main beam was hoisted up by a great screw from a press is seen instead as a case of triumphalist heritage discourse: through which the Pilgrims' durability has been transplanted into ideas of American exceptionalism. The likelihood that Brewster owned his own press was also analysed using Ambassador Carleton's letters. Offering a more transnational approach, Sprunger casts the Pilgrims as making use of the 'trumpet' of Dutch printing, shown through book exchanges, frontispieces; as well as the aid given to Brewster after the printing of *Perth Assembly*. The Pilgrims' printing was not an isolated operation but interconnected, therefore, like the theology of Robinson and relations of the reformed churches in Leiden.

It was observed at the start of this study that scholarship based on the Pilgrims' time in Virginia has actively sought indigenous perspectives more recently, seen in the case of Loewen and indeed the Leiden400 celebrations this year.<sup>226</sup> It appears then, that the only way to diminish nationalised and possessive church heritage discourses is to broaden the invitation of perspectives. If heritage creation is inevitable and done unconsciously by anyone dealing with the past, as Lowenthal suggests, can a more beneficial and inclusive heritage of the Pilgrims emerge?<sup>227</sup> Can the Pilgrims in Leiden be seen as part of a proto-ecumenical movement?<sup>228</sup> In the spirit of early modern Leiden, a diverse city due to

---

<sup>226</sup> Hoping to foster a mutual understanding and critical reflection of the Pilgrims through various exhibitions and events relating to the religious group, Leiden400 was organised with the motto: one commemoration, four nations, a thousand voices – attesting to a coming together of perspectives. 'Leiden400', accessed April 25, 2020. <https://leiden400.nl/en>.

<sup>227</sup> Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, 1-10.

<sup>228</sup> 'World Council of Churches', accessed April 29, 2020. <https://www.oikoumene.org>. Ecumenism is broadly seen as a theology built around a fellowship of churches seeking unity, a common witness and Christian service. Although debated as a definition, a promotion of learning between churches of different traditions is fundamental.



## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

its industries and religious tolerance, and a unique space of dialogue in the time the Pilgrims resided – this reinterpretation of the religious group perhaps can allow churches to reflect, debate, speak, act and worship together more deeply. Neglected voices, from migrant and persecuted churches, through such a framework can be heard in relation to the Pilgrim story. With many church congregations, as well as society in general, experiencing factionalism and conversation between denominations entering a ‘wintertime’, the application of this revised picture of the Pilgrims shows how academic history can relate to public history – encouraging and invigorating links between communities.<sup>229</sup>

---

Although it cannot be overstated that the Pilgrims operated in a world far less global, the linkages they forged whilst in Leiden still show a level of common spiritual unity.

<sup>229</sup> Ivana Noble and Martin Vaňáč, ‘Ekumenická teologie na přelomu 20. a 21. století’ trans. Tim Noble, *Teologická reflexe* 12, no. 1 (2006), 5-26.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

### Appendix One: Individual Heritages and the Pilgrims

It was observed in this dissertation that interest in the Pilgrims often gravitates around notable individuals. By dedicating two chapters to specific Separatists, this work also follows such a trend. Following the work of historian Pierre Nora on memory, it was additionally suggested that memorials of the religious group are used to 'stop time, to block the work of forgetting, to establish a state of things.'<sup>230</sup> In other words, the use of such memorials and spaces allows for the ceaseless reinvention of tradition, linking the contemporary church to an undifferentiated time of specific religious heroes.<sup>231</sup> This perception of the Pilgrims as a band of exemplary figures has only increased with the recent surge of interest paid to genealogical and familial histories.

John Robinson's plaque, outside the Pieterskerk's baptistry, is a short distance away from an information board concerning the nine US Presidents whose family heritages relate to the Pilgrims. One of the most famous connections is President George H.W. Bush's relation to Myles Standish, the military leader of the Pilgrims: a fact which he made abundantly clear during his 1989 visit to Leiden and the 1988 presidential campaign.<sup>232</sup> Leiden University itself dotes that 'it would of course be wonderful to be able to say that the ancestors of President Obama [who can trace his lineage to the Blossom family] studied in Leiden'.<sup>233</sup> This fascination with political leaders' links to the Pilgrims is emblematic of the wider interest paid to individual heritages. Heritage is often a personal affair based on individual interpretations. Nevertheless, this forms a certain sense of exclusion with elite figures being especially keen and able to prove their closeness to their Pilgrim ancestors, however loosely.

