

Part I.

Reformed Governing Strategies

1. Repression: Dynamics of Anti-Catholicism

Abstract: Repression constituted an integral part of the governing strategies adopted by Utrecht's Reformed magistrates. This chapter offers a qualitative and quantitative survey of the Reformed repression of Catholics by tracing how magistrates legislated anti-Catholicism on paper and prosecuted Catholics in practice. Between 1620 and 1672, Utrecht saw a certain tendency towards Reformed confessionalization of the public sphere. The Reformed Church persistently urged the political authorities to issue more anti-Catholic edicts and to submit more legal charges against Catholics, expelling them from urban public life. The magistrates, for their part, sometimes, but certainly not always, pursued this confessionalizing agenda by 'legalizing' Catholic discrimination and persecution. Politico-religious circumstances in and around Utrecht dictated the tides of stricter or laxer repression.

Keywords: repression, persecution, prosecution, anti-Catholicism, religious discrimination, confessionalization

In a letter to his colleague and future apostolic vicar Jacobus de la Torre (1608–1661), dated 13 April 1640, Johannes Wachtelaer described the 'hostile assaults' and 'persecution' which Catholic Utrechters had been suffering since 1639:

We fight for the maintenance of the Catholic faith and for communion with the see of Rome, surrounded by those of other persuasions, as I suppose everyone to know. Should it surprise anyone that things do not always go for the warriors as they might wish? The enemy is strong and presses itself [upon us] powerfully. [...] That we would suffer persecution

is what Christ predicted, the apostle reminded us of and the church experienced in her cradle.¹

Catholics themselves regarded their experiences as persecution. In spite of this, Wachtelaer did not represent his co-religionists as passive victims. Using a vocabulary remarkably laced with war imagery, he portrayed Dutch Catholics, and in particular those living in Utrecht, as soldiers in a holy war, and suggested that those who fell during its course were to be considered martyrs.

What Catholics represented as religiously motivated persecution (*vervolging*), the Reformed saw as lawful prosecution (*vervolging*). This chapter will examine, both qualitatively and quantitatively, how the political authorities repressed Catholics in their attempts to strategically govern the environment of religious coexistence by its anti-Catholic efforts, from legislation on paper to prosecution in practice. It will offer a chronological account of the interplay between the political authorities and the Reformed Church as both sides dealt with the reality of the city's reviving Catholic community. The present survey of the legal records represents the first quantitative analysis of the legal proceedings undertaken against Catholics in the Dutch Republic. For the present purposes, the period stretching from 1620 to 1672 has been divided into four phases, according to the local, national, and international politico-religious context: from 1620 to 1638, when the war against the Habsburg monarchy was resumed after the end of the Twelve Years' Truce (1609–21); from 1639 to 1648, as the last phase of the Dutch Revolt against Spain; from 1649 to 1659, when orthodox Calvinists redefined the Dutch Republic as an independent Protestant state after the Peace of Münster (1648) and the Great Assembly (1651); and from 1660 to 1672, when the Republican regime gained the upper hand in national and local politics, before suddenly losing power in the 'Disaster Year' (*Rampjaar*) of 1672. Against the backdrop of these politico-religious developments in and around Utrecht, I will argue that the Reformed Church constantly urged magistrates to delimit the public of the endangered *corpus christianum* in a confessionalized manner by increasingly depriving Catholic Utrechters of their rights in the public sphere. The magistrates for their part at one time

1 This letter has been transcribed in Deelder, *Bijdragen*, I, pp. 170–76, here especially pp. 170–71: 'vijandelijke aanvallen', 'vervolging', and 'wij strijden voor de instandhouding van het katholiek geloof en voor de gemeenschap met den stoel van Rome, te midden der andersdenkenden, veronderstel ik als aan ieder bekend. Wat wonder, als het den strijders niet immer naar wensch gaat? De vijand is machtig en dringt krachtig op. [...] wij vervolging zouden lijden, heeft Christus voorzegd, heeft de apostel ons herinnerd, heeft de kerk van haar wieg af ondervonden'.

refused such proposals and at other times supported them, institutionalizing religious discrimination against Catholics and harming their legal and politico-social credibility in local society.

1.1. The Politico-Judicial Structure of Post-Reformation Utrecht

In the Dutch Republic, each of the seven sovereign provinces had its own unique political structure. Going back even before the Dutch Revolt against Spain, the Provincial States of Utrecht were composed of three voting units. The first estate represented the clergy (canons) of the Dom cathedral chapter and the four other collegiate chapters in the city. The second estate, the Knighthood (*Ridderschap*), was a delegation from the nobility. The third estate promoted the interests of the city of Utrecht and the province's other, smaller cities. Soon after the outlawing of Catholicism in Utrecht in 1580, militia captains appealed to William I of Orange to abolish the first estate on the grounds that its *raison d'être* as an advisory council of clergymen to the archbishop had been undermined by the Protestant Reformation, but in vain. Behind William's refusal, there was strong pressure from the nobles who, as members of the second estate, shared politico-economic interests in provincial politics with the canons of the first estate, who were the province's major landholders. In the end, the first estate came to consist of eight secularized canons who hailed from the city's five chapters and were known as *Geëligeerden*.² In seventeenth-century provincial politics, the second estate (four to seven representatives of the nobility) and the third estate (two incumbent burgomasters, together with four to six members of the Utrecht city council, as well as between one and three representatives from each smaller city) competed constantly for the eight votes of the *Geëligeerden* of the first estate; there was thus a conflict opposing the noble faction and the civic faction. Although Stadholder Maurice decided in 1618 to distribute the eight representatives of the first estate equally between the nobility and the patriciate so as to achieve a balance in power between the second estate of the noble faction and third estate of the civic faction, in practice this regulation was not always observed. In the course of the seventeenth century, the nobility gradually lost the political influence it had once enjoyed at the provincial level through the first and the second estates, while oligarchization progressed in the third estate and in all of the city councils.³

2 Kaplan, *Calvinists and Libertines*, p. 137.

3 Wilders, *Patronage*, pp. 30–31, 138.

It was the canons of the chapters who ranked in the highest socio-economic strata of Utrecht during medieval and early modern times. Possessing a quarter of all the land in the province, the five chapters were made up of no fewer than 140 canons, who enjoyed the right to receive income as prebends, to use the houses in the compounds of their chapters within their immunities (i.e., distinct domains where jurisdiction belonged to the church alone and not to the secular authorities), and to hold political representation in the Provincial States. After the introduction of the Protestant Reformation, these chapters were secularized and their immunities nullified. In the wake of the ensuing disputes which also involved the chapters, the Provincial States, and the provincial court (*Hof*), the city council ended up assuming jurisdiction over the chapter buildings, including compounds and churches. The chapters themselves, however, were not disestablished as corporations. Thus, their canons continued to enjoy socio-economic and political privileges, even in the absence of their former clerical functions.⁴ Furthermore, it remained possible for Catholics, both priests (including our storyteller Wachtelaer) and laymen, to be appointed secularized canons until 1615, when the Provincial States decided that from then on only the Reformed were to be eligible for these prominent positions.⁵ After this legislation was enacted, the number of Catholic canons steadily declined, until in 1680 Gerard van der Steen passed away as the last Catholic (lay) canon in early modern Utrecht. As we shall see, these Catholic canons were successful in exploiting their powerful socio-economic status for the survival of their confessional community.

The political structure of the city of Utrecht changed profoundly in the sixteenth century. From 1304 to 1528, Utrecht was under what has been called a 'guild democracy'. However, when Emperor Charles V (1500–1558) annexed Utrecht in 1528, he drastically curtailed the political power of the guilds, whose role in the political representation of the commoners was transferred to the civic militias. After the militia captains allied themselves with the prince of Orange in 1576, the patricians began to fear that their political influence would wane. To counter this threat, the patriciate introduced the *vroedschap*-model from Holland in the city council of Utrecht in 1586, resulting in the further oligarchization of civic governance.⁶ In this

4 Kaplan, *Calvinists and Libertines*, pp. 113–16; Idem, 'Confessionalism', p. 109; Rengers Hora Siccama, *De geestelijke en kerkelijke goederen*, pp. 396–414; Vries, 'Searching', pp. 53–54.

5 *G.P.U.*, I, p. 218 (8 June 1615).

6 Kaplan, *Calvinists and Libertines*, pp. 133–37. On the guilds' political function in early modern Utrecht, see Slokker, *Ruggengraat*, pp. 151–69.

development, the riot of 1610 needs to be noted. This riot originated in the longstanding conflict between Utrecht's commoners and nobles, particularly on an economic level. On 21 January 1610, more than 4,000 armed militiamen gathered in front of city hall demanding the resignation of the incumbent city magistrates, who were giving preferential treatment to the nobles and their rural industry, to the detriment of the commoners. They furthermore demanded the restoration of the medieval guild democracy to protect the citizens' economic interests. It is worth noting that the rebels also insisted that a stipulation excluding Catholics from the Utrecht magistracy be deleted. Under threat from the militia, a new government was installed, but the incoming magistrates did not implement the radical reforms demanded by the rebels, retaining the regulation by which Catholics were excluded from political office.⁷ According to Franciscus Dusseldorpius (1567–1630), a hard-line Catholic priest originating from a patrician family in Leiden who was staying in Utrecht during the 1610 riot, all Utrechters counted on the new government to restore the old regime under Catholic rulers.⁸ In the end, the riot was quashed by the States General, with the city council placing the militias under its own direct command and the nobles retaining their powerful politico-economic status within the city. Such political agitation by the general citizenry for the rescinding of anti-Catholic legislation was not repeated afterwards, but the 1610 riot does suggest that Catholic Utrechters formed an integral part of the civic community and were widely trusted for high office.

Between 1620 and 1672, the relationship between the city magistrates and the public church in Utrecht fluctuated significantly. From 1618, when Maurice purged the Remonstrant magistrates, until around 1651, the power in the Utrecht city council was in the hands of the orthodox Calvinists or Voetians under the leadership of Gisbertus Voetius, professor of theology at the university. Starting in the 1660s, the balance of power shifted to the moderate Republicans. Nevertheless, throughout the entire period under study, the consistory of the Reformed Church remained firmly in the hands of the hard-line Voetians.⁹ Under the legal system of early modern Utrecht, the sheriff (*schout*) acted as prosecutor and presided over the city court, where the aldermen heard the cases and, without the involvement of the sheriff, decided on sentences, whose records were then stored in the *criminele*

7 Kaplan, *Calvinists and Libertines*, pp. 240–44; Slokker, *Ruggengraat*, pp. 157–58.

8 Lenarduzzi, *De belevingswereld*, pp. 86–88; Idem, 'Subcultuur en tegencultuur', pp. 118–20.

9 For a chronological overview of the relationship between the city magistrates and the Reformed consistory in Utrecht during this period, see Bogaers, 'Een kwestie', pp. 61–84.

sententiën archive.¹⁰ For the city court, the sheriff drafted indictments and gathered diverse documentation, including defendant petitions and interrogation records, all of which were fragmentarily filed in the *criminele stukken* archive.¹¹ Since the sheriff received a part (in some cases up to a half) of the levied fine, he had an indubitable economic incentive for filing lawsuits. Each of the three voting units of the Provincial States of Utrecht nominated candidates for this lucrative position, with the stadholders deciding on the successful candidate.

In 1580 Catholicism was outlawed in Utrecht. From then on, Utrechters were prohibited from practising the 'Roman Religion' and wearing clerical clothing in the city and its suburbs.¹² Religious use of all public church buildings, including those of the former Dom cathedral, the four other collegiate churches, and four parish churches, was reserved exclusively for Reformed believers. All monasteries and convents were secularized. Many of them, including the Abraham Dole Monastery and the Cecilia Convent, were confiscated by secular authorities; the buildings of the former were reallocated for the use of university students for fencing and dissections after 1636, while the latter came to function as a provincial mint after 1647. Five monasteries or convents used by noblewomen in medieval times, including St Servaas Abbey and the Wittevrouwen Convent, were assigned to the Knighthood, to which Catholic nobles nevertheless continued to be nominated well into the seventeenth century. Furthermore, chapels inside hospices were to be reserved exclusively for the Reformed preachers.¹³ In 1581 another edict stipulated that no one was allowed to practice the Catholic faith, whether 'in secret, or in public'.¹⁴ This restriction was reconfirmed in the contracts between the Provincial States and governors or stadholders in 1584/85, 1588, and 1610, with the following proviso recalling the Union of Utrecht: no one was allowed to 'inquire into anyone's conscience, or conduct an investigation in anyone's house'. Here the realm of the conscience was virtually identified with the physical space inside homes. The same contracts also stipulated that Reformed alone were to be eligible for all public offices formerly filled by the appointment of the king of Spain and, later, the governors and stadholders. These public office holders were to

10 HUA, SAII, 2236.

11 HUA, SAII, 2244.

12 *G.P.U.*, III, p. 466 (18 June 1580).

13 Hulzen, *Utrechtse kerken*, passim; Idem, *Utrechtse kloosters*, passim, here especially pp. 48, 57; Kalveen, 'De vijf adelijke vrouwenkloosters', pp. 163–67; Rengers Hora Siccama, *De geestelijke en kerkelijke goederen*, pp. 347–69, 394–419, 622–762.

14 *G.P.U.*, I, p. 350 (26 August 1581): 'in 't heymelyk, ofte in 't openbaar'.

make a 'public profession' of the Reformed faith.¹⁵ Another edict of 1588/89 prescribed that priests caught presiding at Mass were to be deprived of their benefices, fined f. (florins) 50, and face possible banishment from the city. Anyone caught attending Catholic assemblies was to pay a fine of f. 25, while those found hosting such communal assemblies were to be fined f. 50.¹⁶ By 1620, therefore, the city council and the Provincial States had already promulgated a long series of edicts to repress Catholics, which were nevertheless rarely applied in practice.¹⁷ It was only after 1620 that the political authorities came to prosecute more Catholics, while also enacting more anti-Catholic legislation.

1.2. Legislation of and Pressure for Anti-Catholicism

1.2.1. The Resumption of War against the Habsburg Monarchy, 1620–1638

In 1620 the Utrecht city council, which at the time was under the control of hard-line Calvinists, requested the Provincial States to urge the States General to renew the anti-Catholic edict issued in 1612.¹⁸ In those days, shortly before the end of the Twelve Years' Truce, the Reformed perceived the Catholic presence in the Republic as a real political threat. In Utrecht, such a sense of unease was accentuated in 1621 when Jacob Mom, a Catholic nobleman originating from Gelderland, was accused of *crimen laesae majestatis* (treason against the state), a charge that was rarely applied in early modern Dutch trials apart from the famous case against Johan van Oldenbarnevelt in 1619. The city court of Utrecht was ordered by the provincial court to draw up an inventory of the possessions in a house he owned in the city. Although Mom had already attempted several coups d'état with other Catholic noblemen for the re-establishment of Habsburg rule in the Northern Netherlands, his latest plans were uncovered early in 1621. As a result, Mom was decapitated in The Hague on 17 April 1621, shortly after the war resumed.¹⁹

15 *Ibidem*, I, pp. 158–66 (11 September 1584, 10 September 1585, 9 February 1588, 6 February, 2 April 1610): 'men op yemants conscientie sal inquireren, of in yemants huysinge ondersoek doen' and 'openbare professie'.

16 *Ibidem*, III, pp. 466–67 (11 July 1588, 23 December 1589).

17 Kaplan, *Calvinists and Libertines*, pp. 223–24, 276.

18 HUA, SAII, 121–8, 24 May 1620.

19 HUA, SAII, 121–9, 22 January, 12 February, 27 March 1621; HUA, SAII, 2244–43, 7 April 1621; HUA, SAII, 2244–44, 7 April 1621; Jacobsz, *Sententiën*; *N.N.B.W.*, III, col. 876–77; Rogier, *Geschiedenis*, I, p. 74.

In 1622 the States General promulgated a harsh anti-Catholic edict that was soon adopted by the Provincial States of Utrecht. This edict, which was to be augmented and reissued in 1629, 1641, and 1649, set the tone for the legal status of the Dutch Catholic community for years to come.²⁰ The context for the original edict was 'the expiration of the Truce, by which these Lands were again thrown into public [open and official] war against the King of Spain'. The main target were Catholic priests, whom the edict represented as politico-religious agitators. According to it, they were inciting people to rebellion against the 'lawful Government' of the Dutch Republic and instilling them with loyalty to the pope and the king of Spain. Since such priests could potentially disturb the 'public tranquillity', a prohibition was announced on any priests coming in from outside Utrecht. As for the priests who were already established in Utrecht for a long time: they were required to register with the local magistracy. The version of the edict as it was reissued in 1629 decreed anew that Catholic laypeople were forbidden to assemble and practice their 'superstition' anywhere, including 'Churches, or private houses and places, on the field, in ships or boats'. As such, it reconfirmed more clearly and concretely than ever before that Catholics were not allowed to practise their faith even within their private homes. The edict also prohibited them from maintaining their own communal funds, collecting money, and sending it to their priests or ecclesiastical institutions in areas under Habsburg rule. It prescribed that no one was to study in 'Cities, Places, Universities, or Schools under the rule of the King of Spain in enemy Lands, or in other Jesuit Colleges'. All judicial officers were instructed not to accept any compromise with Catholics, nor to show 'connivance' in case of infraction. Finally, Catholics were excluded from judicial offices. This edict, like later, similar anti-Catholic edicts, justified corporal punishment of transgressors.²¹

At the same time, by 1630 at the latest, various activities of the city's reviving Catholic community had come to attract the attention of Reformed neighbours as well as the political authorities. Around that year, a converted former priest from Leuven, Rudolphus Francisci, who was at that time preparing to study Reformed theology in Franeker, leaked information to

20 *G.P.U.*, I, pp. 397–400 (26 February 1622).

21 *Ibidem*, I, pp. 397–400: 'de expiratie van den Treves, daar door dese Landen weder gevallen zyn in openbare oorloge tegen den Koninck van Hispanien', 'wettige Overheyd', 'gemeene ruste', 'Kercken, ofte particuliere huysen ende plaatsens, op den velde, in schepen, ofte schuyten', 'Steden, Plaatsen, Universiteyten, of Scholen, onder het gebied van den Koninck van Hispanien in vyanden Landen, of in andere Jesuiten Collegien', and 'conniventien'.

the States General regarding the illegal activities of Catholic priests in the Utrecht area. Those activities included the celebration of Mass, baptisms, religious education by *klopjes* (spiritual virgins), the maintenance of their own communal funds and the weekly collection of alms. Francisci moreover portrayed Apostolic Vicar Philippus Rovenius as the 'bishop of Utrecht'.²²

Against this background, the political authorities issued further edicts to deny Catholics even more rights in the public sphere. In 1623 the Provincial States reissued the 1615 edict prohibiting Catholics from holding benefices or canonries.²³ Early in the 1630s the city council decreed that every 'position, office, or benefice on behalf of the City', including that of the militia officers, was to be occupied by Reformed people alone.²⁴ With regard to elementary education, the city magistrates prescribed in 1621 that all the schoolmasters and mistresses of *bijtscholen* (private schools) were to sign the canons of the Synod of Dordrecht or relinquish their schools, while public parish schools had already been Protestantized since 1580.²⁵ However, according to the famous humanist Arnoldus Buchelius (1565–1641), in 1624 forty girls were being taught in a Catholic school, where they learned craftworks, French, and music in the 'superstitious manner'.²⁶ For this reason, a 1631 provincial edict stipulated once again that every schoolmaster and mistress was to be Reformed, and that they were not to teach books 'conflicting with the Reformed Religion and good morals'.²⁷ In 1638 the consistory submitted a plan to the city council for regulating schoolmasters and mistresses like the guilds. The city council then decided that two schoolmasters would be appointed 'school superintendents' (*opsigters der scholen*), commissioned to oversee their fellow teachers in order to aid the sheriff in his investigation.²⁸

Throughout the seventeenth century, Utrecht suffered chronic financial problems, for which Catholics soon began to bear the brunt of the blame. In 1578 the Reformed diaconate started offering alms in cash and commodities to all the working poor (*huiszittende armen*), regardless of

22 For Francisci's testimony, see HUA, OBC, 99; HUA, SAIL, 2244–86, n.d.; Muller, 'Getuigenis', pp. 241–44.

23 *G.P.U.*, I, p. 219 (14 February 1623).

24 E.g. HUA, SAIL, 121–15, 5 September 1631; HUA, SAIL, 121–16, 3 September 1633: 'ampt, office ofte beneficie van Stadts wegen'.

25 HUA, SAIL, 121–9, 15 January, 12 February 1621.

26 Booy, *Kweekhoven*, pp. 66–71, 80–88, 128: 'superstitieus habyt'.

27 *G.P.U.*, III, pp. 501–2 (23 December 1631): 'strydende tegen de Gereformeerde Religie, en de goede zeden'. This edict would be augmented on 14 December 1646 and 12 August 1650.

28 HUA, KR, 4, 4, 18 January 1638; HUA, SAIL, 121–18, 25 June, 13 August 1638.

religion.²⁹ Yet in 1627 the consistory appealed to the city magistrates to reduce the 'excessive burden' on their diaconate, and urged them to establish a municipal chamber of charity (*Aalmoezenierskamer*) promptly.³⁰ During the city council session in which this appeal was discussed, Burgomaster Johan Florisz van der Nijpoort (in office 1625–1628) stated that Catholics had their own illegal means for supporting their poor and that some rich Catholics were skimping on their contributions to the diaconate, preferring to favour the charity established within their own community.³¹ Finally, in 1628 the city council established the municipal chamber of charity to serve the working poor who did not hold membership in the Reformed Church, but had resided in the city for at least four – and, soon thereafter, six – years. From then on, the Reformed diaconate was to bear the burden of care exclusively for communicant members of the Reformed Church. All others were to be entrusted to the care of the municipal chamber of charity, which was composed of a bookkeeper (*boekhouder*), a clerk (*griffier*), and sixteen trustees (*regenten*). Remarkably, the sixteen trustee posts were to be distributed equally between Reformed and Catholic 'qualified persons'. By the inclusion of Catholic administrators in the chamber, the magistrates tried to stimulate Catholics to contribute substantially – and more generously – to public welfare.³² However, in 1638 this bi-confessional system was officially abolished following a conflict between Catholics and the burgomasters the previous year. The new regulation stipulated that the trustees of the municipal chamber of charity were to be elected from among the Reformed alone.³³

At Utrecht University, initially established as an *Illustre School* in 1634, the professors of theology, among them Gisbertus Voetius, trained future ministers of the Reformed Church in an anti-Catholic spirit. In their 1638 mission report to Rome, Rovenius and other secular priests, including De la Torre and Abraham van Brien (1605–1683), expressed their worries about the professors. According to their report, the professors were unyielding

29 For the history of charity in Utrecht, see, e.g., Adriani, *De Stads-Aalmoezenierskamer*; Bogaers, *Aards*, pp. 497–584; Schaik and Strengers-Older Kalter, *Het arme roomse leven*; Verhey, *300 jaar*.

30 HUA, KR, 3, 5 August 1627; HUA, SAI, 121-12, 6, 27 August 1627. For earlier discussions on the matter of the public charitable institution, see HUA, *Nederlandse Hervormde gemeente te Utrecht*, diaconie, 1, 11 December 1623, 8 July 1624; HUA, KR, 3, 8 September 1624, 30 July 1627; HUA, SAI, 121-10, 14 June 1624; HUA, SAI, 121-11, 6 September 1624.

31 Ibidem, 6 August 1627.

32 *G.P.U.*, III, p. 556; HUA, SAI, 121-12, 5 May, 6, 27 August 1627; HUA, SAI, 121-13, 1 September 1628; HUA, SAI, 1824, 1 September 1628: 'gequalificeert persoon'.

33 HUA, SAI, 121-18, 14 August 1638. See also, HUA, SAI, 1825-1, 1 October 1638.

in their efforts to delete the memory of the Catholic faith, assembling all their powers to 'persecute' the 'public and private assemblies' and 'zealous defenders and priests of the Catholic faith'.³⁴ Indeed, the driving force behind the anti-Catholic legislation in Utrecht was the Reformed consistory, where Voetius was to seize the leadership. One example of its successful intervention is the legislation on doors, entrances, and exits to Catholic houses and monasteries or convents. As early as 1628 the sheriff asked the city council to regulate the way Catholics were using these entranceways to evade judicial officers. Even though the composition of the magistracy also included hard-line Calvinists, the city council gave a brief, negative answer. The city magistracy likewise did not acquiesce in a similar request from the sheriff in 1633.³⁵ But later that same year the magistrates responded in a totally different manner to a remonstrance from the consistory. Several ministers and elders appeared as delegates of the consistory before the city council arguing that Catholic assemblies were 'almost public' and demanding more effective measures against the 'exorbitant licence of the Papists'. This time the city council, in a complete reversal, ordered the sheriff to confiscate the pews and altars he found in any Catholic house.³⁶ In this way, Catholic Utrechters came to lose an increasing number of rights in the public sphere from 1620 to 1638, even though the demands from the public church remained relatively modest. During the final phase of the Dutch Revolt, anti-Catholicism would reach new heights.

1.2.2. The Last Phase of the Dutch Revolt, 1639–1648

From 1639 to the end of the Eighty Years' War in 1648, the city magistracy and the consistory continued to be predominated by Voetians, who were eager to exclude Catholics from the physical and abstract public sphere. During this period, the central target of anti-Catholic legislation shifted from the priests to the laypeople who were opening their homes for Catholic assemblies and harbouring ecclesiastics. Whereas the 1622 edict aimed primarily at the oppression of clerics, a new anti-Catholic edict, promulgated in 1639 under pressure from the Reformed synod in Utrecht,³⁷ not only reconfirmed earlier edicts but also prescribed more specific regulations concerning the

34 Hoogland, 'Descriptio', p. 195: 'persecutionem', 'tum publicas tum privatas conventiones', and 'zelosos Catholicae fidei defensores et pastores'.

35 HUA, SAII, 121-13, 14 January, 7 April 1628; HUA, SAII, 121-16, 6 August 1633.

36 Ibidem, 28 October, 4, 11 November 1633: 'schier publicq' and 'exorbitante licentie der Papisten'. See also KR, 4, 10, 24 October 1633.

37 Gompertz, 'Brief', pp. 434-64.

laity. The new edict stipulated that if judicial officers requested to search a Catholic house, the owners were to open 'all the doors, shutters, cases, chests, and other suspicious places'. It also increased the fine for hosting an illegal assembly to f. 200, or four times the original fine.³⁸ In 1640 owners and residents of Catholic houses were likewise ordered to show the sheriff all the doors, entrances, and exits, or to forfeit f. 100.³⁹ In early 1644 the Provincial States stipulated that anyone who hindered the judicial investigation was to be fined f. 200,⁴⁰ but the sheriff considered these measures insufficient and petitioned the city council to promulgate a new edict.⁴¹ Later that same year the Provincial States therefore introduced a new edict to bolster the edict from 1639. From then on, anyone caught harbouring a priest was to be fined upwards of f. 600.⁴² At the same time, the political authorities cracked down more strictly on the other activities of Catholic laypeople in their houses, including elementary education for children in *bijtscholen*. According to edicts promulgated in 1646 and 1650, all the schoolmasters and mistresses were required to leave a strap (*riem*) hanging from the school door during opening hours for school superintendents to use to open the doors, so as to be able to perform an inspection whenever they wanted to. The same edicts prescribed that schools were to be closed on Sundays and on the specific days stipulated by 'public order', but had to remain open on 'Popish superstitious feast days'.⁴³

In the mid-1640s the Provincial States once again cast doubt upon the political trustworthiness of Catholics, especially members of the lay elite, complaining about their 'secret Collection and Taxes' on behalf of priests and ecclesiastical institutions abroad.⁴⁴ Moreover, the political authorities increasingly started regulating the activities of Catholic women, *klopjes* in particular, many of whom originated from well-to-do families.⁴⁵ The provincial edict of 1639 and 1641 declared that *klopjes* and Catholic guardians of orphans were not to lure any children into converting to Catholicism. The edict of 1644 was particularly innovative, since it prohibited Catholic

38 *G.P.U.*, I, pp. 395–96 (9 April 1639): 'alle dueren, luyken, kassen, kisten, ende andere suspecte plaatsen'.

