

Part II.

Catholic Survival Tactics

3. Foundational Infrastructure: Social Status and Networks

Abstract: Social status and networks formed a firm basis for Catholic survival. Focussing on Catholics with elevated social status and their networks of sociability, this chapter uncovers the infrastructure that was crucial to the survival of Catholics as individuals and as a group in Utrecht. These notable Catholics were composed of the defenders of prosecuted Catholics, nobles as well as canons, lawyers, and those with privileged connections to the Reformed elite. On the basis of their socio-economic capital, citizenship, and patronage, these prominent Catholics were not only guardians of the Catholic community, but also pillars of the wider civic community of Utrecht and beyond. Under their leadership, Catholics found themselves at the focal point of multi-religious Utrecht and its urban public sphere.

Keywords: social status, network, sociability, socio-economic capital, citizenship, patronage

Johannes Wachtelaer began his petition to the stadholder in 1639 by referring to the elevated social status of many native Catholics in the Northern Netherlands:

[I]n the United Provinces there are, and from of old have been, many (even a great host) who are of the old Catholic Roman religion, specifically also from the most prominent families of the land, both noble and bourgeois, so that there is hardly anyone of good family in the government of the land who has no close friends or relatives of this religion.¹

¹ HUA, OBC, 159, December 1639 (Rogge, 'Memorie', p. 2): 'in de Geunieerde Provintien resideren ende van oudts geresideert hebben zeer veel (tot een groote menichte) die zijn van de oude catholycque roomsche religie, ende namentlick oock van de principaelsten, soo adelijcke

In order to soften Frederick Henry's heart towards Philippus Rovenius and other Catholics, including himself, Wachtelaer represented Dutch Catholics as his natural friends and as being closest to him in social standing, with established ties in the Northern Netherlands dating back to before the Protestant Reformation and the Dutch Revolt.

This chapter will examine the social status of the repressed and tolerated Catholics, as well as their defenders, who appear in the period under study. By combining the information from existing genealogical and prosopographical studies with the data produced by the present survey, it will unveil part of the hitherto underexplored networks of sociability used by Utrecht's Catholics to survive the Protestant regime.² It will position Catholic individuals and their defenders in their confessional and multi-confessional communities in Utrecht and, more widely, the Dutch Republic. While Catholics formed one-third of the city's total population of 30,000, which included a wide range of people from unknown indigents to prominent figures, this chapter will focus on those of elevated social status and their networks. It will argue that such notables were indispensable for the survival of the politico-religiously discriminated community of Catholics in Utrecht and beyond, providing their fellow believers with the necessary infrastructure for their survival through spatial practices and in discourses of self-representation – which will be, respectively, the topics of the next two chapters. The leading Catholics have been divided into four categories: defenders of the prosecuted Catholics; nobles and canons; jurists; and those with close ties to the Reformed elite. I shall argue that Catholics, both as individuals and as a group, could survive as devout Catholics and respected Utrechters backed by the elevated social status, ample socio-economic capital, eminent public reputation, and various networks of the Catholic elite, including their connections with their Reformed counterparts, notwithstanding the suppression of or significant constraints upon their rights and the serious damages inflicted

als burgerlicke familien van 't landt; soo datter qualick iemant is in 's landts regeeringe van eenich geslachte, off hij heeft navrienden ende bloetverwanten van de selve religie'.

2 I would like to express my deep gratitude to Marten Jan Bok, who kindly shared many of his (unpublished) findings and materials relating to the genealogy of early modern Utrechters with me. For a genealogical study of Utrechters until 1650, see also Burik, Kemp, and Verhoef, *Utrechtse Parentelen*. For genealogical studies of Catholics in the city of Utrecht, see also Boukema, 'Geloven in het geloof', pp. 45–51; Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 53–62, 143–77. For a genealogical study of Catholics in the province of Utrecht, see Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', passim; Idem, *Patrons*, passim. For a prosopographical study of Catholic priests working in the Northern Netherlands from 1663 to 1700, see Ackermans, *Herders*, especially pp. 311–478. Sebastien A. C. Dudok van Heel shows the value of genealogical research in tracing the avenues of social power to which Amsterdam's Catholics had access. Dudok van Heel, *Van Amsterdamse burgers*.

upon their politico-social credibility or fame in the urban public sphere. They constituted an integral part of the multi-confessional Christian social community (*corpus christianum*).

3.1. Defenders of the Prosecuted Catholics

According to a petition from his brother [86] and sister [87] to the Utrecht city court, Wachtelaer {19} left his hometown after the sheriff had summoned him, because he solicited the help of three advocates in Arnhem, The Hague, and Amsterdam. In the end, he was supported by Johan de With [93], an advocate of the provincial court of Holland who was located in Amsterdam, as well as several advocates of the provincial court of Utrecht. He trusted these ‘experienced lawyers’.³ If we wish to gain a better understanding of Catholic survival tactics, it is necessary to shed light on the hitherto underrepresented roles of these defenders who arbitrated with the sheriff on behalf of prosecuted Catholics, attested their innocence, and wrote pleas for them, regardless of any official legal capacity they might have had. In at least seventy-three of the 105 cases (70.0%), the presence of such defenders can be attested,⁴ amounting to a total of 100 (Appendix 4). Wachtelaer obtained support from the highest number of defenders {19} (eleven, Appendix 1). While sixty-nine of the defenders (69.0%) appear in the legal records only a single time,⁵ Berent (Bernhardt) van Zutphen, an advocate of the provincial court of Utrecht [99], appears most frequently, with a total of twelve appearances in the 105 cases.⁶

The defenders not only refuted charges filed against prosecuted Catholics and defended them, but also sought to negotiate penalties and even paid fines for them or posted bond on their behalf. In at least ten cases, defenders asked the city court to form a committee composed of aldermen to arbitrate between the sheriff and the prosecuted party, even though existing edicts prohibited all compromise with Catholics.⁷ By at least 1665, some defenders from legal

3 HUA, MKOKN, 557, n.d. (after 10 March 1640): ‘gepractiseerte rech[t]sgeleerden’.

4 Involvement of defenders cannot be confirmed in {2} {3} {4} {6} {7} {9} {10} {11} {12} {15} {18} {23} {25} {26} {28} {30} {33} {43} {45} {46} {47} {49} {53} {56} {59} {61} {62} {63} {66} {75} {77} {97} (Appendix 1).

5 The thirty-one defenders who appeared in the legal records more than once are [4] [7] [13] [15] [21] [22] [27] [28] [31] [33] [34] [37] [38] [41] [44] [45] [49] [50] [51] [53] [58] [62] [63] [64] [67] [78] [79] [80] [89] [98] [99] (Appendix 4).

6 {29} {42} {48} {50} {51} {52} {55} {57} {60} {72} {87} {104} in Appendix 1.

7 {5} {8} {86} {87} {90} {91} {92} {93} {95} {98} in Appendix 1.

professions started using a fixed formula for negotiations with the city court.⁸ In at least sixteen trials, the arbitration efforts of the defenders resulted in the final fine noted in the sentences being different from the original fine levied by the sheriff.⁹ For instance, in the case against Gerard van der Steen, the Catholic canon of St Jan, the sheriff initially demanded fines for all twenty-six participants caught at a gathering in his house {17}. However, according to a petition signed by an Utrecht provincial court advocate named Abraham van Kerckraad [45], most of the participants were simply too poor, old, or young to be fined. In the end, Van der Steen paid a total fine of f. (florins) 550 for all participants, a significant decrease from the amount prescribed in the edicts (Appendices 1 and 4). But prosecuted Catholics were not always successful in their negotiations. When the Catholic farmer Wouter Woutersz was charged with holding a Catholic assembly at his house at which, according to the sheriff, 200 or 300 'anonymous and indigent' people were present {39}, the sheriff demanded a fine of f. 1,200, which was already lower than officially required. Yet a petition from Woutersz's side, signed by the city court solicitor Didolph van de Poel [66], explained that Woutersz was too poor to pay and requested further leniency. This plea seems to have irritated the city court, for in the end Woutersz was fined f. 4,800, nearly the full amount legally stipulated for an unlawful 'popish' assembly with 200 participants (Appendices 1 and 4). Although Wachtelaer's sister [87] swiftly managed to raise the sum of f. 6,000 demanded from him by selling his books and paintings {19},¹⁰ others, including Woutersz, no doubt had a harder time paying such large amounts. Presumably, non-wealthy Catholics could depend on the Catholic community, with its many members from the socio-economic elite as well as illegally administered 'communal funds', or else on the defenders within their socio-judicial networks. Indeed, Everard van der Schuer [78], a provincial court advocate, and another provincial court advocate named Richard van Coesfelt [21], paid a fine of f. 600 for the 200 anonymous Catholics who had gathered in the Cecilia Convent {14} (Appendices 1 and 4).

What motivated the defenders to stand for the prosecuted Catholics? At least some of them will have been sympathetic towards them on religious grounds. For at least twenty-five of the 100 defenders (25.0%), it can be determined with certainty that they belonged to the Catholic Church.¹¹

8 {86} {87} {90} {92} {93} {95} {98} in Appendix 1.

9 {5} {8} {39} {48} {62} {82} {83} {84} {87} {89} {89} {90} {91} {93} {94} {95} {98} in Appendix 1.

10 HUA, MKOKN, 557, n.d. (after 10 March 1640); HUA, SAIL, 2244-87, n.d., 18, 19 December 1640.

11 [2] [7] [8] [13] [15] [28] [30] [38] [41] [44] [50] [60] [63] [64] [67] [70] [78] [79] [80] [85] [89] [90] [91] [96] [99] in Appendix 4.

Family relationships were another factor motivating defenders to support prosecuted Catholics. At least twelve of the 100 defenders (12.0%) were relatives, whose own religious affiliation nevertheless remains unclear.¹² For example, Balthasar van Bueren, lord of Zuidoort (1604–1669), embraced the Catholic faith and was the third and last husband of a Catholic noblewoman named Beatrix de Wael van Vronesteyn (1617–1653), sister to Willem de Wael van Vronesteyn, a recognized Catholic member of the Teutonic Order.¹³ Together with other defenders, Van Bueren posted bail of f. 1,200 for the Jesuit Aloysius Ballast {88} and paid a fine of f. 380 for Agatha Dierhout {94} [15] (Appendices 1 and 4). Another Catholic defender was Cornelis Portengen (d. 1687), stepfather of the Catholic priest Nicolaus Henricus van der Poort (c. 1657–1718).¹⁴ At the same time, he was publicly recognized as a sub-clerk of the provincial court despite the prohibition of the edict (in office 1645–1674),¹⁵ appearing in four legal cases as a defender of prosecuted Catholics [67] (Appendix 4). Besides, the twenty-seven Catholic defenders included two bookkeepers¹⁶ and four trustees¹⁷ of the Catholic chamber of charity established in 1674. They supported Catholic Utrechters both judicially and financially. Among them, the wine merchant Nicolaes van Wenckum (d. before 1697) appears twice in the legal documents as a defender of prosecuted Catholics [89] (Appendix 4). He was connived as a trustee of the municipal chamber of charity (in office 1666–1668), before becoming one of the ten founders of the Catholic chamber of charity (in office as a trustee 1674–1677).¹⁸ Nicolaes's son Anthonius (c. 1665–1732) became a priest in Zevenhoven in the province of Holland, while his daughters Gertruda (d. before 1746) and Elisabeth (d. after 1748) were probably *kloppjes*.¹⁹ Six of the twenty-five Catholic defenders were themselves prosecuted in the 105 legal cases examined.²⁰ The fuse-maker Jan Jansz Dons, for instance, was accused of attending a Catholic assembly held in the house of Petertgen op Bedlehem in 1664 {83}. Six years later, he appeared as a defender for Petertje Gerrits living in Bethlem {99} [30], probably to be identified with Petertgen

12 [12] [16] [42] [58] [61] [68] [69] [72] [74] [75] [86] [87] in Appendix 4.

13 Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', pp. 276, 286, 290; Idem, *Patrons*, p. 274.

14 Ackermans, *Herders*, p. 419.

15 *G.P.U.*, II, p. 1063.

16 [38] [96] in Appendix 4.

17 [8] [41] [89] [90] in Appendix 4.

18 HUA, ORKA, 1, 1 October 1674; HUA, ORKA, 23, 1 October 1674, 1 September 1675, 1 September 1676; HUA, SAIL, 1825-5, 1 August, 5 September 1666, 7, 24 August 1667. On Nicolaes, see also Verhey, *300 jaar*, pp. 15, 49, 51, 211, 240.

19 Ackermans, *Herders*, p. 469.

20 [13] [30] [64] [70] [78] [80] in Appendix 4.

op Bedlehem (Appendices 1 and 4). The advocate Van der Schuer, who was found participating in the Catholic assembly in Van der Steen's house {17}, appears as defender of other prosecuted Catholics in three lawsuits [78] (Appendices 1 and 4).

However, defenders may also have been inspired by purely professional motives, since at least five defenders also assisted the sheriff or a Reformed plaintiff in the procedures against Catholics.²¹ Moreover, at least four of these defenders seem to have been Reformed: the three magistrates and aldermen Van Kerckraad [45], Nicolaes van Merkerck [53], and Henrick van Zuylen [100], as well as the city court secretary Gerard van Lienden [48]. Furthermore, Van Kerckraad and Joost (Justus) van Ewijck [34] assumed the position of councillor to the provincial court of Utrecht without any opposition on religious grounds: hence, Van Ewijck too may have been Reformed.²² In the case of Van Kerckraad [45] and Van Zuylen [100] it can be demonstrated that they served the Reformed Church as members of the consistory.²³ Therefore, supra-confessional collaboration did exist between prosecuted Catholics and Reformed defenders. Remarkably, even Wachtelaer {19}, one of the central figures within the Dutch Catholic Church, received legal support from at least three Reformed lawyers, namely Van Ewijck [34], Van Kerckraad [45], and Van Lienden [48] (Appendices 1 and 4). Even in the legal proceedings against Catholics, therefore, we can find traces of the ecumenicity of everyday life between the prosecuted and their defenders.

For a total of eighty-nine defenders, their social status could be determined (Graph 4).²⁴ Out of these eighty-nine defenders, six belonged to the lower-middle class (6.7%).²⁵ Some in this latter category were colleagues of the prosecuted Catholics they defended. The fuse-maker Henrick Jansz Doel [29] thus stood for his guild colleague Jan Jansz Dons, who was charged with participating in an illegal assembly {83} (Appendices 1 and 4). Family relationships could push defenders with humble jobs to appear in court, as the plumber Cornelis Dircksz van der Hout [42] defended his relative, the

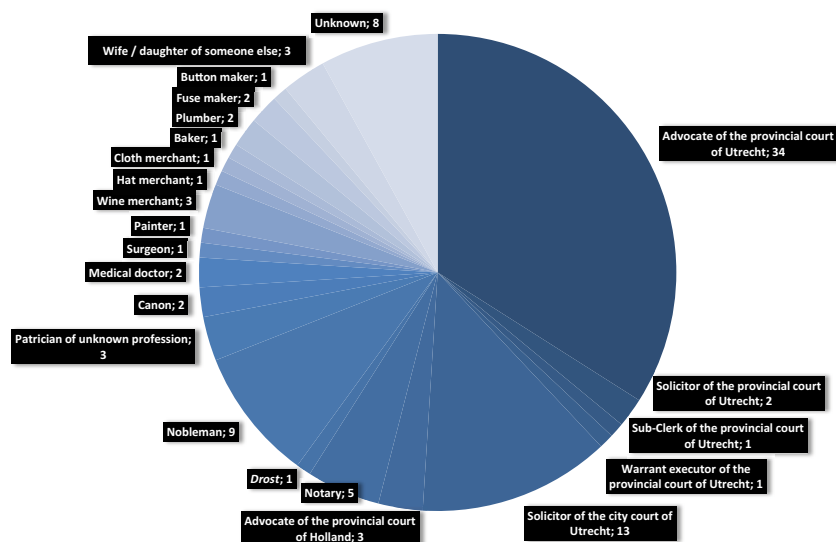
21 Van Coesfelt [21] assisted the sheriff in case {19}, Van Kerckraad [45] did so in case {23}, Gerard van Lienden [48] in cases {79} and {80}, Nicolaes van Merkerck [53] in case {19}, and Henrick van Zuylen [100] in cases {81} and {84}, also assisting a Reformed plaintiff in case {69} (Appendix 1).

22 *G.P.U.*, II, p. 1054, III, pp. 165, 185–88, 196–97.

23 Lieburg, *De Nadere Reformatie*, pp. 155, 159.

24 Three defenders were mentioned or are known just as the wife or daughter of someone else: [18] [47] [52] in Appendix 4. The professions and social status of the other eight defenders are unknown: [6] [9] [11] [19] [32] [39] [65] [77] in Appendix 4.

25 [1] [5] [17] [29] [30] [42] in Appendix 4. See also Graph 4.



Graph 4. Profession and social status of defenders in Utrecht, 1620-1672

priest Cornelis van der Hout {24} (Appendices 1 and 4). Out of the eighty-nine defenders, twenty-three were in the higher or upper-middle class without legal professions, including nobles, canons, and medical doctors (25.8%).²⁶ Prosecuted Catholics may have expected that the elevated social status of these defenders would prove advantageous to them.