Charlton's 1957 sailing of the '*Mayflower II*' to Virginia, hoping to rejuvenate Anglo-American relations (mentioned in the introduction), has been held up in this work as a case of heritage formation by authorised interests remoulding history. Interestingly, the voyage was accompanied by John Winslow, a direct descendent of Edward Winslow - showing the perceived salience of having genealogical links with the Pilgrims.<sup>234</sup> Likewise, hereditary organisations like the General Society of Mayflower Descendants appear exclusive with website pages entitled 'notable descendants', listing the likes of Marilyn Monroe as examples: strange when we observe the general inclusivity of the Pilgrims whilst in Leiden.<sup>235</sup> Much like national efforts to fashion praiseworthy pasts, individual heritages construct personal histories of repute, neglecting complicated aspects of history and instead offering overly-simplified narratives.

That said, recent efforts, seen in the case of the planned *Mayflower 400* celebrations (part of the Leiden-wide 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the sailing of the *Mayflower*), have sought to democratise the process of discovering genealogical links to the English Separatists. The organisers are hoping to set up a booth where people can trace any possible family links and receive certification.<sup>236</sup> Perhaps then, through such work, societies proclaiming to be egalitarian will slowly but surely no longer license past-based privilege as absolute: breaking down the importance of individual heritages as a means of gaining attention. By looking briefly at the interest paid to personal claims-making towards the Pilgrims, we can identify a strong interest in amplifying human links with the past whilst expunging uncomfortable details. The past is therefore used for personal purposes as much as for communities

---

<sup>230</sup> Nora, 'Between Memory and History': 16-17.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid, 1-6.

<sup>232</sup> Tammel, *The Pilgrims and other People*, 13.

<sup>233</sup> 'University of Leiden', accessed October 29, 2019. <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/en/news/2015/05/from-leiden-pilgrim-to-american-president>.

<sup>234</sup> Charlton, *The Voyage of Mayflower II*.

<sup>235</sup> 'General Society of Mayflower Descendants', accessed May 10, 2020.

<https://www.themayflowersociety.org/the-pilgrims/notable-descendants>.

<sup>236</sup> 'Mayflower 400', accessed October 29, 2019. <https://www.mayflower400leiden.nl/media/1961/19-1-leiden.pdf>.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

wary of church decline, with both individuals and churches hoping to build emotional connections based on the appreciation of an 'improved' heritage.

### Appendix Two: The Pilgrim Window

As suggested in Chapter Two, signs of the ERC cohabitating in Dutch cities remain. Amsterdam's English Reformed Church, built in 1607 and situated in the grassy Begijnhof, is the most notable example.<sup>237</sup> Despite the ERC in Amsterdam historically seeing Separatism as an inviable doctrine and the building now being part of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland and Protestant Church of the Netherlands (PKN), oddly, the chapel contains a prominent stained glass window dedicated towards the Pilgrims. The guide to visitors reads:

'At the back of the chancel is our only stained glass window, gifted in 1920 by Mr Edward Bok of the U.S. on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the departure of the Pilgrim Fathers from Leiden to the New World. Many of the Pilgrim Fathers had previously lived in Amsterdam.'<sup>238</sup>

Whilst the Pilgrims under Robinson did briefly stay in Amsterdam, they swiftly moved onto Leiden. The reasons for their removal were seemingly innumerable. Scandals had besieged the Ancient Brethren, a Separatist community under Francis Johnson which had been functioning in Amsterdam since 1592 and which the Pilgrims initially joined. In 1603, Johnson excommunicated his own brother for apparent slander directed towards his wife. He later excommunicated his own father, who had travelled to Amsterdam to rectify the dispute. Subsequently, the Pilgrims in 1608 found a community divided and split asunder. Hardly a welcoming atmosphere.<sup>239</sup> In addition, John Smyth's self baptising and rejection of infant baptism (an occasion seen as the founding moment of the church doctrine of Baptism), soon after their arrival, caused the Pilgrims clear offence – convincing the émigré group to come to Leiden.<sup>240</sup> Smyth's actions weighed heavily on Robinson's mind, who as late as 1624 was still writing against the theology that any person who had been blessed by God and was gifted in preaching could baptise. For the Pilgrims, baptism was a church ordinance to be performed by church leaders. 'Baptism unlawfully administered is no baptism', Robinson stated.<sup>241</sup> Subsequently, it remains strange that a present-day church with few connections to the Pilgrims, in a city which Robinson's congregation consciously rejected, would attempt to claim such a heritage.