39 *Ibidem*, III, pp. 468–69 (27 July 1640); HUA, SAIL, 121–19, 4 May 1640.

40 *G.P.U.*, III, p. 469 (2 February 1644); HUA, SAIL, 121–20, 29 January 1644.

41 *Ibidem*, 8 April 1644.

42 *G.P.U.*, I, pp. 396–97.

43 *Ibidem*, III, pp. 501–2 (14 December 1646, 12 August 1650): 'publyke ordre' and 'Paapsche superstitieuse vierdagen'.

44 *Ibidem*, I, pp. 405–7 (17 November 1644): 'heymelycke Collectien en Schattingen'.

45 E.g., HUA, KR, 5, 18 May 1646; HUA, SAIL, 121–21, 19 May 1646.

widows, and childless or unmarried women, including nuns or *kloppjes*, from administering their property out of fear that they would transfer or bequeath their wealth to priests or ecclesiastical institutions, especially in the kingdom of Spain, using the names of others or even false names.⁴⁶ The government, therefore, acknowledged that the lay elite, men as well as women, played an important role in bolstering the Catholic community with their financial means. Furthermore, in a petition drawn up in 1648, shortly before the Peace of Münster was concluded, the Reformed consistory urged the magistrates not to confer citizenship on Catholics. According to the petition, the exclusion of Catholics from the core of the civic community as a *corpus christianum* was justified for the sake of the city's prosperity, since a greater number of 'enemies' – i.e., Catholics – within the city meant a greater threat to the magistrates and their subjects. As an example of the 'boldness of Papists', the consistory reminded the magistracy of the incident involving Rovenius {18} (Appendix 1). But the consistory's efforts failed, at least initially.⁴⁷

As the Eighty Years' War was nearing its end, the Reformed Church exerted even greater pressure on the political authorities to deal with Catholics in a determined manner.⁴⁸ In 1647 the Reformed consistory sent a petition signed by Voetius to the Provincial States for immediate publication with a view to the negotiations for the Peace of Münster. It asked the Provincial States to establish and defend the 'Most Sacred, Christian, Apostolic, and Catholic faith' (i.e., the Reformed faith), and to see to the 'express exclusion of the Popish [faith]'. For even though 'pious Patriots' were engaged in the war against the 'public Enemies' or official enemy of the Dutch Republic, others might want to buy 'the freedom and establishment of Popery in place of [the] true Religion'. The petition therefore admonished the Provincial States not to be spineless during the peace negotiations in regard to the Catholic question.⁴⁹ In February 1648, while the peace negotiations were going on, the consistory sent another petition for combating Catholicism to the city council. It claimed that 'the popish priests and those who are papists are enemies of our city'. According to the consistory, the many Catholics living

46 *G.P.U.*, I, pp. 396, 398, 405–7 (9 April 1639, 30 August 1641, 21 August 1644).

47 HUA, KR, 5, 28 February 1648. See also HUA, SAIL, 121–22, 6 March 1648.

48 KR, 5, 18 May 1646, 26 April, 3, 17, 24 May, 2, 9, 26 August 1647; HUA, SAIL, 121–21, 19 May 1646; HUA, SAIL, 121–22, 21 June 1647.

49 *Remonstrantie der Predikanten*, here especially f. A1v, A2v, A3v: 'Alderheyligste, Christelijcke, Apostolijcke, ende Catholijck gheloove', 'expresse exclusie vande Paepsche', 'vroome Patriotten', 'ghemeyne Vyanden', and 'de vrydom en vaststellinghe van het Pausdom in plaetse van ware Religie'.

in Utrecht meant that a significant number of inhabitants were pledging obedience not to the Protestant government but to the pope, who was also a secular monarch. In its petition, the consistory warned of the calamity that might befall the Dutch Republic due to the boldness of the growing number of Catholics, as exemplified in the Catholic revolt in Ireland in 1641. The Peace of Münster, it continued, would not eliminate the threat of Catholic insurrection, since the pope could not be trusted, even if the king of Spain was now a trusted ally – an interesting distinction concerning levels of trust. For the pope could always instigate ‘Papists’ to revolt against the legitimate secular government, and had granted ‘Papists’ in Germany, France, England, and Ireland dispensation from their public, official oaths of loyalty to their civil governments. The Holy Roman Emperor may have concluded a treaty of ‘religious peace’ with some Protestants, and the French king may have allowed Protestants to exercise their faith under the Edict of Nantes; nevertheless, so the petition insisted, the ‘religious peace’ in Germany was given just ‘out of necessity’, while the Edict of Nantes had been issued after ‘severe persecution’. As such, the petition maintained that bi-confessionalism was not an ideal theory but simply a reluctant practical choice. It supposed ‘without doubt’ that, under pressure from both French and Spanish negotiators, the ‘Papists’ would gain more freedom under the Peace of Münster and be bolstered in their position by the Catholics coming in from the ‘provinces of the King of Spain’. In short, there was greater need than ever before for the strict regulation of Catholics.⁵⁰

In this 1648 petition, the Reformed consistory reminded the city council of the legal case against Rovenius {18} (Appendix 1) as well as the 1644 response from the States General to the French ambassador Claude de Mesmes, Comte d’Avaux (1595–1650). D’Avaux’s address to the States General had led the Reformed to fear that Dutch Catholics would gain wider freedoms due to the intervention of foreign Catholic powers. While D’Avaux had demanded that the Dutch government bestow greater freedom upon Catholics, the States General immediately declined this request. The Reformed consistory in Utrecht did not oppose the peace itself, but did worry that the status of Catholics would be raised after the conclusion of the peace.⁵¹ This fear proved groundless. Yet the Reformed Church further increased its pressure on Utrecht’s magistrates after the war ended, demanding even more rigorous anti-Catholic legislation.

50 KR, 5, 28 February 1648: ‘de papen en diegeene die paeps zijn vyanden zijn van onsen stadt’, ‘uyt nootdwang’, and ‘uijterste vervolginge’. See also HUA, KR, 5, 15 May 1648; HUA, SAI, 121–22, 6 March 1648.

51 Broeyer, ‘Ijkpunt 1650’, pp. 46–47, 63–64.

1.2.3. After the Peace of Münster and the Great Assembly, 1648–1659

In 1648 the Peace of Münster finally brought an end to the Eighty Years' War and lent official recognition to the independence of the Dutch Republic from the kingdom of Spain.⁵² Then, in 1651, the 'Great Assembly' (*Grote Vergadering*), which was convened after the unexpected death of William II, inaugurated the First Stadholderless Period (*Eerste Stadhouderloze Tijdperk*). During these years, the grand pensionary of Holland, Johan de Witt (1625–1672), and other 'Republicans', who were considered more moderate in matters of religious policy than the strict Voetians, held power in Dutch politics and reconfirmed the politico-religious constitution of the United Provinces under a Republican regime of 'True Freedom' (*Ware Vrijheid*). As such, the status of the Reformed faith as the Republic's only public religion was ratified, and due observance of the anti-Catholic edicts was proclaimed.⁵³ The mid-seventeenth century, therefore, signalled the dawn of a new phase in the history of Dutch Catholics. Their utopian expectations now took the shape of prophetic dreams of foreign saviours, including English kings like Charles II (1630–1685) and James II (1633–1701), and especially the French king Louis XIV (1638–1715), but no longer the Spanish king, coming to restore the entire public sphere of the Northern Netherlands for Catholics.⁵⁴

Once the war had ended, the Voetian consistory started urging the magistrates even more vigorously to formulate anti-Catholic edicts. Shortly after the consistory petitioned the burgomasters in 1649 to suppress Catholics,⁵⁵ the Provincial States renewed the 1622 edict, identifying not only male clerics but also lay participants in Catholic assemblies and *klopjes* as disturbers of 'public tranquillity'. This 1649 edict was thus an extension of earlier edicts issued in 1639 and 1644, targeting the laity.⁵⁶ A petition from the consistory in 1650 reminded the Provincial States of their responsibility to eradicate the Catholic faith. As had been the practice ever since 1581, when the 'free republic' was established, the Provincial States were to ban all 'popish conventicles', which 'were incompatible with the prosperity of our reformed

52 Dane, *1648. Vrede van Munster*; Groenveld, Leeuwenberg, and Weel, *Unie – Bestand – Vrede*, pp. 131–86.

53 Broeyer, 'Ijcpunt 1650', pp. 54–55; Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 700–13; Troost, *William III*, pp. 19–22.

54 Frijhoff, 'Catholic Apocalypics', pp. 263–64, 271–72; Idem, *Embodied Belief*, especially pp. 164, 169–72; Idem, 'Katholieke toekomstverwachting', pp. 441, 447–50.

55 HUA, KR, 5, 2 April 1649.

56 *G.P.U.*, I, pp. 395–97 (14 April 1649): 'gemeene ruste'.

and free Republic'.⁵⁷ This petition was soon printed. In the preface, the 'Christian Reader' was reminded of the reply which the States General had given to the French ambassador D'Avaux, arguing that Dutch government was 'not compatible' with 'Papists'.⁵⁸ In 1652 the synod of Utrecht launched a 'plan of ecclesiastical Measures serving the prevention of Popery' to be shared among the province's classes. It urged not only magistrates, Reformed ministers, elders, and deacons, but also Reformed communicant schoolteachers, almshouse trustees, and hospice trustees to refute Catholicism and to foster the Reformed Protestant faith in their daily lives.⁵⁹

One of the most thorough anti-Catholic discourses can be found in a petition, probably drawn up in 1655 or 1656, which the Reformed synod of Utrecht submitted to the Provincial States of Utrecht. This extraordinarily long petition gave numerous reasons why Catholic priests and *kloppes* ought to be denied a 'free and public [open] residence and stay in the province of Utrecht', in the process anticipating objections which it immediately refuted. The synod referred to the Peace of Münster and the Great Assembly, which had reconfirmed that people should only maintain the 'true Christian reformed Religion' and uphold the 'Edicts against the Papists'.⁶⁰ Anticipating that some might object that the synod's proposal represented an infringement of the Peace, the petition insisted that, should the Peace require the Dutch government to grant greater freedom to Catholics, then their Reformed co-religionists in the Habsburg Netherlands should likewise be allowed to enjoy the same freedoms. However, so it continued, the reality was that the Reformed in the South found themselves under stricter regulation than the Catholics in the North. Therefore, the petition concluded, Catholics in the North ought to be subjected to equally strict regulation. The synod's plea, like other petitions from the Reformed Church, once again recalled the States General's reply to D'Avaux in 1644. The synod furthermore justified its argument by comparing international developments with cases in Utrecht and throughout the Dutch Republic. As illustrative examples of Protestant rulers, the petition referred to English sovereigns such as Elizabeth I (1533–1603) and James I (1566–1625), who had banned

57 HUA, KR, 5, 2 December 1650: 'vrije republicke' and 'incompatibel syn met de welstant van onse gereformeerde ende vrije Republycke'.

58 *Remonstrantie der E. Kerkenraedt*: 'Christelicken Leser'.

59 HUA, Nederlandse Hervormde classis Utrecht, 369, n.d. in 1652: 'Project van kerckelijcke Middelen, dienende tot weeringe der Pausdom'.

60 HUA, VBB, 139, probably in 1655 or 1656: 'vrije ende publijcke wooninghe ende verblijf inde Provincie van Utrecht', 'ware Christel[ijcke] gereformeerde Religie', and 'Placcaten tegen de Pausgesinden'.

Catholic ecclesiastics and strictly prohibited the exercise of Catholicism. To highlight the Catholic menace, it mentioned not only the cruelty of the duke of Alba, but also the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre in France in 1572, the Gunpowder Plot in London in 1605, the slaughter of Protestants in the Grisons in 1620, the Catholic revolt in Ireland in 1641, and the massacre of the Waldensians in Piedmont in 1655. These instances of Catholic violence and upheaval were then supplemented with the recollection of local turbulences provoked by Rovenius {18}, Wachtelaer {19}, and Adriaen Ram (Appendix 1). Referring in particular to the edicts issued by the States General in 1612, 1622, and 1641, the synod lamented the laxity with which the government had enforced them in Utrecht.⁶¹

Building on these discourses, the Reformed consistory continued to press the political authorities to take more effective measures against Catholics, once again drawing attention to the activities of priests and *klopjes*, as well as the doors, entrances, and exits of Catholic houses.⁶² Here it should be noted that even though the composition of the Utrecht magistracy started to change following the Great Assembly of 1651, with Republicans beginning to gain the upper hand, the magistrates still developed anti-Catholic policies in partial acceptance of the confessionalizing demands of the Voetian consistory. In 1654, for example, a minister and elder appeared before the city council requesting a new edict targeting the priests and *klopjes* in the city. The magistrates responded by instructing the sheriff and other officers to swear a special oath with regard to the Catholic assemblies, and by organizing a commission composed of militia captains to investigate the entrances and exits of Catholic houses.⁶³ Around the very same time, the Provincial States of Utrecht once again ordered judicial officers not to compromise on the issue of Catholics.⁶⁴ They likewise repeated the prohibition preventing Catholic laymen and -women from transferring and bequeathing their property to Catholic religious institutions or individuals (including ecclesiastics and the poor) inside or outside the Dutch Republic using false names.⁶⁵ Besides, from this period onwards, the city council extended the notion of 'public

61 Ibidem, probably in 1655 or 1656. Similar arguments against the 'free and public residence' (*vrye en openlijke wooninge*) of Catholic clerics were presented by the Reformed synod of North Holland in the 1656 petition to the Provincial States of Holland. Lommel, 'Bouwstoffen voor de kerkelijke geschiedenis', pp. 329–46. I would like to thank Benjamin Kaplan for drawing my attention to this petition.

62 E.g., HUA, KR, 5, 15 October 1649, 27 May 1650, 24 February, 3 March, 2 June 1651.

63 HUA, KR, 6, 3 April 1654; HUA, SAII, 121–25, 10, 22 April, 8 May 1654.

64 *G.P.U.*, I, p. 403 (5 May 1654).

65 Ibidem, III, pp. 407–9 (8 May 1656).

office' from which Catholics were to be excluded, so that it now applied to suppliers (*leveranciers*) and day labourers (*werkluyden*) as well.⁶⁶

During this time, Utrecht's financial problems persisted, directly affecting the municipal chamber of charity. The influx of 'foreigners', which included many non-Reformed indigents, had been regarded as a major cause. In 1649 two Reformed ministers and an elder intervened in a session of the city council, pushing magistrates to check whether applicants for citizenship with smaller incomes were Catholics.⁶⁷ In 1650 and 1651 the trustees of the municipal chamber of charity saw themselves compelled by the continuing financial problems to propose the dissolution of their chamber to the city council, and to suggest that the charity for all the working poor once again be centralized under the Reformed diaconate. Magistrates took serious note of this proposal and therefore consulted with the Reformed consistory about the re-centralization of poor relief.⁶⁸ While these plans for reform were not realized, after 1654 residence permit applicants were required to testify that they had been living in the city for more than eight years without receiving any alms.⁶⁹ Finally, in 1655 it was prescribed that Catholics could no longer acquire citizenship unless the city council approved them 'unanimously for certain evident reasons'.⁷⁰ Following the Peace of Münster and the Great Assembly, therefore, Utrecht's magistracy, including the seemingly more moderate Republican members, under increasing pressure from the Voetian public church, attempted to exclude Catholics from different sectors of the public sphere more vigorously than ever before, partly contributing to the purification of the civic community as a *corpus christianum*. However, the magistracy's attitude towards the Voetian consistory and Catholic Utrechters changed during the 1660s.

1.2.4. Under the Republican Regime, 1660–1672

Until the day of his death in 1676, Voetius continued to hold sway over the consistory. His influence within Utrecht University, however, began to be undermined starting in the 1660s.⁷¹ Furthermore, the Voetian faction found

66 HUA, SAIL, 121-24, 5 April 1652; HUA, SAIL, 121-25, 11 November 1654, 12 June 1655.

67 HUA, SAIL, 121-23, 17, 19 December 1649.

68 Ibidem, 28 May 1650, 1 April 1651; HUA, SAIL, 121-24, 8 September, 22 December 1651.

69 G.P.U., III, p. 559 (23 March 1654).

70 Ibidem, III, p. 271 (12 June 1655); HUA, SAIL, 121-25, 21 August 1654, 12 June 1655: 'ten ware om eenige merckelicke redenen de Vroedschap eenpaerlijck quame goet te vinden'.

71 Duker, *Gisbertus Voetius*, II, pp. 319–22; Forclaz, *Catholiques*, p. 75; Lieburg, *De Nadere Reformatie*, p. 57; Roorda, 'Prins Willem III', p. 103.

itself in the position of a numerical minority on the city council after 1651, and especially during the 1660s, even though the burgomaster Cornelis Booth (in office 1656–1658), a convicted Voetian, was able to compensate somewhat for the Republican majority, whose leader was the other burgomaster, Nicolaas Hamel (in office 1656–1658, 1662–1664, 1666–1668).⁷² Beginning around the mid-1650s, the Voetian consistory faced bitter opposition from these Republican magistrates, especially in response to its demands regarding the former ecclesiastical properties.⁷³ The Reformed consistory claimed that the ecclesiastical revenues should be applied for ‘pious uses’, such as the salaries of ministers and financial support for the university and public schools.⁷⁴ In its petition to the city council, which was signed by Voetius, the consistory found the titles of the benefices and prebends problematic since they had been used for the ‘Roman ecclesiastical Positions’ and had the ‘appearance of the superstition’. The petition furthermore argued that the consistory alone was competent to offer appropriate theological answers to the matter of ‘conscience’ relating to the ecclesiastical properties.⁷⁵ When offered a prebend, the alderman and deacon Cornelis Quint (d. 1660) as well as the former burgomaster Frederik Ruysch (1601–1677) declined the honour, both probably pushed to do so by the Voetian consistory.⁷⁶ For its part, the city council felt it necessary to ban a booklet which insisted that the Utrecht magistrates were burdening the conscience of those who held ecclesiastical properties.⁷⁷

The conflict reached a new stage in March 1660, when the city council decided to send ‘political commissioners’ (*politique commissarissen*) to the Voetian consistory to curb its political involvement.⁷⁸ In June of that same year the Provincial States judged a sermon from a Reformed minister concerning the political commissioners to be a danger to ‘the government

72 Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 73–75, 124–25; Lieburg, *De Nadere Reformatie*, pp. 57, 63–65, 70, 81, 97; Roorda, ‘Prins Willem III’, pp. 102–6, 108; Wilders, *Patronage*, pp. 33–34, 39–41, 47–48, 50–51.

73 Bogaers, ‘Een kwestie’, pp. 74–75, 77, 80, 83; Broeyer, ‘Een mislukt streven’, pp. 2–3, 5–6; Duker, *Gisbertus Voetius*, II, pp. 294–328; Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 73–75, 124–25; Lieburg, *De Nadere Reformatie*, pp. 57, 70, 81, 97; Roorda, ‘Prins Willem III’, pp. 102–4; Wilders, *Patronage in de provincie*, pp. 33–34.

74 E.g., HUA, SAIL, 121–25, 19, 24, 26 June, 3 July, 1, 2, 3, 25, 30, 31 August, 1, 11, 19 September, 8 November, 7, 21 December 1654, 26 January, 7, 14 February, 20 March, 26 June, 10, 14, 18 July, 3 September 1655; HUA, SAIL, 121–26, 7, 17 December 1655; HUA, SAIL, 121–26, 28 December 1657, 15 February, 1, 15, 22, 26 March, 5 April 1658.

75 HUA, KR, 7, 27 June 1659: ‘Rooms-kerckelycke Ampten’, ‘schijn van de superstitie’, and ‘conscientie’.

76 Ibidem, 23, 25 October 1658; HUA, SAIL, 121–26, 7 January, 15 November 1656; 18, 25 October, 1, 8, 15, 22, 24 November, 2 December 1658.

77 Ibidem, 10 January 1656.

78 Ibidem, 26 March 1660.

and regents', as well as contemptuous of the 'public authority', and for that reason requested the province of Holland to send troops to Utrecht.⁷⁹ The next month, the Provincial States of Utrecht banished the Voetian ministers Abraham van der Velde (1614–1677) and Johannes Teellinck (c. 1614–1674) from the province, alleging that they had taken excessive liberties in opposing 'the Regents and the Government' in their sermons. Finally, at the end of July, the States promulgated new regulations concerning the Reformed ministers, who were now forbidden to use their sermons and catechisms to discuss 'Politics or the Government, as well as the state of Chapters and their properties'.⁸⁰

Catholics could exploit the presence of Republicans among Utrecht's magistrates, and in particular their antagonism towards the Voetian consistory. After several requests from the consistory for stricter enforcement of the existing anti-Catholic edicts,⁸¹ the Republican burgomaster Hamel replied in 1663 that magistrates had not discovered any violations. Although he stated that the city council would discuss the matter further, the clear undertone of his message to the public church was that it should mind its own business.⁸² Apart from Hamel, another Republican figure of decided importance was Lambert van Velthuysen (1622–1685), a renowned Cartesian philosopher who sat on the Utrecht city council from 1667 to 1674.⁸³ Late in the 1660s Apostolic Vicar Johannes van Neercassel (1626–1686) reported in several letters to Rome on the situation of the Catholics in Utrecht. In one such letter, he argued that there was no 'Persecution' in the city.⁸⁴ In another letter he identified a magistrate who had studied the 'heretical theology' in Geneva – no doubt Van Velthuysen – as one 'reason for our tranquillity'. Using Scripture, this 'heretical' magistrate had demonstrated 'most painstakingly' that Catholics ought not to be subjected to 'persecution'.⁸⁵

Indeed, from 1660 to 1672 the city council did not react promptly to demands for anti-Catholic legislation from the Voetian consistory at all times.⁸⁶

79 Ibidem, 25 June 1660: 'publique autoriteyt'. See also, Ibidem, 8, 12, 18, 20, 21 June, 2, 5, 20, 23, 24 July 1660.

80 Ibidem, 19, 30 July 1660 (the latter was printed in *G.P.U.*, I, pp. 383–86): 'de Politie, of Regieringe, off oock den Staet der Capittelen, ende der selver goederen'.

81 HUA, KR, 8, 9 June 1662, 28 September, 5 October, 16 November 1663.

82 Ibidem, 30 November 1663.

83 *G.P.U.*, III, pp. 187, 196. On Van Velthuysen and his fellows in the 'college of savants' in Utrecht, see Gootjes, 'The *Collegie der Sçavanten*'.

84 Brom, 'Neerkassels bestuur', p. 232 (28 February 1668): 'Persecutio'.

85 *R.B.*, II, p. 500 (18 October 1669): 'nostrae tranquillitatis causa', 'operosissime', and 'persecutione'.

86 E.g., HUA, KR, 8, 6 May, 19 August 1661, 24 February, 5, 26 May, 2 June 1662, 2 February, 5 October, 30 November 1663, 29 February, 2, 7 May, 6, 27 June, 1, 18, 25 July, 29 August 1664,

Even though they did not always see eye to eye during the 1660s, however, the city magistrates still collaborated with the public church in order to repress the 'boldness' of the city's Catholics.⁸⁷ For instance, in 1664 a rumour was circulating to the effect that Catholics stood to gain the 'freedom of exercise of religion'. The consistory probed the matter by making inquiries with the burgomaster, who then replied that he too had heard the rumour, but that it was entirely unfounded.⁸⁸ The consistory, however, remained in doubt. That same year it appealed to the city council to take serious action against Catholics. Referring in particular to the earlier petitions dated 28 February 1648, 6 May 1661, and 2 June 1662, the consistory complained about the way magistrates had been neglecting the demands. Recalling the rumour, the consistory maintained that it had been 'publicly' and openly said that 'now the time of the freedom for their [Catholic] assemblies is born'. Everyone, it added, knew that Catholics were meeting daily in 'illicit' assemblies.⁸⁹ In the end, the magistrates responded by giving the city court the authority to investigate the entrances and exits to Catholic meeting places.⁹⁰

The pressure for and legislation of anti-Catholicism in the second half of the 1660s can be read against the background of the Dutch wars against such Catholic forces as Münster (1665–1666) and France (1667–1668), even though this connection is not made explicit in the primary sources. In 1665 the consistory complained about priests and *klopjes*, expressing its worry that God would destroy all the inhabitants of the land due to the presence of 'Papists'. Besides, the petition maintained, 'Papists' had caused bloodshed among their ancestors during the Eighty Years' War, as well as among Reformed co-religionists in Ireland in 1641 and in Piedmont in 1655. It warned that the same fate could well befall Utrecht, unless the political authorities brought change to the current situation.⁹¹ The same year, the city court responded to the magistrates' resolution on 4 July 1664 by submitting a report and recommendation regarding the doors, entrances, and exits of Catholic houses on the basis of their investigations. It was probably around the same time that their overview of the residences of Catholic priests in Utrecht was passed on to the magistrates.⁹² In the wake of these events, the

30 June, 4 September 1665, 18 April, 6, 20 June 1670.

87 HUA, KR, 8, 18, 25 July, 1, 29 August 1664.

88 Ibidem, 29 February 1664: 'vrijheid van exercitie van religie'.

89 Ibidem, 21 March, 23 May, 6, 27 June 1664: 'openbaarlijk', 'nu de tijd van de vrijheid harer t'samen-comsten geboren is', and 'licentieuse'.

90 HUA, SAII, 121–27, 4 July 1664.

91 Ibidem, 30 June 1665.

92 HUA, SAII, 616, 29 April 1665 (these reports are transcribed in Hofman, 'Allerlei', pp. 183–89).

city council decreed in 1665 and 1666 that Catholics were not to be allowed to install any doors that were heavy or made of poplar trees in order to thwart judicial investigators, at the risk of a fine of f. 100.⁹³ In 1670 the consistory likewise claimed that Catholics were assembling 'so publicly [openly] and with almost as much liberty as the public church' to collectively practice their 'superstitions'. The consistory demanded that the city council force the judicial officers to observe the anti-Catholic edicts prohibiting Catholics from gathering.⁹⁴

Anti-Catholicism in Utrecht fluctuated between periods of stricter and laxer legislation. It responded to such local, national, and international politico-religious circumstances as the rivalry between Voetians and Republicans, suspicions concerning the political loyalty of Catholics, and open warfare with Catholic powers such as Spain and France. Yet it should be noted that confessionally inspired legislation was continuously undertaken by both the Calvinist or Voetian magistrates (from 1618 to 1650) and the Republicans (from 1651 to 1672).⁹⁵ Although the repeated issuance of the edicts, as we will see, displays signs of the magistrates' laxity in the practical application of the law, it nevertheless demonstrates how eagerly and constantly the Reformed Church under the influence of Voetius was spurring the magistracy on to repress Catholics and to promulgate anti-Catholic legislation. The political authorities sometimes, albeit not always, responded to these confessionalizing demands by issuing and reissuing edicts, thereby discrediting Catholic Utrechters as potential criminals and regulating the city's public sphere. At the same time, they gradually extended and detailed what constituted 'Catholic' crimes, maximizing the opportunity presented them to appropriate financial capital from the Catholics legally by levying fines and demanding heavy bail.