Sixty out of the eighty-nine defenders (67.4%) had legal professions. Although it is understandable that prosecuted Catholics would seek legal experts, the high number of Utrecht provincial court advocates is more remarkable, with thirty-four of the total of sixty lawyers being at the provincial court (56.7%).²⁷ One of the reasons for this preponderance may have been the pervasive influence of Catholics at the level of the provincial court, which was served by three Catholic councillors in the first half of the seventeenth century: Otto Schrassert (in office 1627–1630), Jacob de Wys (in office 1630–1651) and Pieter Dierhout (in office 1630–1640).²⁸ At least eleven advocates of the provincial court who appear as defenders in the 105 documented cases certainly belonged to the Catholic Church.²⁹ Together with his ‘special deputy’ Johan de With [93], Wachtelaer {19} repeatedly

26 [2] [8] [12] [13] [14] [15] [16] [41] [44] [51] [61] [63] [64] [69] [70] [72] [75] [79] [80] [83] [86] [89] [94] in Appendix 4.

27 [3] [7] [21] [25] [27] [28] [31] [33] [34] [35] [38] [45] [50] [54] [55] [56] [57] [58] [59] [60] [68] [71] [73] [78] [81] [85] [90] [91] [92] [95] [96] [97] [98] [99] in Appendix 4.

28 *G.P.U.*, II, p. 1054.

29 [7] [28] [38] [50] [60] [78] [85] [90] [91] [96] [99] in Appendix 4.

launched appeals before the provincial court of Utrecht,³⁰ which his father had served as a solicitor.³¹ Indeed, Van Coesfelt [21], an advocate of the provincial court, made secret revelations to his 'confrere' – Wachtelaer or his defenders – about the state of affairs inside the provincial court with regard to the procedures against Catholic priests, including Wachtelaer, Van Moock, and Pelt. Warning the recipient that the letter should be 'burned immediately' after reading, Van Coesfelt reported that the provincial court was favourably disposed to Wachtelaer in particular.³² After being sentenced by the city court, Wachtelaer immediately sent an appeal signed by De With to the provincial court, saying that it still offered him a means of 'recourse'.³³

The presence of defenders was too important for prosecuted Catholics to be ignored. Their roles included the refutation of the charges filed against the prosecuted, arbitration between sheriff and prosecuted, and penalty negotiations with the city court. Some defenders seem to have had religious and familial motives to fight for their co-religionists or relatives in court, while others were led by purely professional motives to act as defenders of Catholics in spite of their own allegiance to the Reformed faith. Whereas some defenders belonged to the lower middle class, a significant number of them hailed from the upper middle or higher social strata of the Utrecht civic community. Among them, Catholic Utrechters depended in particular on advocates of the provincial court, where their co-religionists retained a certain influence.

3.2. Nobles and Canons

For Catholic survival in post-Reformation Utrecht, Catholic nobles and canons were indispensable not only for their role as defenders of prosecuted co-religionists. Those who had the means to host Catholic assemblies were mostly well-to-do persons, including many noblemen, noblewomen, and canons, whose names the judicial officers recorded as representatives of the gatherings so that they were obliged to appear in court and face prosecution. In the seventeenth century, more than a few noble families had

30 HUA, MKOKN, 557, n.d. (after 24), 28 September, 10 October, 5 November 1639; HUA, SAIL, 2244-87, 10, 28 October, 5 November 1639.

31 HUA, NOT, U001a001, 221, 20 Aug 1579; Ven, 'De Driehoek', p. 35.

32 HUA, MKOKN, 557, 5 November 1639.

33 Ibidem, n.d. (after 10 March 1640): 'recours'. De With repeatedly petitioned the provincial court after Wachtelaer was sentenced by the city court on 10 March 1640. HUA, Kapittel Sint Marie te Utrecht, 93, 17, 18 March 1640; HUA, SAIL, 121-19, 26 March, 13 November 1640; HUA, SAIL, 2244-87, 17, 28 March 1640.

their residence within Utrecht's city walls, although they also owned their fiefs in the countryside. Apart from his rural castle in Schalkwijk, Adriaen Ram thus owned a house within the city, on Achter Clarenburg, which grew into the secular clandestine church of Maria Minor where he was found participating in an illegal assembly {35} (Appendix 1). Many of the Catholic nobles were well connected with other nobles and patricians. For example, the Catholic nobleman Gerard Moliaert van Zirckzee, who had been accused of hosting a Catholic assembly in his house on Oudemunsterkerkhof {89},³⁴ would later act as an executor to the testament of Agneta Aerts, widow of Claes Vosch, along with other Catholic notables like Gerard Otto Schrassert and Johan Pelt.³⁵ The same goes for the noblewoman Aletta van Schendel, who was charged with holding Catholic assemblies in her house on Achter Clarenburg on three different occasions {78} {93} {103} (Appendix 1) and who was publicly permitted to bequeath her property as she saw fit.³⁶ Her sister Stephanie (1623–1657) married the merchant Johan Godfried Boot (b. 1627/28), and their son Arnoldus Boot (c. 1660–1724) became a priest working in Haarlem.³⁷

Some other prominent noble families, which formed an integral part of the Dutch Catholic community, had both repressed and tolerated Catholics in Utrecht among their members, while also producing many priests. The Van der Burch family, for instance, had played an important role within the civic community of Utrecht since before the Dutch Revolt.³⁸ Lambert van der Burch (1542–1617) was a canon of St Marie and became its dean in 1578, shortly before the outlawing of Catholicism. Despite his deep attachment to the Catholic faith, he was able to continue in this post as dean until his death. Representing the five chapters, he held a seat in the first estate at the Provincial States and reluctantly signed the Union of Utrecht in 1579. The next year Calvinists banished him along with several other Catholic canons. Nevertheless, Lambert came back to Utrecht no later than 1592. Until his death, he continued to serve the Catholic Church, for instance by writing a history of the collegiate chapter of St Marie. A nephew of Lambert, Frans van der Burch (1567–1644), became bishop of Ghent (in office 1613–1616) and

34 HUA, SAII, 2244–122, 7, 8, 17 November, 22, 23 December 1665, 6 January 1666.

35 HUA, NOT, Uo56a005, 43, 30 November 1667.

36 HUA, SAII, 121–27, 30 May 1661.

37 Ackermans, *Heders*, p. 327.

38 On the Van der Burch family in general, see Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', pp. 19, 79, 120, 154, 183, 186–87, 191, 193, 288, 290, 299; Idem, *Patrons*, pp. 9, 137, 165, 202, 205, 207, 213, 217, 234, 237.

then archbishop of Cambrai (1616–1644).³⁹ In 1608 Lambert, together with a Catholic canon (priest) of St Marie named Bruno Foeck <11>, secured a canonry of the same chapter for a Catholic patrician named Johannes de Witt (1566–1622).⁴⁰ Apart from Foeck, the priest Niclaes van der Burch was also registered with the municipality in 1622 <12> (Appendix 2). On the other hand, Willem van der Burch, who matriculated at the University of Cologne in 1623,⁴¹ was charged with hosting Catholic assemblies on two occasions {62} {63}, while he also defended Anna Catharina Mom {70} and the priest Anthonis de Rhode {73} at their trials [13] (Appendices 1 and 4). Willem also served as a trustee of the municipal chamber of charity (in office 1635–1637), and was non-publicly connived as a trustee of St Bartholomew Hospice.⁴²

The De Ridder van Groenesteijn noble family, whose origins lay in Holland, likewise included tolerated Catholics and defenders of prosecuted Catholics.⁴³ Among them, Daniel de Ridder van Groenesteijn (1596–1669) lived next to other Catholic notables along Utrecht's Nieuwegracht canal, including Anthoni van Blockland (c. 1584–1654) [7], Agatha Dierhout {58} {75} {94} {105}, and Dirck Lommetzum [50].⁴⁴ Daniel was non-publicly connived as a trustee of St Barbara and St Laurens Hospice.⁴⁵ His nephew Cornelis Frederik acted as a defender in the trial against Agatha Dierhout in 1679.⁴⁶ Daniel's younger brother Cornelis (1600–1667) and their nephew Dirk Ferdinand (Cornelis Frederik's elder brother) (1624–1705) became Jesuits working outside Utrecht after the passing of their (last) wives. Both of them were given public recognition allowing them to return to their birthplace Utrecht <74> <75> (Appendix 2).⁴⁷ Furthermore, Daniel's

39 *N.N.B.W.*, VI, col. 232–33. See also Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 47–48; Kuys, *Repertorium*, pp. 301, 317, 336.

40 Sterk, 'Johannes de Witt Stevenszoon', pp. 109–10. On Foeck <11>, see also Ven, *Over den oorsprong*, p. 52.

41 Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', pp. 166, 288; Idem, *Patrons*, p. 92.

42 HUA, BAI, 1604, c. 1651, c. 1653; HUA, SAI, 1825-1, 10 October 1635, 5 October 1636.

43 On the De Ridder van Groenesteijn family in general, see Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', pp. 56, 74, 78, 101, 180, 291; Idem, *Patrons*, pp. 62, 89, 92, 124, 202; Wittert van Hoogland, 'Utrechtsche ridderhofsteden en heerlijkheden', pp. 96–100, 329–38.

44 HUA, SAI, 121-25, 26 March 1655. On Daniel, see also Geraerts, 'Contested Rights', p. 211.

45 HUA, BAI, 1258, *passim* in 1641.

46 HUA, SAI, 2236-5, 17 January 1679. On Cornelis Frederik, see Wittert van Hoogland, 'Utrechtsche ridderhofsteden en heerlijkheden', p. 332.

47 On Cornelis, see also Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 58, 117; Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', pp. 78, 291; Idem, *Patrons*, p. 92; Wittert van Hoogland, 'Utrechtsche ridderhofsteden en heerlijkheden', pp. 97–98, 334. On Dirk Ferdinand, see also Forclaz, *Catholiques*, p. 117; Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', p. 101; Idem, *Patrons*, p. 124; Hoeck, *Schets*, pp. 89, 202, 260; Wittert van Hoogland, 'Utrechtsche ridderhofsteden en heerlijkheden', p. 332.

other older brother Aegidius became a secular priest and was arrested in Mijdrecht in 1632, but by 1636 his bail had still not been paid.⁴⁸ Gerard de Wael van Vronesteyn, one of the many Catholics of this noble family,⁴⁹ was the father of Willem (1622–1651), a tolerated Catholic member of the Teutonic Order, and was himself charged with holding a Catholic assembly {36} (Appendix 1). Gerard's younger brother Willem (1583–1659) worked as a Jesuit in Maastricht, Leuven, and Brussels, being promoted to provincial in the Belgian province of the Society of Jesus.⁵⁰ Besides, Ermgard de Wael van Vronesteyn was publicly permitted to bequeath her property as she saw fit despite her Catholic faith.⁵¹ Likewise, the Van Renesse van Baer noble family also produced numerous Catholics,⁵² some of whom were repressed and tolerated in Utrecht. For instance, Adriaen (d. 1635) was non-publicly connived as a trustee of St Barbara and St Laurens Hospice.⁵³ Adriaen's nephew Jacob (Frederick) van Renesse van Baer, who had been a trustee of the same hospice, became a secular priest after the death of his last wife.⁵⁴ Jacob (Frederick)'s older brother, who was also named Adriaen (1599–1647), was a Jesuit working in Groningen and Amersfoort,⁵⁵ and their grandnephews Jacob Willem and Frederick Ignatius were both appointed canons of St Gertrude Abbey near Leuven, for which only noblemen were eligible.⁵⁶ A grandson of Adriaen, Johan Adriaen (1635–1721), also adhered to the Catholic faith and had his children baptized by Catholic priests, even though he served in the Dutch army.⁵⁷ He, together with a woman named Van Oudheusden, was once found attending a Catholic assembly being held

48 HUA, SAII, 121–17, 12 May 1636.

49 On the De Wael van Vronesteyn family, see Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 58–59, 148–51; Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', passim, especially pp. 37–38, 274–77; Idem, *Patrons*, passim, especially pp. 34–36.

50 Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 58–59; Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', pp. 54, 116–17, 131, 139, 148, 182, 185, 275; Idem, *Patrons*, pp. 60, 148–49, 156, 159, 174, 180; Hoeck, *Schets*, p. 405.

51 HUA, SAII, 121–21, 24 February 1646.

52 On the Van Renesse van Baer family, see Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 149, 207; Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', passim, especially pp. 37–38, 268–71; Idem, *Patrons*, passim, especially pp. 34–36; Rogier, *Geschiedenis*, II, p. 392.

53 HUA, BAI, 1254, 11 January 1620, 20 September 1627, 26 October 1631; HUA, BAI, 1258, passim in 1620–1625, 1627–1629, 1631–1633. On Adriaen, see Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', pp. 98, 269; Idem, *Patrons*, p. 121.

54 HUA, BAI, 1258, passim in 1620, 1645, 1647. On Jacob (Frederick), see Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', pp. 46, 59, 269; Idem, *Patrons*, pp. 44, 67; Hoogland, 'Descriptio status', p. 182.

55 Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 58–59; Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', p. 269; Hoeck, *Schets*, pp. 75, 93, 151, 156; *N.N.B.W.*, V, col. 588.

56 Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', pp. 53, 271; *N.N.B.W.*, V, col. 588–89.

57 Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', pp. 41, 46, 61, 142, 166, 173, 270–71; Idem, *Patrons*, pp. 38–39, 41–42, 45, 208, 221, 244.

in the house of a noblewoman known as Van Loenersloot, Maria Johanna van Amstel van Mijnden, which functioned as the Jesuit clandestine church of St Martinus {92} (Appendix 1).⁵⁸

The Catholic nobility acted as patrons and guardians of their co-religionists. Hendrica van Duivenvoorde was one of them, sheltering Catholic priests in Utrecht. She was born as the third child of Odilia Valkenaar and Admiral Johan van Duivenvoorde, who came from a younger branch of the Wassenaar family. Both the Van Duivenvoorde and Wassenaar families remained Catholic after the Protestant Reformation, and Hendrica too grew up a devout Catholic. As a hunchback, she probably had low prospects on the aristocratic marriage market, nor could she enter convent life in the Protestant Republic. She therefore inherited a vast amount of property from her father, including life annuities and several estates. No later than 1635, she could be found living in one such inherited house on Nieuwegracht (nowadays Plompstorengracht), where she sheltered core members of the Holland Mission, including Apostolic Vicar Rovenius. Remarkably, even after a raid on her house by judicial officers who tried to apprehend Rovenius (but in vain), Hendrica herself managed to evade legal prosecution and continued to harbour members of the Holland Mission. Even though Rovenius was sentenced to banishment from the Dutch Republic, he continued to frequent Utrecht thereafter, often visiting Hendrica. He died in her house and was probably buried there, although his grave has never been found. After the death of the apostolic vicar, Hendrica left Utrecht for Antwerp, where she found her final resting place in St Jacob Church.⁵⁹

Numerous Catholic nobles were related by blood. One such entangled network involved the Mom, Van Brakel, and Van Spangen families, all of which acted as champions of the Catholic faith in Utrecht and beyond. Jacob Mom was a Catholic nobleman originating from Gelderland who was accused of *lèse-majesté* and beheaded in The Hague in 1621 shortly after the resumption of the Eighty Years' War.⁶⁰ Since the charge of *lèse-majesté* and the death penalty were rare in the Dutch Republic,⁶¹ Mom was undoubtedly

58 For the parish and the castle of Loenerslooth held by the Van Amstel van Mijnden family, see idem, 'The Catholic Nobility', passim; Idem, *Patrons*, passim; Heijden, *Het kerspel Loenerslooth*. On Maria Johanna van Amstel van Mijnden, see Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', pp. 104, 166, 201, 299; Idem, *Patrons*, pp. 71, 208, 246–47, 269.

59 On Hendrica van Duivenvoorde and her families, see Hallebeek, 'Godsdienst(on)vrijheid', pp. 134, 137; Hewett and Hallebeek, 'The Prelate', pp. 147–48; Kort, *Wassenaar*; Kuiken, 'Henrica van Duivenvoorde'.

60 *N.N.B.W.*, III, col. 876–77; Rogier, *Geschiedenis*, I, pp. 474–75.

61 Hewett and Hallebeek, 'The Prelate', pp. 136–38, 141–43.

seen as one of the most dangerous traitors to the Protestant state, so that his bereaved came to attract the closest attention from the politico-judicial authorities. Nevertheless, his family continued to play a pivotal role in Catholic survival in Utrecht. In 1609 Anna Catharina Mom (d. 1663), Jacob Mom's daughter, married the Catholic nobleman Assuerus (Zweder) van Brakel (d. 1641), lord of Blikkenburg. Assuerus posted bail before the Utrecht city court to prevent the furniture of his father-in-law Jacob Mom from being confiscated.⁶² Assuerus inherited a house on Achter Clarenburg from his own father Jasper van Brakel (d. 1596). After Assuerus sold the house in 1631, it was transformed into the secular clandestine church of Maria Minor Achter Clarenburg.⁶³ After her husband's passing, Anna Catharina Mom, who was known as the noblewoman Van Blikkenburg as well as lady of Huis te Beest, was charged with hosting a Catholic assembly in her house near Lollestraat, Cellebroederstraat, and St Hieronymus School, that is, the secular clandestine church of St Nicolaas Achter de Wal, on at least four different occasions {27} {42} {70} {72}. In two of these cases, her son-in-law Cornelis van Spangen (1597–1663) [79], husband of Henrica van Brakel, appeared in court to pay a fine on her behalf (Appendices 1 and 4).