Such an architectural feature offers a proverbial, besides physical, window into how the relationships between the reformed churches and Pilgrims have been grappled with and portrayed in heritage discourses. The window dedicated to the Pilgrims fits Nora's definition of a *les lieux de memoire*, where memory is seen to crystallise and offer a sense of fixed history, reinventing tradition.<sup>242</sup> To the unobservant, a window depicting the Pilgrims in an ERC chapel may attest to some shared heritage or origin. Other, more shrewd, observers may ask whose heritage the window represents? Whilst the writer is hesitant to say that the Pilgrim window is a case of heritage appropriation, it perhaps can be seen as a purposeful conflation of religious doctrines. To say that the narrative the window describes is 'someone's heritage and therefore logically not someone else's' appears overly abrasive.<sup>243</sup> Anyway, to claim the Pilgrims for a certain religious camp merely reinforces the establishment of

<sup>237</sup> 'English Reformed Church Amsterdam', accessed 20 April, 2020. [www.ercadam.nl](http://www.ercadam.nl).

<sup>238</sup> 'English Reformed Church in the Begijnhof, Amsterdam. Brief Guide to Visitors', accessed April 18, 2020. <https://www.ercadam.nl/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ENG.pdf>.

<sup>239</sup> Robinson mentions these events in his reply to the likely author John Burgess. See *An Answer to John Robinson of Leyden, By A Puritan Friend*, 1609, ed. Champlin Burrage (Oxford: Harvard Theological Studies IX, 1920), 88-90.

<sup>240</sup> Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 79-81.

<sup>241</sup> *The Works of John Robinson, Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers, with a Memoir and Annotations*, ed. Robert Ashton (Boston: Doctrinal Tract and Book Society, Vol. 1, 1851), 450-471.

<sup>242</sup> Nora, 'Between Memory and History': 1-2.

<sup>243</sup> Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 79-82.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

authorised discourses – promoting exclusion.<sup>244</sup> Instead, we have seen that when the public power of religion declines, identities are reshaped to enlarge and revise the role of certain groups. The Pilgrim window is another example of a denomination vying to show that it too, like Congregationalists, can use the Pilgrims to highlight its effectiveness in terms of building a favoured image. Through this, the Protestant Church of the Netherlands (PKN) and Church of Scotland strengthen their worthiness of preservation by redrawing the lineaments of Pilgrim history. By commemorating the Pilgrims who briefly settled in Amsterdam, before quickly moving to Leiden, the prominent story of the religious emigrés offers a platform for communities to remake themselves.

The Pilgrim window shows, at least in a Dutch context, that heritage discourse and the contemporary moulding of history does not resemble anything close to the ‘dominant ideology thesis’ propounded by Ashworth and Tunbridge: where history is hegemonically controlled for political purposes against competitors. In this example, there are multiple actors all claiming closeness to the Pilgrims. There is no clear-cut dominant group forming narratives from the past, leaving others to consume them passively as subordinates - but many voices instead.<sup>245</sup>



**Appendix Three**, Adam Willaerts, *The Departure of the Pilgrims from Delfshaven, 1620*, Jeremy Bangs, *New Light on the Old Colony, Plymouth, the Dutch Context of Toleration, and Patterns of Pilgrim Commemoration* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 155.

---

<sup>244</sup> See 'Introduction, How Heritage Hides'.

<sup>245</sup> Ashworth and Tunbridge, *Dissonant Heritage*, 40-50.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

### Bibliography

#### Primary Sources:

Acta Kerkeraad Leiden, 1638, no. 003.

*An Answer to John Robinson of Leyden, By A Puritan Friend, 1609*, ed. Champlin Burrage (Oxford: Harvard Theological Studies IX, 1920).

Austin, Jane Goodwin. 'William Bradford's Love Life.' In *Harper's New Monthly*, June (1869): 135-140.

