

# Why the Rich Got Mennonite: Church Membership, Status and Wealth in Golden Age Amsterdam<sup>1</sup>

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One of the enduring questions in Dutch-Anabaptist and Mennonite history has been, “Why and how did the Mennonites get rich?” How were a sizable number of Anabaptists, mostly peasants and artisans, able to amass such large fortunes by the mid-seventeenth century? In the most recent synthesis of early Dutch-Anabaptist history, Samme Zijlstra raised this question about how the Mennonites became wealthy, but in the end could not really answer it satisfactorily.<sup>2</sup> Joke Spaans suggested an intriguing hypothesis for why the Mennonites were disproportionately rich by the end of the eighteenth century that also helps to explain a corresponding decline in membership: groups that demanded higher moral standards from its members, including as a precondition for those receiving alms from the congregation, gradually lost the poorer elements and consolidated among the elite. “Those Churches that made the highest demands in the field of godly conduct tended to shrink in numbers and to move upwards on the social ladder.”<sup>3</sup> This does not apply to the first half of the seventeenth century,

however, during which the Amsterdam Mennonites experienced an increase in the numbers of poor members eager to join the church in exchange for the financial security provided by the congregational relief system for the poor.<sup>4</sup> So the problem remains. However, recent findings from research in the Amsterdam municipal archives suggest some new ways to look at the puzzling question of how the Mennonites became so wealthy, if not to answer it completely.

It has been so difficult to solve the riddle of how the Dutch Mennonites got rich because church records are not sufficient for the period in question, especially for the last two decades of the sixteenth century, which corresponds both to the start of limited religious toleration in the new Dutch Republic (after declaration of independence from Spain) and the beginning of the boom economy of the Dutch Golden Age. In Amsterdam, the earliest membership book starts in 1612 (for the Waterlander Mennonite Church), by which point many Mennonites were already rich. However, detailed account books from the same church beginning in 1605 help to fill in the gaps.<sup>5</sup> Family reconstruction has made it possible to get some clues about how Mennonite wealth originated and grew. By working with names from both of these early sources (for example, a witness for a baptismal candidate in 1612 would have been a member prior to that) and using genealogical methods to trace individual and family stories backwards as well as forwards, the fuzzy image of what Mennonites were doing during this formative period has started to come into focus.

The Amsterdam Waterlander Mennonite Church “by the Tower” (so-called in the seventeenth century because of its proximity to a city landmark, the Jan Roodenpoorts Tower) will serve as a case study for examining issues of membership, status and wealth. The Waterlanders were a conference of Dutch Anabaptists known generally as the most inclusive Mennonite branch, less willing to ban and shun than other groups such as the Flemish and Friesian Mennonites. (By 1600 in Amsterdam, these geographic designations had lost most of their significance; for example, many immigrants from Flanders belonged to the Waterlander rather than the Flemish church.) The Waterlanders were certainly not without community standards, however, as they tried to maintain Anabaptist distinctives and honor God. Although large (perhaps 1,000 to 1,200 members, which of course would not include children and youth), this was a tight-knit community. Besides caring for any needy members with a well-organized and well-funded system of congregational poor relief, the church kept members accountable for their behavior through the use of both the “small ban” (withholding of the Lord’s Supper) and the “large ban” (excommunication). Sins that caught the attention of the church leaders included

drunkenness, sexual impropriety, financial irresponsibility (such as bankruptcy), and marriage to non-members.<sup>6</sup>

Findings from detailed social and economic research in the Amsterdam municipal archives have suggested new ways to look at the problem of how and why the Mennonites got rich. First, it has become clear that many Mennonites were already very wealthy before 1600, less than twenty years after the introduction of limited religious tolerance in the northern Netherlands in 1580. In fact, it seems likely that more than a few Anabaptists might have been quite prosperous even *before* 1580, as some were able to marry into old patrician families, suggesting that they already had status and wealth enough to do so. One indicator of this early collective wealth is investment of capital in the growing maritime economy of the Dutch Golden Age. In 1602 one of the world's earliest joint stock companies was initiated - the United Dutch East India Company. Prior to this, three Mennonites were directors and investors in a forerunner company that sent a fleet of ships to East Asia.<sup>7</sup> They did not join the new Company, which had a monopoly on trade to Asia, but at least thirteen to fifteen other Mennonites did. One, Syverdt Pieterss Sem, was a director and bought 12,000 guilders worth of shares. Examples of Waterlander Mennonites in the list of the 1,143 original shareholders of the Amsterdam chamber include: Antonio Moens for 1,800 guilders; Jan Claesz Cloeck for 1,800 guilders; Jan Cornelisz Vischer for 1,000 guilders; Jan Pieterss Vrelandt for 600 guilders, and Albert Bentes for 1,500 guilders.<sup>8</sup> The single largest initial investor in the entire East India Company was Mennonite Pieter Lijntgens, who bought 105,000 guilders worth of shares.<sup>9</sup> To put this in perspective, 30 years later only 100 households in Amsterdam had total property tax values of 100,000 guilders or more, let alone that kind of capital to spare.<sup>10</sup> (To help make sense of seventeenth-century currency values, note that in 1600 one adult required 80 guilders per year for subsistence; a merchant's house might cost 10,000 to 15,000 guilders in a good Amsterdam neighborhood.)<sup>11</sup> Within just a few years of its founding, some Mennonites started to criticize the aggressive policies of the East India Company as ungodly but also unprofitable, as it waged war against Portuguese interests in Asia; so Mennonite involvement with this area of trade waned. We also need to be cautious about making too much of Lijntgens' tremendous investment, since he pulled out of the Company in 1605 before making full payment on his shares, and by 1612 he was insolvent.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, by 1600 a number of Mennonites had substantial capital at their disposal; prosperity was already a reality.

It is against this backdrop in the early seventeenth century that it becomes necessary to rethink the question of wealth accumulation. In fact, our initial question needs to be reversed: "Why did the rich

get Mennonite?” Research has uncovered a surprising number of people seeking baptism who were already well-established members of the Amsterdam elite, especially in the first several decades of the seventeenth century. Some were even from the Amsterdam patriciate, or ruling class. These individuals who became Mennonites in the early years of the Dutch Republic brought their capital along with their souls into the Mennonite fold, thus contributing to the prosperity of the group as a whole. There were two kinds of rich people who became Mennonite. First, there were individuals from prominent families who joined the Mennonites either through marriage or on their own initiative, having developed Mennonite sympathies over the course of some years. Second, there were those who might have been from Mennonite backgrounds yet delayed baptism and membership for one reason or another until middle age or later. These two scenarios, especially taken together, raise questions about status and membership. Was there something to be lost or gained – besides salvation – by joining the Mennonites? Several stories of wealthy individuals and couples who sought baptism at the Waterlander Church will illustrate a variety of issues pertaining to the puzzle of Mennonites and wealth.