The Van Spangen family, which derived its title from land in the Rotterdam area, were also well-connected with the nobility and the patriciate of both Holland and Utrecht.⁶⁴ It is worth noting that Cornelis van Spangen stood surety for new Catholic citizens of seemingly low profile. When Adriaen Claesz was recognized as a new citizen in 1663, the registration record notes that he was lodging with a 'Mr Van Spangen'.⁶⁵ Moreover, when Frans (François) Schepens, who had been refused citizenship on 16 June 1656, was tolerated as a new citizen on 3 November 1656, it was Van Spangen who promised the city council that he would prevent Schepens's children from soliciting alms from the municipal chamber of charity.⁶⁶ While the political authorities seem to have been concerned that the Schepens family would become a financial

62 HUA, SAIL, 2244-43, 9 April 1621; HUA, SAIL, 2244-44, 9 April 1621.

63 Ven, 'Het huis Clarenburch', pp. 42–43, 61. On the Van Brakel family, see Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', pp. 125, 131, 150, 153–54, 170, 182, 184, 188, 250, 293; Idem, *Patrons*, pp. 151, 158, 164–65, 183, 204, 213, 215, 218, 267.

64 On the Mom, Van Brakel, and Van Spangen noble families, see also Klaveren, 'Jans kameren', pp. 128–40; Wittert van Hoogland, 'Utrechtsche ridderhofsteden en heerlijkheden', pp. 249–50. On Cornelis van Spangen, see Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', pp. 153, 200–1; Idem, *Patrons*, pp. 164, 246. On the Van Spangen family, see Ackermans, *Herders*, p. 317; Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', pp. 97, 153, 188, 198, 200–1, 289, 293; Idem, *Patrons*, pp. 118, 140, 218, 243, 247, 267; Rogier, *Geschiedenis*, I, p. 483.

65 HUA, SAIL, 414-1, 3 August 1663.

66 HUA, SAIL, 121-26, 3 November 1656; HUA, SAIL, 414-1, 3 November 1656.

burden on the city's public welfare, Van Spangen relieved them of their anxiety so that Schepens was granted Utrecht citizenship. Using his elevated social status in the civic community of Utrecht, Van Spangen succeeded in persuading the Reformed magistracy to accept Catholics as new citizens.

The Mom, Van Brakel, and Van Spangen families were also active in the administration of charity in Utrecht. For example, Assuerus van Brakel was appointed a trustee of the municipal chamber of charity (in office 1628–1631).⁶⁷ Ever since the Middle Ages, churches, charitable institutions, and wealthy individuals in the Low Countries had established housing complexes called free dwellings (*vrije woningen*) or so-called God's chambers (*Godskameren*) to supply fellow inhabitants with housing and alms (cash and commodities). Utrecht had many such free dwellings, amounting to around 300 in 1687.⁶⁸ Among the six complexes of free dwellings established after 1580, five were founded by Catholics, from whose confessional ranks most of the residents also came.⁶⁹ The free dwellings on Hieronymusplantsoen, which had been established in the fifteenth century by Jan van der Meer, came into the possession of Jacob Mom. From him, their ownership was transferred on to his daughter Anna Catharina Mom, then to her daughter Maria van Brakel, and finally to Maria's nephew Assuerus Hendrik van Spangen, lord of Terlist (son of Cornelis van Spangen and Henrica van Brakel).⁷⁰ The dwellings were called 'Mom's and Brakel's chambers', and all ten residents in 1687 were of the Catholic faith.⁷¹

Canons belonged to the highest social echelons within Utrecht's civic community. Catholic canons were therefore of great importance for Catholic survival. For more than forty years after the outlawing of Catholicism, several Catholic priests still managed to retain their canonries. Among the thirty registered priests in 1622, we find five canons,⁷² including Jacobus de Gouda <10>, who had become a Jesuit after acquiring a canonry of St Pieter and was living within this chapter's former immunity. Likewise, his older brother Johannes (1571–1630), an active polemicist, was appointed a canon

67 HUA, SAII, 1825-1, 1 September 1628, 19 October 1630.

68 Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 256–58. For the free dwellings in Utrecht, see Adriani, 'De Gronsveldtkameren'; Bogaers, *Aards*, p. 558; Kam, *Voor de armen alhier*; Klaveren, 'Jans kameren'; Lap van Waveren, 'Memorie'; Offringa and Hidden, *Fundatie*; Schaik and Strengers-Older Kalter, *Het arme roomse leven*, pp. 44–48; Temminck Groll, 'De Beyerskameren te Utrecht'; Thoomes, *Hoffes in Utrecht*.

69 Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 258–62; HUA, KR, 10, 18 July, 26 September 1687 (the final entry was transcribed in Klaveren, 'Vrijwoningen').

70 Idem, 'Jans kameren', pp. 128–40.

71 HUA, KR, 10, 18 July, 26 September 1687 (Klaveren, 'Vrijwoningen', p. 27); Idem, 'Jans kameren', pp. 128–40: 'Moms en Brakels kameren'.

72 <1> <10> <11> <26> <30> in Appendix 2.

of the same chapter, before beginning his work for the Society of Jesus in the Southern Netherlands. Their parents, Dirk Jansz (Theodorus) de Gouda (d. 1584) and Catharina van Moerendael (d. 1618), came from noble families. Dirk Jansz had served the provincial court of Utrecht as secretary.⁷³

Six Catholic canons, including Wachtelaer and five laymen, were prosecuted; their cases are part of the 105 legal proceedings. Their family members were also devoted to the Catholic cause, while making an enormous socio-economic contribution to the multi-confessional city.⁷⁴ Huybert de Roy obtained his canonry of St Marie through his guardian Gerrit van Wassenaer, an advocate of the provincial court. De Roy was charged with converting to the Catholic faith in spite of the oath Van Wassenaer had sworn to raise his charge in the Reformed faith {79} (Appendix 1). Dirck de Roy, living on Nieuwegracht, was named in the list of priests living in the city that was probably drawn up in 1665 <017> (Appendix 3). There were also two other secular priests called De Roy originating from Utrecht, Henricus (c. 1625–1695) and Clemens (c. 1630–1673).⁷⁵ Hugo de Roy, a cousin of the Catholic painter Frederick Bloemaert, was appointed trustee of the municipal chamber of charity.⁷⁶ Although the family of another Catholic canon of St Marie, Gisbert Junius {80}, remains largely unknown, he was related to Huybert de Roy and likewise accused of converting to the Catholic faith despite an oath sworn by his father. In spite of this, Junius still acted as a defender for two other prosecuted Catholics [44] (Appendices 1 and 4). He was also active in poor relief in Utrecht, as he was non-publicly connived as a trustee of the municipal chamber of charity (in office 1660–1663).⁷⁷ Furthermore, he was publicly appointed vice-dean of the chapter of St Marie, directing the chapter's charitable activities as a 'curator of the poor' (*curator pauperum*) in 1663.⁷⁸ Thus, Junius was not only a guardian of the Catholic community, but also a leading figure within the civic community as a whole.

The Utrecht noble family of Van Haeften, which produced several canons, was one of the stalwarts of post-Tridentine Catholicism in the Low

73 On Johannes, see Andriessen, *De jezuïeten*, passim; Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 57–58, 234; Gennip, *Controversen*, passim, especially pp. 90–174; Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', p. 296; Hofman, 'Wilger van Moerendael', p. 169; *N.N.B.W.*, III, col. 481–82; Ven, *Over den oorsprong*, p. 50. On Jacobus, see Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 44, 57–58; Gennip, *Controversen*, p. 91; Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', pp. 187, 245; Idem, *Patrons*, p. 217; Hofman, 'Wilger van Moerendael', p. 169; Jong, 'Het Utrechtse vicariaat', p. 154; Ven, *Over den oorsprong*, p. 51.

74 {2} {9} {16} {17} {19} {64} {79} {80} in Appendix 1.

75 Ackermans, *Herders*, p. 430.

76 Roethlisberger and Bok, *Abraham Bloemaert*, I, pp. 611, 658.

77 HUA, SAIL, 1825-3, 17, 20 August 1660, 21, 30 August 1661, 24 September 1662.

78 HUA, Kapittel van Sint Marie, 2201.

Countries. Jan van Haeften (1448–1526), a canon of St Marie in Utrecht, and his concubine Henrica van Brakel had a son called Otto Jansz van Haeften (1475–1558), whose descendants continued to uphold the Catholic faith after the Protestant Reformation while enjoying an elevated social status in the city.⁷⁹ These included Anthonius (1557–1645), a Catholic lay canon of St Jan and a trustee of the Apostle Hospice as well as the Holy Cross Hospice. Four of Anthonius's six children chose a Catholic religious vocation, as three daughters became nuns in Mechelen, while his son Jacob came to be known as Benedictus (1588–1648) and was the abbot of Affligem Abbey in Brabant. All of them, together with their parents, are depicted on a family portrait from 1613.⁸⁰ In his youth, Benedictus attended St Hieronymus Latin school in Utrecht, where he befriended Otto Zijl, who would later become a Jesuit. Together with Zijl, Benedictus then entered Leuven University, where he became a close associate of Cornelius Jansenius, the future bishop of Ieper, and of Judocus Cats (1581–1641), the future dean of the Haarlem chapter.⁸¹ While Benedictus is remembered primarily as a reformer of Affligem in the Southern Netherlands and an influential author of religious works,⁸² he nevertheless kept his sense of belonging to Utrecht, as reflected on the titlepages of some of his writings: the name of his hometown was printed in capital letters right after his name, while his status as abbot of Affligem Abbey was added in small letters.⁸³ In 1632 Benedictus's return to Utrecht was publicly tolerated, when he came to visit his father Antonius <34>.

Our storyteller, Johannes Wachtelaer {2} {9} {19} <26>, was one of the most important mainstays of the Dutch Catholic community. He was born as the son of Jan Wachtelaer, a solicitor of the provincial court of Utrecht, and Marijke Dircksdr van Werckhoven. The Wachtelaer family were one of the most respected families within the civic community of Utrecht, having produced a number of canons in medieval times. Following in the footsteps of his ancestors, Johannes acquired a canonry in St Marie, which his parents purchased for him in 1593 when the canonries were still open to Catholics. Remarkably, the chapter allowed him to study Catholic theology at Leuven University from 1604 to 1606. Hence, the chapter tolerated Wachtelaer's training at the heart of the Counter/Catholic Reformation, tacitly allowing

79 Verleyn, *Dom Benedictus van Haeften*, pp. 37–38.

80 Verheggen, 'Religieuze kunst', passim, especially pp. 261–68; Verleyn, *Dom Benedictus van Haeften*, pp. 39–41. On Anthonius, see also Kruijf, *Miraculeus bewaard*, p. 146.

81 *Ibidem*, pp. 41–48.

82 Verheggen, 'Religieuze kunst', pp. 268–71, 276–83, 286–92; Verleyn, *Dom Benedictus van Haeften*, pp. 62–205.

83 Verheggen, 'Religieuze kunst', p. 293.

him to be ordained as a Catholic priest. After completing his studies in the South, Wachtelaer returned home as a cleric and became vicar general to Apostolic Vicars Vosmeer and Rovenius.⁸⁴ When Wachtelaer established his clandestine church of St Gertrudis in Mariahoek, located within the former immunity of the collegiate chapter of St Marie, he utilized his privilege as a canon of the same chapter, purchasing houses there belonging to the chapter.⁸⁵ Wachtelaer's family on his mother's side occupied political and judicial offices in Utrecht. In particular, his cousin Cornelis van Werckhoven (1617–1665), who would be one of Johannes's heirs alongside his childless sister and brother, built a brilliant political career for himself at both the local and national levels. Van Werckhoven became a member of the city council and an alderman in Utrecht, and represented the province of Utrecht on the Council of State.⁸⁶ Wachtelaer was therefore an eminent figure not only among the Catholic community but also among the civic community of Utrecht and beyond.

Nobles and canons therefore played crucial roles for Catholic survival in Utrecht and, more widely, the Dutch Republic. Some of them had retained their family legacy and excellent reputation since before the Protestant Reformation. They hosted numerous illegal gatherings for their co-religionists in their houses, harboured priests, and paid fines or put up bail, representing the local Catholic congregation. Some others appeared in court as defenders of prosecuted Catholics. Many noble families produced clergy, some of whom won toleration so as to reside in Utrecht, and included those wealthy women of the Catholic faith who had secured the right to bequeath their property. A number of the Catholic nobles and canons contributed markedly not only to their confessional community, but also to the religiously diverse civic community of Utrecht. They acted as guarantors for new Catholic citizens with lower incomes and served the city's poor through their charitable activities. They were not only guiding spirits of Catholicism in the post-Reformation Low Countries, but also prominent figures of the multi-confessional society in the Dutch Republic.

3.3. Jurists

One of the means available to Catholic patricians to compensate for their exclusion from political power in post-Reformation Utrecht was a legal

84 For the biographical details, see Hallebeek, 'Godsdienst(on)vrijheid', pp. 124–26; Ven, 'De driehoek', pp. 35–37.

85 Ibidem, pp. 35–41, 49–50.

86 *G.P.U.*, III, pp. 175–76, 184, 194–95; HUA, OBC, 159, December 1639 (Rogge, 'Memorie', p. 20).

career.⁸⁷ While it is impossible to calculate the exact confessional distribution among the legal professionals in the Dutch Republic, where people could freely choose their religion, it is worth noting that, in our Utrecht case study, Catholic jurists can be found not only among the defenders of the prosecuted Catholics but also among both repressed and tolerated Catholics, and likewise appear as their family members. Apart from their role as judicial experts, Catholic lawyers were essential for Catholic survival in other roles as well, as hosts of illegal assemblies, for example, or as fathers of priests and *kloppjes*, administrators of charitable institutions, and financial guarantors of the confessional community via their bequests.

As we will note in greater detail later on, Utrecht had two 'hot spots' of Catholic activity, one around Nieuwegracht and the other around Mariahoek, where not only clandestine churches but also many Catholic jurists' houses were located. Numerous Catholic advocates of the provincial court resided on or near Nieuwegracht, in the vicinity of their court which stood on the site of the former Paulus Abbey. These advocates were interconnected through their many confessional, professional, and family bonds. In 1647 the Reformed consistory identified the house of Peter Vuysting [85], an advocate of the provincial court of Utrecht, in Nieuwestraat as a Catholic meeting place.⁸⁸ According to the sheriff's investigation report from 1655, a man named Vuysting, perhaps the aforementioned advocate Peter Vuysting [85], lived next to a Van Borculo, who was probably a Catholic believer as well.⁸⁹ According to the same investigation report, other Catholic advocates who defended prosecuted Catholics in the 105 cases, such as Anthoni van Blockland [7] and Dirck (Theodorus) Lommetzum [50], lived next to each other on Nieuwegracht. So too Geertruid van Blockland (c. 1580–1655), a sister of Anthoni and the widow of the Catholic provincial court councillor Pieter Dierhout (c. 1572–1640), and her children including Agatha Dierhout (d. 1691), who was charged with hosting Catholic assemblies in her house on Nieuwegracht no fewer than four times, lived there as well.⁹⁰ In one of the trials launched against Agatha Dierhout [58] for hosting an illegal assembly, her neighbours Van Blockland [7] and Lommetzum [50] appeared as her defenders together with their colleague Gerard Prins [68], who was a brother of the tolerated priest Nicolaes Prins <51> (Appendices 1, 2, and 4).

87 Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 105–6, 125–26, 140–41, 156.

88 HUA, KR, 5, 9 August 1647.

89 HUA, SAII, 121–25, 22 January 1655.

90 Ibidem, 26 March 1655.

The Van Blockland and Dierhout patrician families, both of which produced lawyers, were related by marriage and united by faith. The provincial court advocate Anthoni van Blockland [7] was a trustee of the municipal chamber of charity and non-publicly connived as a trustee of the Holy Cross Hospice.⁹¹ Anthoni's sister Geertruid married Pieter Dierhout before aldermen in 1601.⁹² Gerard van Blockland, the lord of Emmikhoven, married Suzanna Dierhout (1616–1665), daughter of Pieter, and together they had a son, Petrus Anthonius van Blockland (1657–1693), who became a secular priest active in Gouda and Utrecht. Petrus Anthonius's brother Philippus Ignatius (d. 1677) entered the Carmelite order in Antwerp.⁹³

The Dierhouts came to settle in Utrecht in the late sixteenth century. Cornelis Dierhout married Aefken van Honcoop (d. 1585) in Gorkum in 1569, before moving to Utrecht.⁹⁴ Among the other members of his family to stay in Gorkum, there was a brewer called Adriaen who was related by marriage to the Van Neercassel and Van Wevelinckhoven families, which both produced several important Catholic prelates.⁹⁵ Cornelis's son Pieter Dierhout, the husband of Geertruid van Blockland, established his family's elevated social status in Utrecht. He was publicly recognized as a councillor of the provincial court of Utrecht (in office 1630–1640) despite his Catholic faith.⁹⁶ At almost the same time, he was knighted by the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand II (1578–1637).⁹⁷ Pieter's children were Catholics too. His daughter Agatha was one of the most frequently accused Catholics in the 105 proceedings investigated, being prosecuted in four separate trials for illegal assemblies in her house, which functioned as the Jesuit clandestine church of St Catharijne {58} {75} {93} {105} (Appendix 1). In spite of this, Agatha's right to bequeath her property was publicly recognized.⁹⁸ Another of Pieter's children, Cornelis Pietersz (d. 1687), was an advocate of the provincial court and the lord of Gan-swijk. He was non-publicly connived as a trustee of the municipal chamber of charity (in office 1642–1644) and appointed by Maria van Pallaes as an administrator of her foundation.⁹⁹ A son of Cornelis Pietersz was also called

91 HUA, BAI, 1840-1, passim in 1647–1649, 1652–1653; HUA, SAI, 1825-1, 12 October 1632, 12 October 1633.

92 HUA, DTB, 85, 12 September 1601.

93 Ackermans, *Heders*, p. 325; Reinboud, 'Van Blocklant', col. 215.

94 Wijnarndts, 'De oudere generaties', col. 31.

95 I would like to thank Marten Jan Bok for sharing this genealogical information with me.

96 *G.P.U.*, II, p. 1054; HUA, SAI, 121-14, 28 April, 3 May 1630.