1.3. Legal Proceedings against Catholics

1.3.1. Chronological Developments

How, then, were the anti-Catholic edicts applied in practice to prosecute Catholics? While previous studies have never offered systematic and

93 HUA, SAI, 121-27, 24 July, 28 August 1665, 27 August 1666.

94 HUA, KR, 9, 6 June 1670: 'so opentlyck en byna met so veel libertyt als die van de publycke kercke'. See also *ibidem*, 20 June 1670; HUA, SAI, 121-28, 20 June 1670.

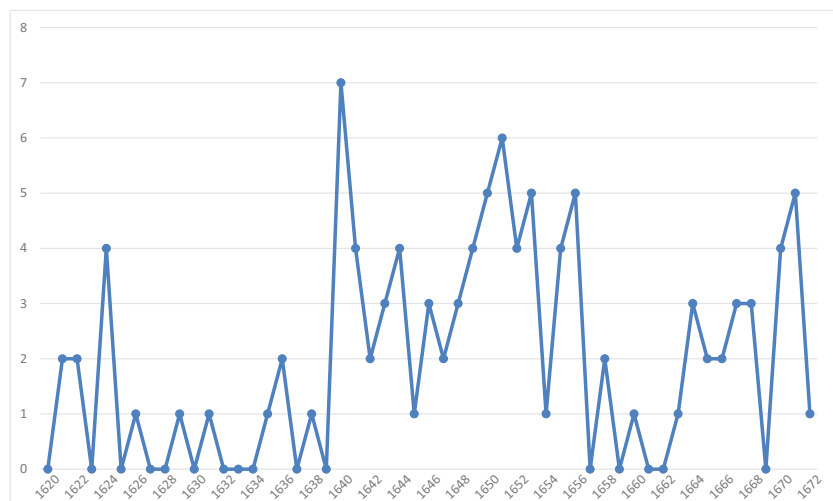
95 See also Bogaers, 'Een kwestie', pp. 86-88, 119; Lieburg, *De Nadere Reformatie*, pp. 63-65.

quantitative analyses of legal proceedings against Dutch Catholics, my survey of these records has demonstrated that Catholics were prosecuted in at least 105 cases in the city court of Utrecht between 1620 and 1672. During the period from 1620 to 1638, when the war between Spain and the Dutch Republic was resumed, fifteen lawsuits were filed against Catholics, amounting to an average of 0.8 cases per year. In the period from 1639 to 1648, as the final phase of the Dutch Revolt, Catholics were prosecuted in twenty-nine cases, or 2.9 cases per year. For the post-war period from 1649 to 1659, when the Dutch Republic redefined itself as an independent Protestant state, thirty-six such legal proceedings were found, or 3.3 cases per year. After 1659, the frequency declined. From 1660 until the beginning of the French occupation of Utrecht in 1672, there were twenty-five cases, or 1.9 cases per year. With seven and six cases respectively, the years 1640 and 1651 mark two peaks (Graph 1). These numbers are striking when compared to the statistics for earlier periods. The *criminele sententiën* of the city court of Utrecht are said to have cited only five people between 1605 and 1617 for breaking the anti-Catholic edicts (0.4 cases per year; three of them related to clerical activities), while the *criminele stukken* between 1580 and 1618 likewise record only six prosecutions against Catholics (0.2 cases per year; five of them involving priests).⁹⁶ Clearly, Utrecht's political authorities found the reviving Catholic community a more serious matter after the settlement of the internal conflict within the Reformed Church in 1619, not only legislating more anti-Catholic edicts on paper but also prosecuting more Catholics in practice. Overall, the numbers seem to reflect the national and international political circumstances as well as the composition of the public authorities in local settings, including magistrates, Reformed ministers, and the sheriff. However, given that Republicans began to consolidate their power after the Great Assembly in 1651, it should be noted that the period from 1649 to 1659 saw the highest rate of accusations against Catholics. Therefore, Catholics were prosecuted not only by the Voetian magistrates for the period from 1618 to 1650, but later on also by the Republicans.

In spite of the frequency and harshness of anti-Catholic legislation enacted after the resumption of the war in 1621, in practice these edicts were not enforced all that rigorously between 1620 and 1638; there were a total of fifteen cases, or 0.8 cases per year. From 1625 to 1643 the sheriff's duties were fulfilled by Henrick Valckenaer.⁹⁷ At his order, one of the most exhaustive judicial investigations of Catholics in early modern Dutch history

96 Kaplan, *Calvinists and Libertines*, pp. 276–77.

97 G.P.U., III, p. 218.



Graph 1. Legal proceedings against Catholics in Utrecht by year, 1620-1672

was conducted in Utrecht in 1639, aiming to apprehend Apostolic Vicar Rovenius {18} (Appendix 1). A series of incidents following this raid can be situated in the context of the last phase of the Dutch Eighty Years' War. The Catholic community in Utrecht and beyond had come under much closer surveillance than ever before, as reflected in the number of trials initiated against Catholics between 1639 and 1648; twenty-nine cases, or 2.9 cases per year.

Late in the evening on 23 August 1639, judicial officers raided a house on Nieuwegracht (nowadays Plompstorengracht) owned by the Catholic noblewoman Hendrica van Duivenvoorde (1595–1658). In his letter to De la Torre, Wachtelaer narrated the course of this 'persecution' in detail.⁹⁸ Wachtelaer wrote: 'I have lived here [in the city of Utrecht] for years, but I have never yet had to endure such an attack, so much vehemence and fury'. Catholics in Utrecht had long heard the 'clamour of the [Reformed] ministers', experiencing 'the bitterness of the ignorant mob [and] the indignation of the incited crowd'. They faced new anti-Catholic edicts 'every year', while priests were assaulted during the services and many laypeople were fined for attending the communal assemblies. Nonetheless, they managed to enjoy the minimum tranquillity offered by 'moderate governments', while also

98 Deelder, *Bijdragen*, I, pp. 170–76. For the legal proceedings against Rovenius and Wachtelaer, see also Hallebeek, 'Godsdienst(on)vrijheid'; Hewett and Hallebeek, 'The Prelate'; Jong, 'Het Utrechtse vicariaat', pp. 93–98; Knuif and Jong, 'Philippus Rovenius', pp. 62–84; Rogier, *Geschiedenis*, II, pp. 72–74; Ven, *Over den oorsprong*, pp. 46–47, 59, 87–88, 90.

succeeding in satisfying the 'hunger of greedy officials' with their money in order to temper the 'eruption' of anti-Catholicism. What Wachtelaer writes here is suggestive of the payment of a bribe known to historians as a 'recognition fee' (*recognitiegeld*). In 1639, however, 'the body of the church in its head' – that is, Apostolic Vicar Rovenius – finally also suffered himself. According to Wachtelaer, it was widely known at the time that Rovenius paid frequent visits to Utrecht, although he was not entirely sure who had leaked this information – although one obvious potential source is Francisci, the former priest whose name has already been mentioned earlier on. On this August night, the judicial officers surrounded Van Duivenvoorde's house and searched it from top to bottom, but failed to catch Rovenius, who managed to escape and went into exile in Cologne, a detail Wachtelaer dared not reveal in his letter.⁹⁹ According to the eighteenth-century hagiography *Batavia Sacra*, Rovenius succeeded in avoiding apprehension by disguising himself as a woman.¹⁰⁰

In place of Rovenius, the investigators arrested the Van Moock brothers and also confiscated various documents, among them the so-called 'protocol' kept by Govert van Moock (d. 1652), secretary to the apostolic vicar. This protocol allowed the politico-judicial authorities in Utrecht to gain extensive insight into the illegal activities of the Holland Mission, including the establishment of the *Vicariaat*, and prompted them to prepare for prosecuting other Catholic clerics in addition to the apostolic vicar. In six of the seven cases in which sentences were pronounced in 1640, the judicial investigations were conducted on the basis of this protocol.¹⁰¹ In reading it, the magistrates and judicial officers frequently encountered the name of a priest called Vigilius, who seemed to them to be one of the central figures of the Catholic Church in the Northern Netherlands. After interrogating Govert van Moock, they finally learned that Vigilius and Wachtelaer were one and the same person – as they could, in fact, have known since the former is a Latinization of the latter. The

99 Deelder, *Bijdragen*, I, pp. 171–72: 'Ik heb hier jaren lang geleefd, maar nog nimmer heb ik zulken aanval te verduren gehad, zooveel vurigheid en woede aanschouwd', 'geroep der predikanten', 'verbittering van een onwetend gemeen, de verontwaardiging van een opgeruid volk', 'gematigde overheden', 'honger van begeerige beambten', 'uitbarsting', and 'het lichaam der kerk in zijn hoofd'.

100 Heussen, *Batavia Sacra*, p. 270.

101 {16} {18} {19} {20} {21} {22} in Appendix 1. Other priests, including Rombout van Medenblik (a native Utrechter) and Suibertus Purmerend and Petrus Purmerend, were sentenced in other cities (Leiden, Delft, and Gouda, respectively). Abels, 'Beter slaafs', p. 196; Eck, *Kunst*, p. 128; Hallebeek, 'Godsdienst(on)vrijheid', pp. 132–33; Hewett and Hallebeek, 'The Prelate', p. 118; HUA, OBC, 157; HUA, SAI, 2244–86; Knuif and Jong, 'Philippus Rovenius', p. 83; Rogier, *Geschiedenis*, II, p. 74. The protocol is preserved in HUA, OBC, 499.

city court therefore decided to apprehend this Utrecht citizen.¹⁰² Although Wachtelaer himself managed to evade the raid by pure chance, his house, which functioned as the clandestine church of St Gertrudis (cover image), was subjected to iconoclastic violence. In St Gertrudis, judicial officers opened all the doors and chests, and confiscated every document they found, in compliance with the instructions of the anti-Catholic edicts promulgated during the 1630s.¹⁰³ Utrecht's Catholics seem to have been outraged at these trials against the priests in 1639/40, since an unknown mob, certainly of Catholics, broke the windows of Maeyckien van Varick's house near the Agnieten Convent, and shouted: 'You will bear the consequences for spying on priests' – suggesting, perhaps, that it was Van Varick who had denounced the Catholic priests to the politico-judicial authorities.¹⁰⁴

Catholics were most frequently prosecuted by the city court between 1649 and 1659; thirty-six cases in eleven years, or 3.3 cases per year (Graph 1). This was the time immediately following the Peace of Münster and the Great Assembly, when the political authorities, under pressure from the Reformed Church, became more eager to formulate anti-Catholic regulations, notwithstanding the growing Republican influence in the city council. During most of this period, the sheriff's duties were performed by Anselm Boll (Anselmus Bolle; in office 1643–1658), who had purchased this lucrative post from Valckenaer for f. 2,000.¹⁰⁵

In the provincial context, this was not only the post-war period, but also the time when the influential Catholic nobleman Adriaen Ram, lord of Schalkwijk, bared his fangs at the politico-judicial authorities before being condemned by the provincial court. According to the sentence pronounced against Ram on 29 July 1651, the provincial court of Utrecht had already been informed that numerous Catholics from Schalkwijk and surrounding villages were frequently gathering at his estate to exercise their 'superstitious religion' and that Ram had been harbouring several priests, including Dirck van der Horst, at the time tutor to his children. Since Ram had taken 'greater liberties', Johan Strick, the marshal of Overkwartier in the province of

102 For the interrogation of Mooock, see Knuif and Jong, 'Relaas van Godefridus van Mooock', pp. 387–401; HUA, SAII, 2244–84, *passim*; HUA, SAII, 2244–86, *passim*.

103 E.g., *G.P.U.*, I, 395–96 (9 April 1639); HUA, SAII, 121–16, 11 November 1633.

104 HUA, SAII, 121–19, 5 August 1640: 'men sal u leeren papen verspieden'.

105 *G.P.U.*, III, pp. 205–8, 218; Wittert van Hoogland, 'Utrechtsche ridderhofsteden en heerlijkheden', pp. 295–96. On Boll's nomination and appointment as sheriff, which aroused a dispute involving him, the city council, the Knighthood, and the stadholder, see Bok, 'Laying Claims', especially pp. 221–22; HUA, SAII, 121–20, 6, 7, 8, 10, 24, 29 March, 4, 10, 17, 21, 24, 25 April, 16 May, 1 June 1643.

Utrecht, together with his subordinates, organized a raid on his castle on Sunday, 1 June 1651, when Catholics were assembled there to practise their faith collectively. However, Ram and the Catholics on his estate prevented them from entering by raising the drawbridge and throwing stones at Strick and his subordinates. Ram even incited Catholics to fight against the officials. Many Catholics armed with swords, pistols, and 'jumping poles' rushed to Ram's castle from the surrounding areas and resorted to 'public violence', wounding numerous officials and soldiers. The violence took place not just around the castle itself, but also on the village square in Brink, where the Reformed church stood. There a group of Catholic rioters encountered reinforcements for the marshal and attacked them, shouting 'Kill, kill!' In the end, the marshal's soldiers regrouped and forced the rioters to take flight, arresting Ram and others, while Van der Horst managed to escape.¹⁰⁶ One of the Utrecht citizens who fought for Ram was called Peter Lamberts van Schalckwijck, and in the end was prosecuted by the city court {56} (Appendix 1). This violent confrontation left a deep impression on Utrecht's Reformed and Catholics alike. On 4 June 1651, the very day Ram was incarcerated in the city's jail, Henrick Pieck, a Catholic and the lord of Wolfswert, was seen and heard in the Wittevrouwen Convent speaking against the legitimacy of the Republic {59} (Appendix 1). In its long petition to the Provincial States of 1655 or 1656 (cf. above), the Reformed synod of Utrecht justified the prohibition on 'free and public residence and stay in the province of Utrecht' for all Catholic priests and *klopjes* by referring to the cases involving Rovenius {18}, Wachtelaer {19}, and Ram as examples of the 'boldness of Papists'.¹⁰⁷

From 1660 to 1672 a relatively small number of lawsuits was filed against Catholics; twenty-five cases, or 1.9 per year. The impression of a certain 'tranquillity' in Utrecht, which Van Neercassel had alluded to in his letter to Rome, was therefore not groundless.¹⁰⁸ At the same time, the apparent tranquillity might be the result of a lacuna in the sources, since the *criminele sententiën* from 1657 to 1669 are missing from the sheriff's archives, potentially distorting the statistics for that period. We should also take into account the composition of the politico-judicial authorities of the period. At the time, the city council was characterized by the dominance of moderate

¹⁰⁶ HUA, HVU, 99-8, 29 July 1651 (this sentence is transcribed in Hilhorst, 'Het kerspel Schalkwijk', pp. 61-67, here especially pp. 62-63, 65): 'superstitieusen godsdienst', 'meer en meer licentierende', 'springhstocken', 'publycq geweld', and 'sloe doot, sloe doot'.

¹⁰⁷ HUA, VBB, 139, probably in 1655 or 1656.

¹⁰⁸ Brom, 'Neerkassels bestuur', p. 232 (28 February 1668); *R.B.*, II, p. 500 (18 October 1669).

Republicans. Moreover, the incumbent sheriff, Frederik Ruysch (in office 1659–1677), who had earlier also served as burgomaster (in office 1639–1643 and 1650–1652), built up friendships with at least some Catholic priests. In a 1674 letter to Vicar General Abraham van Brien (alias Abraham van der Matt) in Utrecht, Van Neercassel revealed that he had been informed by Evert Bockel, a Carmelite working in Amersfoort,¹⁰⁹ about the ‘affection’ (*affectie*) that the sheriffs active in Utrecht and Amersfoort at the time, thus including Ruysch, had shown for Van Neercassel. Having presumably received judicial or other benefits from the sheriffs, the apostolic vicar asked Van Brien to ‘cordially thank’ both Evert and the sheriffs.¹¹⁰ Overall, for the period between 1620 and 1672, the diachronic trends in the number of legal proceedings against Catholics correspond with those in anti-Catholic legislation.

1.3.2. Charges

The charges brought against the prosecuted Catholics in the 105 cases reflect the same general trend evident in the target of anti-Catholic legislation (Graph 2). Unlike the earlier legal procedures in Utrecht until around 1618, which predominantly targeted priests,¹¹¹ the 105 cases from 1620 to 1672 pertain to various types of defendants, most of whom were laypeople. For the period under study, we found seventeen priests accused of illegal clerical activities proscribed in the anti-Catholic edicts, concentrated around the first peak in trials in 1640.¹¹² After 1640 the prime target for prosecution shifts to laypeople. This change seems to coincide with the gradual transition from clergy to laity as the main target of the anti-Catholic edicts after 1639.

Between 1620 and 1672, Utrecht’s Catholics were most often suspected of holding and participating in a ‘forbidden Roman assembly’ (*verboden Roomsche vergaderinge*) or committing ‘Popish superstitions’ (*Paapsche superstitien*) (seventy-five: Graphs 2 and 3).¹¹³ The diachronic trend in law-suits relating to Catholic assemblies corresponds with that of the 105 legal procedures in general, as the frequency of those cases rose particularly in the 1640s and 1650s. While previous studies have focussed almost exclusively on clandestine churches as a static cultural phenomenon, the present survey

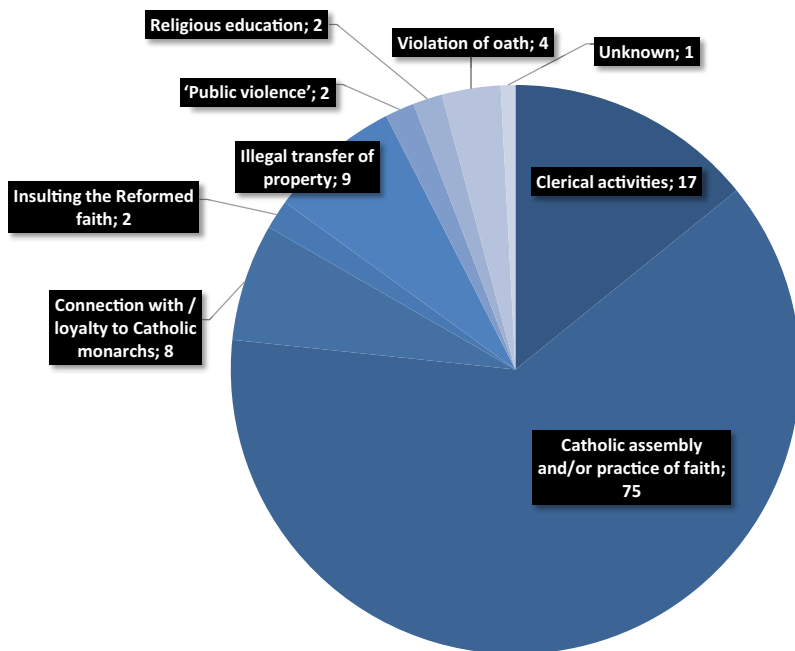
109 Forclaz, *Catholiques*, p. 126.

110 HUA, OBC, 246, 14 August 1674: ‘hartelyck bedancken’.

111 Kaplan, *Calvinists and Libertines*, pp. 276–77.

112 {5} {11} {12} {13} {18} {19} {20} {21} {22} {24} {25} {28} {38} {66} {73} {82} {88} in Appendix 1.

113 For these fixed expressions, see, e.g., HUA, SAIL, 2236–4, 6 July 1643, 5 March 1653.



Graph 2. Charges of the legal proceedings in Utrecht, 1620-1672

of the legal records suggests that Catholic meeting places in Utrecht shifted over the course of the seventeenth century from public facilities to private houses, including clandestine churches. Among the legal proceedings for these seventy-five trials, four pertain to Catholic gatherings at public facilities (three in monasteries or convents, and one in a hospice), all of them occurring during the 1620s and 1630s.¹¹⁴ Subsequently, the frequency of the trials relating to illegal Catholic assemblies in homes rises from 0.8 cases per year between 1620 and 1648 (twenty-two cases in total) to 2.0 cases per year between 1649 and 1672 (forty-nine cases in total) (Appendix 1).

These assemblies may well have been presided over by priests, but no names are mentioned in the relevant legal records, with two exceptions. First, according to the sentence records, Wachtelaer was found together with Nicolaes van Hijndersteijn in a Catholic assembly {2} (Appendix 1) in 1621. Second, although the sentence itself does not mention the name of the priest in the procedure against Eelgis Gerritsz {23}, an entry in the city council minutes for 5 August 1641 establishes that it was the priest Herman van Honthorst who presided over the 'large assembly' (*groote vergadering*) of

¹¹⁴ {3} at Abraham Dole Monastery in 1622, {5} at Arkel Monastery in 1624, {12} at St Job Hospice in 1634 and {14} at the Cecilia Convent in 1636 (Appendix 1).

Catholics in Gerritsz's house. Later that same year, the city court launched a separate procedure against Van Honthorst {25} (Appendix 1). In most cases, judicial officers failed to record information about the presiding priests in the Catholic assemblies because they were unable to arrest or even identify Catholics, including their priests, in the act of gathering due to their spatial practices, as they used the many doors, entrances, and exits of houses and monasteries or convents to escape prosecution. As we shall see, on many occasions, judicial officers rushed to the scene, only to be prevented by laypeople from arresting and identifying the presiding priest and the participants.¹¹⁵

Catholics were also accused of their Spanish political inclination in eight legal procedures, most of them during the Eighty Years' War,¹¹⁶ including the trial against Rovenius {18}. The numerous crimes alleged against him, as detailed in the ninety-five clauses of the indictment against him, can be classified into roughly two categories: illegal clerical activities, and a connection with or loyalty to the Spanish king. Rovenius was accused of carrying out religious activities under the false title of 'archbishop of Utrecht', and his behaviour and statements were considered hostile to the Dutch authorities and favourable to the 'public enemy' or official enemy of the state.¹¹⁷ His four colleagues were likewise charged with loyalty to the Spanish cause {19} {20} {21} {22}. Besides these trials related to Rovenius, another three laypeople were accused of having a connection with or displaying loyalty to the Habsburg monarchy {6} {7} {59} (Appendix 1).

On 7 February 1624, at midnight, while Gerrit van Raedt alias 'Spaenschen Gerrit' was serving as a watchman at city hall, he was arrested for 'many slanderous plans for ill service to the Lands and for sedition' {6}. He was reported to have showed his political inclination openly when 'enemies' crossed the IJssel river to reach the Veluwe, putting Utrechters on high alert for the Spanish army. That night, Van Raedt was found making 'seditious bets', probably meaning that he had bet on the Habsburg side to win the war or the like, thereby demonstrating where his hopes and expectations lay.¹¹⁸ Although the precise plans Spaenschen Gerrit had been entertaining are unclear, the legal records for the trial against Helena van Sijl (Zijl) offer more concrete information regarding the suspicions against her concerning the Spanish cause {7}. According to the sentence, Helena was apprehended

115 E.g. {14} in Appendix 1.

116 {6} {7} {18} {19} {20} {21} {22} {59} in Appendix 1.

117 For Rovenius's indictment, see Doedes, 'Intendit', pp. 278–97; HUA, OBC, 159; HUA, SAIL, 2088; HUA, SAIL, 2244–86: 'openbaer vyandt'.

118 HUA, SAIL, 2236–2, 13 February, 9 March 1624; SAIL, 2244–53, 13 February, n.d. in 1624: 'seer smadiege propoosten ten ondiens vanden Lande, ende tot seditie' and 'seditieuse weddingen'.

in 1624 over a letter she had written to her brother, Otto van Zijl (1588–1656), who worked as a Jesuit in 's-Hertogenbosch, which at the time was still under Habsburg rule. In that letter, she asked her brother to celebrate Mass in their hometown Utrecht, explaining to him how Utrechters were burdened with financial problems resulting from the resumption of the war. According to the sentence, she prayed to God that he might help 'the King's people'.¹¹⁹ Even after the Peace of Münster was concluded, Utrecht's Catholics felt a connection with the Spanish king – or, at least, this is what the Reformed believed. In 1651 the sheriff and two aldermen visited the secularized Wittevrouwen Convent to interrogate some noblewomen, presumably of the Catholic faith, who were living in or around the convent. Their aim was to obtain confirmation of what Henrick Pieck, lord of Wolfsweert, had stated in the former convent on 4 June 1651, the same day Adriaen Ram and his followers were incarcerated in the city jail {59}. Susanna Custodis and Cecilia van Baburen were certain that Pieck had been talking about the Ram affair, but were unable to confirm the precise words he had used. A woman called Van Nederhorst, however, insisted that Pieck had said to her that 'this land belonged to the King of Spain'. Furthermore, other interrogees such as Maria and Agnes van Merode were able to confirm the precise words the interrogators had wanted confirmed, that is, that Pieck had said: 'this foot that I put down [...] I set on the soil of the King of Spain'.¹²⁰

In nine lawsuits, Catholics were accused of illegally transferring their property, seven of which can be interpreted in the context of the Dutch Revolt (Graphs 2 and 3).¹²¹ In 1638 Maria Ruysch was prohibited from inheriting the property of her deceased brother Henrick, who had served the king of Spain. The sentence against her maintained that after the expiration of the Twelve Years' Truce, the property of Spanish subjects (in this case, Henrick) could not be bequeathed to anyone in the Dutch Republic but was to be confiscated by the secular authorities {15} (Appendix 1). In 1603 a Catholic layman called Diderick Muylert purchased a canonry of the Dom. As a Catholic believer, he felt 'burdened in conscience' over possible simony.¹²²

119 HUA, SAIL, 2236-2, 29 May 1624: 'het Conincx volck'. On Otto van Zijl, who worked in Roermond, 's-Hertogenbosch, and Ghent, see Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 58–59; Hoek, *Schets*, pp. 179–80.

120 HUA, SAIL, 2244-103, 8, 9, 10 June 1651: 'dit lant heeft de Conninck van Spaengien toebehoort' and 'die voet die ick daer set [...] set ick op de gront vanden Conninck van Spaengien'.

121 The nine cases are {15} {16} {18} {19} {20} {21} {22} {64} {74}, but the cases involving Willem van Merode {64} {74} did not pertain directly to the war with Spain.

122 The quoted passage can be found in Wachtelaer's petition to the stadholder. HUA, OBC, 159, December 1639 (transcribed in Rogge, 'Memorie', pp. 1–25, here especially p. 24): 'in conscientie beswaert'.

For this reason, Muylert asked Apostolic Vicar Rovenius in 1625 to give the canonry to him anew, even though this changed virtually nothing in his official status as a legitimate Dom canon approved by the Provincial States since, under the Reformed regime, the apostolic vicar was not authorized to confer such canonries. After the politico-judicial authorities learned of this nominal reappointment from Van Mooock's protocol, Mulyert was summoned before the city court in 1639 {16} (Appendix 1).¹²³ Rovenius also faced accusations for his role in the reappointment of this canon, as well as his actions in the appointment of other 'shadow-canon'. When the *Vicariaat* was established, Wachtelaer was the only one among its eleven founding members officially approved as a canon by the Provincial States. Others were shadow-canon who had only been appointed by Rovenius, without confirmation by the Provincial States of Utrecht, thus resembling the members of a shadow cabinet. The establishment of the Catholic institution (i.e., the *Vicariaat*) with communal funds and the appointment of shadow-canon were in complete violation of the 1622 edict.¹²⁴ Four other priests, including Wachtelaer, were also suspected of aiding Rovenius in this matter {18} {19} {20} {21} {22} (Appendix 1).