*Beschrijving der stad Leyden: behelzende het begin, den voortgang en aanwas van die stad, de stichting der kerken ..., mitsgaders een verhal an alle de belegeringen ... tot de laatste zwaare belegering en verlossing, voorgevallen in het jaar 1574 / ... uit verscheide schriften en papieren bijeenvergaderd en beschreeven door Jan Jansz. Orlers*, ed. Cornelis Heyligert (Leiden: Pieterskerk-Choorsteeg, 1781).

*Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation*, ed. Secretary of the Commonwealth (Carlisle, Massachusetts: Applewood's Historiography Series, 1898).

British Library, Boswell Papers February 12/22, 1632-1633, fol. 80, MS. 6395.

Charlton, Warwick. *The Voyage of Mayflower II*. London: Cassell and Company LTD, 1957.

Dexter, Morton. 'Proceedings at the Unveiling of the John Robinson Memorial Tablet in Leyden, Holland, July 24, 1891.' In *The Mayflower Descendant 2*, edited by George Ernest Bowman, 97-103. Boston: Thomas Todd, 1900.

'Edward Winslow's Brief Narration (1649)', ed. Alexander Young, in *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1841).

'Elder William Brewster's inventory and the settlement of his estate (1644)', ed. George Bowman, *The Mayflower Descendent 3*, no. 1 (1901): 15-30.

GA, archief van de Weeskamer te Leiden, Hugh Goodyear, predikant bij de Engelse Gereformeerde Gemeente: Inventaris en provisionele scheiding, 8 januari 1643, inv.nr. 5791.

GA, archief van de Weeskamer te Leiden, Hugh Goodyear, predikant bij de Engelse Gereformeerde Gemeente: Huwelijksvoorwaarden van Goodyear met Cornelia Schoor Aartsdr., 22 april 1648, inv.nr. 5792.

GA, archief van de Weeskamer te Leiden, Hugh Goodyear, predikant bij de Engelse Gereformeerde Gemeente: Boekencatalogus, 15 maart 1662, inv.nr. 5810.

GA, archief van de Weeskamer te Leiden, Hugh Goodyear, predikant bij de Engelse Gereformeerde Gemeente: Richard Broomer, London, 6 december 1650, met klad van het antwoord, 2 februari 1651, inv.nr. 5846.

GA, archief van de Weeskamer te Leiden, Hugh Goodyear, predikant bij de Engelse Gereformeerde Gemeente: Rekeningen betreffende een huis aan de Uysterstegracht (Uiterstegracht), geadministreerd door de regenten van het Sinte Catharijnegasthuis, 1657, 1661, inv.nr. 5806.

GA, archief van de Weeskamer te Leiden, Hugh Goodyear, predikant bij de Engelse Gereformeerde Gemeente: Stuk betreffende de ontvangsten en uitgaven van een huis op de Uiterstegracht, 1657 - 1661, inv.nr. 5860.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

Gemeentearchief Leiden, Archives de L'Eglise Wallonne de Leyden, Francis Cooke and Hester Mahieu letter of transfer, 1608, inv. nr. 16, folio 13v.

Gemeentearchief Leiden, Burial of a child of William Brewster, 20-06-1609, inv. 0501A, 1315.

Gemeentearchief Leiden, Burial record of John Robinson, 04-03-1625, inv.nr. 0501A, 1317.

Gemeentearchief Leiden, ecclesiastical betrothal record, Francis Cooke and Hester Mahieu's marriage record, fol. 72v-73.

Gemeentearchief Leiden, Joint venture of Jonathan Brewster and Thomas Brewer, 07-12-1617, inv. nr. 0506, 179.

Gemeentearchief Leiden, Prison request of William Brewster, 19-09-1619, inv. nr. 0501A, 301.

Gemeentearchief Leiden, Purchasing of the 'Groene Poort', 1611, inv.nr. 0501A, 6614.

Gemeentearchief Leiden, Request to settle in Leiden, 12-02-1609, inv. nr. 0501A, 51.

Gemeentearchief Leiden, Will of Thomas Brewer, 07-12-1617, inv. nr. 0506, 179.

John Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. Ford Lewis Battles (Philadelphia, PA: The Westminster Press, 1960).

'John Winthrop's 'A Model of Christian Charity' (1630)' In *The Norton Anthology American Literature*, edited by Nina Baym et. al, 76-87. New York, London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2008.