97 Muschart, 'Onjuiste namen en wapens', col. 347–49. On Pieter Dierhout, see also Vennes, 'Zes gelegenheidsgedichten'.

98 HUA, SAI, 121-26, 31 March 1656.

99 HUA, BAI, 692, 26, 29 November 1662; HUA, SAI, 1825-2, 5 October 1642, 27 September 1643.

Pieter (d. 1702), lord of Ganswijk, who had three sons, Cornelius Bonaventura (1670–1722), Franciscus Cornelius (1675–1745), and Petrus Nicolaus (1675–1736) all secular priests, and two daughters, Anna Cornelia and Geertrudis Maria, both *klopjes*.¹⁰⁰ There was also a certain Henricus Dierhout (1640–1690), whose precise relationship to the other Dierhouts is unknown, who came from Utrecht and worked as a Jesuit in Groningen and Antwerp.¹⁰¹ Pieter Dierhout, the councillor of the provincial court, had both a brother and a son called Nicolaes: the former was a painter (d. 1666)¹⁰² and the latter an advocate of the provincial court (1603–1658).¹⁰³ A man called Nicolaes Dierhout – which of the two it was cannot be confirmed – appeared as a defender in two legal proceedings against Catholics [28] (Appendix 4) and served as a trustee of the Holy Cross Hospice (in office at least 1645, 1647–1662) as well as the municipal chamber of charity (in office 1631–1633, 1639–1641).¹⁰⁴

Another Catholic advocate of the provincial court living on Nieuwegracht, Dirck Lommetzum [50], was the father of Adriaen, who also went on to become an advocate of the same court. Adriaen was non-publicly connived as a trustee of the municipal chamber of charity (in office 1668–1670) and later became a trustee of the Catholic chamber of charity (in office 1680–1682).¹⁰⁵ His sister Margareta Maria married a provincial court advocate named Anthoni van Honthorst (c. 1638–1718), a son of the famous Catholic painter Gerrit Hermansz van Honthorst (1592–1656).¹⁰⁶ The Lommetzum family produced Catholic priests as well. Elisabeth Lommetzum married Claes Simonsz van Velsen, uncle of Richardus van Velsen (d. 1692), a secular priest working in Amersfoort and Vianen. Elisabeth's son Simon Claesz van Velsen (1627–1672) joined the Society of Jesus, serving this congregation in Amersfoort around 1666. Lodewijk Lommetzum married Mechtelt van Raveswaey (d. 1667), one of the three daughters of Andries van Raveswaey [72], who was a brother-in-law of the priest Regnerus Godefridi van Eijndhoven.¹⁰⁷

The other Catholic hot spot was around Mariahoek, an area within the former immunity of the collegiate chapter of St Marie, where many priests,

100 Ackermans, *Herders*, pp. 349–50.

101 Forclaz, *Catholiques*, p. 58; *N.N.B.W.*, VIII, col. 393.

102 Bok, 'Vraag en aanbod', p. 236; Idem and Wijburg, 'De nakomelingen', pp. 185–86.

103 Dudok van Heel, 'Een Amsterdamse burgemeester', col. 109–12.

104 HUA, BAI, 1840-1, passim in 1645, 1647–1662; HUA, SAI, 1825-1, 13 October 1631, 12 October 1632; HUA, SAI, 1825-2, 4 October 1639, 2 October 1640.

105 HUA, ORKA, 23, 1 September 1680, 1 September 1681; HUA, SAI, 1825-5, 5, 17 August 1668, 4 August, 1 September 1669. On Adriaen, see also Verhey, *300 jaar*, pp. 51, 61, 218, 242.

106 *Ibidem*, pp. 218, 242.

107 Ackermans, *Herders*, pp. 359, 458.

klopjes, and Catholic lawyers resided. In 1647 the Reformed consistory identified the house of the provincial court advocate Johan de Munter [60] near Mariahoek as a Catholic meeting place.¹⁰⁸ His son Willem became a secular priest in Dordrecht and publicly received permission to return home to Utrecht no fewer than six times between 1656 and 1658 <59> (Appendix 2). His aunt Wilhelmina Both married Johan Zael van Vianen [98], an advocate of the provincial court, who appeared as a defender of prosecuted Catholics on three occasions (Appendix 4). On the death of his wife, Zael van Vianen remarried, taking Elisabeth Portengen as his new wife, whose previous marriage had produced the priests Clemens and Henricus de Roy.¹⁰⁹ The Catholic advocate Berent van Zutphen [99], who appeared in court to defend prosecuted Catholics in twelve different lawsuits, owned two houses in Mariahoek, at least on paper. It is quite probable that he simply lent his name as the owner of the second of these houses, which functioned as the secular clandestine church of St Gertrudis, whose ownership was transferred to him from Wachtelaer in 1652.¹¹⁰ When Catholics organized a public procession for the feast day of Corpus Christi in 1673 during the French occupation, an altar with special ornaments was erected in front of the house of 'the Advocate Zutphen' on Oudemunsterstrans.¹¹¹ Members of Berent's family were of the Catholic faith as well. Anna van Voorst, his wife Maria's older sister, was a *klopje*, and Maria's older brother Dirck was a Catholic painter.¹¹² A daughter of Berent and Maria, Cornelia van Zutphen, also adhered to the Catholic faith. According to her testament dated 24 July 1690, Cornelia bequeathed f. 1,400 to 'Roman Catholic indigents' and in her will left 'religious books with the [prayer] bench [prie-dieu]', nine religious paintings (including *Christ on the Cross* and *Mary Magdalene*), and three prints of the Dutch Catholic priests Johannes van Neercassel, Abraham van Brienens, and Antonius van der Plaet (1605–1678), of whom the latter two lived in Mariahoek.¹¹³

An entangled network of Catholic lawyers grew around the Van der Eem patrician family. The daughters of Cornelis van der Eem (1575/6–1622),

108 HUA, KR, 5, 9 August 1647.

109 Ackermans, *Herders*, pp. 404–5, 430.

110 On the houses owned by Van Zutphen in Mariahoek, see Ven, 'De driehoek', pp. 50, 56.

111 Wicquefort, *Journael*, p. 200.

112 Dirkse, *Begijnen*, pp. 190–97; Idem and Schilleman, 'Dirck van Voorst', pp. 8, 9, 17; Eck, 'The Artist's Religion', p. 90.

113 HUA, NOT, U093a019, 4, 24 July 1690: 'geestelijcke boecken met het bankie'. On Anthonius van der Plaet, see Ackermans, *Herders*, pp. 47, 187, 396, 417. I would like to thank Marten Jan Bok for guiding me to these genealogical data and materials concerning Berent van Zutphen and his relatives.

an advocate of the provincial court, can be seen as the 'glue' connecting a number of patrician families by marriage, which went on to produce many Catholic advocates: Margaretha (d. 1671) married the Catholic painter Hendrick Bloemaert (1601/02–1672); Anthonetta (d. before 1682) married the Catholic advocate Valentijn van Vianen (d. 1654); Geertruyd (d. 1671) married the Catholic advocate Clemens van Gessel (c. 1611–1695); and Divera (d. 1682) married the Catholic advocate Simon van Veen (d. 1651).¹¹⁴

The advocate Valentijn van Vianen also assumed the post of secretary to the Teutonic Order. His son Godefroy (Godefridus) (c. 1642–1708) became a secular priest working in Kockengen, Mijdrecht, and Mons, and publicly obtained a permit in 1668 allowing him to stay in Utrecht permanently <91> thanks to a plea submitted by his mother Anthonetta van der Eem (Appendix 2).¹¹⁵ A grandnephew of Godefroy, Gisbertus (d. after 1730), was a secular priest in Bergschenhoek. Likewise, Florentinus (d. 1665) worked as a secular priest in Aarlanderveen and Weesp, and Franciscus (1615–1693) moved from Utrecht to Leuven, where he became the president of the Pope's College (in office 1650–1677) established by Pope Adrian VI, a fellow Utrechter.¹¹⁶ Cornelis (1568–1649), an advocate at the provincial court, first married Hadewich van Haeften (d. 1611) and, after her death, Mechteld van der Burch (d. 1638) in a Catholic clandestine church in The Hague.¹¹⁷ He was non-publicly connived as a trustee of St Anthony Hospice.¹¹⁸ In his house resided a registered priest named Niclaes van der Burch <12> (Appendix 2).

Geertruyd van Eem's husband, Clemens van Gessel, was also a distinguished patron of the Catholic community, although he and his children acquired Utrecht citizenship relatively late, in 1656.¹¹⁹ In the legal procedures against Catholics, Clemens defended other prominent Catholics, such as Gerard Moliaert van Zirckzee {89} and Agatha Dierhout {94} {105} [38] (Appendices 1 and 4). Clemens's brother, Cornelis (c. 1647–1691), was a secular priest, and he himself had five sons: Johan (c. 1649–1679), an advocate; Cornelis and Hendrick, both medical doctors; Timotheus, another advocate; and Otto Jacobus, whose profession is unknown.¹²⁰ The physician Cornelis defended Agatha Dierhout in the city court in 1679,¹²¹ the advocate Johan

114 Roethlisberger and Bok, *Abraham Bloemaert*, I, pp. 658–60.

115 On Valentijn and Godefroy van Vianen, see also Ackermans, *Herders*, pp. 462–63.

116 *Ibidem*, pp. 80, 103, 106–7, 111, 225, 462; Parker, *Faith on the Margins*, p. 81.

117 Roethlisberger and Bok, *Abraham Bloemaert*, I, pp. 659–60.

118 HUA, BAI, 1987–1, passim in 1621–1644.

119 Verhey, *300 jaar*, p. 240.

120 Ackermans, *Herders*, p. 363; Verhey, *300 jaar*, p. 240.

121 HUA, SAII, 2236–5, 17 January 1679.

became a trustee of the municipal chamber of charity during the French occupation (in office 1673) and the medical doctor Hendrick was non-publicly connived as a trustee of the Holy Cross Hospice.¹²² Clemens and Johan founded the Catholic chamber of charity in 1674, with the former becoming the first bookkeeper (in office 1674–1677) and the latter a trustee (in office 1674–1676). Later, Clemens's other sons Cornelis (in office 1678–1680) and Otto Jacobus (in office 1692–1694) also assumed posts as trustees of the same chamber of charity.¹²³ Although the wine merchant Peter van Gessel was accused of hosting a Catholic gathering in 1651 {54} (Appendix 1), he was also connived as a trustee of the municipal chamber of charity (in office 1644–1646).¹²⁴ A wine merchant only identified as Van Gessel (but probably the same Peter), was charged with hosting a Catholic assembly in 1649 {47} (Appendix 1). After he passed away, his wife Vreda Baerkens's right to bequeath her property was publicly recognized despite her Catholic faith.¹²⁵ The Van Gessel family also produced another secular priest, Arnoud (1645–1695), who was a relative of the secular priest Johannes van Heumen.¹²⁶

Divera van der Eem's husband, Simon van Veen, was an advocate and the lord of Drakensteyn (in office 1611–1630).¹²⁷ Simon owned a house in Mariahoek which functioned as the secular clandestine church of St Gertrudis.¹²⁸ He was non-publicly connived as a trustee of the municipal chamber of charity (in office 1642–1644).¹²⁹ His son Isidorus Franciscus (c. 1640–1679) became a secular priest working in Amerongen and Voorburg.¹³⁰ Simon's daughter Catharina Lucia married a Catholic advocate of the provincial court, Godert (Godard) de Wys (d. before 1704), the son of François de Wys and Cornelia van Westrenen.¹³¹ Godert de Wys appeared as a defender for Maria Johanna van Amstel van Mijnden {91} [95] (Appendices 1 and 4), and was connived as a trustee of the municipal chamber of charity (in office 1664–1665) before becoming the bookkeeper of the Catholic chamber of

122 HUA, BAI, 1840-1, passim in 1652–1656, 1659–1666, 1668–1679; HUA, SAI, 1825-5, 26 August, 6 September 1673.

123 HUA, ORKA, 1, 1 October 1674; HUA, ORKA, 23, 1 October 1674, 1 September 1675, 1 September 1676, 1 September 1678, 1 September 1679, 1 September 1692, 1 September 1693. See also Verhey, *300 jaar*, pp. 15, 18, 60, 75, 211, 240.

124 HUA, SAI, 1825-2, 27 September 1644, 26 September 1645.

125 HUA, SAI, 121-26, 17 August 1658.

126 Ackermans, *Herders*, pp. 362–63, 372.

127 *Ibidem*, p. 456.

128 Ven, 'De driehoek', pp. 49–50, 56.

129 HUA, SAI, 1825-2, 5 October 1642, 27 September 1643.

130 Ackermans, *Herders*, pp. 456–57.

131 Verhey, *300 jaar*, p. 242.

charity (in office 1683–1685).¹³² Godert's father François was also an advocate of the provincial court and acted as a defender for Mechtelt de Lange, the widow of Anthonis van Schaick {44} [95] (Appendices 1 and 4). Jacob de Wys (d. 1651), the Catholic provincial court councillor (in office 1630–1651), was connived as a trustee of the Holy Cross Hospice.¹³³

The roles Catholic jurists assumed in Utrecht were therefore not limited to that of legal experts for both Reformed and Catholics. They or their family members provided the Catholic community with sacred spaces in their houses, presiding priests for worship, and financial support through their bequests and otherwise. It is worth noting that a number of Catholic jurists were closely connected through their confessional, professional, and family networks, in which many other Catholic lay or ecclesiastic notables took part. Numerous Catholic lawyers served as donors and administrators to the civic or Catholic charitable institutions in Utrecht. Like the Catholic nobles and canons, Catholic jurists were therefore pillars of the Catholic community as well as of the multi-confessional civic community.

3.4. Those with Close Ties to the Reformed Elite

After the Protestant Reformation and the Dutch Revolt, established families in Utrecht and elsewhere in the Northern Netherlands had to choose whether they would remain faithful to the Catholic faith, jeopardizing their access to public offices, or enter the Reformed Church, which gave them such access. Consequently, many noble and patrician families split into Protestant and Catholic branches, or else raised some of their children in the Reformed faith and others in the Catholic faith.¹³⁴ Through blood ties as well as personal and professional networks, a number of Catholic Utrechters cultivated close relationships with the Reformed elite, including patron-client relations, and exploited such connections for the survival of their confessional community.

One of the bi-confessional patrician families in Utrecht was the Ruysch family. Although Maria Ruysch {15} and her brother Henrick remained loyal to the Catholic faith, many other family members converted to Protestantism. Nevertheless, Frederik Ruysch, who was Reformed, cultivated friendships

¹³² HUA, ORKA, 23, 1 September 1683, 1 September 1684; HUA, SAI, 1825-4, 7 September 1664.

¹³³ *G.P.U.*, II, p. 1054; HUA, BAI, 1840-1, *passim* in 1645, 1647; HUA, SAI, 121-14, 28 April, 3 May 1630.

¹³⁴ For marriage tactics deployed by Dutch Catholic noble families, see Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', pp. 33–62; *Idem*, *Patrons*, pp. 29–70.

with Catholic priests, including Apostolic Vicar Van Neercassel,¹³⁵ while also carving out a brilliant career for himself in politics and the administration of justice in Utrecht, serving as burgomaster, city council member, alderman, and sheriff.¹³⁶ In 1651, when Frederik was burgomaster of Utrecht, he was shocked to hear that his cousin Johannes (before 1607–1680), an advocate of the provincial court, had converted from Reformed Protestantism to Catholicism.¹³⁷ The Reformed consistory discussed Johannes's apostasy on numerous occasions in 1650 and 1651.¹³⁸ The minutes of the consistory for April 1651 note that the burgomaster Frederik had already contacted the consistory, ordering the Reformed ministers to clarify from the pulpit that the censured Johannes Ruysch was a son of Nicolaes Ruysch, and not the burgomaster's brother. The consistory complied with this request. Frederik therefore preferred to keep a certain distance from his convert cousin.¹³⁹ Even though the consistory did not entirely give up on Johannes, keeping in contact with him via delegates, he came to acknowledge the Council of Trent. In the end, in September 1651, the Reformed Church excommunicated Johannes.¹⁴⁰ His conversion proved genuine, as he embarked on the study of Catholic theology and was ordained a secular priest in Rotterdam in 1656, changing his name to Johannes Ignatius. During the French occupation, Johannes Ignatius was appointed an 'ecclesiastical judge' (*geestelijken rechter* or *foro sacro judicem*) in Hilversum, a position he nevertheless lost after the French evacuation. From 1676 he began serving a congregation in Amsterdam, where he died in 1680 as a Catholic priest.¹⁴¹

Another family that produced advocates of both the Reformed and Catholic faiths was the Schade family. The Reformed jurist Gaspar Schade became extraordinary councillor of the provincial court, and afterwards its president, while also serving St Bartholomew Hospice as a trustee.¹⁴² Another advocate of the provincial court, Pieter Schade (1582–1653), was one of the family's Catholic members.¹⁴³ In 1610 Pieter married Maria

¹³⁵ HUA, OBC, 246, 14 August 1674.