While these cases show that Catholics were regarded as potential politico-religious traitors, in two other procedures they were accused of directly abusing the Reformed faith {26} {43}, both cases occurring prior to the Peace of Münster (Graphs 2 and 3). In 1641 an immigrant from Germany called Joannes Boshouwer told witness Jan Jansz van Munster that '[Reformed] ministers [...] who stood on the pulpit here had been flogged in other places' and that 'the beggars [the Reformed] would be expelled within five years if [the Holy Roman] emperor should come here' {26}.¹²⁵ In 1648 the Reformed minister Gualtherus de Bruyn visited Adriaen Willemsz, a Reformed man living outside the Tollesteeg gate who lay sick in bed. While Adriaen's wife Maychgen Peters was helping the minister serve him bread and wine, she said to the minister that 'the [Reformed] ministers were false prophets and heretics' and told him that Catholics would soon achieve a victory, literally

123 For the dispensation given to Muylert by Rovenius in 1625, which was originally kept in Van Mooock's protocol, see HUA, OBC, 499, fac. 58, 5 July 1625 (transcribed in Ven, *Over den oorsprong*, p. 184 (Bijlage XXI)).

124 Hallebeek, 'Godsdienst(on)vrijheid', pp. 127–28; Hewett and Hallebeek, 'The Prelate', pp. 130–31; Jong, 'Het Utrechtse vicariaat', pp. 161–69; Knuif and Jong, 'Philippus Rovenius', pp. 103–25; Ven, *Over den oorsprong*, pp. 89–115.

125 HUA, SAI, 2244-89, 15 October 1641: 'predicanten [...] die hier op stoel stonden en predikten, die in ander landen geselselt waren' and 'de geusen binnen vijff jaeren hier wtgeballen soude worden dat het alsdien hier keyzers soude worden'.

saying that 'their [Catholics'] cock would soon crow as the King'. When the minister visited their home on another occasion, their son Peter Willemsz prevented him from speaking 'words of God' to his father. On that day, Maychgen and Peter were arrested for sedition {43}.¹²⁶

Two other legal cases related to religious education or forced conversion to Catholicism {46} {69}, and were both handled in the city court after the Dutch Revolt had come to an end (Graphs 2 and 3). In 1648 the miller Jan Claesz and his wife, a needlewoman, were accused of contravening the edict on *bijtscholen* originally issued in 1631. This couple vehemently resisted a search of their house by the school superintendents, where the needlewoman was suspected of teaching children 'popish books' (*paepse boecken*) and other things under the pretext of sewing lessons {46} (Appendix 1). The legal case opposing Metgen van Lienden and Willem van Beckbergen {69} showed how religious education was at stake in religiously mixed families. The plaintiff Van Lienden petitioned the city court to allow her to take in her seven-year-old niece from the house of the defendant Van Beckbergen. The girl was an orphan, the plaintiff an aunt on her father's side and the defendant an uncle on her mother's side. The plaintiff argued that the orphan girl should no longer be allowed to stay with the defendant because his wife was a 'papist'.¹²⁷ Since Van Beckbergen's wife and their Catholic daughter taught the girl the '*pater noster* [and] some popish prayers', she would also learn to 'kiss the images, take a saint as a patron, and think that heaven can be earned'.¹²⁸ The defendant for his part insisted that the plaintiff and her co-plaintiff Joost van der Hogenbergh were morally untrustworthy, seeking to profit financially from the deceased couple's property which would accrue to them through the orphaned girl. He furthermore insisted that it was not his Catholic wife, but he himself, a Reformed believer, who had held responsibility for fostering the orphan girl, noting that he had taken her to a Reformed church on Sundays.¹²⁹ In the end, the city court decided that the girl should be entrusted to neither plaintiff nor defendant, but rather to a 'competent citizen' of the Reformed faith. Both parties were thus regarded as incompetent to raise the girl.¹³⁰ As anti-Catholic legislation developed

126 HUA, KR, 5, 9, 15 May 1648; HUA, SAIL, 121-22, 19 May 1648; HUA, SAIL, 2236-4, 20, 25 May 1648: 'de predicanten waren valsche propheten ende ketters' and 'haeren haen oock haest eens soude Conninck wesen'.

127 HUA, SAIL, 2899, 10 October 1654.

128 Ibidem, 23 October 1654: '*pater noster* enige paepsche gebedens' and 'met beeldekens te kissen ende een heylich voor een patroon te nemen den hemel vermeent te verdienen'.

129 Ibidem, 19, 26 October 1654.

130 Ibidem, 11, 13 November 1654.

and expanded over the course of the seventeenth century, Catholic men and women in Utrecht came to be prosecuted for a more diverse variety of crimes, including not just religious practices, clerical activities, and political inclination, but extending also to transfer of property and education.

1.3.3. Sentences

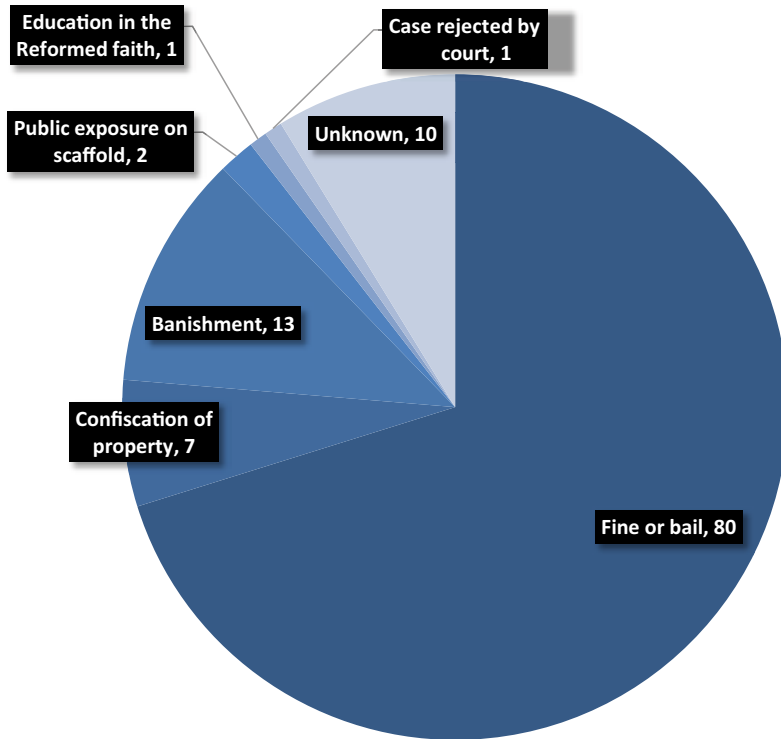
In his letter to De la Torre, Wachtelaer expressed worries about the consequence of the 'persecution' that he and his co-religionists had been suffering since 1639. He lamented that things would only go well if 'into the gaping mouth of the sheriff there were to fall a lump of sugar worth a few thousand florins. Indeed, we are a prey to dogs and wolves that are hungry and thirsty not for blood, but for a fleece of silver or gold'.¹³¹ In order to escape prosecution, Catholics had to bribe judicial officers with what is known as a 'recognition fee'. Early modern Dutch Catholics therefore had to 'pay off the sheriff' and purchase toleration.¹³² When they failed to avoid legal prosecution, Utrecht's Catholics were in many cases forced to pay a fine or to post bail, part of which went into the sheriff's pocket. In the 105 cases registered, the penalty most frequently imposed was the payment of a fine or bail (eighty, Graph 3). This statistic follows from the many cases (seventy-five) that involved illegal assembly, whose outcomes are known and ended with pecuniary penalties. In these cases, members of the (lay) elite – normally the owners of the house where Catholics had been found communally assembling – paid a fine as representatives of the assembly or as defenders of the participants or other prosecuted Catholics. The amounts ranged from 12 *stuivers* (for Jan Claesz and his wife {46}) to f. 6,000 (for Wachtelaer {19}). In the former case, Jan Claesz and his wife were accused of opening a Catholic elementary school in their house and resisting the school superintendents when they came for an inspection (Appendix 1).

The Provincial States drew up guidelines for pecuniary penalties and instructed the judicial officers not to accept any compromise with Catholics.¹³³ For many sentences, however, it can be demonstrated that the fines were at times negotiated between the prosecuted Catholics, represented

¹³¹ This letter is transcribed in Deelder, *Bijdragen*, I, pp. 170–76, here especially pp. 171, 174–75: 'in den gapenden mond van den schout een klontje van een paar duizend guldens valt. Wat zijn wij toch ten prooi aan honden en wolven, die hongeren en dorsten, niet naar bloed, maar naar het zilveren of gouden vachtken'.

¹³² Kooi, 'Paying off the Sheriff'; Parker, *Faith on the Margins*, pp. 48, 50–54, 57–58, 234; Idem, 'Paying for the Privilege', pp. 291–93, 295–96.

¹³³ E.g. *G.P.U.*, I, pp. 395–98.



Graph 3. Sentences of the legal proceedings in Utrecht, 1620-1672

by their defenders, and the committee composed of aldermen, organized by the city court. In at least sixteen cases, the final fine recorded in the sentences differs from the amount originally demanded by the sheriff in the indictments.¹³⁴ Since sheriffs were known to pocket money from Catholics as either a recognition fee or fine, they were sometimes reproached for their avarice. The 1641 edict stipulated that any judicial officer found to be remiss in prosecuting Catholics was to be dismissed.¹³⁵ In 1648 the Reformed consistory wondered how it 'is possible that they [judicial officers] do not see the conventicles, which all the world sees'.¹³⁶ In 1652 the Reformed synod of Utrecht instructed its classes to monitor judicial officers so as to prevent them from 'conniving at' and 'compromising with the Papists'.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ {5} {8} {39} {48} {62} {82} {83} {84} {87} {89} {89} {90} {91} {93} {94} {95} {98} in Appendix 1.

¹³⁵ *G.P.U.*, I, p. 400.

¹³⁶ KR, 5, 28 February 1648: 'ist mogel[ijck] dat sy de conventiculen niet en souden sien, dewelcke al de werelt siet'.

¹³⁷ HUA, Nederlandse Hervormde classis Utrecht, 369, n.d. in 1652: 'conniveeren', 'met de Papiisten', and 'composeeren'.

Likewise, in its long petition to the Provincial States drafted in 1655 or 1656, the Reformed synod expressed its frustration at 'some God-forsaken and damnable judicial Officers' who 'turn a blind eye to the Idolatry of Popery'. According to the petition, even children knew that judicial officers actually connived at Catholics.¹³⁸

In seven of the 105 cases, Catholics were sentenced to confiscation of their property (Graph 3).¹³⁹ Most of these cases concerned accusations of the illegal transfer of property.¹⁴⁰ So too most (five out of seven) occurred in the context of the Eighty Years' War.¹⁴¹ The 'library' of Rovenius in Utrecht was confiscated by the city and, for the sake of 'public convenience', kept in the university library at the public church of St Jan, whose librarian was the future burgomaster Cornelis Booth {18}.¹⁴² Although the 105 cases feature six Catholic prosecuted canons, Wachtelaer was the only one to be sentenced to the confiscation of his canonry {19}.¹⁴³ This might suggest that the canons' elevated social status prevented the city court from depriving them of the canonries which they had once obtained with public recognition, even though there had been edicts excluding Catholic candidates from new ownership of canonries as early as 1615. Besides, jurisdiction was a significant matter, as the city's claim to jurisdiction over the canons was contested since canonries were to be bestowed by the sovereign Provincial States.¹⁴⁴

Banishment – social death in the civic community – was the most severe penalty applied in the 105 cases (thirteen, Graph 3),¹⁴⁵ since early modern people depended heavily on the *sociabilité* of their local community. The thirteen cases pertained to five laypeople and eight clerics.¹⁴⁶ By expelling these Catholic offenders, the politico-judicial authorities attempted to eradicate the threat to the Reformed public order, partially purifying the

138 HUA, VBB, 139, probably in 1655 or 1656: 'God vergetene ende verdoomel[ijcke] sommiger Officieren' and 'Afgoderye des Pausdoms wert door de vingeren gesien'.

139 {5} {15} {18} {19} {20} {22} {64} in Appendix 1.

140 Paulus van der Rijst was the only one accused not of transferring property, but of performing clerical activities and practising the Catholic faith {5} (Appendix 1).

141 Two exceptional cases are {5} {64} (Appendix 1).

142 HUA, SAIL, 121-20, 7 December 1641, 14 February 1642; HUA, SAIL, 2244-86, passim: 'publick gerief'.

143 The other cases are {16} {17} {64} {79} {80} (Appendix 1). Before losing his canonry in 1640 {19}, Wachtelaer had already been prosecuted twice {2} {9} (Appendix 1).

144 E.g. {64} in Appendix 1.

145 {5} {6} {7} {11} {18} {19} {20} {22} {25} {43} {45} {56} {66} {108} in Appendix 1.

146 Banished priests were prosecuted in {5} {11} {18} {19} {20} {22} {25} {66} (Appendix 1). The five banished laypeople include four citizens or residents {6} {7} {43} {56} and one garrison soldier {45} (Appendix 1).

corpus christianum. Catholics whose political inclination favoured the 'public enemy' were considered dangerous enough to be subjected to banishment. Helena van Sijl (Zijl), the wife of Christiaan Bruyninge, an advocate to the provincial court of Utrecht, was forced to leave Utrecht due to allegations of loyalty to the Spanish cause, despite her high social status within the civic community {7} (Appendix 1). Likewise, Spanish Gerrit was banished for his crime of loyalty to the Spanish king {6} (Appendix 1). Another crime considered worthy of banishment was the insulting of the Reformed religion. Thus, Maychgen Peters and her son Peter Willemsz were banished from the city for offending the Reformed minister {43} (Appendix 1). 'Public violence', that is, violence committed openly before the eyes of onlookers, was yet another crime deemed too great a hazard for the civic community to keep the offenders. The two prosecuted Catholics charged with 'public violence' (*publijcq[l]ijck] gewelt*) were 'publicly' (*publycque[l]ijck]*), openly, and officially exposed on a scaffold, and then banished {45} {56} (Appendix 1). Public exposure was a tremendous dishonour for early modern people, who were obsessed with social reputation, and thus it had a deterrent effect for similar crimes in the future. Four of the eight banished priests did not originate from Utrecht, including Paulus van der Rijst {5}, Rovenius {18}, and Govert van Moock {20} (Appendix 1). Van der Rijst's sentence, for example, referred to the 1622 edict prohibiting non-native priests from coming to Utrecht at the risk of banishment from the province.¹⁴⁷ Remarkably, native priests with citizenship and an elevated social status within the civic community, such as Rombout van Medenblick (d. 1640/42) {11}, Wachtelaer {19}, Gerrit Pelt {22}, and Van Honthorst {25}, also lost the right to reside in their hometown (Appendix 1).

In the indictments, the sheriff originally tried to prosecute Rovenius and Wachtelaer for the *crimen laesae majestatis*, just like Jacob Mom, who had been sent to the scaffold in 1621. In the end, *lèse-majesté* was not mentioned in their sentences, so that they escaped the death penalty, but Rovenius was still banished from the Dutch Republic and Wachtelaer from his hometown Utrecht.¹⁴⁸ After his banishment on 10 March 1640, Wachtelaer sent a petition to the provincial court signed by his 'special deputy' Johan de With [93], pleading for a chance to prove his innocence. Since Wachtelaer was anxious

¹⁴⁷ *G.P.U.*, I, pp. 397–400; HUA, SAII, 2236-2, 26 March 1624.

¹⁴⁸ According to Margaret Hewett and Jan Hallebeek, Antonius Matthaeus II (1601–1654), at the time professor of law at Utrecht University, played a certain role in establishing the penalty for these procedures; he would later serve the Reformed community as an elder (appointed in 1645, 1649, and 1654). Hewett and Hallebeek, 'The Prelate'; Lieburg, *De Nadere Reformatie*, p. 156.

about his safety in his hometown, he pleaded with the provincial court to allow him to stay in safety in Abcoude or Amersfoort, both within the province of Utrecht.¹⁴⁹ The provincial court accepted his appeal, nullifying the sentence of the city court and forbidding all marshals and officers in the province to enforce the sentences or to arrest him.¹⁵⁰ The provincial court did, however, issue this interdiction without prior consultation with the Provincial States. Then, 'by our Sovereign power', the Provincial States, following the instruction from the States General, ordered the marshals and officers to execute the sentences of the city court and to ignore the interdiction of the provincial court.¹⁵¹ In the end, the city council followed these decisions from the States General and the Provincial States.¹⁵² Whereas Wachtelaer had once found a ray of hope for avoiding legal sanction via the intervention of the provincial court, he ended up failing to prevent the resolution by the sovereign Provincial States, supported by the States General, on the sentence of banishment which had been pronounced by the city court. Wachtelaer passed away in Culemborg in 1653, without ever being able to return to his hometown.¹⁵³ In most of the 105 legal proceedings, the prosecuted Catholics were found guilty and forced to forfeit money, property, or the right to live in the city.¹⁵⁴ Since other early modern confessional states sometimes sent religious offenders to the scaffold, it remains remarkable that none of the Catholic defendants in Utrecht, with the one exception of Jacob Mom who held property in Utrecht but was tried in The Hague, were ever executed for crimes of faith. Still, it should be noted that the politico-judicial authorities could prey on Catholics financially, allowing them to live and to earn toleration in exchange for fines, bails, and bribes and not simply felling this 'money tree'.

1.4. Conclusion

Repression remained one of the Reformed governing strategies for coping with religious diversity throughout the period from 1620 to 1672. Under increasing

149 HUA, MKOKN, 557, n.d. (after 10 March 1640); HUA, SAIL, 121-19, 26 March 1640.

150 HUA, SAIL, 2244-87, 28 March 1640.

151 HUA, SAIL, 121-19, 9, 10 April 1640: 'uyt onse Souveraine macht'.

152 Ibidem, 8 October, 13 November 1640.

153 Hallebeek, 'Godsdienst(on)vrijheid', pp. 129, 134; Hewett and Hallebeek, 'The Prelate', pp. 147-48; Knuif and Jong, 'Philippus Rovenius', pp. 79, 83.

154 Although it is certain that the city court rejected the charges in one case {80}, the final verdicts are lacking for ten other cases {1} {3} {12} {16} {21} {26} {28} {53} {59} {79} (Appendix 1). While the sheriff did collect documentation for these cases, the court may have rejected the charges in the end.

pressure from the Reformed Church, the Utrecht political authorities of the city council and the Provincial States continued to repress Catholics and attempted to exclude them from a growing number of sectors of the public sphere. They stripped Catholics of their physical spaces for the collective, external, and material expression of their faith, while officially representing them as disqualified for public office solely due to their confessional affiliation. By outlawing Catholicism, the politico-judicial authorities developed a legal system for appropriating the economic wealth of Catholic Utrechters. Time and again the Reformed Church, represented by the consistory, classis, and synod, pushed the magistrates to delimit the public in a confessionalized way. The magistrates did sometimes, but not always, collaborate with the public church, 'legalizing' Catholic discrimination and persecution. Although Utrecht's authorities did not sentence Catholics to death, they exploited them financially through fines, bails, or bribes, deprived them of their property, and expelled them from the civic community. While they did not always strictly enforce the anti-Catholic edicts in practice, they still officially discredited Catholics through anti-Catholic legislation and prosecution in a society where public honour mattered greatly. Therefore, they struck devastating blows against the legal and politico-social credibility of the Catholics as a group, who continued to be slandered as potential criminals regardless of whether they were really prosecuted or the nature, number, and value of the penalties ultimately imposed on them. By doing so, the politico-religious authorities strategically continued to delimit the physical and abstract public through anti-Catholic legislation and prosecution, thereby attempting to protect their *corpus christianum* against the perceived Catholic threat.

The anti-Catholicism in Utrecht must be interpreted in the context of the international wars and national politics, as well as local power relationship between the magistrates and the Reformed Church. From 1620 to 1672, the enactment of anti-Catholic legislation coincided largely with the trends in the legal proceedings against Catholics with regard to their target. The politico-judicial authorities first attempted to regulate priests, thereafter shifting their restrictions to primarily target laypeople and their diverse activities, including spatial practices and elementary education by women. The vigour and frequency of the legislation on paper also converge with the trend in the practice of prosecution across time. From 1620 to 1638, in the context of the resumed war against Spain, Utrecht's political authorities introduced harsh anti-Catholic edicts that would be seen as points of reference for years to come. In spite of this, the practical application of these anti-Catholic edicts in the form of legal prosecution remained relatively mild, as judicial authorities were launching fewer trials against Catholics at the time. The situation changed,

however, after the prosecution of Rovenius and Wachtelaer in 1639/40. From that point onwards, the sheriff initiated more legal cases against Catholics, while the Voetian consistory began to incite the magistrates, including likeminded protagonists of Voetius, ever more urgently to enact anti-Catholic legislation. After the Peace of Münster in 1648 and the Great Assembly in 1651, anti-Catholicism in Utrecht reached even greater heights. Under pressure from the public church, the magistrates promulgated and renewed anti-Catholic edicts in their attempts to exclude Catholics from various areas of the public sphere. During this period, the judicial authorities prosecuted Catholics more frequently than in any other phase of the fifty years under study. This is remarkable if we recall that the Republicans began consolidating their political power in Utrecht from 1651 onwards. Then, from 1660 to 1672, the tide of anti-Catholicism temporarily subsided. This was also the time when the Republican magistrates openly resisted the Voetian consistory. Some Republicans, including Van Velthuysen, played an important role in the relative tranquillity enjoyed by Utrecht's Catholics. Yet it should be noted that, under steady pressure from the Reformed Church, even the Republicans did not stop promulgating anti-Catholic edicts and prosecuting Catholics.

As such, we see the emergence of a certain tendency towards Reformed confessionalization of Utrecht's public sphere, although the development was not straightforward and linear, but took the shape of a gradual and complicated process of negotiations and conflicts in which the public church brought constant pressure to bear on the magistrates. Through the governing strategy of repression, the political authorities, driven to do so by the Reformed Church, tried to regulate the existing environment of religious coexistence, delimiting the public in multi-confessional Utrecht. In the end, they legalized anti-Catholicism and religious discrimination in the city's public sphere, even if they did not always yield obediently to the confessionalizing demands of the Reformed Church. It is worth noting that both the theory of legislation and the practice of legal prosecution made it difficult for Catholic Utrechters to live as devout Catholics even within their own private homes and as respected citizens or residents of the multi-religious city.

Abbreviations

- A.A.U. *Archief voor de geschiedenis van het aartsbisdom Utrecht*. Utrecht, 1875–1957.
- B.G.B.H. *Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis van het bisdom van Haarlem*. Haarlem, 1873–1949.

- G.P.U.* Water, Johan van de. *Groot Placaatboek vervattende alle de placaten [...] Staten 's lands van Utrecht*, 3 vols. Utrecht, 1729.
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- R.B.* Cornelissen, J. D. M., R. R. Post, and P. Polman, et al., eds. *Romeinsche bronnen voor den kerkelijken toestand der Nederlanden onder de apostolisch vicarissen, 1592–1727*, 4 vols. The Hague, 1932–1952.
- HUA Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht
- HVU Hof van Utrecht
- KR Nederlandse Hervormde gemeente Utrecht, kerkeraad
- MKOKN Metropolaan Kapittel van de Oud-Katholieke Kerk van Nederland
- OBC Apostolische vicarissen van de Hollandse Zending
- SA Stadsarchief
- VBB Verzameling van Buchel-Booth

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- HUA, Hof van Utrecht [HVU] (239-1)
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- HUA, Verzameling van Buchel-Booth [VBB] (355)
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616. Reports on forbidden Catholic assemblies with lists of Catholic priests, 1664–1681
- 1825-1 ~ 1825-6. Minutes of the trustees of the municipal chamber of charity, 1628–1647 and 1657–1687

2088. Documents concerning the trial against Philippus Rovenius, 1640
 2236-2 ~ 2236-5. *Crimineele sententiën* of the city court of Utrecht, 1618–1657
 and 1670–1684
 2244-42 ~ 2244-140. *Crimineele stukken* of the city court of Utrecht, 1620–1679
 HUA, Nederlandse Hervormde gemeente Utrecht, kerkeraad [KR] (746)
 3 ~ 10. Minutes of the Reformed consistory, August 1618–July 1690
 HUA, Nederlandse Hervormde gemeente te Utrecht, diaconie (816)
 1. Minutes of the Reformed diaconate, 1623–1625
 HUA, Apostolische vicarissen van de Hollandse Zending [OBC] (1003)
 99. Testimony of Rudolphus Francisci before Reformed ministers on the organiza-
 tion of the Catholic Church in the Northern Netherlands, c. 1630
 157. Sentence of the aldermen in Leiden against Rombout Medenblick,
 30 January 1640
 159. Documents concerning the trials against Philippus Rovenius and Johannes
 Wachtelaer, 1639–1640
 246. Copies of letters written by the Apostolic Vicar Johannes van Neercassel,
 23 November 1673–16 August 1675
 499. 'Protocol' kept by Govert van Moock, secretary to the apostolic vicar,
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2. Toleration: Limited Recognition and Connivance

Abstract: Toleration was another important governing strategy of the Reformed political authorities in Utrecht. With its qualitative and quantitative analyses of the toleration of Catholics, this chapter examines how the magistrates publicly recognized and non-publicly connived at their presence or behaviour in spite of official prohibitions in the city. Tolerated Catholics were priests who tried to reside or stay in the city, women who attempted to contribute to the rehabilitation of the Catholic community, public office holders, and applicants for citizenship. Deploying toleration as a political practice of social engineering, the magistrates curbed the public church's attempts at Reformed confessionalization of the urban public sphere, while maintaining discriminatory treatment of Catholics in everyday life.

Keywords: toleration, tolerance, limited recognition, connivance, religious diversity, civic community

In his petition to Stadholder Frederick Henry (1584–1647), drawn up in 1639 during the lawsuit against him, Johannes Wachtelaer expressed his admiration for the toleration practised by Dutch magistrates:

So the Catholics here in the land, thanks to the reasonable connivance (which, praise God, has by now already been [practised] for many years in numerous places), have trusted that the Magistrates of the land may well have come to understand [...] that the Catholics should also be allowed to assemble in houses to hear Mass and the sermon.¹

¹ HUA, OBC, 159, December 1639 (Rogge, 'Memorie', p. 5): 'Soo hebben oock de Catholycquen hier te lande uyt de redelicke oochluyckinge (die nu veele jaren herwaerts, God loff, in veele plaetsen geweest is) vertrouwt, dat de Heeren Regeerders van 't landt eens souden mogen gecomen

While he depicted Dutch Catholics as persecuted warriors for the Catholic cause in his letter to his colleague Jacobus de la Torre, Wachtelaer gave the stadholder a totally different representation of them as beneficiaries of toleration. He now argued that Dutch Catholics had long been tolerated for the practice of their faith at home, in stark contrast to the abnormal situation Utrecht's Catholics were facing ever since the raid on Apostolic Vicar Philippus Rovenius and himself earlier that same year. There is no doubt that Wachtelaer's praise for the connivance Dutch magistrates showed towards Catholics was a tactical move aimed at increasing the chance of obtaining mercy from Frederick Henry. In spite of this, the vicar general's acknowledgment that Catholic religious activities were in practice tolerated by the political authorities remains remarkable.