*Joseph Moxon's Mechanick Exercises: Or, The Doctrine of Handy-Works* (1703), ed. Gary R. Roberts (Wilmington: Toolemera, 2016).

*Leyden Documents Relating to the Pilgrim Fathers, Permission To Reside At Leyden And Betrothal Records; Together With Parallel Documents From The Amsterdam Archives*, ed. D. Plooi, J. Rendel Harris (Brill: Leiden, 1920).

'Memoir of Elder William Brewster (1644)', ed. Alexander Young, in *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1841).

Nationaal Archief, Inventaris van het archief van de States-Generaal, (1431) 1576-1796, Handelingen van de Staten-General, Stukken betreffende religieuzen, inv. nr. 12579.

Nationaal Archief, Inventaris van het archief van de States-Generaal, (1431) 1576-1796, registers van ordinairis minuut-resoluties, 1576-1684, inv. nr. 01.01.02, 43.

Tammel, W. *The Pilgrims and other People from the British Isles in Leiden, 1576-1640*. Peel: The Mansk-Svenska Publishing Co., 1989.

*The Works of John Robinson, Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers, with a Memoir and Annotations*, ed. Robert Ashton (Boston: Doctrinal Tract and Book Society, Vol. 1, 1851).

*The Works of John Robinson, Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers, with a Memoir and Annotations*, ed. Robert Ashton (Boston: Doctrinal Tract and Book Society, Vol. 2, 1851).

*The Works of John Robinson, Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers, with a Memoir and Annotations*, ed. Robert Ashton (Boston: Doctrinal Tract and Book Society, Vol. 3, 1851).

'William Bradford's Dialogue, or the sum of a conference between some young men born in New England and sundry ancient men that came out of Holland and old England (1648)', ed. Alexander Young, in *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1841).

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

### Secondary Sources:

- Argent, Alan. 'English Churches in the Netherlands before 1640.' In *Congregational History Society Magazine* 9, no. 3 (2020): 156-162.
- Ashworth, G., and Tunbridge, J. *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*. Chichester: Wiley, 1996.
- Bagnall, G. 'Performance and performativity at heritage sites.' *Museum and Society* 1, no. 2 (2003): 87-103.
- Bangs, Jeremy Dupertius. *New Light on the Old Colony, Plymouth, the Dutch Context of Toleration, and Patterns of Pilgrim Commemoration*. Leiden: Brill, 2019.
- Bangs, Jeremy Dupertius. 'The Pilgrims and Other English in Leiden Records: Some New Pilgrim Documents'. In *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 143, no. 1 (1989): 195-209.
- Bangs, Jeremy Dupertius. *Strangers and Pilgrims, Travellers and Sojourners- Leiden and the Foundations of Plymouth Plantation*. Plymouth: General Society of Mayflower Descendants, 2009.
- Barr, Juliana. 'There's No Such Thing as 'Prehistory': What the Longue Duree of Caddo and Pueblo History Tells Us about Colonial America.' *The William and Mary Quarterly* 74, no. 4 (2017): 203-210.
- Bartlett, Robert Merrill. *The Pilgrim Way*. Philadelphia: The Pilgrim Press, 1971.
- Beale, David. *The Mayflower Pilgrims, Roots of Puritan, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, and Baptist Heritage*. Greenville and Belfast: Ambassador – Emerald International, 2000.
- Bercovitch, Sacvan. 'The American Puritan Imagination an Introduction.' In *The American Puritan Imagination: Essays in revaluation*, edited by Sacvan Bercovitch, 1-10. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974.
- Berger. Peter L. 'The Desecularization of the World: A Global Overview.' In *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics*, edited by Peter Berger, 1-10. Washington D.C.: William B Eerdmans Publishing Co, 1999.
- Bloembergen, Marieke, and Eickhoff, Martijn. 'Decolonizing Borobudur: Moral engagements and the fear of loss. The Netherlands, Japan and (post-)colonial heritage politics in Indonesia.' In *Sites, Bodies and Stories. A comparative approach to history and heritage in colonial and postcolonial Indonesia*, edited by S. Legêne, B. Purwanto, H. Schulte Nordholt, 33-66. Singapore: NUS, 2015.
- Breugelmans, Ronald. 'The Pilgrim Press: a press that did not print (Leiden 1616-1619).' *Quaerendo* 39, no. 1 (2009): 34-44.
- Burgess, Walter, *John Robinson, pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers: a study of his life and times*. London: Williams and Norgate, 1920.
- Burnham, Michelle. 'Merchants, Money, and the Economics of 'Plain Style' in William Bradford's *Of Plymouth Plantation*.' *American Literature* 72, no. 4 (2000): 695-720.
- Clare Carter, Alice. 'The Ministry to the English Churches in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century.' *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 33, no. 1 (1960): 1-10.
- Cleaves, Richard. 'Secretary's Notes.' In *Congregational History Society Magazine* 9, no. 3 (2020): 113-117.
- Daly, Robert. 'William Bradford's Vision of History,' *American Literature* 44, no. 4 (1973): 557-569.
- de Groot, Jerome. *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