### **Patrician Mennonites: the Van Necks and Rodenburghs**

In the early seventeenth century a number of people joined the Mennonites from the ranks of the patrician class. Amsterdam was an oligarchy, with the regents–burgomasters, aldermen and council members–drawn from a group of rich families. Only members of the Reformed Church were allowed to serve in city government. Nevertheless, there were approximately 40 Mennonites connected through close family ties to the regency. This cozy relationship with those in power was an important factor contributing to Mennonite prosperity.<sup>13</sup> While many of these Mennonite-regent connections were forged through marriage or progeny, some developed because members of the Amsterdam patriciate chose to join the Mennonite church.

Take the striking example of the van Necks and Rodenburghs, regent-patrician Amsterdam families. By 1613 two van Neck sisters, whose brother would become an alderman and burgomaster, joined the Waterlanders by baptism (presumably rebaptism). Dieuwertje Cornelis van Neck and her husband Cornelis Albertsz van Grootewal were the progenitors of an important Mennonite family, with at least three of their four known Grootewal-van Neck children baptized “by the Tower” and married into other prominent Mennonite families.<sup>14</sup> Dieuwertje’s sister, Wyburgh Cornelis van Neck, became a member of the Waterlander church by baptism in 1613. Of her husband Cornelis

Jansz Boel little is known other than that he was the son of a secretary of Amsterdam.<sup>15</sup> Wyburgh and Cornelis's daughter Catharina, more commonly known as Trijn Boelens, was listed as a wealthy member of the Waterlander Church in 1647.<sup>16</sup> Trijn's marriage in the Reformed Church at age 24 merged her own regent background with the regent Rodenburgh family.<sup>17</sup> Her groom Dirk Rodenburgh was a busy merchant, active in Baltic, French and Italian trade. Some of Dirk's business associates were from his wife's congregation but Dirk never joined the Waterlanders.<sup>18</sup> Thus Trijn lived in a constant state of *buitentrouw* (marriage outside), meaning marriage to a non-Mennonite. The congregation tolerated this and many other cases of exogamy, or out-marriage, and there were a number of wealthy, well-connected women in a similar position.

Trijn's uncle Jacob van Neck (admiral of the celebrated 1599 return of richly laden ships from the East Indies) was burgomaster four times in the 1620s. Trijn and Dirk's daughter Brechie Rodenburgh was baptized by the Waterlanders,<sup>19</sup> as were Dirk's brother Jan and sister Aechtie. Here were descendents of an old Reformed patrician family choosing to become re-baptized in the Mennonite church. Their grandfather, Harman Rodenburgh, had been a major Protestant leader and commander in the revolt against Spanish rule, after which he was in the Council until his death in 1605.<sup>20</sup> Yet Jan and Aechtie became Mennonite even several years before marrying, so it was not a question of joining a spouse's church. Aechtie was baptized three years before her marriage and seven years prior to her husband's baptism. This and other stories are part of the mounting evidence that there was something genuinely attractive for patricians about the faith taught and followed at the Waterlander church, or the community to be found there (and possibly both).

### **Annetje Hendricks Haeck, Patrician-Mennonite Convert, and Her Men**

A fascinating case of a patrician woman becoming Mennonite is Annetje Hendricksdochter Haeck, whose second and third marriages brought her into Waterlander Mennonite circles and eventually membership. The Haeck family, while not office-holders in their own right, aspired to good marriages with political figures. Out of the six daughters of Hendrick Jansz Haeck and Claesgen Ysbrants Hem, at least four married into powerful regent families (one to the brother of Burgomaster C. P. Hooft).<sup>21</sup> Annetje's first marriage in 1587 at age 20, was to the childless widower Laurens Pietersz. Bicker, whose brother would become alderman and burgomaster.<sup>22</sup> Bicker was an

active and prosperous businessman. In 1598 he and his uncle Pieter Gerritsz. Ruytenburgh chartered a company to trade in South America. Annetje spent many months and years without her husband by her side, as he was by no means an armchair merchant. On one voyage he was captured in Brazil by the Portuguese but, en route to Lisbon, he was freed by a Dutch naval ship.<sup>23</sup> Not deterred, he went the next year as head merchant to Asia through the Middleburg company for East Indian trade and on the return trip robbed a Portuguese ship of its one-and-a-half-million-guilder cargo, which included many pearls. Was Laurens around to grieve with Annetje when their only child died? He was busy making a name for himself but died in 1606 without any heirs.<sup>24</sup>

Three years later Annetje, now about 42, remarried to a merchant who had emigrated from Emden fourteen years earlier.<sup>25</sup> This second husband, François or Frans van Limborch Schenk (1563-1609), was part of a circle of Protestant and Mennonite Emden emigrés. He had an Anabaptist past and must have been raised Mennonite. His parents of high birth, François van Limborch and Catharina Wils, were living in Mechelen in 1550 but fled to Emden after they embraced the teachings of Menno Simons.<sup>26</sup> Anna Haeck's future husband was thus born in Emden. His 1588 marriage to 16-year-old Peryna or Perijntje Hermansdr Menslage at the age of 24, brought substantial capital to his disposal. But then in 1595 a Calvinist revolution in Emden greatly reduced the rights and religious tolerance that Mennonites had previously enjoyed there, and van Limborch moved his family to Amsterdam.<sup>27</sup> It must have been difficult to leave Emden with two children buried there and Peryna five months pregnant. Traveling with them were their two young daughters and Frans's mother, who would live with them in Amsterdam. According to Frans's own notes, the journey took thirty days.<sup>28</sup>