¹³⁶ *G.P.U.*, III, pp. 184, 192–95, 218.

¹³⁷ HUA, KR, 5, April 1651. For conversion from Reformed Protestantism to Catholicism in Utrecht in general, see Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 325–59.

¹³⁸ HUA, KR, 5, 29 July, 19 August, 4 November 1650, 27 January, 3, 17, 24 February, 3, 10, 17 March 1651.

¹³⁹ *Ibidem*, 15, 21 April, 14 August 1651.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, 2 June, 8, 15, 20, 22, 29 September 1651.

¹⁴¹ *N.N.B.W.*, IX, col. 911–12.

¹⁴² *G.P.U.*, II, 1048, 1050, 1055; HUA, BAIL, 1604, c. 1653.

¹⁴³ For the Catholic members of the Schade family, see Verheggen, 'Religieuze kunst', *passim*, especially pp. 263–68; Verleyn, *Dom Benedictus van Haften*, *passim*.

van Haefen (1587–1629), a daughter of the aforementioned Anthonius van Haefen. Like his father-in-law, he was non-publicly connived as a trustee of the Holy Cross Hospice.¹⁴⁴ Pieter Schade's son Johannes (1612/3–1665) worked in Utrecht and Delft as a secular priest. Ever since 1645 Johannes had been a member of the Utrecht *Vicariaat* and a confidant of Van Neercassel. Johannes's nephews Ernestus (1641–1678) and Anthonius (1648–1721), sons of Arnoldus (Franciscus) Schade (d. 1674) and Elisabeth van Vianen, also became secular priests. Their aunt Maria van Vianen was the wife of the provincial court advocate Anthonie van Wevelinckhoven, a brother to the priest Balthasar.¹⁴⁵ Arnoldus Schade, Ernestus' and Anthonius' father, bought the house Clarenburg from Adriaen Ram in 1647, which had functioned as the secular clandestine church of Maria Minor Achter Clarenburg. Arnoldus continued to own the house until his death in 1674.¹⁴⁶ Another one of Arnoldus's sons, Dirck, likewise an advocate of the provincial court, was non-publicly connived as a trustee of the municipal chamber of charity (in office 1669–1670) and later became a trustee of the Catholic chamber of charity (in office 1678–1680, 1703–1706).¹⁴⁷

Following the Protestant Reformation, the Van Wijckerslooth family was also divided into a Reformed and a Catholic branch, producing leading figures within the civic community as well as the Catholic community in Utrecht.¹⁴⁸ Reformed members included the politico-judicial elite, among them Gijsbert van Wijckerslooth (d. 1660), who served as burgomaster, member of the city council, and alderman, as well as a Reformed deacon and elder.¹⁴⁹ Abraham Gijsbertsz was also of the Reformed persuasion, and became professor *extraordinarius* of law at Utrecht University, member of

144 HUA, BAI, 1840-1, passim in 1643–1653.

145 Ackermans, *Heders*, pp. 431–32, 471.

146 Ven, 'Het huis Clarenburch', pp. 49, 61; Idem, 'Het huis Clarenburch te Utrecht. Een aanvulling', p. 37.

147 HUA, ORKA, 23, 1 September 1678, 1 September 1679, 1 September 1703, 1 September 1704, 1 September 1705; HUA, SAI, 1825-5, 4 August, 1 September 1669. On Dirck Schade, see also Verhey, *300 jaar*, p. 218.

148 Wittert van Hoogland, 'Aanteekeningen', p. 145. On the Protestant branch, see Pollmann, *Religious Choice*, pp. 116–17, 138, 141, 156, 176, 183, 193; Wittert van Hoogland, 'Aanteekeningen', p. 158; Idem, 'Eenige Utrechtsche Geslachten', pp. 206–27. On the Catholic branch, see idem, 'Aanteekeningen', pp. 158–59; Idem, 'Eenige Utrechtsche Geslachten', pp. 227–57. On the family in general, see also Kemp, 'De oorsprong', col. 101–30.

149 G.P.U., III, pp. 185, 193, 196; Lieburg, *De Nadere Reformatie*, pp. 110, 159; Wittert van Hoogland, 'Eenige Utrechtsche Geslachten', p. 226.

the city council, alderman, and provincial court councillor.¹⁵⁰ The Catholic branch included numerous priests. In 1661 Johan van Wijckerslooth, a priest in Weesp, was publicly granted permission for a short, fourteen-day stay in Utrecht <84> (Appendix 2). There were at least four other priests in the Van Wijckerslooth family.¹⁵¹ The right of the sisters Deliana (c. 1570–after 1661) and Aleydis (d. 1656) to bequeath their property was publicly recognized, in spite of their Catholic faith.¹⁵² An advocate of the provincial court, Anthoni (b. 1623), was non-publicly connived as a trustee of the municipal chamber of charity (in office 1664–1667, 1670–1672) and then became a trustee of the Catholic chamber of charity (in office 1681–1683). Another advocate of Utrecht's provincial court, Cornelis (1634–1682), fulfilled a similar role in Utrecht. He was connived as a trustee of the municipal chamber of charity (in office 1661–1663) and appeared before the city court as a defender of Thomas de Knijff, who was accused of hosting an illegal gathering {104} [91] (Appendices 1 and 4).¹⁵³ Towards the end of the French occupation (1672–1673), he was appointed a councillor of the provincial court by Louis XIV, but was dismissed after the French evacuation.¹⁵⁴ Nevertheless, differing political stances could be found within the Catholic branch of the Van Wijckerslooth family. Despite his Catholic faith, the painter Giovanni was an Orangist, and he sketched an allegory on the French invasion of 1672 from an Orangist point of view.¹⁵⁵ In 1647 the Reformed consistory reported that the house of a brewer named Wijckerslooth near Mariahoek functioned as a Catholic meeting place.¹⁵⁶ This may have been Aert van Wijckerslooth (1582–1651), whose daughter Geertruid (1608–1686) married Jacob van Blockland (d. 1667) in 1633, and the prenuptial conditions were presented to their family members, including the bride's father and her

150 *G.P.U.*, II, p. 1055, III, pp. 187, 196; Wittert van Hoogland, 'Eenige Utrechtsche Geslachten', pp. 226–27.

151 Ackermans, *Herders*, pp. 475–76; Hoeck, *Schets*, p. 258; Wittert van Hoogland, 'Eenige Utrechtsche Geslachten', pp. 229–30, 252–53.

152 HUA, SAIL, 121–25, 19 May 1655. Deliana's nephew Gosimus ter Lau became a priest who worked regularly in Cologne and whose stay in Utrecht was tolerated in 1660, when Deliana, as a petitioner, was over ninety years old <83>. HUA, SAIL, 121–27, 4 October 1660.

153 HUA, SAIL, 1825–3, 21, 30 August 1661, 24 September 1662; HUA, SAIL, 1825–4, 7 September 1664, 6 September 1665; HUA, SAIL, 1825–5, 3 August, 7 September 1670, 26 July, 6 September 1671. On Cornelis, see also Wittert van Hoogland, 'Eenige Utrechtsche Geslachten', pp. 233–34.

154 HUA, Familie Van Wijckerlsooth, 51; HUA, SAIL, 121–28, 1 November 1673; HUA, SVU, 232–36, 1, 2 November 1673.

155 Bok and Jansen, 'De Utrechtse schilder'. On Giovanni, see also Wittert van Hoogland, 'Eenige Utrechtsche Geslachten', p. 250.

156 HUA, KR, 5, 9 August 1647.

nephew Anthoni de Ridder van Groenesteyn, as well as the bridegroom's nephew Anthoni van Blockland [7].¹⁵⁷ Aert's son Thomas was a provincial court advocate and held a post as trustee of the Catholic chamber of charity (in office 1674–1677) and then as bookkeeper of the same chamber (in office 1677–1681).¹⁵⁸

Although one branch of the Pelt family converted to Protestantism and moved to the Generality Lands to acquire public offices, other Pelts stayed loyal to the Catholic faith and remained in Utrecht, producing both lawyers and priests. A solicitor of the city court of Utrecht, Steven Pelt (c. 1565–1642), was a Catholic, while his mother was the illegitimate child of a canon.¹⁵⁹ Steven was non-publicly connived as a trustee of St Anthony Hospice.¹⁶⁰ Three of Steven's six children chose to become clerics. Petrus (1598/9–1646) was a secular priest serving the secular clandestine church of St Jacobus in Drakenburgersteeg, while Adam (c. 1600–1664) became a Capuchin in the Southern Netherlands.¹⁶¹ Steven's first child Gerrit (before 1592–1642) was one of the thirty priests registered in 1622 <5> (Appendix 2). As a secular priest he worked in Montfoort and then in the former parish of the Buur Church in Utrecht, while becoming a founding member of the *Vicariaat* in 1633.¹⁶² When the sheriff was informed of the illegal activities of Catholic priests by Govert van Moock's 'protocol' in 1639, Gerrit ended up being among those prosecuted. Although he escaped the sheriff's raid, he was sentenced to the confiscation of his property and banishment from the Dutch Republic {22} (Appendix 1).

One of Steven's other sons, Johan Pelt (1597–after 1653), was non-publicly connived as a trustee of the plague hospice Leeuwenberch.¹⁶³ Like Johan, his

157 Kemp, 'De oorsprong', col. 126–27; Wittert van Hoogland, 'Eenige Utrechtsche Geslachten', pp. 246–48.

158 HUA, ORKA, 1, 1 October 1674; HUA, ORKA, 23, 1 October 1674, 1 September 1675, 1 September 1676, 1 September 1677, 1 September 1678, 1 September 1679, 1 September 1680. On Thomas, see also Verhey, *300 jaar*, pp. 15, 18, 35, 121, 211, 240; Wittert van Hoogland, 'Eenige Utrechtsche Geslachten', pp. 247–48.

159 Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 153–54. On the Pelt family, see Boukema, 'Geloven in het geloof', pp. 45–51; Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 54–56, 121–22, 138, 152, 161, 171, 207, 249; Ven, 'Een Utrechtse familie'.

160 HUA, BAIL, 1987-1, passim in 1625–1627, 1638, 1640–1642. On Steven, see also Boukema, 'Geloven in het geloof', p. 45; Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 54, 152–53; Ven, 'Een Utrechtse familie', pp. 120–21, 123–24.

161 Ackermans, *Herders*, p. 414; Boukema, 'Geloven in het geloof', pp. 45, 48, 51; Forclaz, *Catholiques*, p. 54; Ven, 'Een Utrechtse familie', pp. 120, 124–25.

162 Hallebeek, 'Godsdienst(on)vrijheid', pp. 127–28; Hewett and Hallebeek, 'The Prelate', pp. 130–31; Jong, 'Het Utrechtse vicariaat', p. 162; Knuif and Jong, 'Philippus Rovenius', p. 119; Ven, *Over den oorsprong*, pp. 90–91. On Gerrit, see also Boukema, 'Geloven in het geloof', pp. 48–50; Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 54, 153, 312; Ven, 'Een Utrechtse familie', pp. 124–25.

163 HUA, BAIL, 2205-1, 23 October 1624. On Johan, see also Ven, 'Een Utrechtse familie', p. 125.

younger brother Anthoni (1604–1661), a renowned medical doctor married to Maria van Honthorst (d. 1653), was active in charity, being connived as a trustee of St Anthony Hospice.¹⁶⁴ Anthoni was an essential member of the Catholic community and of the civic community in Utrecht. He was accused of organizing a Catholic assembly in the secular clandestine church of Maria Minor Achter Clarenburg {35}. In other trials, he defended his brother Gerrit {22}, as well as the gardener Peter Jansz van Loenen, who was accused of holding an illegal gathering {41} [64] (Appendices 1 and 4).¹⁶⁵ Four of Anthoni's sons chose a Catholic religious vocation: while Theodorus (c. 1638–1716) became a Capuchin, Joannes (c. 1639–1704), Petrus (c. 1645–1696), and Gerardus (c. 1649–1724) were ordained as secular priests after entering the Oratory in France or the Southern Netherlands.¹⁶⁶ Among them, Joannes was publicly recognized to come back to Utrecht in 1668 <92> (Appendix 2). Another one of Anthoni's sons, Steven Anthonisz (1647–1717), followed in his father's footsteps to become a medical doctor. He married Antonia Paulina Portengen (1647–1683),¹⁶⁷ a niece of Hendrick Moreelse (1615–1666), who was one of the members of the ruling elite in Utrecht and served as burgomaster, member of the city council, alderman, professor of law at Utrecht University, and councillor of the provincial court.¹⁶⁸ During the French occupation, Steven Anthonisz Pelt was appointed a trustee of the municipal chamber of charity (in office 1672–1673) and then became a trustee of the Catholic chamber of charity (in office 1678–1680).¹⁶⁹ The Pelt family also had a provincial court advocate, Theodorus, whose house near Mariahoek was mentioned by the Reformed consistory as a meeting point for Catholics.¹⁷⁰

Some other Catholic Utrechters were also closely connected with the Reformed ruling class. For instance, Peter van Hardenbroek, a member of the Knighthood, was a friend of Stadholder Frederick Henry. Once a Remonstrant, he later converted to Catholicism, marrying the Catholic noblewoman Agnes van Hanxelaer. Their wedding took place in a Reformed

164 HUA, BAI, 1987-1, passim in 1636–1642, 1644–1649.

165 On Anthoni, see also Ven, 'Een Utrechtse familie', pp. 125–26.

166 Ackermans, *Herders*, pp. 414–15; Ven, 'Een Utrechtse familie', pp. 126–33, 135, 138–41. On Gerardus, see also Frijhoff, 'The Oratory', p. 212.

167 Forclaz, *Catholiques*, p. 153; Ven, 'Een Utrechtse familie', p. 127.

168 *G.P.U.*, II, p. 1054, III, pp. 186–87, 193, 195.

169 HUA, ORKA, 23, 1 September 1678, 1 September 1679; HUA, SAI, 1825-5, 26 July, 6 September 1672, 26 August, 6 September 1673. On Steven Anthonisz Pelt, see also Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 208, 250, 312; Ven, 'Een Utrechtse familie', pp. 120–21, 123, 127–28, 135, 138–41.

170 HUA, KR, 5, 9 August 1647.

church in 1629 and their union was solemnized anew in 1633 by Petrus Aloysius, the papal nuncio in Liège.¹⁷¹ Van Hardenbroek appointed a number of Protestant nobles as co-guardians to his child, but at the same time chose a Catholic, the Utrecht provincial court councillor Otto Schrassert, as financial advisor to the principal trustee, that is, his own wife Agnes.¹⁷²

Likewise, Maria van Pallaes (1587–1664) was part of a circle of outstanding figures which included Reformed rulers in Utrecht and beyond, in spite of her staunch adherence to the Catholic faith. Maria was the oldest child of Lubbert Jansz van Pallaes (d. 1610) and Maria Johansdr van Reede (d. 1649), both of whom belonged to old prominent families in Utrecht.¹⁷³ Although Johan (d. 1650), one of her younger two brothers, was a Reformed believer and became a member of the city council, aldeman, and provincial court councillor,¹⁷⁴ Maria was raised in the Catholic faith. As a survival tactic, elite families may have decided to raise their daughters in the Catholic faith, while having their sons swear allegiance to the Reformed faith in order to secure public offices. Maria's husband Hendrick van Schroyesteyn (d. 1630) was an advocate of the provincial court and a trustee of the municipal chamber of charity (in office 1628–1630).¹⁷⁵ In 1624 Maria and Hendrick made a joint testament designating four of their five children at the time – their sixth and youngest child, also named Hendrick, was born later – as heirs of their property, while excluding their eldest son Johan. According to the testament, Johan had declined his parents' repeated requests to return, preferring to stay in Catholic Brabant where he lived in dire straits. It also indicated that Johan should regard the costs of study they had covered as 'his legitimate portion', and that he would not be named as heir. Maria and her husband therefore appear to have been displeased with their oldest son's decision to settle in the Habsburg territories during the Eighty Years' War.¹⁷⁶

In 1649, when she had become a widow, Maria van Pallaes petitioned the Provincial States for an exemption from the 1644 edict so that she would

171 Faber, 'Dirck van Baburen', pp. 142–49; Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 105–6; Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', pp. 38, 76, 87–88, 263; Idem, *Patrons*, pp. 35, 46, 79, 103–7, 109, 181–82, 268; *N.N.B.W.*, VI, col. 706–7.

172 Faber, 'Dirck van Baburen', p. 146; Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', p. 38; Idem, *Patrons*, pp. 79–80.

173 On the Van Pallaes and the Van Reede families, see Offringa and Hidden, *Fundatie*, here especially pp. 21, 27.

174 *G.P.U.*, II, p. 1054, III, pp. 181–82, 184, 194.