Dexter, Henry Martyn, and Dexter, Morton, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co, 1905.

Eisenstein, Elizabeth L. 'Some Conjectures about the Impact of Printing on Western Society and Thought: A Preliminary Report'. *The Journal of Modern History* 40, no. 1 (1968): 1-56.

Fritscher, John J. 'The Sensibility and Conscious Style of William Bradford.' *Bucknell Review* 17, no. 2 (1969): 80-90.

General Society of Mayflower Descendants ([www.themayflowersociety.org](http://www.themayflowersociety.org))

George, Timothy. *John Robinson and the English Separatist Tradition*. Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1982.

Gruys, J.A. 'Ornamental bears and other animals.' In *The Pilgrim Press. A bibliographical & historical memorial of the books printed at Leyden by the Pilgrim Fathers*, edited by Rendel Harris and Stephen K. Jones, 170-180. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Halbwachs, Maurice. *On Collective Memory*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Hall, S. 'Whose heritage? Un-settling "The Heritage", re-imagining the post-nation.', *Critical Perspectives on Contemporary Art and Culture* 49, no. 3 (1999): 3-13.

Harris, Rendel, and K. Jones, Stephen. 'Introduction.' In *The Pilgrim Press. A bibliographical & historical memorial of the books printed at Leyden by the Pilgrim Fathers*, edited by Rendel Harris and Stephen K. Jones, 1-10. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Hobsbawm, E. 'Introduction: Inventing traditions.' In *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, 1-15. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Howard, Alan B. 'Art and History in Bradford's Of Plymouth Plantation.' *William and Mary Quarterly* 28, no. 2 (1971): 237-266.

Kardux, Joke, and van de Bilt, Eduard. *Newcomers in an Old City: The American Pilgrims in Leiden, 1609–1620*. Leiden: Burgersdijk & Niermans, 2001.

Kearney, Amanda. 'Intangible cultural heritage: global awareness and local interest.' In *Intangible Heritage*, edited by Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, 209-220. London: Routledge, 2009.

Keith, Michael, and Pile, Steve. 'Introduction Part 1: The Politics of Place.' In *Place and the Politics of Identity*, edited by M. Keith and S. Pile, 1-21. London: Routledge, 1993.

Keith, Michael, and Pile, Steve. 'Introduction Part 2: The Place of Politics.' In *Place and the Politics of Identity*, edited by M. Keith and S. Pile, 22-40. London: Routledge, 1993.

Keith, Michael, and Pile, Steve. 'Conclusion: Towards New Radical Geographies.' In *Place and the Politics of Identity*, edited by M. Keith and S. Pile, 217-222. London: Routledge, 1993.

Lakeman, Seth. *A Pilgrim's Tale*. London: BMG Rights Management, 2020.

Laurence, David. 'William Bradford's American Sublime.' *PMLA* 102, no. 1 (1987): 55-65.

Leiden 400 ([www.leiden400.nl](http://www.leiden400.nl))

Leiden American Pilgrim Museum ([www.leidenamericanpilgrimuseum.org](http://www.leidenamericanpilgrimuseum.org))

Leiden University ([www.universiteitleiden.nl](http://www.universiteitleiden.nl))

Leverland, B.N., Bangs, Jeremy. *The Pilgrims in Leiden 1609-1620*. Leiden: Leiden Pilgrims Document Centre, 1984.



## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

Levin, David. 'William Bradford: The Value of Puritan Historiography.' In *Major Writers of Early American Literature*, edited by Everett Emerson, 11-33. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1972.