Alongside repression, the political authorities also strategically deployed toleration in order to deal with the reviving Catholic community in seventeenth-century Utrecht. The present study recognizes two distinct modes in the political practice of toleration: limited recognition, which magistrates granted publicly and officially; and connivance, which they exercised non-publicly and unofficially. While existing studies have focused almost exclusively on the latter, this chapter will shed light on limited recognition as well. In so doing, it will examine, qualitatively and quantitatively, how the political authorities strategically attempted to govern the environment of religious coexistence in the Christian social community (*corpus christianum*) and to respond to both the confessionalizing demands of the Reformed Church and the resistance shown by Catholics against the legislation. It will discuss how Utrecht's political authorities bestowed limited recognition upon and exercised connivance towards four categories of Catholics who attempted to win toleration despite the edicts aimed against them: priests who were willing to reside or stay in the city; women who tried to assist religious services, to teach children, and to freely bequeath their property; public office holders; and applicants for citizenship. I will argue that the political authorities strategically deployed the two modes of toleration vis-à-vis these Catholics in order to control the environment of coexistence, tempering the pressure from the Reformed Church for the confessionalization of the public sphere, while still upholding the status of Catholic Utrechters as a discriminated entity within the local society.

sijn tot soodanich verstant [...] dat de Catholycken oock in de huysen vergaderinghen om misse ende predicatie te hooren soudén moghen houden'.

2.1. Priests

The outlawing of Catholicism did not mean that Catholic priests were coerced to surrender their benefices and canonries. It was only when they were caught contravening the law that their benefices and canonries could be confiscated.² At the same time, it was difficult for priests to observe the law in their work as priests, since this in principle forbade the wearing of clerical clothing, while the Council of Trent required clerical dress for priests so as to distinguish themselves from the laity. In reluctant acquiescence to the situation under Protestant rule, some Dutch clerics disguised themselves as farmers, fishermen, or merchants to avoid apprehension. Philippus Rovenius {18} disguised himself as a woman in order to escape judicial officers in 1639. The Utrecht secular priest Servaes van der Nypoort (c. 1608–1677) <41> <002> grew a beard to make it difficult for Protestants to identify him by his face. The Brussels nuncio Guido Bentivoglio (1579–1644), however, expressed his displeasure at the secular appearance of Dutch Catholic priests.³ As early as 1620, the city council instructed the sheriff to deliver an ultimatum to priests who were known to preside at Mass, including 'Johan Huyter, Proeys, [Jan Alexander] Axilius, [Jacob] Bool'.⁴ Given that these priests had not previously been prosecuted even though their names and illegal activities were known to the magistracy, it seems reasonable to assume that the political authorities connived at crimes they had committed earlier in contravention of the existing prohibition.

Even in Utrecht, where many priests had remained despite the outlawing of their faith, Catholics needed new priests coming in from the outside. To compensate for the shortage of priests, Sasbout Vosmeer, the first apostolic vicar, asked the pope to dispatch Jesuits, as the vanguard of Catholic mission activity throughout the world, to the Northern Netherlands. Yet the missionaries sent from religious orders abroad soon proved to be a source of trouble to him and his successors. The apostolic vicars and their secular priests insisted that the Catholic Church had never ceased to exist in the Northern Netherlands, despite the Dutch Revolt and the Protestant Reformation. For this reason, they considered the apostolic vicar the *de facto* archbishop of Utrecht, with the right of jurisdiction over the religious orders in the districts of the Holland Mission. The missionary religious, in contrast, and the Jesuits in particular, saw the Northern Netherlands simply

2 G.P.U., III, p. 466 (18 June 1580).

3 Lenarduzzi, *De belevingswereld*, pp. 164–66; Idem, 'Subcultuur en tegencultuur', pp. 197–98.

4 HUA, SAII, 121-8, 7 September 1620.

as a mission territory which had broken with the pre-Reformation church province. They therefore followed the instructions of their superiors in their orders, but rejected the authority which the apostolic vicar sought to exercise over them.⁵ This jurisdictional problem came to be intertwined with international, soteriological disputes on human free will and divine grace (i.e., the Jansenist controversy) and eventually led to the Utrecht Schism of 1723, when the Dutch Catholic Church was divided into two separate groups, one of which ultimately became the Old Catholics. The schism was a unique phenomenon in early modern Catholicism, although comparable jurisdictional conflicts between secular and regular priests also took place in England and the Jansenist influence was likewise visible in France and Ireland.⁶

Throughout the troubles they experienced with the religious orders, the apostolic vicars trained qualified secular priests under the supervision of bishops, following the Tridentine requirements. Since Catholic education had been banned in the Republic, the Holland Mission established the Alticollense college in Cologne (1602) and the Pulcheria college in Leuven (1617), where most Dutch secular priests were to be educated. Others attended the Pope's College in Leuven, which had been established by Pope Adrian VI (born in Utrecht: 1459–1523) in 1523, or the Pontifical Urban College of *Propaganda Fide* in Rome, established in 1627, or else attended Oratorian colleges in France and the Southern Netherlands. The seminary training of the Dutch secular clergy proved to be effective.⁷ Notwithstanding the prohibition on attending universities in 'enemy lands', many Dutch Catholics, including theology students and students of other subjects, boldly matriculated at Catholic universities abroad. Budding theologians in particular were encouraged by the apostolic vicars to study at the universities in Cologne, Leuven, and Douai, all centres of Counter-Reformation revival.⁸ At these universities, Dutch Catholics met co-religionists from England, Germany, and the Southern Netherlands. The Catholics who refused to recognize

5 Parker, *Faith on the Margins*, passim, especially pp. 25, 34, 73–74; Rogier, *Geschiedenis*, passim, especially II, pp. 9–10.

6 Jansenism was an ecclesiastical reform movement named after Cornelius Jansenius (1568–1638), professor at Leuven University, who had close connections with Dutch clerics including Apostolic Vicar Rovenius. E.g., Ackermans, *Herder*, especially pp. 211–56; Parker, *Faith on the Margins*, passim; Schoon, *Een aartsbisschop*, pp. 11–104; Spiertz, 'Anti-jansenisme en jansenisme'; Tans and Kok, *Rome-Utrecht*.

7 Ackermans, *Herders*, pp. 67–120; Parker, *Faith on the Margins*, pp. 73–100.

8 Lenarduzzi, *De belevingswereld*, pp. 70–71; Idem, 'De religieuze spagaat'; Idem, 'Subcultuur en tegencultuur', pp. 104–5.

the Reformed regime, including the first two apostolic vicars Vosmeer and Rovenius, took refuge in such Catholic cities as Cologne and Antwerp, where they became acquainted with other Catholic exiles from England, Germany, and Scandinavia. Both cities saw considerable Jesuit influence and developed into centres where devotional and polemical works for English, Irish, and Dutch Catholics were published.⁹

In that situation, the city of Utrecht enacted a new edict in 1603 requiring incoming Catholic priests to register with the municipality.¹⁰ When this edict proved dead and ineffective, the Provincial States issued a strict edict in 1622 prohibiting new Catholic clerics from entering Utrecht and demanding that priests already living in the city register with the municipality.¹¹ Following this provincial injunction, the Utrecht city council decided on 11 March 1622 that all the priests who had been living in Utrecht for a longer period had eight days to register with magistrates.¹² On 11, 12, and 13 March, thirty priests including Wachtelaer <26> registered with the municipality, giving their name, age, and address, and, in some cases, the name of the person with whom they lodged (Appendix 2).¹³ The thirty registered priests also included Axilius <1> and Bool <3>, who in 1620 were both presented with the aforementioned ultimatum in regard to their clerical activities.¹⁴ Many of the registered priests were of an advanced age; nine of them were over sixty years old. Since Evert van Alphen <15> was 104 years old and too weak to come to the city hall in person, his registration was submitted by his colleague Willem Acrijnsz <14>, who, being seventy-four years old, was not all that young himself (Appendix 2). According to Rovenius's mission report to Rome from 1622, around forty priests were living in Utrecht at the time, including a Jesuit and a Dominican.¹⁵ Similarly, around 1630 the former priest Rudolphus Francisci estimated that forty-six priests, including members of diverse religious orders, were active in Utrecht. According to Francisci, who had originally been sent from Leuven as a Catholic priest, foreign priests were constantly being dispatched to Utrecht from Leuven, Cologne, and Flanders.¹⁶ The number of priests active in the city is striking

9 Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World*, pp. 47–84, 174–96; Idem, 'The Southern Netherlands Connection', *passim*; Parker, *Faith on the Margins*, pp. 28–29, 33–36, 57, 124, 139.

10 HUA, SAII, 121-4, 2 May 1603.

11 *G.P.U.*, I, pp. 397–400 (26 February 1622).

12 HUA, SAII, 121-9, 11 March 1622.

13 HUA, VSOKN, 112, 11, 12, 13 March 1622.

14 HUA, SAII, 121-8, 7 September 1620; HUA, SAII, 121-9, 11 March 1622.

15 Rogier, *Geschiedenis*, II, p. 388.

16 HUA, OBC, 99; HUA, SAII, 2244-86, n.d.; Muller, 'Getuigenis', pp. 241–42.

when it is compared to that of Reformed ministers at that point in time, since the public church only had four ministers.¹⁷ In later sessions, the city council frequently noted the high number of Catholic clergy in Utrecht, as well as the influx of incoming priests, especially from 'enemy places'.¹⁸

Once the list of thirty registered priests had been drawn up, magistrates pondered further measures against these and future incoming clerics.¹⁹ At the same time, the politico-judicial authorities tried to pry information about the clergy from lay Catholics. When Anneken Thomas from England and Lijsbeth Laurens from Stavelot in the Southern Netherlands were accused of begging in 1630, the city court not only banished them from the city, but also required them to present their marriage certificates, where the aldermen hoped to find the names of the priests who had presided at their weddings. In Thomas's case, they succeeded in obtaining the information they were after, forcing her to produce a document signed by a Catholic priest named Petrus de la Faille, formerly a Reformed minister. According to this certificate, she had married Willem Derxen in the presence of a Catholic priest in Amsterdam. Although she had initially forgotten or intentionally concealed the priest's name, Utrecht's judicial authorities succeeded in extracting it from her in interrogation: Jacob Blommert (or Blosvelt).²⁰

Around 1630 the city council found it necessary to take more rigorous action against the priests who were still coming to Utrecht 'daily' from outside, in spite of the prohibition. Its response came in the form of a provincial edict issued in 1630 (and reissued in 1636) prescribing that even priests who were 'tolerated' in other cities or places in the United Provinces could no longer come to Utrecht without the prior consent of the burgomasters.²¹ Soon thereafter the city council received a request from the Catholic priest Rombout van Medenblick <31>, one of the founding members of the *Vicariaat* in 1633. He asked the Utrecht magistracy to allow him to reside in his hometown Utrecht, stating that he had already registered with the Leiden magistracy in 1622. On 15 September the city council of Utrecht publicly recognized his right to live in the city. On that same day, it decided to allow

17 Duker, *Gisbertus Voetius*, III, pp. 108–9; Lieburg, *De Nadere Reformatie*, p. 151.

18 HUA, SAIL, 121-10, 29 October 1622, 21 June 1624, 9 August 1624: 'vyanden plaetsen'.

19 Ibidem, 12 April, 24 May 1624; 16 August 1624; HUA, SAIL, 121-13, 7 April 1628.

20 For the case of Anneken Thomas, see HUA, SAIL, 2236-2, 10, 14 September 1630; HUA, SAIL, 2244-69, 10, 14 September 1630. For the case of Lijsbeth Laurens, see HUA, SAIL, 2236-2, 11 December 1630; HUA, SAIL, 2244-70, 9, 11 December 1630. Petrus de la Faille's conversion was narrated in an eighteenth-century pamphlet. *Bekeeringe van P. de la Faille*. See also Kooi, *Calvinists and Catholics*, pp. 135–36.

21 G.P.U., III, p. 468 (10 September 1630, 11 January 1636): 'getolereert'.

priests who were sons of citizens to return to the city upon completion of their university studies in 'enemy Lands' after 1622.²² On 20 September 1630 the city council received another petition in the name of all priests who had been living in Utrecht before 1622 and left after that date to study in 'France, Germany, and other Neutral Lands', but had since returned to Utrecht. The city council approved their request for permission to reside in Utrecht, albeit on the condition that they observe the edict of 1630.²³ Similarly, the already secularized chapter of St Marie had publicly recognized Johannes Wachtelaer's theological studies at Leuven University from 1604 to 1606, probably with a view to his family's elevated social status in Utrecht.²⁴ It should be noted here that the line separating priests who could potentially be tolerated from those who could not seems to have been whether or not they still retained relationships with the civic community.

Although Utrecht's political authorities never overcame their anxiety about the influx of incoming priests, from 1630 onwards they did begin to bestow public recognition on Catholic priests by allowing them to stay or take up residence in their city. The present survey of the city council minutes, a study which has before never been undertaken systematically,²⁵ reveals that sixty-four priests were publicly tolerated so as to stay or reside in Utrecht from 1630 to 1672 (Appendix 2). This statistic is all the more remarkable in view of the low number of legal proceedings undertaken against Catholic priests during that same period (sixteen cases: Graphs 2 and 3).

Only two cases have been identified in which priests were refused a permit to stay or reside in Utrecht. In 1650, when Henrick Hoeffslach, a priest working in Huissen, requested permission from the magistrates to stay in Utrecht for a month, his request was denied by the sheriff and the burgomasters.²⁶ In 1656, however, the magistrates did allow him a three-week stay (Appendix 2). In the other case, in 1651, an heir of the late Willem van Pylsweert asked the city council to allow Wachtelaer, who had been sentenced to banishment from the city in 1640 {19}, to return to Utrecht to

22 HUA, SAII, 121-14, 15 September 1630. On Van Medenblick in Leiden, see Kooi, *Liberty and Religion*, p. 192. Van Medenblick authored Catholic hymns in Dutch under the pseudonym Rumoldus Batavus. Leeuwen, *Hemelse voorbeelden*, pp. 46-47, 134, 139, 162; Lenarduzzi, *De belevingswereld*, pp. 226, 375; Idem, 'Subcultuur en tegencultuur', pp. 102, 264.

23 HUA, SAII, 121-14, 20 September 1630; HUA, VSOKN, 112, 20 September 1630: 'Vranckrijck, Duytslandt and andere Neutrale Landen'.

24 Hallebeek, 'Godsdienst(on)vrijheid', p. 125; Ven, 'De driehoek', pp. 36-37.

25 A list of tolerated priests was transcribed only for the period from 1657 to 1658 in Muller, 'Lijst van Roomsche-Katholieke priesters'.

26 HUA, SAII, 121-23, 17 June 1650.

dispose of the property of the deceased, but in vain.²⁷ Some priests were given a permit on multiple occasions. Most notable in this regard are Balthasar van de Kemp from Emmerich <38> and Willem (de) Munter from Dordrecht <59>, who both received permission no fewer than six times (Appendix 2). Others extended their permit prior to expiration. For example, although Henrick van Domselaer was initially permitted to stay in Utrecht for only twelve days, in the end he was granted three extensions allowing him to stay there for no fewer than 145 days <37> (Appendix 2). In four other cases, the magistracy explicitly noted that the permit could not be extended, even though three of the four priests in question did manage to obtain a new permit at a later date.²⁸ The length of stay for those priests ranged from three days for Cornelis van der Hout <53>, who obtained three-day permits no fewer than four times within two years, to an indefinite stay (Appendix 2). Seven priests received permission for an indefinite stay in Utrecht (until cancellation of the permit),²⁹ while Willem van Cruysbergen, a priest in IJsselstein, was given permission to visit Utrecht whenever he needed to <88> (Appendix 2).

The recognized priests came from diverse places where they regularly resided and/or officially served the congregation, at least on paper. While the regular workplaces are unknown for fifteen of the sixty-four priests,³⁰ it proved possible to track down the place(s) of appointment for the remaining forty-nine priests. Three of them once moved from one place to another.³¹ Their workplaces can be roughly divided into three regions, namely the Northern Netherlands (twenty-six priests, or 50% of the fifty-two priests),³² north-western Germany (sixteen priests, 30.8%),³³ and the Southern Netherlands (ten priests, 19.2%).³⁴ A significant number of incoming clerics from the latter two Catholic regions were also born in the Northern Netherlands.

How, then, did Utrecht's political authorities apply the governing strategy of toleration in regard to Catholic priests, and how can this be mapped?

27 HUA, SAII, 121-23, 20 March 1651. During his lifetime, Van Pylsweert was connived as a trustee of St Barbara and St Laurens Hospice and St Anthony Hospice, in spite of his Catholic faith. HUA, BAIL, 1254, 8 January 1625; HUA, BAIL, 1258, *passim* in 1622-1625; HUA, BAIL, 1987-1, *passim* in 1620-1626.

28 <33a> <36> <38a> <63b> in Appendix 2.

29 <31> <33b> <38f> <64> <89> <91> <94> in Appendix 2.

30 <32> <36> <37> <40> <53> <58> <64> <66> <78> <86> <87> <89> <90> <93> <94> in Appendix 2.

31 <46> <51> <72> in Appendix 2.

32 <31> <39> <41> <42> <43> <44> <46ab> <47> <49> <50> <51abd> <51c> <57> <59> <61> <63> <67> <70> <71> <72d> <76> <77> <82> <84> <88> <92> in Appendix 2.

33 <35> <38> <45> <46cd> <54> <55> <56> <60> <65> <68> <69> <72abc> <73> <80> <83> <85> in Appendix 2.

34 <33> <34> <48> <52> <62> <74> <75> <79> <81> <91> in Appendix 2.

In the context of the Eighty Years' War, the politico-religious authorities represented the Catholic clergy as 'enemies' who only brought harm to the soil of the Protestant Republic. In 1636 the Voetian city council drew up a list of the priests who had contravened the edicts, which, however, seems to have been lost.³⁵ Shortly before the raid on the house of Hendrica van Duivenvoorde, where Rovenius was staying, the political authorities toughened the regulations against priests. The 1639 edict prescribed that the Catholic priests who had come to Utrecht after 1622 were to leave, regardless of birthplace, and that the priests who had been living there from before 1622 were once again to register their name and address with the magistracy. Those who were 'tolerated' were required to live in observance of the edicts, which forbade them from serving the congregation as priests.³⁶ Furthermore, in 1639 the city council decided to offer a premium to anyone who caught a Catholic priest (f. (florins) 150 per person).³⁷ Such legislation formed the context in which five Catholic clerics, including Wachtelaer, were prosecuted in 1640 {18} {19} {20} {21} {22} (Appendix 1).

Despite the prohibitions and the trials, a steady stream of priests kept coming to Utrecht from surrounding Catholic territories. In 1643, for instance, the magistrates were informed that a secular priest or Jesuit, who had come from Brabant to Utrecht and was staying in the house of a certain 'Mr Gouda', was collecting money for the clergy in 'Enemy Places'. It cannot be determined whether this Mr Gouda was the registered Jesuit and canon of St Pieter named Jacobus de Gouda (1578–1643) <10>, who had been working in Utrecht since 1613. In any case, judicial officers rushed to the house, but only found the priest's clerical clothing.³⁸ In 1646 the Voetian consistory reported that a monk called Bernardus Bertramus had come from Cologne and visited a Reformed church in Utrecht. The consistory noted that, although the priest had not registered with the magistracy, he was nevertheless staying in the city at the house of a brewer called Vos, where 'Papists' and *klopjes* gathered for their religion.³⁹

As the end of the war approached, the Reformed consistory pushed the political authorities to buckle down on Catholic priests, complaining about the 'public residences' of priests, Jesuits, and *klopjes*, to the 'detriment of

35 HUA, SAII, 121-17, 7 January, 1 February 1636.

36 *G.P.U.*, I, pp. 395–96.

37 HUA, SAII, 121-18, 6 May 1639. See also the provincial edicts issued in 1639 and 1644 in *G.P.U.*, I, pp. 395–97.

38 HUA, SAII, 121-20, 14 November 1643: 'heer Gouda' and 'Vyanden Landen'. On Jacobus de Gouda, see Hoeck, *Schets*, p. 72.

39 HUA, KR, 5, 29 June 1646.

the church of God and the annoyance of the [Reformed] Community'.⁴⁰ The consistory's petition to the city council, submitted in 1648, maintained that if the political authorities showed 'connivance' to Catholicism, which contradicted 'Christian doctrine', God's wrath would fall on all the lands, as it had on the Old Testament Israelites. It insisted that Catholics had been exercising a baneful influence on the city, partly by their religious practices and partly by the agitations of the priests who rejoiced at the successes of the Catholic cause and lamented the prosperity of the Reformed Republic. As concrete countermeasures, the Voetian consistory proposed the establishment of bounties for information not only on priests, but also participants in Catholic assemblies as well as those who intentionally concealed the names of suspected priests and laypeople. Since, as the consistory noted, Catholic priests were known to be 'boldly' presiding over 'conventicles', it requested the city council to nullify the stay/residence permits given to the priests.⁴¹

Yet, the political authorities in Utrecht did not fully adopt these anti-Catholic proposals from the public church. According to De la Torre's mission report to Rome from 1638, the city of Utrecht had twenty-six secular priests, including Wachtelaer, three Jesuits, two Dominicans, and one Augustinian, in addition to seven priests working in the surrounding villages.⁴² Again, the estimated number of Catholic priests in Utrecht was far higher than that of the Reformed ministers, who amounted to only seven at that time.⁴³ From 1630 to 1648, fourteen priests were publicly recognized for permanent or temporary residence in Utrecht (Appendix 2), even though this same period saw the most (twelve) legal procedures against Catholic clerics among the sixteen total cases against them between 1620 and 1672 (Appendix 1). From 1630 to 1648 three priests were given permanent residence in Utrecht: Van Medenblick in 1630 <31>, Herman van Honthorst in 1637 <33b>, and Servaes van der Nypoort in 1648 <41c> (Appendix 2). After receiving their permit, however, the first two were sentenced to banishment from the city in the wake of lawsuits filed against them: Van Medenblick in 1631 {11} and Van Honthorst in 1641 {25} (Appendix 1). Together with two other priests called 'Aegid[ius] de Ridder [van Groenesteyn]' and 'unknown Duyck', Van Honthorst had once been banished in 1638 by the city council without the judgement of the city court.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, it remains remarkable that

40 HUA, SAII, 121-20, 18 May 1646; HUA, SAII, 121-21, 19 May 1646: 'publicque inwoningen' and 'nadeel van Godes kercke ende ergernisse vande Gemeente'.

41 HUA, KR, 5, 28 February 1648: 'conniventie' and 'Christelycke leere'.

42 Rogier, *Geschiedenis*, II, p. 389.

43 Duker, *Gisbertus Voetius*, III, pp. 108-10; Lieburg, *De Nadere Reformatie*, p. 151.

44 HUA, SAII 121-18, 6 August 1638.

Catholic priests were publicly permitted to stay or reside in Utrecht despite increasing pressure from the Voetian consistory during the last phase of the Eighty Years' War.

Following the Peace of Münster (1648) and the Great Assembly (1651), the Voetian consistory urged Utrecht's magistrates to take more effective action against Catholics. According to the Reformed consistory, the growing 'boldness of Papists' resulted from the 'free and rather public residence' of priests, who dared to live in the city openly in the view of others as if they enjoyed the freedom to live as Catholic ecclesiastics with no restrictions.⁴⁵ Indeed, the city council was informed about a priest called Hattem who was said to be living in a house in Nieuwstraat without a stay/residence permit.⁴⁶ The magistrates and the city court therefore decided to be more diligent in overseeing the Jesuits coming into Utrecht from the Habsburg Netherlands, which no longer represented official 'enemy territory'.⁴⁷ In several petitions written in the 1650s and the 1660s, the Reformed Church requested the political authorities to be more stringent in their observation of the anti-Catholic edicts concerning the clergy.⁴⁸ Among such petitions from the public church, a particularly aggressive example was the aforementioned long petition which the synod of Utrecht directed to the Provincial States in 1655/56. It justified the withholding of 'free and public residence and stay in the province of Utrecht' to all the priests and *klopjes*, whom it deemed harmful to the community because of their confessional doctrines and political (dis)loyalties. The 'kingdom of the Antichrist' will only be hindered and the 'Kingdom of our Saviour Christ' will only prosper if the 'grievous wolves', that is, Catholic priests and *klopjes*, are dispelled. In particular, so the petition claimed, priests and *klopjes* thought that 'the Monarchy and power of the Pope is infallible and absolute, which may be spoken against by no one', and they placed this absolute authority 'above all the churches and polities, above all the Kings and Princes'. Hence, according to the synod, the Catholic clergy insisted that they were 'free and exempt' from 'obedience to their lawful Governments'. The petition also noted the toleration which the political authorities had been bestowing upon clerics who 'from ancient times have been living inside these lands only under the express condition [...] that they act and order

45 HUA, KR, 5, 15 October 1649: 'vrij ende genoch openbaer wonen'.

46 HUA, SAIL, 121-23, 20 November 1648.

47 HUA, SAIL, 121-25, 31 October 1653.

48 HUA, KR, 5, 2 December 1650 (*Remonstrantie der E. Kerkenraedt*); HUA, KR, 6, 3 April 1654, 23 March 1657; KR, 8, 26 January 1663, 4 September 1665; HUA, SAIL, 121-25, 10 April 1654; HUA, SAIL, 121-26, 23 March 1657.

themselves' after the anti-Catholic edicts. In spite of the oaths sworn by tolerated priests, they behaved 'as if they were given privilege to enter here in the land in [large] numbers without fear, if only they give their names', streaming to cities and villages like 'locusts' in order 'to practise their Roman idolatry'. Again, this calls to mind the bold activities undertaken by Rovenius, the self-styled 'bishop of Utrecht', including the ordination of priests and shadow-canon. Since tolerated priests were violating their oaths and contravening the edicts, so the synod of Utrecht continued, they ought to be 'irrevocably' deprived of 'the toleration and connivances that had been bestowed [on them]'.⁴⁹

Utrecht's magistrates seemed to be unwilling, however, to realize the confessionalizing agenda of the Reformed Church and abolish the toleration extended to the Catholic clergy. According to De la Torre's 1656 mission report, around thirty secular priests were living inside the Utrecht city walls, four secular priests in the suburbs, as well as two Jesuits, two Dominicans, two Augustinians, one Franciscan, and one Carmelite within the city walls.⁵⁰ Judging from this report at least, the number of priests working in Utrecht seems still to have been growing. In 1665 the Reformed consistory lamented that the ratio of Catholic priests to Reformed ministers was no less than three or four to one.⁵¹ This hardly seems an exaggeration, since only thirteen ministers were working in the city at the time.⁵² Moreover, between 1649 and 1672 a total of fifty-two priests were publicly tolerated, allowing them to stay or reside in Utrecht (Appendix 2). During this period, Utrecht's magistrates, including Republicans, therefore bestowed public recognition upon Catholic priests, permitting them to stay or reside in the city, while on the theoretical level of legislation they promulgated harsh anti-Catholic edicts under pressure from the Voetian consistory, especially during the 1650s. Five priests were permitted to stay in Utrecht indefinitely, and they

49 HUA, VBB, 139, probably in 1655 or 1656: 'vrije ende publijcke wooninghe ende verblijf inde Provincie van Utrecht', 'rycke des Antichrists', 'Rycke onses Salichmakers Christi', 'sware wolven', 'de Monarchie ende macht des Paus onfeylbaer ende absoluyt is, die van niemant en mach tegen gesproken worden', 'boven alle kercken en politien, boven alle Coningen en Princen', 'vrij ende exempt', 'gehoorsaemheyt aen haer wetten Overicheden', 'van outs binnen dese landen woonachtich sijn geweest alleen onder de expresse conditien [...] dat se haer sullen gedragen ende reguleren', 'als off haer een privilegie ware gegeven, om sonder eenige vreesse met meenichten hier int lant te come, alse maer slechts hare namen bekend maken', 'sprinckhanen', 'haeren Roomschen Afgoden-dienst plegen', 'onwedersprekelick', and 'hare gepretendeerde tolerantie ende conniventien'.