In Amsterdam, the van Limborchs settled in the house "Jupiter" across from the Old Church. Frans did well for himself in his adopted city, maintaining business contacts in Emden while quickly forging new ones in Amsterdam. He engaged in the usual activities of a successful merchant: insuring ships, investing in shares of ships, loaning money to individuals, and trading all kinds of goods – from nails to linen to "small jewels." At one point, Frans had 28 bales (8,566 pounds) of pepper in warehouses in Amsterdam and Danzig, valued at 7,208 guilders. Rather than freight many of his own voyages, he invested heavily in long-distance trade to the Guinea Coast in Africa, Asia and America, especially Brazil. At the time of van Limborch's death, 74,347 guilders were tied up in voyages to these places. He even had his daughters investing their savings (Ariaantje for 30 guilders and Maritge for 20) in an early East India fleet. The girls' returns were 247



per cent, testifying to the potential profitability of the early trade with Asia!<sup>29</sup> When Peryna died in 1608, their house was valued at 15,000 guilders, housegoods at 531 guilders and, besides their old house in Emden (worth 5,437 guilders), they owned a garden on the outskirts of the city worth 2,000 guilders. They were fond of this garden and stipulated that the children were to keep it in the family for their enjoyment. Total assets at the time were over 110,000 guilders, an impressive fortune for the early 1600s.<sup>30</sup>

But was van Limborch a Mennonite? While there are no conclusive records that establish his membership, Frans van Limborch Schenk appears to have been involved with the congregation “by the Tower” and was likely a member. In 1606 he shows up on the list of purchasers of land for the new Waterlander meeting house.<sup>31</sup> It was once assumed that the men listed were surely church members, but we now know that at least two were not (Claes Seijs and Anthonio Moens, below) so there is no guarantee that van Limborch was a member either. Whatever the case, it demonstrates a strong tie to the Waterlander congregation. His marriage banns to Annetje, who was not yet a Mennonite, were registered at the city hall, so there was no Reformed church wedding.<sup>32</sup> In his will, Frans left Reynier Wijbrandtsz, future elder of the church “by the Tower,” in charge of a 400 guilder bequest to be used for some purpose known only between the two of them, but he did not leave money to the church. We know he was charitable because fragmentary evidence from his account book shows him earlier donating 100 guilders each to civic poor agencies in Amsterdam and Emden.<sup>33</sup>

Frans van Limborch’s children, however, were clearly not Mennonite. His two daughters married in the Reformed Church, although it appears that the husband of one took out a loan from the Waterlander congregation, even though the children of this union were baptized Reformed.<sup>34</sup> His son Frans joined the Remonstrants.<sup>35</sup>

Besides his Mennonite circle of associates, van Limborch was also part of a broader patrician network. His oldest daughter married into a patrician family,<sup>36</sup> and van Limborch lent money to the likes of Volckert Overlander, city council member, alderman and later burgomaster (3000 guilders).<sup>37</sup> In 1606, van Limborch was one of the Amsterdam lottery collectors to benefit the Haarlem Old People’s Home, selling lots to a wide variety of people, including some fellow Emden émigrés and Waterlander Mennonites.<sup>38</sup>

Annetje Hendricks Haeck probably knew Frans long before their 1609 marriage. As a widow, she lived in the home of her nephew, who was married to van Limborch’s daughter. Furthermore, she was investing money through van Limborch, so Annetje and Frans had ample opportunity to get to know each other in business and social settings. Did Annetje and Frans fall in love or was this a marriage of

convenience, providing Frans, widowed for a year, with a mother for his two underage children and Annetje with her own household once again?

Whatever the case, the marriage was very short-lived. Frans died at age 45, less than two months after the wedding.<sup>39</sup> In 1612, after three more years of being a widow, Annetje was married for a third time to wealthy Waterlander Mennonite merchant Govert Willemsz van Goch.<sup>40</sup> He is an example of a successful Amsterdam businessman who aspired to more than merchant status. In 1601 he had purchased an attractive castle in the province of Utrecht, complete with moat and aristocratic title.<sup>41</sup> Nevertheless, he seems to have maintained his main residence in Amsterdam on the Singel and was an active member of the Waterlander Church, contributing to the poor chest and loaning money for construction work on the new church building.<sup>42</sup> His first wife had also been a member.<sup>43</sup> Money was now not a concern for Annetje and a year after her marriage to Govert, out of fondness for Frans's orphaned children, she transferred her 10,000 guilder bequest from Frans's estate to the three children and also to Frans's half-sister.<sup>44</sup>

The marriage was a step up for Annetje but got Govert in trouble with his church. He came under scrutiny for marriage to a non-member. He was told not to participate in the semi-annual Lord's Supper until the community was satisfied with his conduct.<sup>45</sup> This indicates the seriousness with which even the supposedly lax Waterlanders treated the matter of out-marriage in the early seventeenth century, even though members were usually readmitted to the next one or two communions, especially if like van Goch they were important donors.<sup>46</sup>

In Govert's case the ideal occurred; in 1615 Annetje decided to become a member too. Govert and Annetje had left the hustle and bustle of Amsterdam behind for a quiet, provincial life in the castle, so on a trip into the city by special exception Annetje was baptized with just a few leaders present, accepted into membership on the testimony of her husband, the Lord of Vliet, Kapelle and Sevenhoven.<sup>47</sup> The church records never did make much of his titles, always referring to him as just "Govert Willemsz."

Govert died in late 1617 or very early 1618, since at this time a 1,000 guilder bequest in his name came into the church coffers.<sup>48</sup> He had friends (or maybe relatives?) in high places: Dirck Vlamingh van Outshoorn, alderman and later burgomaster of Amsterdam, was the executor of van Goch's official will as well as for a secret one. Waterlander elders Reijnier Wijbrandtsz and Hans de Rijs were witnesses for the latter, which transferred van Goch's feudal rights and property to his grandson through a bastard son (van Goch had no legitimate children).<sup>49</sup>



The story of Annetje Haeck and her three husbands is a complicated example of how individuals moved in and out of both Mennonite and regent circles with relative ease. Annetje forged a solid patrician union with her first husband. Her second husband was an immigrant, and probably a Mennonite, who seemed intent on social climbing in Amsterdam. Her third husband, as an active Mennonite, had already climbed his way into the nobility through his great wealth as early as 1601. Annetje took the step of rebaptism in the Waterlander church, once again showing the attractiveness of the Mennonite faith to the patriciate of Amsterdam. Without any record of her inner life we can only guess at the meaning that baptism had for Annetje at this point in her life. As the childless, middle-aged mistress of a castle, she had little to lose and perhaps salvation to gain?