Levinson, Sanford. *Written in Stone: Public Monuments in Changing Societies*. London: Public Planet Books, 1998.

Loewen, James, 'The Truth About the First Thanksgiving' (<http://www.trinicenter.com/historicalviews/thanksgiving.html>)

Lowenthal, D. *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Lowenthal, D. *The Past is a Foreign Country Revisited*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, ed. Ephraim Fischhoff (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962).

Mayflower 400 Project ([www.mayflower400leiden.nl](http://www.mayflower400leiden.nl))

Murray, Stuart. *Post-Christendom, Church and Mission In A Strange New World*. Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2004.

Navin, John J. "The time of most distress": Plymouth plantation's demographic crisis.' *The History of Family* 17, no. 4 (2012): 387-396.

Noble, Ivana and Martin Vaňáč, Martin. 'Ekumenická teologie na přelomu 20. a 21. století' trans. Tim Noble. *Teologická reflexe* 12, no. 1 (2006): 5-26.

Nora, Pierre. 'Between Memory and History *Les Lieux de Memoire*.' *Representations* 26, no. 1 (1989): 7-24.

Partenheimer, David. 'Bradford's of Plymouth Plantation: 1620-1647.' *The Explicator* 56, no. 3 (1998): 121-123.

Pilgrim Hall Museum (<https://pilgrimhall.org>)

Plooi, D. *The Pilgrim Fathers from a Dutch Point of View*. New York: Arms Pr Inc, 1932.

Plooi, D. 'Where in Leyden was Brewster's printing office?' In *The Pilgrim Press. A bibliographical & historical memorial of the books printed at Leyden by the Pilgrim Fathers*, edited by Rendel Harris and Stephen K. Jones, 15-29. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography ([www.oxforddnb.com](http://www.oxforddnb.com))

Read, David. 'Silent Partners, Historical Representation in William Bradford's Of Plymouth Plantation.' *Early American Literature* 33, no. 3 (1998): 291-314.

Rosenmeier, Jesper. 'With my owne eyes': William Bradford's of Plymouth Plantation.' In *The American Puritan Imagination: Essays in revaluation*, edited by Sacvan Bercovitch, 77-106. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974.

Samuel, Raphael. *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*. London: Verso, 1996.

Sargent, Mark L. 'William Bradford's 'Dialogue' with History.' *New England Quarterly* 65, no. 3 (1992): 389-421.

Small, Joseph D. 'Reformed.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Ecumenical Studies*, edited by Geoffrey Wainwright and Paul McPartlan, 1-20. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

## Re-evaluating the Pilgrims as an insular group in Leiden, 1609-1620.

*The need to locate and challenge heritage discourses of the religious exiles.*

Smith, Laurajane, and Akagawa, Natsuko. 'Introduction.' In *Intangible Heritage*, edited by Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, 1-7. London: Routledge, 2009.

Smith, Laurajane. *Uses of heritage*. London: Routledge, 2006.

Sprunger, Keith. 'Other Pilgrims in Leiden: Hugh Goodyear and the English Reform Church.' *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture* 41, no. 2 (1972): 46-60.

Sprunger, Keith. *Trumpets from the Tower, English Puritan Printing in the Netherlands, 1600-1640*. Leiden: Brill, 1994.

Tempelman-Kluit, Anne. 'A Dutch treat: what were the Pilgrims thinking leaving Leiden?' *Globe and Mail*, January 1, 2004.

van Sinner, Rudolf. *Continuation Committee on Ecumenicism in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Ecumenical Institute Château de Bossey: World Council of Churches, 2007.

Veenhoff, A., and Smolenaars, M., *Hugh Goodyear and his papers*. Manchester: Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, 1999.

Wenska, Walter P. 'Bradford's TWO Histories: Pattern and Paradigm in Of Plymouth Plantation.' *Early American Literature* 13, no. 2 (1978): 151-164.

Willison, George F. *Saints and Strangers*. New York: Reynall & Hitchcock, 1945.

World Council of Churches (<https://www.oikoumene.org/>)

### List of Abbreviations

As they appear:

OPP, *Of Plymouth Plantation*

UCCC, Unaffiliated Congregational Churches Charities

ERC, English Reformed Church

LAPM, Leiden American Pilgrim Museum

DRC, Dutch Reformed Church

PKN, de Protestantse Kerk in Nederland