50 Rogier, *Geschiedenis*, II, p. 392.

51 HUA, KR, 8, 30 June 1665.

52 Duker, *Gisbertus Voetius*, III, pp. 108–22; Lieburg, *De Nadere Reformatie*, p. 151.

seem never to have been deprived of this right.⁵³ Van Cruysbergen <88> was given permission to visit Utrecht whenever he needed to (Appendix 2). And even though the Reformed consistory suspected that Josephus van der Steen, a Carmelite in Brabant, would cause 'considerable harm',⁵⁴ the city council still gave him permission to stay with a nobleman named Wttenhove in Neerlangbroek for a year and a half <79> (Appendix 2). Moreover, although Cornelis van der Hout was incarcerated and then freed on bail (f. 750) in 1641 {24}, he was given permits for a three-day stay on four different occasions in 1653 and 1654 <53> (Appendices 1 and 2). Between the Peace of Münster (1648) and the beginning of the French occupation (1672), only four legal procedures were initiated against priests, namely Robert Redinge in 1653 {66}, Anthonis de Rhode (Rode) in 1655 {73}, Cornelis Duck {82} – whose permit for staying in the city had expired <43> – in 1663, and Aloysius Ballast {88} in 1666. Remarkably, De Rhode would be given permission to stay in Utrecht a month after a lawsuit against him <58> (Appendices 1 and 2). Especially in the 1660s, Catholic priests seem to have benefited from the overwhelmingly Republican composition of the city council and/or its antagonistic relationship with the Voetian consistory.

This does not mean, however, that the Republican magistrates stopped their surveillance of the Catholic clergy. In 1665 they compiled a list of nineteen priests 'who live and hold fixed residence here' (Appendix 3).⁵⁵ Among the listed priests, seven were Utrecht natives,⁵⁶ including Abraham van Brienens <001>, the vicar general and a pastor of the clandestine church of St Gertrudis in Mariahoek; Servaes van der Nypoort <002>, a secular priest at the same church; and Cornelis van Velthuysen (c. 1632–1710) <012>, a secular priest at the clandestine church of St Servaas Onder de Linden (Appendix 3).⁵⁷ The name Van der Nypoort <002>, who had been given permission in 1648 to stay in Utrecht indefinitely until cancellation of his permit <41c>,⁵⁸ occurs on the list with the note that he was 'free' (*vrij*) in Utrecht. A certain Reinier <007> was also described as free in Utrecht on

53 <38f> <64> <89> <91> <94> in Appendix 2.

54 HUA, KR, 7, 24 October 1659.

55 HUA, SAIL, 616, probably in 1665 (Hofman, 'Allerlei', pp. 187–89): 'die alhier wonen en vaste domicilie houden'.

56 <001> <002> <006> <012> <013> <014> <015> in Appendix 3.

57 On Van Brienens, see also Ackermans, *Herders*, passim, especially p. 331; Ven, 'De driehoek', pp. 52–53; 56, 72–74, 80. On Van der Nypoort, see also Ackermans, *Herders*, pp. 407–8; Kruijff, *Miraculeus bewaard*, pp. 148–52, 198, 261, 270, 272–73; Lenarduzzi, 'Subcultuur en tegencultuur', pp. 198, 246; Schilfgaarde, 'd'Everdinge van der Nypoort', col. 149. On Van Velthuysen, see also Ackermans, *Herders*, p. 458.

58 HUA, SAIL, 121–22, 23 May 1648.

the list, although his name cannot be found among the tolerated priests in the minutes of the city council. This serves to confirm that Van der Nypoot was the only one among the nineteen priests to be given public recognition for stay or residence in Utrecht. Although the city council submitted a list of priests – probably the same one – to the sheriff in July 1665,⁵⁹ a Jesuit called Aloysius Ballast <010> is the only priest reported to have been arrested and detained in the city's jail before the French occupation {88}.⁶⁰ Van Brien en <001> and another Jesuit, Lambert van Dilsen (1619–1679) <009>, appear as defendants in the legal records of the city court, but only after the end of the French occupation.⁶¹ Hence, the list of clerics drawn up in 1665 shows that eighteen out of the nineteen priests, with Ballast being the only exception, benefited from non-public connivance allowing them to live in Utrecht at least until 1672, even though the politico-judicial authorities knew of their existence and in some cases were even aware of where they lived. In 1670 the consistory once again explained to the city council that Catholics, and ecclesiastics in particular, were a danger to the Dutch Republic. According to its petition, Catholic priests were trying to 'establish [...] an authority within the authority' and 'to tear subjects, against the law of all peoples, away from obedience to their lawful Government'.⁶² In spite of this, the Republican magistrates continued to deploy the governing strategy of toleration in regard to the clergy.

From the perspective of the Reformed confessionalization agenda, Catholic priests undoubtedly represented the deadliest enemies against the *corpus christianum*, due not only to their confessional doctrines, but also their political inclination. The public church's fear was not groundless, since Catholic clerics always far outnumbered Reformed ministers in Utrecht, steadily streaming to the city like a swarm of 'locusts'. As the episcopal city turned into centre of the Holland Mission, Utrecht attracted many Catholic ecclesiastics. On the level of principle, the legislation of the political authorities prohibited priests from exercising their pastoral duties

59 HUA, SAIL, 121-27, 24 July 1665.

60 The *criminele stukken* do not preserve any information on this case, while the *criminele sententiën* for the period between 1658 and 1669 are lost. The Jesuit Norbertus Aerts's *Acta Missionis Hollandicae* reported that Ballast was arrested in Utrecht {88}. Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 122–23; Hoeck, *Schets*, p. 73.

61 For the legal case concerning Van Brien en, see HUA, SAIL, 616, 6 January 1675 (Hofman, 'Allerlei', pp. 192–95). For the Van Dilsen case, see HUA, SAIL, 2236-5, 5 January 1676; HUA, SAIL, 2244-135, 1, 3, 4, 8, 15, 17, 21 December 1675.

62 HUA, KR, 9, 6 June 1670: 'stabilierende [...] een imperium in imperio' and 'de onderdanen tegen het recht aller volcken aftrekkende van de gehoorsaemh[eijt] haerder wettige Overheden'. See also *ibidem*, 20 June 1670; HUA, SAIL, 121-28, 20 June 1670.

to the city's Catholic population. Nevertheless, in practice, they publicly recognized stay/residence permits for a significant number of priests and non-publicly connived at the stay/residence of other clerics in Utrecht. Many of the recognized priests did provide pastoral care to Utrecht's Catholics, breaking the oaths they had sworn when they obtained their permits. Indeed, the politico-judicial authorities prosecuted some of those tolerated priests for their illegal clerical activities. At the same time, they seem to have acknowledged, tacitly at least, that the city's Catholic inhabitants required pastoral care, and therefore connived at the clerical activities of many other tolerated priests during their stay or residence in the city. Against the public church's powerful wish for Reformed confessionalization, the Utrecht magistracy both officially recognized and unofficially connived at the presence of the Catholic clergy in the city.

2.2. Women

Like the priests who had held their benefices in Utrecht from before 1580, existing nuns and beguines were permitted to enjoy their income from the ecclesiastical properties on the condition that they observe the anti-Catholic edicts, but were forbidden to recruit new members.⁶³ Although this regulation seems not to have been strictly observed for some forty years after the outlawing of Catholicism, the Knighthood, which possessed five monasteries and convents, declared in 1621 that Catholic noblewomen were not to be recommended or admitted to the monasteries or convents any longer.⁶⁴ The city council was also keen on regulating former religious women who were still living in Utrecht.⁶⁵ In 1621 the city began selling houses in the Beguinage and in 1644 it decided to sell all the houses there, including those in which beguines were still living. However, the magistrates at the same time declared that six remaining beguines who were forced to move from the Beguinage would be accommodated with a rent-free, 'comfortable home'.⁶⁶ Nuns and beguines in Utrecht were therefore treated in a somewhat respectable manner by the Reformed government. But because they were prohibited from accepting new members, communities of nuns and beguines were destined to die out at some point in the future.

63 Hulzen, *Utrechtse kloosters*, p. 95.

64 Geraerts, *Patrons*, p. 110; Kalveen, 'De vijf adellijke vrouwenkloosters', p. 164.

65 E.g., HUA, SAIL, 121-10, 16 August 1624; HUA, SAIL, 121-15, 29 August 1631.

66 HUA, SAIL, 121-8, 20 August 1621; HUA, SAIL, 121-20, 12 February 1644: 'bequame woninge'.

This did not, however, mean the end of the role of women in rehabilitating the Catholic community. Rather, women became more important than ever before, by choosing another (semi-)religious vocation, namely that of *klopje*. These unmarried women or widows, many of whom came from well-to-do families, assisted priests, cared for the poor, educated children, distributed liturgical books, and won wavering souls over to the Catholic faith.⁶⁷ While the Catholic Church in the Northern Netherlands suffered from a chronic lack of priests (c. 400 priests in 1645, 508 in 1668, and 466 in 1701),⁶⁸ the number of *klopjes* living in the Dutch Republic in the 1690s is estimated to have been around 4,800, of whom a remarkable number of around 565 are reported to have been living in the city of Utrecht.⁶⁹ Some of the contemporary testimonies explicitly refer to the number of *klopjes* in Utrecht during the period under study. Around 1630 the converted former priest Francisci alleged that more than 1,000 *klopjes* were living in Utrecht.⁷⁰ Another, seemingly more plausible, estimate was made by Apostolic Vicar Johannes van Neercassel, who set the number of Utrecht's *klopjes* in 1662 at 500.⁷¹

In the eyes of passerby, *klopjes* manifested themselves as distinctive women of the Catholic faith. The Reformed consistory in Utrecht described *klopjes* and their activities as follows: numerous *klopjes* with 'sufficiently distinct and noticeable' clothing daily walked through public streets to visit Catholic and even Reformed homes, to practise 'superstitions' and to instruct children in Catholic catechisms.⁷² Although there were no official rules specifying particular clothing, *klopjes* tended to wear a 'uniform' characterized by modesty even in public spaces, enabling not only Catholics but also Protestants to identify them as Catholic *klopjes* (Fig. 2). Even if many *klopjes* originated from wealthy families, they were eager to put their Catholic piety on public display by their humble clothing, partly realizing their dream of leading an officially forbidden monastic life in the Protestant Republic. Given that priests were inclined to hide their religious vocation in public, it is remarkable that *klopjes* intentionally manifested their Catholic

67 On the *klopjes*, see Abels, *Tussen sloer en heilige*; Kooi, 'Catholic Women'; Monteiro, *Geestelijke maagden*; Schulte van Kessel, *Geest en vlees*; Spaans, *De Levens*; Theissing, 'Over klopjes en kwezels'; Verheggen, *Beelden*, passim; Watson, 'The Jesuitesses'.

68 Spiertz, 'De katholieke geestelijke leiders', p. 20.

69 Monteiro, *Geestelijke maagden*, pp. 51–56, 351–52.

70 HUA, OBC, 99; HUA, SAIL, 2244–86, n.d.; Muller, 'Getuigenis', p. 242.

71 Brom, 'Neerkassels bestuur', p. 183 (28 November 1662).

72 HUA, KR, 9, 6 June 1670 'genoegsaem onderscheyden en gesignaseert'. See also *ibidem*, 20 June 1670; HUA, SAIL, 121–28, 20 June 1670.



Fig. 2 Jacob de Man, Portrait of a *klopje*, c. 1680, parchment, 11.1 x 7.7 cm, Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, photograph by Ruben de Heer

piety in public by openly wearing their uniform of piety and externally displaying their Catholic faith in spite of official prohibition.⁷³

The politico-religious authorities in Utrecht acknowledged how important Catholic women, including *klopjes*, were for the confessional community of 'Papists', how dangerous they were for the public order of the Reformed city. The large number of *klopjes* with identifiable clothes inevitably caught the attention of the politico-religious authorities and Protestant residents. Many edicts issued by the political authorities and petitions submitted by the public church listed *klopjes* together with the priests among the bitter enemies of the Protestant cause. For example, the 1641 edict claimed that there were many 'unmarried Women (whom people call *Klopsusteren* or *Kloppen*)' living in the Republic, who harmed the 'public tranquillity of these Lands' and taught people numerous 'Popish Superstitions'.⁷⁴ Similarly, in 1646 the Reformed consistory insisted that the 'public residences' of priests and *klopjes*, openly known to Protestants, were to the 'detriment of the church of God and the annoyance of the [Reformed] Community'.⁷⁵ In 1655/56 the Reformed synod of Utrecht urged the Provincial States to deny all priests and *klopjes* 'free and public residence and stay in the province of Utrecht'.⁷⁶ After receiving several petitions from the public church for the stricter regulation of *klopjes*, the Provincial States of Utrecht issued an edict in 1655.⁷⁷ According to this edict, the political authorities had learned that Catholic assemblies were being communally held on a daily basis by those who were called *Quesels*, *Jesuiterssen*, *Geestelyke dogters*, *Klop-susteren*, or *Kloppen*, to the detriment of 'public tranquillity'. The States ordered the *klopjes* originating from outside Utrecht to leave the city within four weeks, while requiring native-born *klopjes* to register with the magistracy within the same span of time, under penalty of confiscation of their citizenship.⁷⁸ In 1661 the city council petitioned the Provincial States to promulgate a severer edict prohibiting citizens from becoming *klopjes*, but in vain.⁷⁹ The

73 Lenarduzzi, *De belevingswereld*, pp. 150–58; Idem, 'Subcultuur en tegencultuur', pp. 184–90.

74 *G.P.U.*, I, p. 398 (30 August 1641): 'ongehouwde Vrouwspersoonen (die men Klopsusteren of Kloppen noemt)', 'gemeen ruste deser Landen', and 'Paapsche Superstitien'.

75 HUA, KR, 5, 18 May 1646; HUA, SAIL, 121-21, 19 May 1646: 'publicque inwoningen' and 'nadeel van Godes kercke ende ergernisse vande Gemeente'.

76 HUA, VBB, 139, probably in 1655 or 1656: 'vrije ende publijcke wooninghe ende verblijf inde Provincie van Utrecht'. For comparable complaints from the public church about the *klopjes*, see also HUA, KR, 5, 2 December 1650; HUA, KR, 8, 4 September 1665.

77 HUA, KR, 6, 3 April 1654; HUA, SAIL, 121-25, 10 April 1654, 12 June 1655; HUA, SAIL, 121-26, 26 November 1655.

78 *G.P.U.*, III, p. 469 (28 November 1655): 'gemeene ruste'.

79 HUA, KR, 8, 26 August 1661.

regulations concerning *klopjes* therefore paralleled the rules against priests, not only in the obligation of registration but also in the condition under which their presence could be tolerated – that is, priests and *klopjes* with ties to the civic community of Utrecht could be tolerated to stay in the city, but social outsiders were to be banished immediately. Unfortunately, no list of registered *klopjes* survives, leaving it unclear whether the registrations functioned in practice.

How, then, did Utrecht's Catholic women contribute to Catholic survival, finding ways to thwart the Reformed confessionalization efforts? And to what extent did the political authorities tolerate their activities? Three types of these women's activities merit further examination here: assistance at religious services presided by priests, catechism education for children, and financial support for the confessional community.

Time and again the Reformed consistory complained about *klopjes* and other Catholic women partaking in Catholic sacraments and rituals, including (re-)baptism⁸⁰ and the lighting of candles for the dead.⁸¹ In some legal cases, interrogation or witness reports noted the presence of *klopjes* in the incidents investigated by judicial officers. For instance, Jan Jansz van Soest, living in St Job Hospice, testified as witness in 1634 that some women, seemingly including one *klopje*, together with the registered priest Paulus van Geresteyn <16>, were leading a number of Catholics to St Job Church adjacent to the hospice {12}.⁸² According to an interrogee named Jan Jansz van Munster, numerous *klopjes* were daily visiting Joannes Boshouwer, who faced accusations of insulting the Reformed Church {26}.⁸³ In 1661 the Voetian consistory ordered its church members to keep a watch on *klopjes* to find out why they were knocking (*kloppen* in Dutch) on the doors of Catholic houses. Several months later, the consistory learned that they were doing so to notify Catholics of their assemblies, and informed the militia captains and sheriffs of these practices.⁸⁴ In addition, a significant number of Catholic women with an elevated social status, no doubt including *klopjes*, hosted Catholic assemblies and sheltered priests in their private homes, some of which were transformed into clandestine churches. The 1665 investigation report of the city court noted that *klopjes* were living together, some of them with priests, especially on Mariahoek, Nieuwegracht, and Lollestraat, all places with

80 HUA, KR, 5, 20 April 1646.

81 Ibidem, 27 January 1651.

82 HUA, SAI, 2244-80, 30 January 1635.

83 HUA, SAI, 2244-89, 15 October 1641.

84 HUA, KR, 8, 21 October 1661, 3 March 1662.

Catholic clandestine churches in the vicinity.⁸⁵ In Mariahoek in particular, *klopjes* were living together in a 'beguinage-way', according to the consistory.⁸⁶ Indeed, in thirty-eight of the seventy-one legal cases of Catholic house gatherings in Utrecht (53.5%), the illegal assembly was discovered in the house of a Catholic woman.⁸⁷ Though these cases did make their way to the courts, one may safely assume that on many other occasions the politico-judicial authorities in practice connived at the participation of Catholic women in the exercise of the Catholic faith, which had been outlawed.

Although all the schoolmasters and mistresses of *bijtscholen* were required to confess the Reformed faith in seventeenth-century Utrecht, Catholics, and female Catholics in particular, were quite active in teaching children. Around 1630 the converted former priest Francisci testified that numerous *klopjes* were giving catechism lessons to children in Utrecht using their own question-and-answer manuals.⁸⁸ At the installation of school superintendents in 1638, the city council stressed their duty to monitor needlewomen – presumably *klopjes* – who were holding schools in their houses, 'under the pretext of teaching crafts, reading or writing'.⁸⁹ The anti-Catholic edict of 1639 also prohibited *klopjes* from luring people to 'Popery'.⁹⁰ Indeed, in 1649 the consistory learned that some Catholic women, especially Chrijsella Fermer and two *klopjes* called Lysbeth and Emmerens living on Achter Clarenburg, were luring children to the Catholic faith through their teachings.⁹¹ The suburbs of Weerd and Tollesteeg were also known to the Reformed consistory for the educational activities of the *klopjes*.⁹² At times the consistory informed the school superintendents about schoolmasters and mistresses who had not signed the canons of the Synod of Dordrecht,⁹³ and required them to submit a list of their names.⁹⁴ A copy of the list from 1663 contains some seventy names of schoolmasters

85 HUA, SAIL, 616, probably in 1665 (Hofman, 'Allerlei', pp. 187–89).

86 HUA, KR, 8, 2 June 1662: 'begijn-hoff-wijse'.

87 {27} {31} {32} {34} {37} {40} {42} {44} {53} {55} {57} {58} {60} {61} {68} {70} {72} {75} {76} {77} {78} {83} {84} {85} {86} {90} {91} {92} {93} {94} {95} {98} {99} {100} {101} {102} {103} {105} in Appendix 1.

88 HUA, OBC, 99; HUA, SAIL, 2244–86, n.d.; Muller, 'Getuigenis', p. 242: 'vraagboekjens'.

89 HUA, SAIL, 121–18, 13 August 1638: 'naaysters' and 'onder het deksel van het leeren van handwercken, mede leeren lesen ofte schryven'.

90 *G.P.U.*, I, p. 396 (9 April 1639).

91 HUA, KR, 5, 10, 17 December 1649; HUA, SAIL, 121–23, 17, 19 December 1649.

92 HUA, KR, 5, 12, 28 October 1650; HUA, KR, 7, 19 December 1659; HUA, SAIL, 121–23, 14 October 1650.

93 HUA, KR, 5, 2 April 1649.

94 HUA, KR, 8, 19, 26 August, 2 September 1661.

and mistresses, whose confessional affiliation in many cases nevertheless remains unknown.⁹⁵ Among them, the noblewoman Lemeer living on Domkerkhof is considered to have been a later owner of the Catholic school in which Arnoldus Buchelius discovered forty girls being taught in 1624.⁹⁶

The educational activities of Catholic women, especially *klopjes*, were praised by Catholics and denounced by the Reformed consistory. Some Catholic priests recognized the importance of *klopjes* in education, particularly for girls. For instance, according to a book written by the secular Utrecht priest Johannes Lindeborn <014> (*In matrimonii sacramentum notae catecheticae annotatae*, 1675), the *klopjes* were the reason why Dutch girls had a better chance at a Catholic education than boys.⁹⁷ Surprisingly enough, the teachings of *klopjes* at the elementary level attracted children of not only Catholic but also Reformed parents. Jan Jacob du Bois (1626–1663), the Reformed minister of the Walloon community, thus observed that some Catholic women were luring children to the Catholic religion through their education. As Du Bois saw the matter, the children themselves wanted to stay in the Reformed Church, but were forced by *klopjes* to practise the ‘superstitions’.⁹⁸ In 1652 the Reformed synod of Utrecht ordered Reformed parents not to send their children to ‘popish Schools or to the *kloppen*’.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, in 1664 the Reformed consistory was informed that a child, whose parents were both Reformed communicant members, was living with a *klopje*. The Voetian consistory attempted to bring this child to the public church with the aid of its Reformed friends.¹⁰⁰ The Reformed consistory took the matter of elementary education by Catholic women seriously, fearing the potential conversion of Reformed children to ‘Popery’. However, given that the aforementioned Catholic women were not prosecuted for their educational activities, it can be assumed that, in practice, the politico-judicial authorities non-publicly connived at their educational activities despite the existing prohibitions.

Why, then, did Utrecht’s magistrates in practice tolerate the schools run by Catholic women? One of the reasons may well relate to the high level of

95 HUA, Nederlandse Hervormde classis Utrecht, 265 (the list was transcribed in Booy, ‘Een stad vol scholen’, pp. 21–23).

96 Idem, *Kweekhoven*, p. 130.

97 Forclaz, *Catholiques*, p. 239. On Lindeborn and his devotional books for *klopjes*, see Monteiro, *Geestelijke maagden*, passim.

98 HUA, KR, 5, 10, 17 December 1649; HUA, SAI, 121–23, 17, 19 December 1649.

99 HUA, Nederlandse Hervormde classis Utrecht, 369, n.d. in 1652: ‘paepsche Schoolen, of bij de kloppen’.

100 HUA, KR, 8, 6 June 1664.

education they offered. In this regard, a case involving a French-speaking *kloppje* named Anna Maria de Cock, which was repeatedly discussed by the Reformed consistory between 1657 and 1664, is particularly interesting. According to the minutes of the Voetian consistory from 1657, students in De Cock's school on Geertekerkhof were practising such 'vanities' as dance.¹⁰¹ One day she had her students perform a comedy, which presumably ridiculed the Reformed faith, causing 'public annoyance'. The consistory notified the city court of the incident, which responded by summoning De Cock who promised that she would never let the children play comedies again.¹⁰² But in 1658 she once again became embroiled in trouble with her Reformed neighbours. Although De Cock initially insisted that she had instructed the children in 'civic manners', after being pressed by Reformed communicant members in her quarter she finally confessed that she had taught Catholic children how to pray before the crucifix, in violation of the anti-Catholic edicts. However, she still insisted that she had only taught the Reformed children to read and write, and that she had no intention to convert them.¹⁰³ By the time her name reappears in the minutes of the Reformed consistory from 1659, she had moved from Geertekerkhof to Jeruzalemsteeg, probably in an effort to avoid further trouble with her former Reformed neighbours. Still, De Cock did not give up teaching and opened a school at her new address. According to the report of the school superintendents, she also sent some children to a Catholic school in Emmerich.¹⁰⁴ Upon the consistory's request, the city council forbade De Cock to open her school, but in vain.¹⁰⁵ In 1660 and 1661 it was revealed that numerous Reformed parents were sending their children to her school. Not only Catholic parents but also their Reformed counterparts therefore seem to have wanted to have their children taught at her school. While the Voetian consistory asked other Reformed members to persuade their co-religionists not to send their children to De Cock's school, the burgomaster also promised the consistory that her activities would be curtailed.¹⁰⁶ However, in 1664 De Cock could still be found teaching children at home. The school superintendents warned her that she had contravened the order, and the Reformed consistory petitioned the burgomasters to have her punished.¹⁰⁷ After this incident, De Cock's name cannot be found

101 HUA, KR, 6, 20 April 1657: 'ijdelheden'.

102 Ibidem, 31 August, 19 October 1657: 'publycke ergernisse'.

103 Ibidem, 26 March 1658: 'civile manieren'.

104 HUA, KR, 7 21 November, 5 December 1659.

105 Ibidem, 12, 19 December 1659; HUA, SAI, 121-26, 19 December 1659.

106 HUA, KR, 7, 27 February 1660; HUA, KR, 8, 12 August, 2 September, 14, 21 October 1661.

107 Ibidem, 14, 21, 28 March 1664.

in any further records, including consistory minutes and legal documents, presumably indicating that she ended up evading legal sanction. Considering the huge demand for her as an elementary teacher among parents regardless of their confessional affiliation, the political authorities in Utrecht may well have made the pragmatic decision to connive at De Cock's educational activities, despite the ardent appeals from the public church to pursue judicial action against her.

A significant number of *klopjes* and other Catholic women who were active in protecting the Catholic community belonged to elite families. The politico-religious authorities saw their extensive property as a potential danger to the Reformed public order in Utrecht. Although the 1622 edict had already prevented Catholics from transferring their property to Catholic priests and their ecclesiastical institutions in Spanish territories,¹⁰⁸ the 1644 edict targeted Catholic women in particular. It noted that Catholic widows, as well as childless or unmarried women, whether they were called *klopjes* or not, were closely tied to priests, by whom they were being coaxed into donating or bequeathing their property to the clergy or Catholic institutions because of their 'ignorance'. The edict therefore forbade Catholic women to administer their property.¹⁰⁹

Notwithstanding this edict from 1644, magistrates did publicly practise toleration in ninety-five cases between 1645 and 1670, allowing Catholic women to bequeath their property as they saw fit, though to date these cases have not been subjected to the analysis they deserve.¹¹⁰ Since the ninety-five total cases involve eight women who were given permission on two or more separate occasions, it means that a total of eighty-six Catholic women were given limited recognition for the bequeathing of their property. Chronologically speaking, most Catholic women were granted such permission during the 1650s; for example, in 1656 there were nine women who benefited from such toleration.¹¹¹ This seems remarkable, since that was the very decade in which the political authorities reinforced the general regulations on Catholics and also ordered citizen *klopjes* to register with the magistracy and outsider *klopjes* to leave the city.¹¹² Regardless of the tightening regulations on Catholic women, it once again appears that, in practice, the city magistrates, including Republicans, did not enforce the

108 *G.P.U.*, I, p. 399 (26 February 1622).

109 *Ibidem*, I, pp. 405–7 (17 December 1644): 'onverstand'. See also *ibidem*, I, 407–9 (8 May 1656).