### Mennonite “*Liefhebbers*”: Moens, Seys and Ibes

Closely related to the rich becoming Mennonite is the phenomenon of wealthy people seeking Mennonite baptism relatively late in life—at least in middle-age or later. Some of these operated in Mennonite circles and seem to have been associated with or sympathetic to the church before joining. Whether or not they or their children registered their marriages at City Hall instead of with the Reformed Church (which was the default way to get married), and whether or not they made donations to the congregation, are some indications of possible church attendance prior to baptism and membership. Some may have come from Mennonite families, but this can be difficult to ascertain. These seem to be Mennonite “*liefhebbers*,” examples of a phenomenon fairly common and already well documented in the Reformed community and noted among the Mennonites in Friesland.<sup>50</sup> *Liefhebbers* or “sympathizers” attended worship services and perhaps put money in the offering boxes, but did not formally join any church. In fact, some scholars have concluded that the majority of people in Holland were not joining any church up until about 1620.<sup>51</sup> While this figure seems high, it does help to explain a noticeable pattern among Mennonites; in this as in so many other areas Mennonites did not seem to differ much from the rest of Dutch society.

Two curious examples are Claes Seys and Antonio Moens, both born in Ghent and both signers of the transaction to buy property for the new church building, as was Frans van Limborch.<sup>52</sup> Seys and Moens only became members in 1614 and 1621 respectively, presumably by baptism. Seys was 60 years old; his wife Trijn Claes Cloeck the Elder (she had a sister called Trijn Claes Cloeck the Younger), from a Mennonite branch of a patrician family, was also baptized at this time.<sup>53</sup>

Antonio Moens was a merchant, linen manufacturer and grain dealer and one of the original investors in the East India Company. His father-in-law was Pieter Lijntgens, the biggest investor mentioned above.<sup>54</sup> A year after his baptism at age 47, the widower Moens married Sara van Tongerloo, already a church member from a very wealthy family. His step-son Joan Munter would become a burgomaster of Amsterdam, having left the family faith behind.

Seeking baptism at a later age may have been the result of apathy or indecision, although scholars have surmised that some Calvinist *liefhebbers* wanted to circumvent church disciplinary measures. That may have been the case for Claes Seys, heavily involved in merchant ventures that required defensive weapons, who made frequent use of armed ships. He also lent money to acquaintances and associates at very high interest rates (8, 9 and 10 percent when anything higher than 5 or 6 percent was considered usury by Mennonites and Reformed alike).<sup>55</sup> His earnings may have been ethically tainted, but they were vast. He made substantial donations to the congregation, including a 12,000 guilder bequest at his death – a huge amount compared to other bequests at the time. Claes and Trijn the Elder may also have thought that their ambiguous religious status served them better in patrician circles. They were social climbers. In 1606 Seys bought a ruined castle (which he never fixed up) because, like Govert Willemsz van Goch, he wanted the aristocratic title that came with it. Seys was now the Lord of Oosterwijck. Seys and Cloeck were able to secure a prestigious marriage for their only child, Anna, to the son of one of the most economically and politically powerful men in Amsterdam, Burgomaster Reynier Pauw, staunch Calvinist and archrival in the magistrate to the famously moderate Burgomaster C.P. Hooft, whose wife openly attended Mennonite services. (Hooft himself had a number of close family ties in the Waterlander Church, including a sister-in-law and nephews.)<sup>56</sup> Would this marriage have been possible for the daughter of full-fledged Mennonites?

Another example of a *liefhebber* that illustrates several aspects of early Mennonite wealth accumulation is Jan Ibes, a little known well-to-do Waterlander of the first half of the seventeenth century. His story is typical in many ways. First, here was someone who achieved economic success through his familiarity with multiple aspects of the maritime industry, financial acumen and networking. In 1604, at age 25, Jan Ibes was master (*schipper*) of the ship “The Hunter.” He was from the Frisian island of Terschelling, as was one of the owners of his ship, his brother-in-law Jelmer Sijvertsz.<sup>57</sup> Their wives were also from Friesland, but they married in Amsterdam. Thirteen years earlier Sijvertsz had been a ship master too, but by now he was a merchant and a prominent enough man about town to be in charge of selling lottery

tickets in his neighborhood for the Haarlem fundraiser. Ibes spent about 14 guilders buying 49 lottery tickets (when usual amounts ranged from 1 to 7) from Sijvertsz. As was the practice, he wrote a verse to go with his tickets: "Jan Ibes from Schellengerland would love to have a large silver spoon in his hand."<sup>58</sup> Ibes's career would parallel that of his brother-in-law, as he became involved in the import and export trade, invested heavily in ships and became a rope-manufacturer, a business essential to the maritime economy.

As his relationship with Jelmer Sijvertsz demonstrates, Ibes was part of a circle of ship masters, ship owners, wholesale traders and manufacturers in the ship building industry. Sieuvertsz's may have been a sailmaker (as was his son). Ibes drew on his connections to older hometown acquaintance Sijvertsz and others to build capital and forge favorable marriages. Two and a half years after his first marriage, the widower Ibes married again, this time to a widow of a ship master and daughter of the rich merchant Albert Bentes. In the late 1590s, Bentes had a partnership for importing salt from Spain and Portugal with Jan Cornelisz Visscher, one of the initial East India Company investors and eventually a Mennonite deacon. In fact, Visscher had officially become a citizen of Amsterdam as early as 1581, at which time he was already involved in overseas trade, probably as a ship master in the Baltic trade.<sup>59</sup> This was only three years after Amsterdam fell to the Protestants and one and a half years after the Union of Utrecht established freedom of conscience in the new Republic. Unfortunately, we have no way of knowing if Visscher was an Anabaptist as early as 1581. Returning to Jan Ibes, we find that by age 50 he had built a house on the Heeren Market square, decorated with a ropewalk in the gablestone. A couple of years later his taxable wealth was estimated at 25,000 guilders and growing; at the time of his death in 1652, he owned shares in 123 ships, for a total value of 94,440 guilders. He and his wife also owned five houses, three warehouses, the ropewalk and a gunpowder mill.<sup>60</sup>

Ibes's circle demonstrates that religious lines were fluid in the early Dutch Republic and identifying who was Mennonite is not that simple. When Jelmer Sijvertsz married at age 20 in 1591, the wedding was held in the Reformed Church.<sup>61</sup> By 1605, Sijvertsz's name appears in the Waterlander account book, probably as a donor; at any rate, he seems to be associated with the church. His children and grandchildren married among Waterlander families and a grandson would become a deacon. His son would later buy a country home in the region along the River Vecht known as the "Mennonite Heaven," indicating that this family of sailors and sailmakers had become very prosperous. Did Jelmer Sijvertsz become interested in the Mennonites sometime during the 13 years after his church wedding, or was he raised a Mennonite but

married outside of his faith in a breach of congregational policy? The extant sources are not conclusive.