175 HUA, SAII, 1825-1, 1 September 1628.

176 HUA, BAI, 701, 16 July 1624: 'zijne legittime portie'. For a comparable case in which a notable Catholic in Delft named Pieter Opmeer disinherited two of his sons in 1593, see Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 156; Idem, 'Quo Vadis?', p. 472.

be able to bequeath her property as she wished, noting that she herself was neither a nun nor a *kloppje*. This request was approved, even though the States did confirm that her only surviving child Adriana was a Carmelite nun in Antwerp, tacitly acknowledging that Maria could bequeath her property to this religious woman in a Catholic territory.¹⁷⁷ Adriana was not the only child to follow a Catholic religious vocation, for her youngest son Hendrick did so as well.¹⁷⁸ Maria, who would never have grandchildren, went on to make five testaments, all of which referred explicitly to the approval granted in 1649.¹⁷⁹ Her testaments show her deep devotion to Catholicism. In wills written in 1656, 1658, and 1659, she identified her niece Johanna Maria van Pallaes, daughter of her younger brother Johan, as her universal heir.¹⁸⁰ However, after Johanna Maria remarried, taking a Protestant called Johan van Egeren as her new husband, Maria omitted her niece's name from the list of heirs in testaments written in 1660 and 1662.¹⁸¹ At the same time, the testaments written in 1659, 1660, and 1662 stipulated that f. 12 be bequeathed annually to a beguine in Antwerp named Anna Buijs for the rest of her life.¹⁸² Unlike when Maria disinherited her oldest son in 1624, in this case she may not have felt politico-religiously compromised in her conscience about bequeathing her property to a person living in the Habsburg Netherlands, since they were no longer 'enemy lands' but soon became the lands of an ally of the Dutch Republic in its battle against Bourbon France.

On the other hand, Maria van Pallaes counted on the aid of Reformed power holders in her network. She had numerous movable and immovable properties in the city of Utrecht. In her final testament, written in 1662, Maria appointed four administrators to her foundation (*fundatie*) for managing the free dwellings for the poor in Agnietenstraat, called the Twelve Chambers (*XII Cameren*) or the *hofje* (court of almshouses), which Maria had bought from the Agnieten Convent in 1651.¹⁸³ The four original administrators of the foundation were all influential figures in Utrecht: Everard van Weede, lord

¹⁷⁷ HUA, BAI, 692, 5 October 1649; HUA, BAI, 694, 5 October 1649.

¹⁷⁸ On Adriana and Hendrick, see HUA, BAI, 692, 'Inboedel', fol. 4.

¹⁷⁹ The five testaments were written in 1656 (HUA, NOT, U021a022, 128, 16 July 1656), 1658 (HUA, NOT, U021a024, 99, 3 August 1658), 1659 (HUA, NOT, U021a025, 122, 12 August 1659), 1660 (HUA, NOT, U021a026, 116, 31 August 1660), and 1662 (HUA, BAI, 692, 26 November 1662). See also Offringa and Hidden, *Fundatie*, pp. 65–66.

¹⁸⁰ HUA, NOT, U021a022, 128, 16 July 1656; HUA, NOT, U021a024, 99, 3 August 1658; HUA, NOT, U021a025, 122, 12 August 1659.

¹⁸¹ HUA, BAI, 692, 26 November 1662; HUA, NOT, U021a026, 116, 31 August 1660.

¹⁸² HUA, BAI, 692, 26 November 1662; HUA, NOT, U021a025, 122, 12 August 1659; HUA, NOT, U021a026, 116, 31 August 1660.

¹⁸³ HUA, BAI, 692, 26, 29 November 1662; Offringa and Hidden, *Fundatie*, pp. 31–39.

of Dijkveld (1626–1702), Maria's relative on her mother's side, who would be the representative of the first estate in the Provincial States and one of the trusted minions of William III of Orange (1650–1702); Arent van den Bergh, an advocate of the provincial court; Cornelis Dierhout, lord of Ganswijk; and Vincent Stalpert van der Wiele (1616–1692), a rich merchant.¹⁸⁴ Although Dijkveld was Reformed, Dierhout and Stalpert van der Wiele were certainly Catholic. Stalpert van der Wiele, who had married Johanna van Weede (d. 1699) and lived on Nieuwegracht, became one of the ten founders of Utrecht's Catholic chamber of charity established in 1674.¹⁸⁵ His oldest son Theodorus (c. 1650–1680) was ordained a priest by Van Neercassel in 1675.¹⁸⁶ Moreover, Stalpert van der Wiele was one of the executors of the testament of Agatha Dierhout, along with her nephews, including Pieter Cornelisz Dierhout, lord of Ganswijk, and Johan Diderick van Blockland, lord of Giessen (d. 1694).¹⁸⁷ Maria van Pallaes may have nominated the four administrators on the basis of her religious and familial (and thus professional) relations, as she was connected to Catholic notables and jurists as well as Reformed politicians. Maria was supported by such distinguished figures of both faiths to realize the final wishes of her last will and testament.

The Van Honthorst patrician family was another family to play a critical role for Catholic survival, while also being well connected to the Protestant rulers. The family produced two Catholic canons of Oudmunster, Peter and Hendrick. Peter sheltered the Dominican Petrus Harselius in 1598.¹⁸⁸ Hendrick was connived as a trustee of St Barbara and St Laurens Hospice and the plague hospice Leeuwenberch.¹⁸⁹ The painter Gerrit Hermansz van Honthorst, whose name has already been mentioned, was a favourite of Stadholder Frederick Henry.¹⁹⁰ Thanks to a petition Gerrit made before the stadholder as his patron, his brother Herman, a secular priest, was given public recognition to be able to reside permanently in Utrecht <33> (Appendix 2), although he was later accused of performing clerical activities and banished {23} {25} (Appendix 1). Gerrit Hermansz's son Anthoni, a provincial court advocate whose name has likewise been mentioned above,

184 HUA, BAI, 692, 26, 29 November 1662.

185 HUA, ORKA, 1, 1 October 1674; Verhey, *300 jaar*, pp. 15, 240.

186 Ackermans, *Herders*, p. 444.

187 HUA, NOT, U053a015, 27, 21 May 1670. On Johan Diderick van Blockland, see Reinboud, 'Van Blocklant', col. 215.

188 Hoogland, 'De Dominicanen', p. 205.

189 HUA, BAI, 1254, 11 January 1620, 8 January 1625; HUA, BAI, 2205-1, 20 November 1621.

190 Bok, 'Gerard Hermansz. van Honthorst', pp. 276–79; Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 109, 152, 159, 276; Judson and Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst; N.N.B.W.*, X, col. 384–85; Rogier, *Geschiedenis*, II, p. 684.

was non-publicly connived as a trustee of the municipal chamber of charity (in office 1658–1660) and then assumed the post of trustee of the Catholic chamber of charity (in office 1681–1683).¹⁹¹ Gerardus, another of his sons, was ordained a priest and then publicly recognized in June 1658 to come back to Utrecht to visit his elderly, invalid mother Sophia Coopmans, who would pass away later that same month <69a> (Appendix 2). On 26 July 1658, during his stay in Utrecht, Gerardus protested before the notary Nicolaes de Cruyff [23] that he was unable to receive his prebend in Xanten due to ‘incorrect’ information, which is not further specified, allegedly given to the prince-electors of Brandenburg and the duke of Palatinate-Neuburg.¹⁹² Later Gerardus obtained a canonry of St Servaas in Maastricht.¹⁹³ Remarkably, from 1660 to 1661 Gerardus, who was already ordained by the time, joined a Dutch diplomatic delegation to Spain, the first such endeavour after the Peace of Münster, together with Lodewijck Huygens (1631–1699), the third son of the famous poet Constantijn (1596–1687), with whom Gerardus’s father Gerrit Hermansz had cultivated a friendship.¹⁹⁴

Similarly, the patrician Van der Steen family, which produced such priests as the registered secular priest Hendrick <6> and the recognized Carmelite Josephus <79> (Appendix 2), played an indispensable role for Catholic revival in the Dutch Republic, building up friendships with the Reformed ruling elite. Among them, Gerard van der Steen (1590–1680), the last Catholic canon in early modern Utrecht, was crucial for salvaging medieval relics and bequeathing them to Catholic posterity.¹⁹⁵ According to a *klopje* called Maria van der Steen, Gerard’s niece, in the late sixteenth century the Catholic canons of St Jan attempted to protect Catholic ornaments and relics in the collegiate churches from the iconoclasts. In particular, Maria’s relative Arnold van Esch succeeded in salvaging some relics, including an alb of St Bernulphus, bishop of Utrecht (in office 1027–1054), and two basins of St Odulphus (d. 855), a medieval canon in Utrecht. On 28 February 1610 he transferred the alb to his nephew Dirk van Esch, who was also a canon of St Jan, and on 6 November 1611 he conferred ownership of his canonry upon his nephew Gerard van der Steen. On 29 October 1622 Gerard received the alb, which was then transmitted to Apostolic Vicar Petrus Codde (1648–1710). Gerard was appointed executor to the testament of a Catholic canon of

191 HUA, ORKA, 23, 1 September 1681, 1 September 1682; HUA, SAIL, 1825-3, 1 September 1658, 31 August 1659.

192 HUA, NOT, U034a004, 213, 26 July 1658.

193 Bok, ‘Gerard Hermansz. Van Honthorst’, pp. 278–79.

194 Ebben, *Lodewijck Huygens’ Spaans journaal*, pp. 19, 71–72, 362–63.

195 Kruijf, *Miraculeus bewaard*, especially pp. 145–47.

Oudmunster, Pompeius van Montzima (d. 1637), from whom he received relics of St Willibrord. In 1666 these relics were transmitted to Vicar General Van Brienem.¹⁹⁶

Gerard van der Steen offered significant support to Dutch Catholics by other means as well. While he himself was accused of hosting a Catholic assembly in his house in the former immunity of St Jan {17}, he also defended prosecuted Catholics in five other legal proceedings [80] (Appendices 1 and 4). He was active in charitable activities, assuming posts as trustee of the municipal chamber of charity (in office 1631–1633) and of St Bartholomew Hospice as well as St Anthony Hospice.¹⁹⁷ He also offered financial support to Catholics living outside Utrecht, sending money to Catholics in Groningen and establishing a fund for students originating from the former diocese of Utrecht who went to the seminary in Cologne.¹⁹⁸ Furthermore, Gerard was appointed an executor to the testament of Johan Albert van Solms (1599–1648), the provost of the chapter of St Jan, a colonel in the Dutch army, and a brother-in-law of Stadholder Frederick Henry.¹⁹⁹ Like her uncle Gerard, Maria van der Steen was connected with members of the Reformed elite. Born in Liège, she had become a *klopje* before she came to Utrecht. When the famous French Jansenist Antoine Arnauld (1612–1694) visited Utrecht in 1680, she copied certain books for him. She was in touch with a *klopje* in Brussels and undertook a pilgrimage in the Southern Netherlands. In spite of their differences in faith, she also exchanged cordial letters with Anna Elisabeth van Falkenstein, the wife of Johan Albert van Solms and the great-aunt of William III of Orange.²⁰⁰ Gerard and Maria van der Steen were therefore prominent figures not only within the Catholic community at the local, national, and international levels, but also more widely in the Dutch Republic.

More than a few distinguished families were internally divided by faith in the early modern Low Countries. It is worth noting that the abovementioned bi-confessional patrician families in Utrecht produced not only Reformed politicians and jurists, but also Catholic notables, the latter of whom, like the

196 HUA, VSOKN, 590-a (transcribed in Dodt van Flensburg, *Archief*, III, pp. 197–99). See also Brom, 'Kerksieraden van Oud-Munster', pp. 395–98; Forclaz, *Catholiques*, p. 46; HUA, VSOKN, 205; HUA, VSOKN, 206; Kruijf, *Miraculeus bewaard*, pp. 128–48, 154–59; Lenarduzzi, *De belevingswereld*, pp. 158, 186–88; Idem, 'Subcultuur en tegencultuur', pp. 190–91; 227–29; Ven, *Over den oorsprong*, p. 49; Visser, 'Een inventaris', pp. 186–88; Idem, 'Relieken van den H. Willibrordus', pp. 161–63.

197 HUA, BAIL, 1604, c. 1653; HUA, BAIL, 1987-1, passim in 1637–1638.

198 Forclaz, *Catholiques*, p. 47.

199 HUA, VSOKN, 590-a (Dodt van Flensburg, *Archief*, III, p. 199). On Johan Albert van Solms, see *N.N.B.W.*, II, col. 1343.

200 Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 47, 61–62, 221–22; Jacques, *Les années d'exil*, pp. 206–7.

former, contributed in a remarkable way to the multi-confessional *corpus christianum* through, for instance, their legal expertise and charitable activities. It should also be noted that some members of Utrecht's Catholic social elite cultivated close relationships with the Reformed ruling class, including family members of the stadholders and their favourites. Undoubtedly, Catholic survival in Utrecht could not have been realized without these distinguished figures of the Catholic faith who were connected to the Reformed elite by blood, friendship, or patronage.

3.5. Conclusion

Apart from population size and historical roots, the social status of Catholic Utrechters was another factor which helped them to establish a tangible presence within the multi-confessional civic community. Although it is known that the Catholic community was not monolithic in socio-economic standing, Catholic members of the socio-economic elite were crucial for rehabilitating their confessional group in post-Reformation Utrecht, where Catholics never forfeited their property rights. Indeed, they formed a powerful pressure group within the city's public sphere notwithstanding the serious harm inflicted upon their public rights and honour by anti-Catholic legislation and prosecution, tacitly claiming their legitimate position within the city and beyond.

Given that numerous Catholics faced judicial investigation and prosecution in Utrecht, their defenders played a crucial role for the survival of the city's Catholic community. These defenders refuted the charges and arbitrated or negotiated with the judicial authorities on their behalf. While some of the defenders were undoubtedly Catholics themselves, a number of others apparently belonged to the Reformed Church. Evidently, it was not just confessional ties but also family and neighbourly relations or professionalism that motivated the defenders to stand up for prosecuted Catholics. Catholic Utrechters received particular support from the advocates of the provincial court, where their co-religionists continued to exert influence in the seventeenth century, especially during the first half. Apart from official lawyers, the defenders also included others in the higher social strata, such as nobles and canons, who acted as guardians of the Catholic faith in many different respects. In seventeenth-century Utrecht, Catholic noblemen, noblewomen, and canons provided their co-religionists with elements of the necessary external infrastructure of salvation, such as physical spaces for worship, priests, and *klopjes*. Furthermore, they paid fines or posted bail for other anonymous

and non-wealthy prosecuted Catholics, stood as surety for indigent Catholic newcomers and bequeathed property to the Catholic community through their female members. Dedicating themselves to charitable activities, they contributed enormously to Catholic rehabilitation and the common good in seventeenth-century Utrecht. In addition, many patricians were publicly or non-publicly tolerated as social welfare office holders. More than a few Catholic patricians in Utrecht adopted legal professions, upholding their confessional convictions. Catholic jurists were important outside the court of justice as well because, like the nobles and canons, they also hosted illegal assemblies and had family ties with priests and *klopjes*. Via networks of family, neighbourhood, profession, and patron-client relations, Utrecht's elite Catholics were connected not only with their co-religionists, laypeople as well as clerics, but also with the Reformed, including members of the ruling class. Here the supra-confessional relationships – or the ecumenicity of everyday life – prove to have been a real, hard asset, which Catholic Utrechters did not hesitate to deploy to their advantage. Prominent Catholics established their social status in Utrecht through their family connections, socio-economic capital, and professional skills, even though the political authorities, driven by the Reformed Church, attempted to exclude them from Utrecht's public sphere, not just physically but also symbolically by slandering them as potential criminals.