110 HUA, SAII, 121–21 ~ 121–28, *passim*.

111 HUA, SAII, 121–26, 4 January, 31 March, 30 June, 11, 15, 28 August, 8 September, 6 October, 6 December 1656.

112 *G.P.U.*, III, p. 469 (28 November 1655).

edicts very strictly. After 1660 the number of Catholic women who were given public recognition for the bequeathing of their property decreased, and no further reference to such permission can be found in the city council minutes after 1671. Unfortunately, it cannot be determined whether Catholic women were from then on no longer publicly permitted to bequeath their property, or whether the city council simply stopped making a record of such permission in its minutes.

One notable feature of the ninety-five cases is that the magistrates failed to record any details about the intended beneficiary in by far the greatest number (eighty-eight) of instances. It is only in the case of the noblewoman Maria de Huyter that the city council explicitly noted that she did not intend to bequeath her property to Catholic priests or religious institutions.¹¹³ In the six remaining cases, the magistrates noted that the women had specified family members as their heirs, whose religious affiliations are not certain.¹¹⁴ The case involving Emerentiana van Pylsweert is noteworthy. In February 1654 Jan Beerntsz van Huijsen, living in Arnhem, informed the Utrecht city council that Van Pylsweert, his wife's sister, was indirectly trying to offer her property to Catholic clerics. He demanded that Utrecht's magistrates appoint a 'suitable' person to manage her property, to which the city council consented. Seven months later, however, the magistrates publicly gave recognition to Van Pylsweert for the bequeathing of her property without either referring to Van Huijsen's appeal or identifying the beneficiary of the bequest.¹¹⁵ Besides, no Catholic woman was charged with contravening the 1644 edict regarding the bequest of property without prior consent from the magistracy. Thus, it can be deduced that the magistracy also non-publicly connived at the bequests of many other Catholic women, tacitly permitting them to do so. Why, then, were the political authorities so reluctant to follow the 1644 regulation? Unfortunately, our primary sources do not allow us to present a clear answer to this question, although they do allow us to formulate a hypothesis. The elevated social status of those wealthy Catholic women, together with their financial contribution to the multi-religious civic community, especially its poor inhabitants, might have stimulated the magistrates to tolerate their property administration despite the danger they allegedly represented to the Reformed public order. This suggestion is supported, for instance, by the public recognition extended

113 HUA, SAIL, 121-24, 2 May 1653.

114 HUA, SAIL, 121-21, 16 June, 8 September, 3, 24 November 1645, 26 January 1646; HUA, SAIL, 121-22, 2 November 1646; HUA, SAIL, 121-25, 7 April 1645.

115 Ibidem, 27 February, 18 September 1654.

to Maria van Pallaes, who left her property to the indigent in Utrecht, not limiting the recipients to her co-religionists alone.¹¹⁶

Catholic women, and *klopjes* in particular, played an indispensable role for the Catholic community, whose masculine power in the public sphere was more or less curtailed under the Reformed regime.¹¹⁷ For this reason, the politico-religious authorities considered Catholic women as 'dangerous' to the public order as the clergy, and sometimes even more so. Although the illegal activities of the *klopjes* were a public secret, they did rather boldly walk the public streets in their identifiable clothes as evidence of the connivance shown to them. Catholic women therefore did not secretly retreat into the private, domestic sphere, but audaciously expressed their Catholic faith externally and openly in the public sphere. The politico-judicial authorities did indeed prosecute many Catholic women, who participated in illegal Catholic activities, including assemblies. Yet they seem to have connived at many others. Despite the repeated calls from the Reformed Church for rigid regulations against the educational activities of Catholic women, Utrecht's magistrates non-publicly connived at many of their schools, in pragmatic consideration of the demand for their teaching among more than a few parents, irrespective of confessional affiliation. Moreover, despite the 1644 edict, they gave public recognition to numerous Catholic women, allowing them to bequeath their property as they saw fit, even though the Reformed had informed them of the potential danger that these women represented. The magistrates may well have been stimulated to public recognition of such administration of property by the elevated social status of these Catholic women and their potential socio-economic contribution to the multi-confessional civic community.

2.3. Public Office Holders

In 1633 the city council of Utrecht reaffirmed that every 'position, office, or benefice on behalf of the City' was to be occupied by Reformed members alone.¹¹⁸ But what were these 'public offices'? By 1670, when

116 HUA, BAI, 692, 5 October 1649, 26 November 1662; HUA, BAI, 694, 5 October 1649; HUA, NOT, U021a022, 128, 16 July 1656; HUA, NOT, U021a024, 99, 3 August 1658; HUA, NOT, U021a025, 122, 12 August 1659; HUA, NOT, U021a026, 116, 31 August 1660.

117 Spaans, 'Orphans and Students', p. 196. For a similar yet slightly different account, which instead stresses 'the privatization of Catholicism' in the Dutch Republic (albeit not witnessed by the present author in the Utrecht case), see Kooi, 'Catholic Women', pp. 154, 156–57.

118 HUA, SAIL, 121–16, 3 September 1633: 'ampt, officie ofte beneficie van Stadts wegen'.

the public church demanded that the city restrict 'public services for the city' to Reformed people,¹¹⁹ the connotation of the term 'public office' had undergone significant change. Over the course of the seventeenth century, the political authorities in Utrecht gradually expanded the notion of public office from which Catholics were to be excluded, to the detriment of their honour in the civic community. Nevertheless, Catholic Utrechters continued to be tolerated for service in public offices, including political offices, judicial offices, military offices, as well as canons, social welfare offices, and suppliers.

The first target of Reformed attempts at the confessionalization of public offices, of course, concerned political offices. Ever since the 1580s, it had been stipulated that all the political offices at the municipal and provincial levels were to be filled by those who made 'public profession' of the 'true Christian Reformed Religion'.¹²⁰ As the renowned humanist Buchelius observed in the 1620s and 1630s, however, even though the Utrecht city council came to be dominated by the orthodox Reformed after Stadholder Maurice's coup in 1618, Catholics still managed to wield political influence at the provincial level.¹²¹ Indeed, in the Provincial States of Utrecht, Catholics could count on such co-religionists as Peter van Hardenbroek (1593–1658) and Willem van Zuylen van Nyevelt (d. 1639), who served as representatives for the Knighthood (the second estate). Van Hardenbroek in particular succeeded in carving out a brilliant political career for himself, serving as president to the Utrecht Knighthood and even as a member of the States General and the Council of State.¹²² Against this background, the city council protested against the appointment of Catholic noblemen to the Knighthood in 1641.¹²³ Likewise, the Voetian consistory still insisted as late as 1650 that all government offices ought to be held by Reformed, indicating that the reality of the situation had been otherwise.¹²⁴ All in all, it is evident that prominent members of the Catholic faith benefited from connivance, allowing them

119 HUA, KR, 9, 6 June 1670: 'publique stadsdiensten'. See also *ibidem*, 20 June 1670; HUA, SAIL, 121–28, 20 June 1670.

120 E.g. *G.P.U.*, I, pp. 158–66, here especially p. 163: 'openbare professie' and 'ware Christelyke Gereformeerde Religie'.

121 Pollmann, *Religious Choice*, p. 152.

122 On Van Hardenbroek, see Faber, 'Dirck van Baburen'; Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 105–6; Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', pp. 38, 76, 87–88, 90, 92, 149, 263, 294; *Idem*, *Patrons*, pp. 35, 46, 79, 103–7, 109, 181–82, 268; *N.N.B.W.*, VI, col. 706–7. On Van Zuylen van Nyevelt, see *B.W.N.*, XIII, p. 394; Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 106, 125–26, 140–41, 156; Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', p. 281; *Idem*, *Patrons*, p. 80.

123 HUA, SAIL, 121–19, 17, 19 February 1641.

124 HUA, KR, 5, 2 December 1650 (*Remonstrantie der E. Kerkenraedt*, p. 10).

to retain political power, for Utrecht at the provincial level in particular, at least until the mid-seventeenth century.

In the Utrecht suburbs Catholics did occupy public offices, including those of sheriff, secretary, and alderman, as late as 1670.¹²⁵ In the surrounding countryside, non-Reformed aldermen and sheriffs, including Catholics, were active around 1640,¹²⁶ while Catholic noblemen continued to administer numerous seigneurial estates throughout the province.¹²⁷ One such Catholic nobleman, Adriaen Ram van Schalkwijk, was sentenced to banishment from the province for ten years in 1651, and his seignury, including the *jus patronatus* (right of ecclesiastical patronage), was forfeited.¹²⁸ However, Ram was able to return to the province long before the prescribed sentence had ended. In 1653 Ram could already be found petitioning the provincial court of Utrecht to allow him to stay in the province, and the next year his temporary return to Utrecht was publicly tolerated. After granting him a permit for several short-term stays, in 1658 the Provincial States recognized his eligibility to stay in the province, until the magistrates should find it necessary to banish him again.¹²⁹ The city council was, however, uncomfortable with this decision, which is remarkable in itself given the highly Republican composition of the city magistracy at the time.¹³⁰ In 1661, upon a request submitted by Adriaen's eldest son Everhardt Ram, the Provincial States publicly recognized Everhardt's right to exercise his seigneurial rights in Schalkwijk after his father's death, although a protest from the city council resulted in the *jus patronatus* being denied to him.¹³¹

Catholic Utrechters could not become aldermen, officials who functioned as jurors in the city court. They were also excluded from the decisive positions in the provincial court. During the 1580s it had already been stipulated that the president (*president*), councillors (*raadsheren*), and clerks (*griffiers*) of the provincial court were to be of Reformed conviction.¹³² The councillors, in particular, were required to take an oath to 'support the exercise of the Christian Reformed Religion'.¹³³ Nevertheless, three Catholics were

125 HUA, KR, 8, 18, 25 February 1661; HUA, KR, 9, 29 August 1670.

126 *G.P.U.*, I, p. 403 (25 February 1642); HUA, SAIL, 121-18, 1 July 1639.

127 Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility'; Idem, *Patrons*.

128 HUA, HVU, 99-8, 29 July 1651 (Hilhorst, 'Het kerspel Schalkwijk', pp. 65-67).

129 HUA, SAIL, 121-25, 8 November 1653, 18 November 1654, 1 June, 13 Augustus 1655; HUA, SAIL, 121-26, 25 February, 15 July 1656, 3 May 1658.

130 HUA, SAIL, 121-27, 2 March 1661.

131 Ibidem, 18 November 1661. See also Hilhorst, 'Het kerspel Schalkwijk', p. 75.

132 *G.P.U.*, I, pp. 158-62.

133 Ibidem, II, p. 1039 (4 July 1610): 'de exercitie van de Christelyke Gereformeerde Religie voor te staen'.

publicly recognized by the Provincial States as councillors to the provincial court, namely Otto Schrassert (in office 1627–1630), Jacob de Wys (in office 1630–1651), and Pieter Dierhout (Derout) (in office 1630–1640). According to the book of provincial edicts, Schrassert was commissioned as councillor for his ‘excellent erudition and experience’, in spite of his Catholic faith.¹³⁴ The city council even went so far as to nominate him for a new councillor’s position at the Provincial States in 1627. Three years later, however, the city magistrates regarded the ‘Roman religion’ of De Wys and Dierhout as problematic. The magistrates protested against their nomination by the first and the second estates of the Provincial States, complaining to the stadholder, but in vain.¹³⁵ Similarly, the Catholic Cornelis Portengen was publicly appointed sub-clerk to the provincial court (in office 1645–1674).¹³⁶ He appeared as the defender of prosecuted Catholics on four occasions [67] (Appendix 4). In 1649 the Provincial States found it necessary to re-confirm the stipulation restricting eligibility for the post of councillor in the provincial court to the Reformed alone.¹³⁷ It should be noted, however, that many members of the Catholic social elite chose to become solicitors and advocates of the city and provincial courts, from which they were not excluded in Utrecht until the early 1670s or later.

The Teutonic Order’s bailiwick of Utrecht, which was restricted to members of the nobility, came to function as an instrument of distinction for the nobility to protect their interests against the urban regents and the *nouveaux riches* in the Dutch Republic.¹³⁸ From 1615 onwards land commanders of the Teutonic Order were required to swear an oath to the Reformed faith,¹³⁹ but, in practice, Catholics were still connived as new members of the order for some years to come. Moreover, even after 1615 the knights of the bailiwick had to make a vow of celibacy, as an apparent vestige of the order’s original, Catholic nature. For this reason, Albrecht van Duvenvoorde, a Catholic commander, decided to resign from his position shortly before his marriage. The rule of celibacy was abolished in 1640 when the last Catholic commander Willem de Wael van Vronesteyn (1622–1659) was accepted into the bailiwick.¹⁴⁰ It was his father Gerard (d. 1647) who in 1625 publicly won

¹³⁴ *Ibidem*, II, p. 1054: ‘excelleerende geleertheyd en ecperientie’.

¹³⁵ HUA, SAII, 121–12, 12, 23 April 1627; HUA, SAII, 121–14, 28 April, 3 May 1630.

¹³⁶ *G.P.U.*, II, p. 1063.

¹³⁷ *Ibidem*, II, pp. 1044–45 (10 May 1649).

¹³⁸ Bruin, ‘De ridderlijke Duitse Orde’. See also Geraerts, ‘The Catholic Nobility’, p. 91; Idem, *Patrons*, pp. 108–9.

¹³⁹ HUA, VSOKN, 109; HUA, SAII, 2095, fasc. E.

¹⁴⁰ Bruin, ‘Religious Identity’, pp. 239–44.

limited recognition for the future appointment of his son as a member of the Teutonic Order, even though Willem had been baptized by a Catholic priest. When Willem came of age in 1639, Gerard petitioned the Provincial States of Utrecht for dispensation from the religious oath required of all prospective knights. In the end, the Provincial States accepted his appeal and decided to absolve Willem of this requirement.¹⁴¹

The name of Ernst van Reede van Drakesteyn, a nobleman and marshal of Overkwartier, appears in the *criminele sententiën* of 1622 {4}. His house on Janskerkhof was opened for a communal assembly at a time when Van Reede van Drakesteyn himself and his wife Elisabeth van Uytenhove were absent. Although there is no further testimony that would confirm the nature of the assembly, all participants – in total, twelve men and nine women – were required by the city court to pay a fine of f. 25. The punishment levied suggests that the assembly might have been a Catholic one. The same is implied by Van Uytenhove's family background, as her mother Agnes van Renesse van Baer (d. 1613) was a former nun.¹⁴² If the assembly in question was indeed a Catholic gathering, Van Reede van Drakesteyn's appointment as marshal of Overkwartier may have come in spite of his (real, inward) devotion to the Catholic faith.¹⁴³ Although Catholics were deprived of the right to become militia officers in 1631,¹⁴⁴ four years later a Catholic called Jacob Adriaensz van Beeck was revealed to have been connived as a commander in the militia for some time.¹⁴⁵ In 1649 the Reformed consistory urged magistrates to exclude as many Catholics as possible from the army and militias.¹⁴⁶ But in 1659 the city council once again found it necessary to reconfirm the stipulation restricting eligibility as militia officers to citizens of the Reformed faith.¹⁴⁷ The repeated reissuing of these edicts seems to suggest that, in practice, the magistrates continuously connived at Catholic Utrechters holding military offices and civic militias.

In medieval times, canonries were ecclesiastical offices, meaning that laypeople were by definition excluded from appointment. However,

141 HUA, SAIL, 121-18, 4 May 1639; HUA, SAIL, 121-19, 6 March 1640. For a more detailed account of the story behind this dispensation, see Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', pp. 91, 275–76; Idem, 'Dutch Test Acts', pp. 72–74; Idem, *Patrons*, pp. 107–9.

142 HUA, SAIL, 2236-2, 23 October 1622. On Ernst van Reede van Drakesteyn, see *N.N.B.W.*, III, col. 1010. On Agnes van Renesse van Baer, see Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', p. 269.

143 This does not seem impossible, since another Catholic, François de Witt, was also appointed the substitute for the field marshal of Overkwartier in 1681. *Ibidem*, p. 90; Idem, 'Dutch Test Acts', p. 72; Idem, *Patrons*, p. 106.

144 HUA, SAIL, 121-15, 5 September 1631.

145 HUA, SAIL, 121-17, 25 May 1635.

146 HUA, SAIL, 121-23, 17, 19 December 1649. See also HUA, KR, 5, 10, 17 December 1649.

147 HUA, SAIL, 121-26, 13 June 1659.

following the Protestant Reformation, people of both faiths, including Catholic priests and laypeople, became eligible for one of the no fewer than 140 canon's positions in Utrecht. We can therefore regard a canonry in early modern Utrecht as a public office for present purposes. In 1600 the Provincial States declared that 'a papist who is pious and well-disposed towards the fatherland shall not be rejected' as a canon.¹⁴⁸ As such, Catholic priests and laymen continued to be publicly employed as canons by the Reformed government for decades, provided that they were considered sufficiently patriotic. However, this special proviso was rescinded in 1615, when the Provincial States decided to prohibit Catholics from acquiring benefices and canonries. From then on, the enormous ecclesiastical wealth of the chapters came to be distributed among the Reformed alone.¹⁴⁹ In spite of this, in July 1622 the chapter of St Pieter bestowed one of its canonries on a Catholic advocate named Hieronymus van Buren (Bueren), who was working for the provincial court.¹⁵⁰ Soon thereafter, in February 1623, the Provincial States found it necessary to reiterate the same prohibition.¹⁵¹ However, once again a Catholic, this time Jacobus van Buren, was publicly appointed a canon of St Pieter, only nine days after the edict had been reissued.¹⁵² Toleration as limited recognition was therefore certainly exercised in the matter of appointments to canonries in post-Reformation Utrecht.

Exactly how many Catholic canons there were in seventeenth-century Utrecht, however, remains largely unknown. Some eighteenth-century polemicists of the *Oud-Bisschoppelijke Clerezij* estimated that around 1635 fifty of the 140 canons were Catholics. Yet a twentieth-century Roman Catholic writer estimated their number at no more than twenty. In neither case, however, were the calculations based on primary sources but on confessionally driven expectations.¹⁵³ According to a more recent account, Willem van der Nypoort (d. 1653), who was a canon of St Marie and became dean of the same chapter (in office 1627–1649), may have

148 This resolution of the Provincial States was transcribed in Ven, *Over den oorsprong*, p. 170 (22 February 1600): 'een vroom ende tot den vaderlande geaffectioneert papist nyet gereiecteert en wordt'.

149 *G.P.U.*, I, p. 218 (8 June 1615).

150 Ven, *Over den oorsprong*, p. 53.

151 *G.P.U.*, I, p. 219 (14 February 1623).

152 Ven, *Over den oorsprong*, p. 53.

153 The eighteenth-century polemicists are Nicolaas Broedersen (c. 1682–1762) and Gabriël Dupac de Bellegarde (1717–1789). Broedersen, *Tractatus Historicus*, I, p. 475; Dupac de Bellegarde, *Histoire abrégée*, p. 132. The twentieth-century writer is Johannes de Jong (1885–1955). Jong, 'Het Utrechtse vicariaat', pp. 76–77.

belonged to the Catholic Church.¹⁵⁴ When the Provincial States were required in 1654 to grant the Catholic nobleman Jacob van Rysenburch dispensation from the requirement of signing statements concerning religion to permit him to accept a canonry of St Pieter, the city council objected, noting that this would contravene the provincial edicts of 1615 and 1623.¹⁵⁵ If the mission report of De la Torre from 1656 is to be trusted, there were eleven Catholic canons in Utrecht at the time, although Van Rysenburch was not included among them.¹⁵⁶ In 1659 Johannes Schade (1612/13–1665), a priest born in Utrecht and a member of the *Vicariaat* since 1645, drew a blueprint for restoring the Dom chapter to the Catholic clergy in 1659,¹⁵⁷ but such a plan would never be realized in the Dutch Republic. According to a report that Apostolic Vicar Johannes van Neercassel sent to *Propaganda Fide* in 1672, during the French occupation, all canonries, with three exceptions, were occupied by ‘heretics’.¹⁵⁸ Finally, the year 1680 saw the death of the last Catholic canon, Gerard van der Steen. In this way, Catholics were gradually excluded from the canonries after the edicts of 1615 and 1623. Yet it remains remarkable that once Catholics were publicly allowed to assume a canonry, they were tolerated in these lucrative public offices until their death, with the one exception of Wachtelaer, who was sentenced to the deprivation of his canonry in 1640 {19}.

Even after the Protestant Reformation, hospices for the sick and elderly in Utrecht retained their Christian character and remained accessible to Catholic patients. Responding to the situation in which trustees (*regenten*, *broeders*, or *huismeesters*) still ‘daily’ invited secular priests and Jesuits into their hospices, which each had their own chapels, the city council decided in 1615, and again in 1620, that those working for the hospices, including trustees and female overseers (*moeders*), had to be Reformed.¹⁵⁹ As this regulation was disregarded, the city council re-confirmed it in August 1637. Three months later it added Catholic maids (*dienstmaagden*) to the list.¹⁶⁰ Between then and 1658, the minutes of the city council and the Reformed consistory at times reported the presence of Catholic figures in hospices,

154 For Willem van der Nypoort, see Forclaz, *Catholiques*, p. 171; Schilfgaarde, ‘d’Everdinge van der Nypoort’, col. 149.

155 HUA, SAIL, 121-25, 14 March, 12, 19 June 1654.

156 Lommel, ‘Relatio seu descriptio’.

157 HUA, MKOKN, 625.

158 *R.B.*, II, p. 634 (22 July 1672 (N.S.)): ‘haeretici’.

159 HUA, SAIL, 121-6, 4 December 1615; HUA, SAIL 121-8, 29 May 1620.

160 HUA, SAIL, 121-17, 28 August 1637; HUA, SAIL, 121-18, 6 November 1637.

including St Job,¹⁶¹ *Dolhuis*,¹⁶² St Bartholomew,¹⁶³ the Apostle,¹⁶⁴ and the Holy Cross,¹⁶⁵ with other references in the minutes failing to specify the name of the hospice in question.¹⁶⁶ The plan for the 'prevention of Popery' formulated by the Reformed synod of Utrecht in 1652 also suggests that the presence of Catholics on hospice boards had actually been tolerated.¹⁶⁷ Indeed, the archives of the twelve hospices, which have largely been neglected in scholarship to date, show that the regulation was disregarded in practice.¹⁶⁸ At least until the early 1660s, Catholic Utrechters benefited from connivance, allowing them to serve as hospice trustees. Furthermore, until the end of the period studied, many of those who appeared as defenders for the prosecuted Catholics in the 105 legal procedures functioned as hospice trustees. Among the connived trustees, we can find the priest Paulus van Geresteyn, who registered with the municipality in 1622 <16> (Appendix 2). In spite of the discovery of an altar with ornaments in his house in 1633,¹⁶⁹ as well as his denunciation for presiding at Catholic services at St Job Hospice in 1635 {12} (Appendix 1), he was during these very same years non-publicly connived as a trustee of St Anthony Hospice (in office at least 1631–1633, 1635–1636).¹⁷⁰ The magistrates, therefore, unofficially connived at the presence of Catholic trustees, including this prosecuted priest, allowing the latter to maintain an influence in some hospices, especially Holy Cross and St Anthony, where they acted rather 'boldly' at times in openly showing their religiosity.¹⁷¹

At its establishment in 1628, the municipal chamber of charity was required to distribute sixteen trustee posts equally between Reformed and Catholic 'qualified persons'.¹⁷² This bi-confessional system was short-lived,

161 Ibidem, 15 July 1639.

162 HUA, KR, 7, 30 August, 6 September 1658; HUA, SAIL, 121-18, 15 July 1639.

163 HUA, SAIL, 121-19, 14 October 1639.

164 HUA, KR, 4, 27 August 1640; HUA, SAIL, 121-19, 31 August 1640.

165 HUA, KR, 5, 4, 11 February 1650; HUA, KR, 6, 28 September 1652; HUA, SAIL, 121-23, 18 February 1650.

166 HUA, KR, 7, 15 July, 18 October 1658; HUA, SAIL, 121-18, 30 October 1637; HUA, SAIL, 121-23, 2 November 1650; HUA, SAIL, 121-24, 7 February 1652; HUA, SAIL, 121-26, 25 October 1658.

167 HUA, *Nederlandse Hervormde classis Utrecht*, 369, n.d. in 1652.

168 The twelve hospices are St Catharine, St Barbara and St Laurens, St Bartholomew, the Holy Cross, St Anthony, St Martin, St Job, the plague hospice Leeuwenberch, the Apostle, St Jacob, St Joosten, and St Martha. The archives of all twelve hospices are preserved in HUA, BAIL.

169 HUA, SAIL, 121-16, 11 November 1633.

170 HUA, BAIL, 1987-1, passim in 1631–1633, 1635–1636.

171 HUA, BAIL, 1840-1 (the Holy Cross Hospice, 1643–1695); HUA, BAIL, 1987-1 (St Anthony Hospice, 1603–1649).

172 *G.P.U.*, III, p. 556 (1 September 1628); HUA, SAIL, 121-13, 1 September 1628; HUA, SAIL, 1824, 1 September 1628.

at least officially. One month after the edict banning Catholics from hospice boards was reissued in August 1637,¹⁷³ three Catholic laymen named Mulaert, Buyren, and Zas van Weldam, who had just been newly chosen as trustees of the municipal chamber of charity, appeared before the city council. Zas van Weldam argued that if they, as Catholics, were eligible to serve as trustees to the municipal chamber of charity, they should also be allowed to serve on the boards of hospices. After debate between the burgomasters and the Catholics, the city council decided that these Catholic men were to be discharged and replaced by three Reformed members.¹⁷⁴ The next year the magistracy decreed that eligibility for the board of the municipal chamber of charity was to be restricted to the Reformed.¹⁷⁵

In actual practice, however, Catholics were continuously connived as trustees of this public charitable institution. My survey of the minutes of the municipal chamber of charity, which records all the yearly appointments between 1628 and 1673, with the exception of the period from 1648 to 1656, reveals the presence of a significant number of Catholics almost every single year.¹⁷⁶ All the same, it is impossible to determine whether the bi-confessional administration of the chamber functioned in practice between 1628 and 1637, since the confessional affiliation of some of the trustees is unclear. At least twenty of 160 trustees appointed during the same period (12.5%) were certainly Catholics. From the abolition of the bi-confessional administrative system in 1638 until 1671, shortly before the French occupation, the names of trustees are available for a total of twenty-five years: from 1638 to 1647, and from 1657 to 1671. Out of the 400 total appointments for these twenty-five years, at least fifty were Catholics (12.5%). Even though no official modification was made to the rules regarding the confessional affiliation of trustees after 1638, Utrecht's magistrates continued to connive non-publicly at the appointment of Catholic trustees to the municipal chamber of charity.

Furthermore, Mulaert and Buyren, two of the three aforementioned Catholic petitioners, may well have assumed public social welfare offices even after their conflict with the burgomasters in 1637. Although

173 HUA, SAI, 121-17, 28 August 1637. Catholic trustees of the chamber during the period of the bi-confessional administration include Anthoni van Blockland, Assuerus van Brakel, Willem van der Burch, Hieronymus van Buren, Nicolaes Dierhout, Pieter Schade, Hendrick van Schroyesteyn, and Gerard van der Steen. HUA, SAI, 1825-1, 1 September 1628, 19 October 1630, 13 October 1631, 12 October 1632, 12 October 1633.