Is this story one of a Mennonite getting rich or of a rich merchant and manufacturer getting Mennonite? In the case of Jan Ibes it is technically the latter, since he did not formally join the church until he was a middle-aged successful merchant. Both of Jan Ibes's marriages were registered at the city hall, suggesting that he already had Mennonite sympathies as a young man. At least Ibes's second wife was from a family connected to the Waterlanders. Nevertheless, Jan Ibes and Trijn Alberts did not undergo baptism and thus formally join the church until 1636, when they were about 57 and 54 years old respectively.<sup>62</sup> They seem to have been committed to the church after this, for in their will the couple bequeathed 3,000 guilders – a very large sum – to the poor of their congregation.<sup>63</sup> Shortly after the deaths of Jan Ibes and Trijn Alberts, a widowed daughter was baptized in their church as she was getting ready to remarry to the son of another wealthy Waterlander. Their other two daughters seem to have married outside of the Mennonite fold. Denominational boundaries were very porous in a bustling urban setting.

Was Ibes a *liefhebber* because, like Seys, he owned armed ships? In fact he did, but there were many Waterlander members in good standing who made use of and owned armed ships.<sup>64</sup> Depending on the trade routes and years, warfare and piracy required armed ships or sailing in a convoy guarded by heavily armed escort ships (this latter was required by law along certain routes and seems to have been accepted by the Mennonites). Nevertheless, the Waterlander Church prohibited owning armed ships with a formal policy in 1619 (it is less clear whether or not one could with good conscience hire such ships to transport goods). And what of the gunpowder business, which was certainly part of the family property after Jan Ibes and Trijn Alberts became members? Other sources are silent regarding the appropriateness of such a venture for a Mennonite businessman.

### **The Snoeck Brothers: Members in Good Standing**

The brothers Aris and Goyken Elbertsz Snoeck are examples of extremely active merchants and rope-makers who engaged in a variety of questionable ventures regarding armed ships, all the while without record of any censure from the Waterlander Mennonite Church. They were baptized as young men, just a few years after their parents, who seem to have been typical *liefhebbbers*. The parents, Marij Cornelis and Elbert Goykensz, a baker from Friesland who prospered in Amsterdam, had registered their marriage at the city hall in 1593, suggesting

that they were not members of the Reformed Church, yet they did not undergo baptism until 21 years later.<sup>65</sup> Their sons, now using the family name “Snoeck,” married into a Waterlander family of successful sail-makers, rope-makers and merchants. They invested heavily in merchant ships, some of them armed for the defence of crew and goods. The Snoeck brothers went beyond the ordinary, however, and outfitted some of their merchant ships for warfare. One such ship, owned by both brothers plus a third partner, was “The Waxing Moon” (*De Wassende Maen*) for a fleet under the command of Maarten Harpertszoon Tromp, a famous Dutch naval hero at the Battle of the Downs. This was near the end of the Eighty Years War in which the Dutch fought for independence from Catholic Spain. Spain was still trying to regain control over the northern Netherlands, even after fifty years of de facto independence.<sup>66</sup> At about the same time we find the Snoecks leasing the heavily armed merchant ship “The Swan” on a monthly basis to private navies organized by directors of the main trading cities – in 1638 to Harlingen in Friesland and in 1639 to Enkhuizen in Holland – when the Dutch navy could not provide protection for the Baltic-Norwegian trade. In 1645 there were 15 armed merchantmen to provide protection for convoys.<sup>67</sup> This was profiting the Snoecks in two ways: they received almost 1,000 guilders per month in rent and they were helping to protect their own trading interests in the Baltic. And again, in the first Anglo-Dutch War one of Aris’s ships was present at a sea battle in August of 1652 when another famous naval hero, Michiel de Ruijter, achieved a minor victory against the English. This must have been lucrative, because Goycken rented out three more ships for the war with other partners and even rented out ships to the Danish navy.

Despite these activities that conflicted with the Mennonite commitment to nonviolence, the Snoecks continued to be active members of the church with no notations of problems that appear in any records. Several of Aris’s children were baptized by the Waterlanders, two on their sickbeds. One son, Gores, had a questionable reputation and his sickbed baptism (this about 10 years after his father’s death) required some consideration. His sins differed from his father’s in that they came to the attention of the church leadership: he was too ostentatious in his dressing and his life in general had not been edifying. Only after he promised reform in all areas would the elder perform the baptism; he died several weeks later.<sup>68</sup> Goycken’s son, on the other hand, left the Mennonite fold. He became a medical doctor and was married very advantageously to the daughter of burgomaster Joan Munter (mentioned above, the son of Mennonite parents). Shortly before his marriage he was baptized Remonstrant, an Arminian Reformed branch that had ties with Mennonites. When he died in 1663, he was worth 160,000 guilders.<sup>69</sup>

## Conclusion

Whether or not something could be gained by joining a Mennonite church in the early seventeenth century, there seems to have been little to lose. While it is not likely that joining the Mennonite church enhanced status in the seventeenth century, it seems not to have hindered good marriages outside of the church nor economic success, as we see in the case of the Snoeck brothers. While some people chose to spend much of their lives in an ambiguous religious state, possibly to circumvent church discipline or to enhance status, others managed well as full members. By the early eighteenth century marriage prospects were considered to be very good among the Mennonites, at least better than among the Remonstrants.<sup>70</sup>

The stories here show that the Waterlander congregation was concerned about boundary maintenance (seen in its response to marriage with non-members), yet these boundaries were shifting and even rather porous. Some prominent folks about town attended and had family and many other associates in the church, yet they were not members. It was a rare family that stayed bound by church ties completely intact through even two generations. It seems that wealth was sometimes enough to reach across denominational lines, even in the confessional age, in both directions. This supports what Benjamin Kaplan found in his book *Divided by Faith*, especially in the tolerant Dutch Republic, although throughout he oversimplifies the Mennonite experience. While strong family and business networks operated within the church, and merchants continued to amass capital and consolidate it between wealthy families, new members came in and children of members left on a regular basis. Sometimes the children of former Mennonites married the children of other former Mennonites, such as Dr. Elbert Goykens and Agatha Munter, suggesting that they might still have been influenced by a loosely Mennonite network of some kind.