The statement Wachtelaer made regarding the longstanding elevated status of Catholics, quoted at the outset of this chapter, was therefore not groundless. The distinguished social status of some Catholics originated in medieval times, harking back to before the Protestant Reformation and the Dutch Revolt. Some Catholic notables in Utrecht were indeed related to the Reformed in one way or another. The Ruysch and Van Wijckerslooth families, for example, had both Catholic and Reformed members, including politico-judicial rulers of the city. Some other Catholics, including Maria van Pallaes, Gerrit Hermansz van Honthorst, and Gerard van der Steen, cultivated close relationships and patron-client networks with Protestants, including renowned figures in and around the House of Orange. Although the Van Gessel and Dierhout families, for instance, were newcomers in Utrecht, it did not take very long for them to incorporate themselves into their new civic community and acquire a respectable status there. Others, including the Wachtelaer, De Wael van Vronesteyn, and Van der Burch families, had already established their distinguished status and fame since medieval times. On the basis of their elevated social status and ample socio-economic capital, many of them, especially such canons as Gerard van der Steen, Gisbert Junius, and Johannes Wachtelaer, could marshal financial and legal support in the civic community of Utrecht, as family, shared citizenship, and neighbourly contact counterbalanced the strategic

exclusion of Catholics from the public sphere on religious grounds. All in all, Catholics with elevated social status and distinguished networks were indispensable not only for the Catholic community in Utrecht and the Low Countries, but also for the multi-religious society of Utrecht and the Dutch Republic. For Catholic survival, it was crucial for them to be not only guardians of the Catholic faith but also prominent pillars of the civic community and beyond. Backed by these notable individuals and their families, Catholics as a confessional group positioned themselves not on the 'margins', but in the very midst of multi-religious Utrecht and the urban public sphere, tacitly asserting their legitimacy and honour within the civic community on the basis of their numerical, socio-economic, and historical presence.²⁰¹

Abbreviations

A.A.U.	<i>Archief voor de geschiedenis van het aartsbisdom Utrecht</i> . Utrecht, 1875–1957.
D.N.L.	<i>De Nederlandsche Leeuw</i> .
G.P.U.	van de Water, Johan. <i>Groot Placaatboek vervattende alle de placaten [...] Staten 's lands van Utrecht</i> , 3 vols. Utrecht, 1729.
J.O.U.	<i>Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht</i> .
M.O.U.	<i>Maandblad Oud-Utrecht</i> .
N.N.B.W.	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
DTB	Doop- Trouw- en Begraafboeken
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
ORKA	Oude rooms-katholieke aalmoezenierskamer te Utrecht
SA	Stadsarchief
SVU	Staten van Utrecht
VSOKN	Verzamelde stukken van de oud-katholieke kerk in Nederland

201 Cf. Forclaz, *Catholiques*, p. 361; Parker, *Faith on the Margins*, pp. 13, 52, 58.

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205. Documents concerning the sale of Catholic vestments originating from St Jan Church, 1581 and 1603

206. List of vestments and relics originating from St Jan Church, 1622, 1623, 1629, and 1637

590-a. Biographies written by Maria van der Steen of Arnold van Esch and Gerard van der Steen, late seventeenth century

HUA, Kapittel van Sint Marie te Utrecht (221)

93. Documents concerning the trial against Johannes Wachtelaer, 1640

2201. Bill of the treasury of the chapter signed by treasurer Johan de Goijer and ‘curator of the poor’ Gisbert Junius, 1663

HUA, Staten van Utrecht [SVU] (233)

232-36. Minutes of the Provincial States of Utrecht, 5 March 1673–9 November 1673

HUA, Stadsarchief II [SAII] (702)

121-4 ~ 121-5, 121-8 ~ 121-30. Minutes of the city council, 1599/1600–1612/13 and 1619/20–1686/87

414-1. Register of various permits given by the city council, part I, 1654–1679

1825-1 ~ 1825-6. Minutes of the trustees of the municipal chamber of charity, 1628–1647 and 1657–1687

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, 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

701. Testament of Hendrick van Schroyesteyn and Maria van Pallaes, 1624

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
- 2205-1. Minutes of the trustees of the plague hospice Leeuwenberch, 1579-1678
- HUA, Nederlandse Hervormde gemeente Utrecht, kerkeraad [KR] (746)
- 3 ~ 10. Minutes of the Reformed consistory, August 1618-July 1690
- HUA, Oude rooms-katholieke aalmoezenierskamer te Utrecht [ORKA] (794-1)
1. Minutes of the trustees of the Catholic chamber of charity, 1674-1693, January 1707 and February 1708-June 1715
23. List of the trustees of the Catholic chamber of charity, 1674-1721
- HUA, Apostolische vicarissen van de Hollandse Zending [OBC] (1003)
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
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4. Spatial Practices: The Making of the Urban Landscape of Coexistence

Abstract: Spatial practices represented an essential aspect of Catholic survival tactics in Utrecht. This chapter analyses how Catholics produced spaces to facilitate their Catholic way of life. Through their creative spatial practices in Utrecht, which concerned public facilities (including public church buildings, monasteries, convents, and hospices) as well as public streets and their own houses (including clandestine churches), Catholic Utrechters managed both to preserve their traditional sacred spaces and to create new ones. By continuing to use the urban space as in medieval times, and by newly appropriating that space to adjust themselves to post-Reformation religious diversity, Catholics sought spaces to live as observant Catholics and transformed Utrecht's urban space from a mono-religious medieval city into a multi-religious early modern city.

Keywords: space, spatial practice, urban landscape, sacred space, public facility, clandestine church

Even after the 1639 raid on the house of Hendrica van Duivenvoorde, from which Apostolic Vicar Philippus Rovenius escaped, Vicar General Johannes Wachtelaer continued to live in Utrecht without adopting any special measures. But later that same year he was suddenly forced to seek refuge from his hometown following an assault on his house, which functioned as the secular clandestine church of St Gertrudis in Mariahoek (cover image). As he wrote to his colleague Jacobus de la Torre,

In the meantime, Vigilius [Wachtelaer himself] had been wandering [the public streets] for a long time without fear, relying on his right as a citizen and his known residence [in Utrecht], until his house was raided and occupied by the sheriff and his judicial officers, while, by divine foreordination, he was sitting for breakfast nearby [at the moment of the

raid]. [...] They then proceeded to the chapel, where the altarpiece was removed and the ornaments, of both silk and silver, were thrown on the ground, in order that they, after the example of the old heretics, might show that they were fighting not so much against people as against God and his saints.¹

Legally, Catholics were in principle not allowed to assemble anywhere, meaning their private homes were no exception to the regulations.² This is why Wachtelaer's house, which served as a clandestine church, was subjected to this raid and suffered iconoclastic violence. Yet even in such an antagonistic situation, Catholic Utrechters attempted to create and defend their own sacred spaces to live as observant Catholics through various spatial practices.

This chapter demonstrates how Catholics, more as a group than individuals, tactically created room for their survival as Catholics through their spatial practices in the shared physical urban space of Utrecht, from which the political authorities attempted to strategically exclude them. To that end, it will discuss the spatial dimension of the delimitation of the public, in which perceptibility by the human senses, such as visibility and audibility, represented a key element as it defined the epistemological conditions for others to perceive Catholic activities. After tracing chronological developments in Catholic spatial practices in Utrecht, it will take the reader on an 'urban tour' through the city. In a first round, we will pay visits to public facilities, including public church buildings, monasteries and convents, and hospices. In a second round, we will call at houses and public streets especially outside the city wall and in the districts around the two Catholic 'hot spots' of Nieuwegracht and Mariahoek. This chapter will uncover two features of Catholic survival tactics: continuity with the medieval heritage, and adjustment to the post-Reformation multi-confessional reality. I shall argue that in order to survive identifiably as devout Catholics, Catholic Utrechters continued to use their traditional sacred spaces as before, and also accommodated themselves to the city's religious diversity by inventing new sacred spaces through various spatial practices in the urban *corpus christianum*.

1 Deelder, *Bijdragen*, I, p. 173: 'Vigilius wandelde ondertusschen lang zonder vrees voort, vertrouwende op zijn recht als burger en zijn bekend verblijf, totdat door de goddelijke beschikking, terwijl hij in de nabuurschap aan het ontbijt zat, zijn huis overvallen en bezet werd door den schout en zijne gerechtsdienaars. [...] Toen begaf men zich naar de kapel, waar het altaarblad werd weggenomen en de sieraden, zoo van zijden als zilver, op den grond werden geworpen, opdat zij, naar het voorbeeld der oude ketters, zouden toonen te strijden, niet zoo zeer tegen de menschen als tegen God en zijne heiligen'.

2 E.g., *G.P.U.*, I, pp. 394–403, III, pp. 466–69.

4.1. Chronological Developments in Catholic Spatial Practices

For urban habitants, sharing objective time and space in the multi-confessional city meant perceiving the presence of those of different religions on a daily basis.³ Reformed and Catholics in Utrecht were among those who had to adjust themselves to this environment of coexistence. Although Catholics had been deprived of their right to act as Catholics in Utrecht, they developed a variety of spatial practices to survive such a discriminatory situation. As discussed above, anti-Catholic edicts and legal proceedings against Catholics attest quantitatively to a gradual shift in Catholic meeting points from public facilities to houses. This observation on the chronological trend is generally confirmed by other contemporary testimonies, including the minutes of the city council and of the Reformed consistory, which nevertheless also slightly nuance it.

Physical and material remnants of medieval Catholicism persisted long in public facilities, allowing Catholics to regard such public spaces as still theirs. In 1620 the Reformed consistory petitioned the city council to eradicate the 'numerous remnants of the Idolatry of the Popery' in the 'public churches, monasteries, convents etc.', including '[a]ltars, images, *ora pro nobis*, prayers for the souls [in purgatory] etc.'⁴ That same year, the city magistrates observed that people of the 'Roman Religion' were daily holding large assemblies to practise their 'superstition', especially in monasteries and convents. These gatherings were regarded as 'public assemblies and conventicles', causing 'contempt of the public authority'. To counter such Catholic activities, the city council ordered all nuns and beguines living in monasteries and convents to close the doors until four o'clock in the afternoon every Sunday and on Catholic feast days.⁵ In 1622 Utrecht's magistrates ordered that 'those Idolatrous Images and Altars in the Convents be thrown underfoot'.⁶ Nevertheless, in 1635 such 'idolatrous' things could still be found in the city. For this reason, the city council once

3 For a distinguished study, see Davis, 'The Sacred and the Body Social'. Spatial practices inevitably entailed temporalities as an essential aspect. For an excellent study of temporalities and seasonable coexistence among people of different confessions in Spa, a health resort town in the Southern Netherlands, see Corens, 'Seasonable Coexistence'.

4 HUA, KR, 3, 23 November 1620: 'veele reliquen vande Afgoderijen des Pausdoms', 'openbaeren kercken, cloosteren, conventen etc.', and 'Altaeren, beelden, ora pro nobis, bidt voor de ziele etc.'.

5 HUA, SAI, 121-8, 7 September 1620: 'openbare vergaderingen ende conventiculen' and 'verachtinge vande publycke auctoriteyt'.

6 HUA, SAI, 121-10, 29 October 1622: 'die Affgodische Beelden ende Altaren inde Conventen sall gaen onder de voeten werpen'.

again prohibited trustees of convents and the Beguinage from hanging sacred images, crosses, and 'superstitious' drawings on the walls.⁷ As for the hospices, in 1633 the city council instructed the substitute sheriff to make an inventory of sacred images, ornaments, and other objects for the 'practice of popish superstitions and idolatries' in all the hospices, especially St Anthony Hospice and the Holy Cross Hospice, and to remove them.⁸ In these two hospices, a significant number of Catholics continued for a long time to be non-publicly connived as trustees.⁹ However, the remnants of Catholicism still did not disappear altogether.¹⁰ Thus, in 1637 the city council declared that trustees of hospices were to remove all the 'Papist' images and ornaments within twenty-four hours, or else face a fine (f. (florins) 25).¹¹ And yet in 1638 the Voetian consistory was informed of many monasteries with stained glass windows bearing 'offensive' images. Three months later, the magistrates created a list of 'offensive paintings and images, remnants of Popery in [public] churches, Monasteries, and elsewhere' in Utrecht, paying special attention to the former Dom cathedral and the former collegiate church of St Marie.¹² In 1646 a French traveller called Claude Joly met a Catholic canon of the chapter of St Jan in St Jan Church, where he found a painting of St John the Baptist as well as an altar.¹³

Even in the second half of the seventeenth century, Catholic material remnants could still be found in Utrecht's public facilities. In the Wittevrouwen Convent, for instance, crosses and 'popish pictures' were discovered in 1653.¹⁴ Likewise, 'superstitious' statues and images were found in the same convent as well as in the Agnieten Convent in 1658.¹⁵ The Voetian consistory remarked that year that 'superstitious' statues and images still existed in public churches and 'public places' in the city.¹⁶ Although the 'expurgation of the interior' of the Dom through the destruction of its altars and statues is said to have been completed no later than 1595,¹⁷ in 1659 'offensive' stained glass panes and other 'idolatrous' and 'superstitious'

7 HUA, SAII, 121-17, 20 April 1635.

8 HUA, SAII, 121-16, 15 April 1633: 'exercitie vande paepsche superstition ende affgederijen'.

9 HUA, BAI, 1840-1; HUA, BAI, 1987-1.

10 HUA, SAII, 121-17, 20 April 1635.

11 HUA, SAII, 121-18, 6 November 1637.

12 HUA, KR, 4, 23 May 1638; HUA, SAII, 121-18, 6 August 1638: 'ergelijcke' and 'argerlijcke schilderijen ende beelden reliquien vant Pausdom in kercken, Cloosters ende elders'.

13 Nijenhuis, 'Appartenance', pp. 188-89.

14 HUA, KR, 6, 17 October 1653: 'paepsche tafereelen'.

15 HUA, KR, 7, 30 August 1658.

16 Ibidem, 23 August 1658: 'publijcke plaetsen'.

17 Groot, 'Internal Arrangements', pp. 256-57.

monuments still remained and were noted for the record by Reformed ministers.¹⁸ In 1658 the consistory reported that 'superstitious' statues and images were still present in the public church of St Pieter, and therefore asked the city court to remove these 'scandalous' paintings, including one of St Mary of Egypt.¹⁹ Yet people found the painting of St Peter in the same church as late as 1678, when it was to be thrown away.²⁰ Notwithstanding the absence of legal records indicating that Catholic activities were found taking place in public facilities in the second half of the seventeenth century, the magistrates and the Reformed consistory confirmed that the Catholic faith continued to be openly and externally visible there.

Since the outlawing of their faith in 1580, Catholic Utrechters had continued to gather in their homes to practice their faith in spite of the prohibition. From around 1620, they started converting some of their meeting houses into clandestine churches as fixed places of worship, while the politico-religious authorities at the same time began to pay close attention to Catholic spatial practices in and around their homes and on public streets. According to the sheriff who appeared before the city council in 1628, Catholics used 'whole streets as they want' and in various places could come in and go out wherever they wanted to, 'through their houses, gardens, and premises', thus enabling them to escape judicial investigation.²¹ Around 1630 Rudolphus Francisci, the former Catholic priest who had converted to Reformed Protestantism, affirmed that Utrecht's Catholics had 'innumerable', 'highly secret entrances' which were interconnected and used to escape from the judicial officers.²² In 1633 the city council ordered the sheriff to confiscate the pews and altars found in Catholic houses, to bring them to city hall, to take 'perfect' note of the entrances and exits to Catholic houses, and to levy a fine of f. 600 on the owner of the house if he or she were to reinstall pews or altars.²³ In 1635, after receiving a remonstrance from the consistory concerning Catholic assemblies and priests, the city council instructed the sheriff to exercise vigilance on public streets, especially on Sundays.²⁴ Upon the order of the city council and the Provincial States, the sheriff conducted investigations

18 HUA, KR, 7, 21 November 1659: 'ergerlijke'.

19 Ibidem, 30 August 1658.

20 HUA, KR, 10, 4, 18 November 1678.

21 HUA, SAI, 121-13, 7 April 1628: 'geheele straten tot haer wille hebben' and 'door hare huysingen, hoven, ende erven'.

22 HUA, SAI, 2244-86, n.d. (Muller, 'Getuigenis', p. 243): 'ontallijcke' and 'seer secretee toegangen'.

23 HUA, SAI, 121-16, 4, 11 November 1633.

24 HUA, KR, 4, 11 June 1635; HUA, SAI, 121-17, 15 June 1635.

into Catholic spatial practices in 1641, visiting their houses and premises, and taking notes on the doors and entrances or exits there.²⁵ In 1646 the consistory complained to the city council about the numerous roads, gates, and entrances or exits used by Catholic priests to escape.²⁶ Based on an overview of Catholic 'conventicles' offered by the Reformed ministers in 1647, the consistory informed the city council of places of Catholic assembly as well as priests' residences, including those around the Mariahoek district and in the city's suburbs.²⁷

Following the Peace of Münster in 1648, the magistrates began to respond to the pleas of the Reformed Church concerning Catholic spatial practices in and around their houses and on public streets. In 1649 the city council permitted militia captains to undertake an investigation into the entrances and exits of Catholic houses.²⁸ Several months later, the magistrates received the results and ordered Catholics in some quarters to close their entrances and exits within fourteen days, under pain of a fine.²⁹ Nevertheless, the consistory remarked that the 'boldness of Papists' was growing daily due to the sheer number of doors, entrances, and exits to Catholic houses, as well as the 'free and very public residence' of clerics.³⁰ It therefore demanded of the magistracy that it close the entrances and exits that did not lead to public streets.³¹ Until the mid-1650s, the city magistrates organized further investigations, led by the sheriff, on 'all Catholic houses', especially those near the Catholic hot spots in and around Nieuwegracht and Mariahoek. They authorized the sheriff to destroy all the 'utensils and ornaments serving the popish conventicles and superstitions' found during the investigations.³² According to the Voetian consistory, Catholic Utrechters were 'publicly' establishing an increasing number of clandestine churches and schools in the mid-1660s.³³ In 1665 the city court in response exhibited reports pertaining to Catholic spatial practices which identified specific houses, in particular around Nieuwegracht and Mariahoek, where numerous Catholics, including priests and *klopjes*, were living together and had installed heavy

25 HUA, SAI, 121-19, 1 February 1641.

26 HUA, KR, 5, 18 May 1646; HUA, SAI, 121-21, 19 May 1646.

27 HUA, KR, 5, 3, 17, 24 May, 2, 9, 26 August 1647.

28 HUA, SAI, 121-23, 26 April 1649.

29 Ibidem, 23 August, 1 September 1649.

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

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

32 HUA, KR, 6, 3 April 1654; HUA, SAI, 121-23, 10 June 1650; HUA, SAI, 121-24, 28 February 1652; HUA, SAI, 121-25, 10, 22 April, 8 May, 1 November 1654, 4, 29 January 1655: 'gereetschap ende ornamenten, dienende tot paepse conventiculen ende superstitiën'.

33 HUA, KR, 8, 30 June 1665.

doors to forestall judicial investigations.³⁴ By 1672 Catholic Utrechters had fourteen clandestine churches – eleven within the city walls, and three outside – where secular or regular priests took shelter.³⁵ Around these clandestine churches, Catholics formed stations (crypto-parishes) as if they still enjoyed the Catholic parochial life of old.

In this way, Catholic Utrechters seem to have gradually shifted their meeting places from public facilities to their houses over the course of the seventeenth century, although material remnants of Catholicism were still visible to everyone in the urban public spaces and thus offended Reformed sensibilities. Catholics developed various spatial practices in public facilities, in and around their houses, and on public streets in the multi-confessional city.