174 HUA, SAI, 121-17, 27 September 1637. See also, HUA, SAI, 1825-1, 5 October 1638.

175 HUA, SAI, 121-18, 14 August 1638. See also, HUA, SAI, 1825-1, 1 October 1638.

176 HUA, SAI, 1825-1 ~ 1825-5.

the minutes of the city council fail to specify the three petitioners' first names, the 'Mulaert' in question may be Diderick Muylert, who was a trustee of St Bartholomew Hospice (in office at least in 1653), and 'Buyren' Hieronymus van Buren, who served as trustee to the municipal chamber of charity (in office 1633–1635), the Apostle Hospice (in office at least in 1640), and St Bartholomew Hospice (in office at least in 1653).¹⁷⁷ The advocate of the provincial court of Utrecht, Hendrick (Henricus) van Erckel (d. 1687), was likewise non-publicly connived as a trustee of the municipal chamber of charity.¹⁷⁸ His three brothers Franciscus (c. 1638–1678), Lambertus (c. 1638–1692), and Nicolaus (d. 1697) were all secular priests working in Holland.¹⁷⁹ Johan Christiaan van Erckel, a son of Hendrick van Erckel and Margaretha van der Poort (d. 1665), also was a priest, who went on to function as one of the most important priests in the *Oud-Bisschoppelijke Clerezij* at the time of the Utrecht Schism in 1723.¹⁸⁰ Given the vital positions held by these connived Catholic trustees within their confessional community, the connivance may have been extended to induce other Catholics to contribute more generously to the public collection of alms. As such, the magistrates acknowledged the importance of Catholic Utrechters with elevated social status, both as trustees and as donors to the public charitable institution.

After 1648 the concept of public office, from which Catholics were banned, was further expanded. In a long petition the Voetian consistory drew up in 1648, shortly before the Peace of Münster, it maintained that Catholics should be excluded from 'public offices and services' as well as the ranks of 'suppliers to the City'. The public church insisted that Reformed believers should be favoured for such professions, just as Catholics were favoured by the French king and the Holy Roman Emperor in their respective territories.¹⁸¹ In another plea to the city council from 1649, the consistory urged the magistrates to deny Catholics the right to assume some public offices, including those of guild-master and beer-supplier (*bierdragers*).¹⁸² On yet another occasion, the Reformed consistory noted that some guilds were filled with 'Papists' who,

177 HUA, BAI, 1604, c. 1653; HUA, SAI, 121-19, 13 September 1640; HUA, SAI, 1825-1, 12 October 1633, 9 October 1634.

178 HUA, SAI, 1825-3, 24 August 1657.

179 Ackermans, *Herders*, pp. 356–58.

180 *Ibidem*, passim, especially pp. 356–57; Jacobs, *Joan Christiaan van Erckel*; Spaans and Hof, *Het beroerde Rome*, passim.

181 HUA, KR, 5, 28 February 1648: 'publycque ampten en bedieningen' and 'Stadts werckct leverantien'.

182 *Ibidem*, 10, 17 December 1649; HUA, SAI, 121-23, 17, 19 December 1649.

in its words, were a 'great obstacle to Christ's Kingdom'.¹⁸³ In 1652 the city magistracy decided that from then on, the skippers (*schippers*) of small barges (*cleyne schuyte*) between Utrecht and Amsterdam were to be exclusively Reformed.¹⁸⁴ Later the city council generalized the regulation even further, stipulating that those who worked for the civic audit office (*Cameraer rekening*) and served the city (*Stadsdienst*), including beer-suppliers, porters (*sackdragers*), bargemen, general suppliers (*leveranciers*), and day labourers (*werkluyden*), ought to be Reformed.¹⁸⁵ Since the Catholic butcher Dirk van Schorrenberg was witnessed in 1673, during the French occupation, to have shouted, 'Now we shall govern, and then no one will become porters and carriers, unless they are papists',¹⁸⁶ the prohibition seems to have been at least partly enforced. At the same time, given the size of the Catholic population, it also seems to have been impossible to bar Catholic Utrechters from these professions altogether.

In the course of the seventeenth century, the political authorities significantly altered the concept of public office, the foundation of the city as a *corpus christianum*, from which Catholics were to be excluded. Originally, the notion included only political, judicial, military, and former ecclesiastical posts, but later it was extended to cover also social welfare offices, city suppliers, and day labourers. This reflected the tendency towards the Reformed confessionalization of public offices, damaging the honour of Catholic Utrechters in the urban public sphere. However, this process was never completed, as, in practice, a level of toleration was shown in the form of public limited recognition and non-public connivance. Utrecht's political authorities publicly recognized Catholics for the assumption of certain political offices, especially at the provincial level, but also councillors to the provincial court and military offices ranging from marshal to militia officers, at least until the mid-seventeenth century. At the same time, they non-publicly connived at numerous Catholics, allowing them to serve the public charitable institutions even during the latter half of the seventeenth century. For them, it may well have been unrealistic, in practice, to exclude Catholics systematically from all the public offices covering an increasing number of aspects of civic life, given the large Catholic population and the tangible presence of the Catholic elite in Utrecht.

183 HUA, KR, 6, 12 February 1655: 'groote verhinderinge vant koninkrijke Christi'.

184 HUA, SAII, 121-24, 5 April 1652.

185 HUA, SAII, 121-25, 11 November 1654, 12 June 1655.

186 HUA, SAII, 2244-134, 27 October 1673, 20 May 1674: 'nu sullen wij een regeren, en dan sal niemand tot saekedragers, voerluijden gemaakt worden, ter sij mede paaps waren'.

2.4. Applicants for Citizenship

Up until the early sixteenth century, Utrecht's 20,000 inhabitants ranked it among the ten largest European cities. The city's population then grew further to c. 25,000 in 1577 and c. 33,500 in 1670. In spite of this, the enormous growth experienced by the cities in Holland relegated Utrecht to fourth or fifth place in population size among the cities of the Northern Netherlands in the seventeenth century. The population expansion in the Dutch Republic resulted mainly from the incoming flux of immigrants.¹⁸⁷ Utrecht was demographically connected to the areas to the east, including north-western Germany.¹⁸⁸ Most immigrants entering Utrecht from such recruitment zones were skilled craftsmen who addressed local and regional needs, in contrast to the skilled textile workers from Flanders and international merchants from Brabant or the Iberian peninsula, whose migration to Holland brought an enormous economic impulse there in the late sixteenth century in the context of the Eighty Years' War against Spain.¹⁸⁹

The premodern civic community consisted of diverse groups of people with different rights and obligations, who can be divided into citizens (*burgers* or *poorters* in Dutch), residents (*inwoners* or *ingezetenen*) who had no citizenship but did have the right to live in the city, and foreigners (*vreemdelingen*).¹⁹⁰ Before the rise of modern nation-states, 'only citizens were considered full members of the urban community, entitled to the advantages that this entailed'.¹⁹¹ Citizenship constituted the nucleus of the civic community. Politically, only citizens were eligible for major offices, including those on the city council. Judicially, citizens accused of wrongdoing were first summoned before the court of their city, composed of aldermen (that is, their fellow citizens), and not a court outside their hometown. Economically, citizens were exempt from the payment of certain tolls and had exclusive access to the guilds. In exchange for these beneficial rights, citizens were obliged to pledge allegiance to the civic community and its authorities, and to defend the city, so that male adult members were required to join civic militias.¹⁹² Especially in Utrecht, people attempted

187 Rommes, *Oost*, pp. 17–35; Vries, *European Urbanization*, pp. 33, 271.

188 Rommes, *Oost*, pp. 63–171; Vries, 'Searching for a Role', p. 55.

189 Ibidem, pp. 55–56.

190 Rommes, *Oost*, p. 36.

191 Prak, 'The Politics of Intolerance', p. 161. On pre-modern citizenship in general, see idem, *Citizens without Nations*. On pre-modern citizenship in Utrecht, see Bogaers, *Aards*, pp. 36–52; Prak, 'The Politics of Intolerance', passim; Rommes, *Oost*, pp. 36–52.

192 Bogaers, *Aards*, p. 47; Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 264–69; Prak, *Citizens without Nations*, pp. 50–160; Idem, 'The Politics of Intolerance', p. 161; Rommes, *Oost*, p. 36.

to gain citizenship in order to join the guilds, which had been one of the backbones of the civic community politically, socio-economically, and religiously.¹⁹³ Utrecht citizenship was somewhat more selective than it was in many other cities in the Low Countries and Germany. People could acquire Utrecht citizenship in three ways, namely through 1) paternal succession, 2) purchase, and 3) free donation, for a select few notables only. In such cities as Antwerp and 's-Hertogenbosch, on the other hand, anyone born inside the city walls was automatically registered as a citizen. Other cities, including Amsterdam, Amersfoort, Augsburg, and Strasburg, offered newcomers citizenship freely when they married citizens. Utrecht provided no such options for citizenship applicants. Families of citizens constituted roughly half of Utrecht's population (between 15,000 and 18,000, or 48% to 58% of the total population in 1650), which was for the most part composed of guild craftsmen, rentiers, independent professionals, patricians, and nobles. It is worth noting that seventeenth-century Utrecht had many citizens from the socio-economic elite, including clergy, nobles, and jurists, but was largely devoid of the wealthy merchant class so often depicted as the textbook image of the Dutch Golden Age. At the conclusion of the citizenship ceremony, the bell at the Buur Church (literally meaning 'the church of citizens') was sounded, symbolizing the public, official enrolment of new Utrecht *burgers*.¹⁹⁴

For the first seventy years or so following the introduction of the Protestant Reformation to Utrecht, citizenship had remained immune from the Reformed confessionalization demands. Catholic citizens were not deprived of their citizenship on religious grounds, and Catholic newcomers could still be enrolled as new citizens. In 1611 the city council declared that applicants for citizenship were to be required to present a 'sealed certification or attestation' of their 'good comportment' issued by their former place of living.¹⁹⁵ Likewise, in 1629 the city magistrates stipulated that applicants were to present a testimony of their 'qualification and comportment', but they imposed no religious requirement yet.¹⁹⁶ Beginning around the mid-seventeenth century, however, the public church started urging magistrates to exclude Catholic applicants from the citizenry. In 1648, shortly before the Peace of Münster, the Voetian consistory claimed in a petition to the city

193 Slokker, *Ruggengraat*.

194 Kaplan, *Calvinists and Libertines*, pp. 119–20, 132; Rommes, *Oost*, pp. 36–41, 44–45.

195 HUA, SAI, 121-5, 21 January 1611: 'besegelde certificatie ofte attestatie' and 'goed comportement'.

196 HUA, SAI, 121-14, 20 April 1629: 'qualificatie ende comportement'.

council that Catholics should not be allowed to acquire new citizenship or to enter the guilds. According to the consistory, Utrecht would become even poorer if it accepted more Catholics, since the city would be forced to offer financial support to those who bought papal indulgences and used the city's funds for the construction of churches and monasteries in Catholic territories abroad.¹⁹⁷ Likewise, in 1649 the Reformed consistory requested the city magistrates to check the applicants' qualifications for citizenship strictly, especially if they were 'papists'.¹⁹⁸ The consistory thus represented Catholics as a fifth column inside Utrecht and demanded confessional purification of the civic community through the regulation of citizenship, identifying Catholics as one of the reasons for the city's financial problems.

Utrecht's financial situation grew even worse in the second half of the seventeenth century. In 1654 the city council responded to the above demands from the Reformed consistory by deciding that applicants for citizenship, and Catholics in particular, had to provide testimony of their 'religion and comportments', although it is unknown how exactly a person's faith was to be proved.¹⁹⁹ It also stipulated that officers verify where applicants had been living immediately prior to their arrival in Utrecht, whether they were going to marry, or had already married, the daughter or widow of a citizen and whether they had lived in the city or its suburbs for three consecutive years.²⁰⁰ The following year, after receiving complaints from the consistory about the influx of Catholics, the magistracy, which included Republican members, finally prescribed that Catholics could no longer acquire citizenship 'unless the City Council approved [them] unanimously for certain evident reasons'. Moreover, if anyone was found to have converted to the Catholic faith after becoming a citizen, their citizenship would be forfeited upon death. Therefore, if a father became Catholic, his citizenship would not be transferred to his children, even though the father himself could enjoy its privileges during his own lifetime.²⁰¹

Similar anti-dissenter policies relating to citizenship could be found in cities in the eastern, inland provinces of the Dutch Republic, such as Nijmegen and 's-Hertogenbosch, as well as in Germany, in Aachen and Cologne, although cities in the province of Holland such as Amsterdam and Haarlem did not adopt such confessionally driven discriminative

197 HUA, KR, 5, 28 February 1648. See also HUA, SAIL, 121-22, 6 March 1648.

198 HUA, SAIL, 121-23, 17, 19 December 1649. See also HUA, KR, 5, 10, 17 December 1649.

199 HUA, SAIL, 121-25, 21 August, 27 November 1654: 'religie ende comportementen'.

200 Ibidem, 21 December 1654.

201 *G.P.U.*, III, p. 271 (12 June 1655); HUA, SAIL, 121-25, 12 June 1655: 'ten ware om eenige merckelicke redenen de Vroedschap eenpaerlijck quame goet te vinden'.

measures against citizenship applicants.²⁰² Unlike the cities of Holland, which profited from international trade and enjoyed economic prosperity during the Dutch Golden Age, Utrecht's economy depended largely on local artisanal production and experienced constant decline during the seventeenth century.²⁰³ Under such circumstances, Utrecht's political authorities sought a way out of the severe financial situation by excluding Catholics, as confessional others, from the ranks of the citizens and from the guilds. It should be noted, however, that the magistrates introduced an ambiguous exception clause ('unless the City Council approved [them] unanimously for some evident reasons') to the 1655 edict, creating room to obtain citizenship for those Catholics who represented a socio-economic benefit and were considered to be politically trustworthy. At least on paper, the city magistrates, including Republicans, accepted the confessionalizing demands of the Voetian consistory for religious purification of the *corpus christianum* as one of their financial policies.

How strictly, then, was this anti-Catholic edict on citizenship enforced in practice? Normally, registration records for citizen applicants only noted such information as name, profession, birthplace, and former residence, and whether or not the application had been granted, but did not document religious affiliation. However, on the basis of one register, we can identify ninety-six applicants between the promulgation of the 1655 edict and the French occupation in 1672 as Catholics, since it notes in each case that the officers, in compliance with the 1655 edict, decided to either deny or approve their citizenship application.²⁰⁴ Thus, each year an average of 5.6 Catholics applied for citizenship. Among the ninety-six Catholic applicants, the city magistracy ended up publicly recognizing eighty-six as Utrecht citizens (90.0%). Until 1672, it did not deprive Catholics of their citizenship. Once enrolled as Utrecht citizens, Catholics therefore never lost their privileges during the period under consideration.

There were only four female applicants in the register. Many of the ninety-two male applicants were craftsmen or merchants. They may have been stimulated in their application for citizenship by the prospect of the socio-economic privileges it entailed, such as exclusive access to guilds and exemption from tolls. Eight of the eighty-six successful applicants acquired citizenship after

202 Frijhoff and Spies, *Bevochten eendracht*, p. 184; Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad*, p. 131; Lourens and Lucassen, 'Zunftlandschaften', p. 19; Prak, 'The Policies of Intolerance', pp. 162–75; Rommes, *Oost*, pp. 41–42; Vos, *Burgers*, pp. 45–47.

203 Vries, 'Searching for a Role'.

204 HUA, SAIL, 414-1. Unless otherwise noted, the description below is based on this source.

having been refused the right on several earlier occasions. Jelis Reyniersz, for example, failed three times before his successful enrolment as a citizen in 1660.²⁰⁵ At least twelve successful applicants are known to have paid a fee, ranging from the f. 12.1 paid by Herman Joosten and Peter Cornelisz Verlaen to the f. 30 paid by Philips Jacobsz van Oosterlaeck. The former two married the daughter or widow of a citizen.²⁰⁶ The amount paid by these Catholics is almost the equivalent of what the city council stipulated in 1624: f. 12.5 for residents born in Utrecht and for those who married daughters or widows of citizens; f. 25 for all others including newcomers.²⁰⁷ While the Republican magistrates in principle endorsed anti-Catholic proposals from the Voetian consistory, depriving Catholics of their right to acquire citizenship, they, in practice, publicly recognized numerous Catholic newcomers as citizens. In other words, Catholics proved successful in exploiting the aforementioned ambiguous exception clause in order to acquire Utrecht citizenship.

For sixty applicants, the registration record notes the birthplace or former/current place of residence. Among them, fifty-one came from the Northern Netherlands, including the suburbs of the city of Utrecht (85.0%), while seven originated from Germany (especially north-western Germany), one from the Southern Netherlands, and one from Ireland. Although two-thirds of the growth in the population of Utrecht in the seventeenth century is said to have been caused by immigration from outside the Dutch Republic, most of the Catholic applicants for citizenship came from within the Republic.²⁰⁸ In contrast to the clergy, Catholic laypeople from neighbouring Catholic territories had no religious motive for moving to Utrecht under Reformed rule, whereas Protestants from these areas certainly did. According to the registration record, thirty-three of the ninety-two male applicants for citizenship had married or were going to marry the daughter or widow of a citizen (35.9%). For only three of them, the application was rejected.²⁰⁹ When two Catholics who had been refused Utrecht citizenship at an earlier occasion were accepted on their second attempt, the registration record noted that they had married the daughters of citizens.²¹⁰ Their marriage may therefore have led the city council to revisit the earlier decision. The requirement of three years' residency seems to have been just a minimum. Even though the period of prior residency cannot be confirmed for every

²⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, 18 June 1660.

²⁰⁶ HUA, SAII, 121-26, 24 March 1656.

²⁰⁷ Rommes, *Oost*, p. 41.

²⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 76-102.

²⁰⁹ HUA, SAII, 414-1, 9 April 1667, 2 August 1669, 14 February 1671.

²¹⁰ *Ibidem*, 31 January, 7 February 1659.

applicant, the longest residency found was seventeen years, in the case of Jan Claesz, who succeeded in obtaining citizenship.²¹¹ On the other hand, the applicant with the shortest residency in Utrecht (six years) was Ariaentgen Hogeboom, whose citizenship application was rejected.²¹²

Personal relationships were also important for Catholics in order to gain public recognition as new citizens. According to the registration record, the craftsman Willem Wittens, who had been living in Utrecht for more than ten years, was approved as a new citizen because 'wine merchants really needed him'.²¹³ Some Catholic applicants had established ties to the local, social elite in Utrecht. For Herbert van Raveswaey's successful application, the registration record noted his parents' social standing: his father was the sheriff of nearby Jutphaas, and his mother was the daughter of an Utrecht citizen.²¹⁴ The Van Raveswaey family was known in Utrecht as well. Andries van Raveswaey (d. before 1667) [72] appeared in the city court as a defender in the trial against Aert Willemsz Peerboom (Pereboom), who was charged with hosting a Catholic assembly in his house {50} (Appendices 1 and 4).

Beginning around the mid-seventeenth century, the Voetian consistory pursued the confessionalization of citizenship, and in response the magistracy, including Republican members, promulgated the 1655 edict, denying Catholics the right to enrolment as new Utrecht citizens. Nevertheless, in practice the magistracy publicly recognized a significant number of Catholics as new citizens. Nor does it seem to have put the citizenship of established Catholic citizens in jeopardy until at least 1672. From the viewpoint of the public church, which insisted on the confessional purification of the citizenry of their *corpus christianum*, the 1655 edict was thus scarcely implemented in practice. Yet from the perspective of the city magistrates, who had already made room in the edict for the admission of socio-economically beneficial and politically trustworthy Catholics, sixty-eight of the ninety-six Catholic applicants simply met such – admittedly unspecified – standards. The political authorities tolerated these useful Catholics, recognizing them as new citizens, in the hope that the multi-religious civic community would benefit from them financially or otherwise. Many tolerated Catholic new citizens had various relationships with the civic community of Utrecht, whether by birth, marriage (to the daughters of citizens), previous residency in Utrecht, or other, personal connections, especially with native Catholic Utrechters of elevated social status.

211 Ibidem, 21 July 1656.

212 Ibidem, 4 December 1671.

213 Ibidem, 15 June 1657: 'wyncopers hem seer nodich van doen hebben'.

214 Ibidem, 30 May 1656.

2.5. Conclusion

Apart from repression, Utrecht's political authorities also applied the other governing strategy of toleration to Catholics in order to cope with religious diversity. Although the tides of repression changed constantly between 1620 and 1672, toleration was always practised not just by the Republican magistrates of the 1660s, but even by Calvinist and Voetian magistrates. Notwithstanding the anti-Catholicism enacted in legislation adopted under increasing pressure from the Reformed Church, in practice the magistrates continued publicly to bestow limited recognition on Catholics, as well as non-publicly displayed connivance towards them, thereby searching for a solution to maintain the endangered unity of their *corpus christianum*. By doing so, they sought to preserve the supremacy of the Reformed, physically and symbolically representing their authority in the public sphere, while enhancing their chances to exploit Catholic Utrechters socio-economically to the advantage of the civic community. Although scholars have tended to focus exclusively on passive practices of connivance in the Dutch Republic, it is important to note that Utrecht's political authorities not only exercised such unofficial connivance, but also officially recognized the presence or behaviours of Catholics in different sectors of the civic community, on a surprisingly large scale.

Since Catholic priests were considered a great danger to the Reformed public order, Utrecht's magistrates prohibited them from acting as clerics and ministering to Catholic souls. Nevertheless, they publicly recognized many priests as sojourners, residents, and citizens in Utrecht. Furthermore, the magistrates may well have non-publicly connived at a significant number of priests, allowing them to stay or reside in the city, even though their name and place of residence were known. The Utrecht political authorities seem to have tacitly confirmed the Catholic inhabitants' need for pastoral care exercised by the clergy. Apart from priests, Catholic women, and *klopjes* in particular, were likewise regarded as a hazard to the officially Reformed city. Given their high numbers and recognizable clothes, the existence of *klopjes* was openly known. Despite numerous petitions from the Reformed Church, however, Utrecht's magistrates connived at the presence and activities of many *klopjes*. Even though the politico-judicial authorities prosecuted many Catholic women for hosting Catholic assemblies, they also connived at many other women who participated in such illegal gatherings. Given the popularity of the elementary education given by Catholic women among parents irrespective of their confessional affiliation, the magistracy in practice connived at

many of their schools. Seeing their undeniable economic potential for the civic community, Utrecht's magistrates publicly recognized a considerable number of wealthy Catholic women, allowing them to administer their property despite existing prohibitions. Under increasing pressure from the public church, the political authorities extended the notion of public office, from which Catholics were to be excluded, encompassing not only political, judicial, military, and former ecclesiastical offices, but also offices pertaining to social welfare, city suppliers, and day labourers. Nevertheless, the Reformed magistrates at the same time publicly recognized Catholics, allowing them to assume certain political, judicial, military, and formerly ecclesiastical offices, especially at the provincial level, at least until the mid-seventeenth century. Besides, they non-publicly connived at the presence of many Catholic social welfare officers. From a pragmatic perspective, Utrecht's political authorities could not ignore demands from the citizens who, in the practice of their everyday lives, needed Catholics, especially those of elevated social status, as public office holders. Beginning around the mid-seventeenth century, the Voetian consistory urged the magistracy to deny Catholics the right to acquire new Utrecht citizenship, already a more exclusive privilege than it was in other cities in the Low Countries and Germany. Yet the political authorities also continued to publicly recognize many Catholics as new Utrecht *burgers*, in consideration of their potential socio-economic contribution to the city.

The pursuit of Reformed confessionalization of the public sphere, therefore, failed in practice. Utrecht's public sphere was, in the end, not entirely confessionalized as Reformed, although it was not deconfessionalized or secularized, either.²¹⁵ Through the governing strategies of toleration, the political authorities resisted the confessionalizing demands of the Reformed Church, delimiting the physical and abstract public in the multi-confessional civic community in a different way from that advocated by the church. On the one hand, the political practices of toleration put the brakes on the radical theocratic ideal of confessionalization endorsed by Calvinists and Voetians. On the other hand, toleration replicated the asymmetrical power relationship between Reformed and Catholics, between those who tolerated and those who were tolerated, allowing the former to exploit the latter socio-economically. The toleration served to preserve the discriminatory situation in which Catholics faced significant obstacles in living as pious Catholics and esteemed urban inhabitants.

²¹⁵ Cf. Frijhoff's argument on the deconfessionalization and secularization of the public sphere. Frijhoff, 'How Plural', p. 48; Idem, 'Was the Dutch Republic', p. 112.

Abbreviations

<i>A.A.U.</i>	<i>Archief voor de geschiedenis van het aartsbisdom Utrecht.</i> Utrecht, 1875–1957.
<i>B.W.N.</i>	Aa, A. J. van der, <i>Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden</i> , 26 vols. Haarlem, 1852–1878.
<i>D.N.L.</i>	<i>De Nederlandsche Leeuw.</i>
<i>G.P.U.</i>	Water, Johan van de. <i>Groot Placaatboek vervattende alle de placaten [...]</i> Staten 's lands van Utrecht, 3 vols. Utrecht, 1729.
<i>J.O.U.</i>	<i>Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht.</i>
<i>M.O.U.</i>	<i>Maandblad Oud-Utrecht.</i>
<i>N.N.B.W.</i>	Molhuysen, P. C., and P. J. Blok, eds. <i>Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek</i> , 10 vols. Leiden, 1911–1937.
HUA	Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht
BA	Bewaarde archieven
HVU	Hof van Utrecht
KR	Nederlandse Hervormde gemeente Utrecht, kerkeraad
MKOKN	Metropolitaan Kapittel van de Oud-Katholieke Kerk van Nederland
NOT	Notarieel archief
OBC	Apostolische vicarissen van de Hollandse Zending
SA	Stadsarchief
VBB	Verzameling van Buchel-Booth
VSOKN	Verzamelde stukken van de oud-katholieke kerk in Nederland

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 369. Copies of the minutes of the provincial synod and the classes in Utrecht, including a plan for the prevention of Popery formulated by the provincial synod, 1652
 HUA, Notarissen in de stad Utrecht 1560–1905 [NOT] (34-1)
 HUA, Verzamelde stukken van de oud-katholieke kerk in Nederland [VSOKN] (88)
 109. Summary of the resolutions of the Provincial States of Utrecht concerning the appointment of the land commander of the Teutonic Order, 1615

112. Petitions from Catholic priests who had lived in the city since before 1622 to the Utrecht magistracy, 1630
HUA, Hof van Utrecht [HUV] (239-1)
- 99-8. Sentences in criminal cases in the provincial court of Utrecht, 1638-1732
HUA, Verzameling van Buchel-Booth [VBB] (355)
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HUA, Bewaarde archieven I [BAI] (708)
692. 'Foundation Book' (*Fundatie-boeck*) of the almshouses of Maria van Pallaes, 1665-1708
694. Request of Maria van Pallaes to the Provincial States of Utrecht concerning her testament, 1649
HUA, Bewaarde archieven II [BAII] (709)
1254. Documents concerning the appointment of new trustees in St Barbara and St Laurens Hospice, 1616-1631
1258. Minutes of the trustees of St Barbara and St Laurens Hospice, 1615-1765
1604. Lists of the trustees of St Bartholomew Hospice, c. 1651 and 1653
- 1840-1. Minutes of the trustees of the Holy Cross Hospice, 1643-1695
- 1987-1. Minutes of the trustees of St Anthony Hospice, 1603-22 September 1722
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- 3 ~ 10. Minutes of the Reformed consistory, August 1618-July 1690
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