So were the Mennonites getting rich or were the rich getting Mennonite? Given the gaps in sources and imprecise nature of record keeping in the early Golden Age, we ultimately have to be satisfied with retaining some degree of uncertainty with educated best guesses about the first several decades of the Dutch Republic. However, while it is easy to get caught in the quagmire of who was Mennonite when, either way we find already well-to-do people joining the church. Both scenarios existed in the fluid economic and religious milieu around the turn of the seventeenth century. Some merchants on meteoric rises joined the Mennonite fold either for reasons of marriage or conviction; and others of Mennonite stock very early on had enough capital to succeed in the boom economy of the Dutch Republic, suggesting



that some of the Mennonites, perhaps even before the introduction of religious tolerance, were engaged in trade and industry from the start. After all, what else were an urban people to do? Even artisans could achieve prosperity by working hard and investing capital, such as the baker Elbert Goykensz. A variety of factors converged to allow these early businessmen to succeed, not least the political climate of protection facilitated by family ties to the top families of Amsterdam and the patronage to be found there, as well as marriage and business connections within a circle of increasingly wealthy Mennonite – or near – Mennonite families.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> I wish to thank the Doopsgezinde Seminarium for helping to sponsor some of the research for this article via a generous stipend in the academic year 2003-04. Portions of this article appeared previously in Mary S. Sprunger, "Iemand burgemeester maken. Doopsgezinden en regentengeslachten in de Gouden Eeuw te Amsterdam," *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* nieuwe reeks 75-121. I also want to thank Daan de Clercq for his invaluable assistance while the research was underway.
- <sup>2</sup> S. Zijlstra, *Om de ware gemeente en de oude gronden. Geschiedenis van de dopersen in de Nederlanden 1531-1675* (Hilversum en Leeuwarden, 2000), 465-74.
- <sup>3</sup> Joke Spaans, "Religious policies in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic," in *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. R. Po-Chia Hsia and H. F. K. van Nierop (Cambridge, 2002), 85.
- <sup>4</sup> On this topic see Mary S. Sprunger, "Rich Mennonites, Poor Mennonites: Economics and Theology in the Amsterdam Waterlander Congregation During the Golden Age," (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 1993), 196-203; and Sprunger, "Mennonites and Sectarian Poor Relief in Golden-Age Amsterdam," in *The Reformation of Charity: The Secular and the Religious in Early Modern Poor Relief*, ed. Thomas Max Safley (Boston, 2003), 137-53.
- <sup>5</sup> Gemeente Archief Amsterdam (hereafter GAA), Particular archief (hereafter PA) 1120 nr. 117: "Memoriael A" and "Memoriael B" 1612; and nr. 140: "Kasboeck" 1605-1620.
- <sup>6</sup> On the size of the Amsterdam Waterlanders, see Sprunger, "Rich Mennonites, Poor Mennonites," 35-36; on poor relief, Ch. 5; on church discipline, Ch. 6.
- <sup>7</sup> J. M. Welcker, "Het dagelijks brood. De doopsgezinden, de economie en de demografie," in *Wederdeopers-menisten-doopsgezinden in Nederland 1530-1980*, ed. S. Groenveld, J. P. Jacobsohn and S. L. Verheus, 2nd ed. (Zutphen, 1981), 200-201.
- <sup>8</sup> J. G. van Dillen, *Het oudste aandeelhoudersregister der kamer Amsterdam van de Oost-Indische Compagnie* (The Hague, 1958), 121, 138, 139, 143, 208 and Database of the Amsterdam Mennonite Elite, from the ongoing research project "Doopsgezinde elitevorming in de Republiek" under the auspices of the Doopsgezinde Seminarium (Vrije Universiteit) and the Doopsgezinde Bibliotheek (Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam), hereafter Database DER.
- <sup>9</sup> Van Dillen, 162-63.
- <sup>10</sup> By 1674, there were 259 households over 100,000 guilders. Peter Burke, *Venice and Amsterdam: A Study of Seventeenth-Century Elites* (London: Temple Smith, 1974), 55-56.
- <sup>11</sup> A. Th. Van Deursen, *Plain Lives in a Golden Age: Popular Culture, Religion and Society in Seventeenth-Century Holland*, transl. Maarten Ultee (Cambridge,

- 1991), 7; Frans van Limborch's house "Jupiter" was valued at 15,000 guilders (see below).
- 12 In an incident oft used to demonstrate Mennonite pacifism, Lijntgens and Syvert Pietersz Sem withdrew from the Company in 1605 and 1608; however, it is more complicated than that, as both immediately tried to start new companies. Many investors were worried about the aggressive actions of the Company eating into profits. For more on this topic see Mary Sprunger, "Entrepreneurs and Ethics: Mennonite Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam," in *Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship in Early Modern Times: Merchants and Industrialists within the Orbit of the Dutch Staple Market*, ed. By C. Lesger and L. Noordegraaf, *Hollandse Historische Reeks* 24 (The Hague, 1995), 213-21.
- 13 For a detailed discussion of this entire subject, see Spruger, "Burgemeester."
- 14 See Database DER, for example Anne van Grootewal x Gilbert de Flines; Maritje x Pieter Sijen.
- 15 Johan E. Elias, *De Vroedschap van Amsterdam, 1578-1795* (Haarlem, 1903-05; reprint Amsterdam, 1963), 340.
- 16 Her baptism record has not been found. However, her name appears on a list of wealthy Waterlanders compiled in 1647 (who were asked to donate money to a fund to pay preachers). GAA PA 1120.152: "Reken Boeck van de Gelden Tot Subsidie van sommige Leeraaren . . ." (5 March 1647).
- 17 GAA Geneologie Collectie, Geneologie Berwout III, 5v.
- 18 E.g. Pieter Gerritsz. Hooft, Aris Elbertsz. Snoeck and Hillebrant Bentes. See for ex. GAA notary J. Warnaeerts Notarieel Archief Amsterdam (NAA) 658/121, 30 Mar. 1622; NAA 673/2de pak/89r 3 Nov. 1636; not. Peter Rodenburch NAA 857/170, 26 Feb. 1628; not. Jacob Meerhout NAA 236 /81v, 10 Aug. 1628.
- 19 PA 1120.123: Minutes of the Congregation (Baptism lists) 1639-56, 14v 11 Nov. 1644.
- 20 Database DER.
- 21 Elias, *Vroedschap*, 177-78.
- 22 GAA Doop-, Trouw- en Begrafenisboeken (DTB) 404/254, 4 Apr. 1587, Reformed Church Book (hereafter "kerk"); Elias, *Vroedschap*, 173; Will of Lourens Pietersz Bicker and Anna Hendrick Haeckendr., not. J. Ghijsbertsz, NAA 23/7, 24 Feb. 1594.
- 23 According to Brandt, "Laurens Bikker, voornaem Koopman van Amsterdam, handelende in Guinea, met bedrog gevangen, sonden de Spanjaerden naer Lisbon om te branden; doch hij wierdt daerna van de Nederlandtsche oorloghschepen verlost." G. Brandt, *Historie Der Reformatie, En Andre Kerkelyke Geschiedenissen, In En Ontrent De Nederlanden* (Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwertsz., Hendrik en Dirk Boom, 1671), vol. 1, 841-42.
- 24 Elias, *Vroedschap*, 179.
- 25 DTB 666/165, 21 Feb. 1609, City Hall banns registry (hereafter "pui").
- 26 "Geslacht Register van Frans van Limborch . . ." Manuscript Collectie, Universiteit van Amsterdam Universiteits Bibliotheek (UVA-UB), Signatuur Aa21 (began 1585); in this booklet, Frans v. Limborch (1563-1609) copied information his grandfather Frans v. Limborch had written about his three wives and many children.; *Vaderlandsch Woordenboek; Oorpronklyk Verzameld door Jacobus Kok* (Amsterdam: Johannes Allart, 1790), vol. 22, 108-113.
- 27 Heinz Schilling, *Civic Calvinism in Northwestern Germany and the Netherlands, Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, *Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies*, 17 (Kirksville, MO, 1991) 33-38; *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Emden."
- 28 Manuscript Aa21.
- 29 Manuscript Ac 3: "Inventaris van den Staat van alle onse goederen, so als die na het overleyden van mijn salighe huijsvrouw Perijntgen Harmensdr, bij my Frans van Limborch zijn bevonden . . ." (31 Jan. 1608).
- 30 Not. J. Fr. Bruijningh NAA 74/146v, 12 June 1596; not. Jacob Gijsberts NAA 34/654v, 19 May 1604; J. Fr. Bruyningh, NAA 105/177v, 6 Feb. 1607; J. Fr. Bruyningh NAA

- 116/127, 128, 8 July 1609; AC3 Papieren betreffende de nalatenschap van Frans van Limborch; GAA Weeskamer Inbrengregister 15/121v-123v, 19 Aug. 1609.
- <sup>31</sup> J. W. Ijzerman, "Hendrik Buyck en de Gemeente van Lubbert Gerritsz," *Amstelodamum* Maandblad 17 (1930): 17-18. The names are Albrecht Verspecht, Hendrick Buijck, Claes Seijs, Hendrick van Kempen, Francois van Limborch, Adriaen van Loosvelt, Anthonis Moens, Frans Jacobsz [de Vries], and Peter van Breusegem.
- <sup>32</sup> His half-sister married the widow of a de Neufville, a prominent South Netherlandish Mennonite family. Frans's half-sister Esther van Limburg seems to have been an illegitimate daughter of Frans' father. She married Pieter Coppens (banns from city hall), probably from a Haarlem Mennonite family (a Coppens family was connected through marriage to the Mennonite Van Hulst and de Neufville families), DTB 664/203, 6 July 1596 pui. Like Esther, Coppens was an immigrant, although from Antwerp, with a bleaching business in Haarlem and the widow of Catherine de Neufville, probably the daughter of Balthasar. See D. M. van Gelder de Neufville, "De oudste generaties van het geslacht de Neufville," *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* 43 (1925), col. 6. Coppens later moved to Amsterdam and, after Esther's death, remarried in the Reformed church. DTB 424/58, 14 Nov. 1619 kerk.
- <sup>33</sup> UVA-UB Manuscript Collectie Ac 4: Copie van een codicil betreffende Frans van Limborch (16 Apr. 1609); Ac 2, Limborch (Frans van), "Extract uit syn Schuldboek Ao 1604."
- <sup>34</sup> DTB 416/282, 5 Oct. 1612 kerk: Scipio Christiaan Bakker and Maritjen van Limborgh Schenk Fransendr. Their children were baptized in the Reformed Church (see DTB index books). A Cristiaen Becker borrowed 50 guilders in 1643. GAA PA 1120.148: Waterlander "Schuldt-boeck" 1620-1646, fo. 79.
- <sup>35</sup> *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, (Leiden, 1933), vol. 9, s.v. "Limborch, (Philippus van of à)."
- <sup>36</sup> Ariaantje van Limborch Fransdr married Hendrick Hendricksz van Bronchorst de Jonge, nephew of Annetje Hendricks Haeck. DTB 413/217, 25 June 1608.
- <sup>37</sup> AC3: "Inventaris van sterfhuys van Frans van Limburgh" 1609; Elias, *Vroedschap*, 240, 270, 316.
- <sup>38</sup> GAA, 1606 Loterij voor Oude Mannenhuis in Haarlem, register 43/photos 343-355; Waterlanders include Jan Jacobsz Wrocht and children, and Dr. Ysaak Jansz.
- <sup>39</sup> Manuscript Collectie UVA-UB, "Aa21 "Gheslacht Register van Frans van Limborch . . ."
- <sup>40</sup> Elias, *Vroedschap*, 177, incorrectly identified him as Gerard van Goch.
- <sup>41</sup> "Vliet (Het Huis-te-)," in A. J. van der Aa, *Aardrijkskindig Woordenboek der Nederlanden* (Gorinchem: Jacobus Noorduyt, 1848), vol. 2, 760. Van Goch gave power of attorney to others to conduct his business there.
- <sup>42</sup> The church finished paying the loan off with a 300 guilder payment in March 1607. Govert Willemsz and Lijntjen donated various amounts of money ranging from 26 to 100 guilder to the church between 1605 and 1609. After this time there is no evidence of financial activity at the church, but he was clearly still an active member as evidenced by his banning. PA 1120. 140: fol. 3 (10/1605), fol. 7 (3/1606), fol. 19 (3/1607), fol. 31 (2/1608), fol. 35 (6/1608), fol. 37 (8/1608), fol. 42 (1/1609).
- <sup>43</sup> Lijntjen Govertsdr. Her brothers and sister used the family name "Lemmen" or "Lammen." The couple was married sometime prior to 1593. Will of Govert Willemsz van Goch and Lijntgen Coversdr [sic., same as Govertsdr.], not. Jacob Ghijsbertsz NAA 23/338-40, 27 April 1596.
- <sup>44</sup> GAA Weeskamer Inbrengregister 15/122v (8 March 1613).
- <sup>45</sup> PA 112.117: Memoriael A, fo. 2v .
- <sup>46</sup> For more over *buitentrouw* in the Waterlander church, see Ruud Lambour, "Doopsgezind of niet? Sybrandt Hansz Cardinael, Abraham de Graaf en Gerrit Uylenburg," *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* nieuwe reeks 27 (2001): 187.

- <sup>47</sup> PA 1120/116: Memoriael B (22 Oct. 1615).
- <sup>48</sup> PA 1120.140/fo. 150 (1/1618).
- <sup>49</sup> GAA, not. J. C. Hoogeboom NAA 842/1254, 8 May 1631.
- <sup>50</sup> Wiebe Bergsma suggested the possibilities of unbaptized Mennonites in Friesland in his *Tussen Gideonsbende en publieke kerk. Een studie over het gereformeerd protestantisme in Friesland, 1580-1650* (Hilversum, 1999), 184-86. On the general Dutch phenomenon of people without any church affiliation, see Spaans, 84.
- <sup>51</sup> Benjamin J. Kaplan has translated *liefhebber* as “sympathizer.” See *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA, 2007), 242.
- <sup>52</sup> Ijzerman, 17-18.
- <sup>53</sup> On Seys see PA 1120.140, fol. 6, 28, 87; H. J. J. Scholtens, “De betrekkingen van de familie Pauw tot Beverwijk,” *Haerlem Jaarboek* (1941): 47-48; Codicil of Nicolaes Seijs, not. J. Fr. Bruyningh NAA 200/339v-240v, 19 Sept. 1619; not. J. Fr. Bruijning, NAA 76/71-73, 7 Feb. 1597; DTB 401/106 23 Jan. 1580 kerk: Trijntje Claes Cloeckendr. and Claes Simonsz, van Gendt, 21. Two ages given in Seys’ banns acts do not correspond; I am taking his approximate birthdate as 1555/56 based on his age given in his second marriage banns registry (age 61 in 1617), see below; Marriage contract between Jacob Elias and Jonge Trijn Claesdr. Cloeck, not. Jac. Gijsberts NAA 34/563, 11 Dec. 1603.
- <sup>54</sup> There seems to have been confusion about whether Moens and his first wife, Marritge Lijntgens, were marrying in the Reformed Church or not; first they registered in the church book but marginalia says that the banns were to go from the city hall and they registered there as well. DTB 409/11 kerk (2 Jun 1599); DTB 665/77 pui (29 May 1599).
- <sup>55</sup> NAA 96/159, 26 Jan. 1604; NAA 108/165, 29 Aug. 1607.
- <sup>56</sup> Enno Van Gelder, *Levensbeschouwing*, 9-10; for more on the Hoofd regent-Mennonite connections, see Sprunger, “Burgemeester,” 85-90.
- <sup>57</sup> Not. Jan Fransz. Bruyningh NAA 97/fol. 93, 93v; 16 Aug. 1604.
- <sup>58</sup> Lotterij 1606 Reg. 8/29-30 (photo 48). “Ijan Ijbes van Schellengerlant hadde garne een groete swekier [swelver? thus silver?] leepel in sijn hant.”
- <sup>59</sup> “die Vairt.” GAA Porterboek voor 1655, p. 787 (RT81 49). NAA 6, ff. 69-69v (18 Dec. 1587): A Jacob Wilboertsz stated that he sailed as steersman from Denmark to Holland with a Jan Cornelisz Visser.
- <sup>60</sup> Not. Jacob v. Loosdrecht NAA 1996B/fo. on ship parts 721-26.
- <sup>61</sup> DTB 406/97 9 Nov. 1591 kerk, Jelmer Sijvertsz and Tryntgen Evertsd.
- <sup>62</sup> Even stranger was that their baptism took place in the meeting of English Waterlanders in the so-called Bakehouse: “En nae de middach by Engelsche int Backhuis gedoopt: Jan Jebes lijn-slager met syn vrouw Trijntgen Alberts een dochter van Albert Bentes sal: nae datse voor de midach de brn. Onser Gemeente waeren voorgesteld, en daer geen verhinderinge wat op gbracht.” There is no good explanation for this other than perhaps their home’s proximity to the Bakehouse. PA 1120.117/fo. 60 10 Feb. 1636.
- <sup>63</sup> PA 1120.172: Bequest of Jan Ibels [sic] and Trijntje Alberts (1653); not. J. van Loosdrecht NAA 1971/451v-452v; 27 Sept. 1652 [film 2147].
- <sup>64</sup> Not. J. Meerhout NAA 236/fol. 179v; 23 Sept. 1628: Ibes was the *reder* of the Sinte Pieter, armed with 6 *gotelingen* and 4 *steenstukken*.
- <sup>65</sup> DTB 664/96 (6 Nov. 1593) pui; PA 1120.117/10v (7 Apr. 1614).
- <sup>66</sup> This was part of an effort to increase Tromp’s fleet from 31 to 95 ships as he blockaded a formidable Spanish and Flemish armada for five weeks off the coast of England and then struck a crushing blow to the Spanish. Tromp’s victory at the Battle of the Downs dealt a final blow to Spanish hopes of victory. GAA, not. Ed. Pels NAA 1611/74/77; 4 Oct. 1639; Jaap R. Bruijn, *The Dutch Navy of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Columbia, SC, 1993), 26.

- <sup>67</sup> The *spiegelschip* “de Swan,” armed with 22 cannon (*gotelingen*) plus pistols and muskets, was owned by “Goijckes, Aris en Huijcken Albertsz Snoek”; Huijcken was presumably a brother. They received 995 guilders per month in rent. GAA, not. J. Volk. Oli NAA 1525/93; 2 April 1639; Bruijn 27.
- <sup>68</sup> PA 1120.124: Minutes of the Congregation 1657-73, fo. 9v. (28 Aug. [1662]).
- <sup>69</sup> Elias, *Vroedschap*, 626.
- <sup>70</sup> “De Laatste Vaderlijke lessen . . .,” “Afdeling Handschriften UVA-UB PA 565-A77s, ff. 7v-8; see annotated transcription and introduction by P. Visser and S.B. J. Zilverberg, “Abraham van der Meersch, ‘De laatste vaderlijke lessen’ (1721),” *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* nieuwe reeks 17 (1991): 153-87.