4.2. Public Facilities

4.2.1. Public Church Buildings

With this chronological examination of Catholic spatial practices in Utrecht in place, we can move on to the first round of our urban tour, which stops at the public facilities. Catholic activities will be presented in a gradation from less to more apparent. Beginning with activities in public church buildings, the centre of religious life for Christians, the analysis will move on to monasteries and convents and, finally, to hospices.

Although all public church buildings in Utrecht were reserved for the exclusive use of Reformed religious services, their practical management was not entrusted to the consistory but to churchwardens (*kerkmeesters*), who were appointed by the city council and did not always yield to the confessionalizing demands of the consistory concerning church interiors.³⁶ As the only public church of the Dutch Republic, the Reformed Church was required to serve everyone, regardless of religion. Thus, even Catholics could baptize their children, marry, and be buried there. As Catholics could still enter public church buildings and participate in communal rites, this may have strengthened their sense that those sacred spaces were still part of their daily lives.³⁷

34 HUA, SAII, 616, 29 April 1665 (Hofman, 'Allerlei', pp. 183–89).

35 *Lettres historiques*, I, p. 212 (report written on 5 July 1672).

36 Pollmann, 'The Cleansing of the Temple', p. 182; Rengers Hora Siccama, *De geestelijke en kerkelijke goederen*, pp. 347–69.

37 E.g., Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 80–81; Kaplan, *Calvinists and Libertines*, pp. 266–70; Lenarduzzi, *De belevingswereld*, pp. 127–29; Idem, 'Subcultuur en tegencultuur', pp. 160–62; Pollmann, 'Burying

Catholic funerals traditionally were a very public, communal ritual. Conformity to the starkly sober Reformed custom therefore offended Catholic sensibilities. Eventually, Dutch Catholics were to develop new customs of mourning, shifting the scene of the ritual from the public church buildings and public cemeteries to domestic, private spaces inside the family home.³⁸ Given this general pattern, it is notable that Utrecht's Catholics seem to have been quite persistent in finding ways to preserve as much of their public, communal ritual funerary programme as possible. In 1638, for instance, 'superstition' was exercised in the choir of the public church of St Pieter during the funeral of a noblewoman of unknown faith.³⁹ A Catholic member of the Knighthood, Peter van Hardenbroek, was fined by the city council for violating an edict when he used an 'illicit' decoration at the funeral of his daughter in the public church of St Catharijne.⁴⁰ Since Reformed and Catholics simultaneously participated in funerals, the former seem to have mimicked the ritualism of the latter in church buildings. In 1638 the Voetian consistory prohibited Reformed believers from taking their hats off when they participated in the funerals at public churches, claiming that such a custom was 'an old superstition sprouting from and preserved in Popery'.⁴¹ Likewise, Catholics continued to place candles around the corpse and to pray for the dead in public churches or churchyards openly, practices which, according to the consistory, were all 'popish superstition' and should thus be forbidden, following a similar ban in Haarlem and 's-Hertogenbosch.⁴² The consistory argued that *klopjes* played a significant role in this custom.⁴³ Coexistence of different confessional groups at funerals at times even resulted in violent conflicts. When neighbours gathered in the house of an innkeeper named Willem Servaes on Whit Tuesday (28 May) in 1667 to discuss how to transport a corpse, the Reformed carpenter Dirck Leendersz van Hoorn began quarrelling with others. On another night, Van Hoorn met one of his neighbours, Jan Willemsz van Emerick, who was walking in Nieuwstraat together with his wife. Van Hoorn suddenly began

the Dead', pp. 94–95; Spaans, *Haarlem*, pp. 113–24; Idem, 'Stad van vele geloven', pp. 388–401; Tracy, 'Public Church', pp. 501–2. For a helpful analysis of early modern Dutch Catholic claims to public church buildings as legal, sacred, and social spaces, see Geraerts, 'Competing Sacred Spaces'.

38 For the early modern Dutch Catholic mourning culture, see Mudde, 'Rouwen in de marge'.

39 HUA, SAI, 121–18, 17 September 1638.

40 HUA, SAI, 121–19, 7 September 1640: 'ongoorlooffde'. For the edict, see *G.P.U.*, III, pp. 527–29 (14 July 1624). See also Geraerts, 'Competing Sacred Space', pp. 29–30.

41 HUA, KR, 4, 18 January 1638: 'een oude superstitie gesprooten ende onderhouden int Pausdom'.

42 HUA, KR, 5, 2 February 1646; HUA, SAI, 121–21, 16 February 1646, 10 January, 28 February 1648; HUA, SAI, 121–22, 6 March 1648.

43 HUA, KR, 5, 27 January 1651.

fighting with Van Emerick, who came away with several injuries. According to a witness, Van Hoorn had shouted after the victim: 'Papist, Papist'.⁴⁴

Memories of medieval Catholicism were not only preserved, but also newly revealed and revived through the Catholic material remnants in Utrecht's public churches. On the evening of 27 November 1656, the grave of St Bernulphus, bishop of Utrecht (d. 1054), in the choir of the public church of St Pieter was exhumed.⁴⁵ A Catholic believer named Heindrick Gijsbertsz Weyman delightedly reported this 'miracle' to his co-religionist Henricus Velthoen, the president of the college of 'High Hill' (*Hooge Heuvel*) in Cologne, that is, the Alticollense college where many Dutch secular priests were trained. According to Weyman, people found the 'episcopal garment, with his staff, a golden ring on his hand, a silver gilded chalice, and [a] dish' in the grave. He noted: 'Thousands of people have come here to see [the relics], including those of the Catholic faith with devotion, as well as those of other religions with curiosity, many of whom mocked at and joked about [the relics]'.⁴⁶ Catholics succeeded in safeguarding the relics from destruction or confiscation by the Reformed, and they were to be preserved by the already secularized chapter of St Pieter. A report by the chapter's secretary testifies that many Catholics were coming there daily 'with great devotion' for the relics.⁴⁷ The relics brought Utrecht's Catholics 'miracles' – or, Catholic ecclesiastics used the relics as a confessional weapon in their apologetics. In 1688 Apostolic Vicar Petrus Codde reported that the chalice of St Bernulphus had 'miraculously' cured the serious respiratory illness of a local Catholic woman called Joanna Tibbel.⁴⁸

Well into the latter half of the seventeenth century, Catholic Utrechters continued to attach their own religious meanings to spaces of the public church buildings and also gave new confessional values to those spaces, where they sometimes openly, externally, and identifiably acted as Catholics even in front of the Reformed. But more audacious spatial practices took place in monasteries and convents.

44 HUA, SAIL, 2244-126, 21, 25 June, 12, 19 July 1667: 'Paep, Paep'.

45 HUA, Kapittel van Sint Pieter, 114-a. On mourning culture in St Pieter Church from the eleventh to the eighteenth centuries, see Bogaers, *Aards*, pp. 593-677.

46 This letter was transcribed in Evers, 'De sarcophaag', p. 90: 'bisschoplijcke gewaeyt, met zijn staff, een gouden rinck an zijn handt en een silvere vergult kelcxken en pateelken' and 'Hier hebben duesenden van menschen commen kijken, die katholijcke met divotie, die van andere religie uut nieusciericheit, waervan der veel spotten en geckten'. On Velthoen, see Rogier, *Geschiedenis*, II, p. 46.

47 HUA, Kapittel van Sint Pieter, 114-a: 'met grote devotie'.

48 Bogaers, *Aards*, p. 605; Parker, *Faith on the Margins*, p. 180.

4.2.2. Monasteries and Convents

Monasteries and convents had functioned as sacred spaces during medieval times, but were officially secularized in post-Reformation Utrecht. As noted above, some of them were in the possession of the Knighthood, of which Catholic nobles retained membership in the seventeenth century. Those who had lived in monasteries and convents from before 1580 were not deprived of their right to draw a pension from their ecclesiastical properties and some of them, especially nuns, were allowed to live there, unless they violated the anti-Catholic edicts.⁴⁹ The Catholic nobles in the Knighthood and the presence of Catholic residents in monasteries and convents may have enabled Catholic Utrechters to imagine that they were still in Catholic use, even though ordinary laypeople had not had access to them in medieval times.

In order to safeguard their worship and to protect their clerics, Catholics utilized multiple entrances and exits to the monasteries and convents. This led the city magistrates to decide in 1624 that all the entrances and exits to Catholic houses that belonged to convents were to be closed, and their keys kept in the city hall. Catholic priests were prohibited from visiting monasteries and convents, under pain of forfeiting their benefices and livelihood, if indeed they still had them.⁵⁰ Since the outlawing of Catholicism in 1580, the Jeruzalem Convent had been one of the most popular places for illegal Catholic assemblies held especially by one of the first Jesuits dispatched to the Dutch Republic, Willem de Leeuw (1559–1612), who died and was buried in the same convent. The political authorities tried to check Catholic activities in the convent, confiscating all the properties belonging to it in 1613.⁵¹ But, one day in 1628, the sheriff was informed that Catholics were planning to gather in the Jeruzalem Convent. However, when he raided the place, he found nothing except scattered holy water. Appearing before the city council, the sheriff explained that the Catholics had escaped the judicial officers using the many entrances and exits of the convent. He petitioned the magistrates to stipulate that every monastery and convent be restricted to a single entrance or exit. Yet the magistracy all but ignored this request. Dismissing the sheriff's plea, the magistrates declared that the trustees of the monasteries and convents, and not the sheriff, were to assume the authority over the entrances and exits there.⁵² Despite

49 Hulzen, *Utrechtse kloosters*, passim.

50 *G.P.U.*, III, pp. 467–68 (14 July 1624); HUA, SAII, 121-10, 12 July 1624.

51 Hoek, *Schets*, p. 72; *N.N.B.W.*, III, col. 747–48.

52 HUA, SAII, 121-13, 14 January, 7 April 1628.

urgent appeals from the sheriff, the political authorities seemed hesitant to infringe upon the rights of the owners of monasteries and convents, including the Knighthood, with regard to their territories and buildings. Behind the magistrates' indecision, the agency of the Catholics seems indirect.

However, Catholics sometimes also held large-scale assemblies in monasteries and convents especially on important dates in their confessional calendar, testifying to a more direct and evident agency on their part. Around ten o'clock in the morning on Ascension Day, 1622, the sheriff, together with other judicial officers, visited the Abraham Dole Monastery. They knew that people were celebrating Mass in a room in the monastery on that feast day. However, the room was far from the front entrance, and the Catholics had closed numerous doors in between. By keeping the doors closed, they were able to prevent the judicial officers from reaching them. Judging from the sound of the crowd, the sheriff estimated that more than 200 Catholics may have been in attendance there {3}.⁵³ In 1624 thirteen or fourteen Catholics, including the Dominican Paulus van der Rijst, as well as beguines and residents of the monastery, were found holding a gathering in the Arkel Monastery {5}.⁵⁴ A decade later, the sheriff and substitute sheriff learned that Catholics were planning to hold their 'conventicles' in various places on 15 August 1636, the feast day of the Assumption of Mary. Accordingly, they rushed to the Cecilia Convent where they found more than 200 Catholics gathered. Behind the crowds, the sheriff caught a glimpse of someone wearing vestments. However, Catholic women threw themselves in the way to prevent the sheriff from reaching the door through which the priest managed to escape. Responding to the report from the sheriff, the magistracy ordered that all the entrances to the convent, which provided access to and from the neighbouring houses, were to be closed immediately {14}.⁵⁵ Four years later, however, the city magistrates found 'two secret doors or holes' in the Cecilia Convent, leading to the neighbouring premises. They judged that Catholics were still using these doors or holes to prevent judicial officers from apprehending their ecclesiastics.⁵⁶ Even after the Peace of Münster, Catholics displayed their 'boldness' in St Servaas Abbey, after which the consistory warned the city council and the Knighthood, as the owner of the abbey, of these illicit activities.⁵⁷

53 HUA, SAIL, 2244-46, fasc. 11, 31 May 1622.

54 HUA, SAIL, 2236-2, 26 May 1624 (Hoogland, 'De gevangenneming', p. 243); HUA, SAIL, 2244-53, fasc. 8, 24 January 1624 (Hoogland, 'De gevangenneming', p. 240).

55 HUA, SAIL, 121-17, 15 August 1636, 12 September 1636; HUA, SAIL, 2236-3, 31 December 1636.

56 HUA, SAIL, 121-19, 25 June, 8, 22 July 1640: 'twee heymelicke deurgangen off gaten'.

57 HUA, KR, 5, 30 September, 7, 28 October 1650.

Through their spatial practices using doors, entrances, and exits, Catholic Utrechters secured their sacred spaces in the officially secularized monasteries and convents, allowing their presiding priests to escape arrest. Catholic activities were perhaps most tangible, however, in Utrecht's hospices.

4.2.3. Hospices

Despite repeated prohibitions, Catholics continued to hold positions as trustees or overseers in Utrecht's hospices until at least the early 1660s. The presence of their co-religionists as administrators of hospices may well have enabled Catholics to regard them as their own sacred spaces, although legally the use of the chapels was reserved to Reformed preachers alone.

Catholic clerics sometimes sneaked illegally into Utrecht's hospices to administer their sacraments. In 1624, for instance, two Catholics on their death beds were caught receiving extreme unction from priests in St Anthony Hospice in the suburb of Weerd, where Catholics were connived as trustees at least during the period from 1623 to 1649.⁵⁸ In response, the city magistrates decided in 1624 that priests found in hospices were to forfeit their benefices if they still had rights to them.⁵⁹ That same year a provincial edict confirmed that all Catholic priests were to be forbidden from visiting hospices.⁶⁰ However, Catholics continued to be active in hospices to show their religiosity, inviting priests to preside over services there. Around Christmas 1634, Catholics gathered in St Job Hospice outside the Catharijne gate {12}. When interrogated by judicial officers, a resident of the hospice named Jan Jansz van Soest testified that the registered Catholic priest Paulus van Geresteyn <16>, whom he called 'Pauwels van de Straet' (Paul of the Street), opened the door of St Job Church adjacent to the hospice in the morning on 22 December 1634. After he and two women living outside the Catharijne gate had entered the church, other elderly people together with a woman who Van Soest guessed was a *klopje*, followed them and closed the door of the church. After a while, they came out and entered the hospice. According to Van Soest, Van Geresteyn frequently visited the sick in the hospice. Accompanied by Catholic residents living in the hospice, the priest often entered St Job Church and closed its door, although Van Soest was unable to clarify explicitly whether Catholics were practising their faith there. Van Soest, or the author of the interrogation report, seems to have

58 HUA, BII, 1987-1, passim in 1623-1649.

59 HUA, SAI, 121-10, 12 July 1624.

60 This provincial edict was issued on 14 July 1624. *G.P.U.*, III, pp. 467-68.

noted deliberately that Catholics were creating an invisible space inside the public church building by closing the door. Here we find the liminality of the physical public whose boundary was shifted by Catholic spatial practices.⁶¹

During the seventeenth century, the *kermis* frequently took place in Utrecht's hospices.⁶² The *kermis* had originally been a celebration to mark the feast day commemorating the consecration of a particular church, but by the seventeenth century, it had become a popular festival held around the annual fair. According to a petition sent by the consistory to the city council in 1654, Catholics committed 'terrible idolatry' during the *kermis*, trying to apply 'popish odour' to their churches to 'establish their own authority' in the city. In the consistory's understanding, for Catholics, no church could exist 'without the authority of the Pope'. As Pope Alexander II (1010/15–1073) had granted an indulgence at the *kermis* in 1066, so the Voetian consistory continued, Utrecht's Catholics still received indulgences at the *kermis* every year. Besides, Utrechters, including Reformed believers, were being lured into dancing and drinking during the *kermis* period, which was judged scandalous by Calvinist moral standards. The consistory problematized the very term '*kermis*' as well. When the Reformed referred to the *kermis* as *kermis*, they were forced to place themselves 'under the dominion of the anti-Christ'. As biblical examples suggested, if the Reformed were to permit Catholics to celebrate the *kermis*, they would themselves incur the wrath of God.⁶³ According to the consistory, St Anthony Hospice, St Job Hospice, the *Dolhuis*, and St Bartholomew Hospice were known as places for the *kermis*.⁶⁴

It was in these four hospices famous for the *kermis* that Catholic Utrechters were particularly active and even audacious in openly and externally displaying their faith. In 1624 a Catholic priest was reported to have entered St Anthony Hospice to administer extreme unction.⁶⁵ In 1637 Reformed communicant members living in the suburb of Weerd, where this hospice stood, appealed to the consistory to hold weekly sermons in the hospice for 'edification' and to the 'detriment of Popery'.⁶⁶ A beguine called Huijbertgen van Nyckercken is said to have frequented St Bartholomew Hospice in Lange Smeestraat, where Catholic female overseers were still working in

61 For {12}, see HUA, SAIL, 121-17, 29 December 1634; HUA, SAIL, 2244-80, 30 January 1635. For <16>, see HUA, VSOKN, 112, 12 March 1622.

62 *G.P.U.*, III, pp. 472-73 (15 April 1630); HUA, KR, 5, 3 May 1647.

63 HUA, KR, 6, 13 November 1654: 'paepsche geur', 'schrickelycke afgoderie', 'syn eygen auctoriteyt bevestigen', 'sonder auctoriteyt der Paus', and 'onder de heerschappe der antichrist'.

64 HUA, KR, 5, 2 April 1649.

65 HUA, SAIL, 121-10, 12 July 1624.

66 HUA, KR, 4, 3 August 1637: 'stichtinge' and 'affbreuck van t'Pausdom'.

1637. As such, she was forbidden by the city council to visit the hospice, on pain of forfeiting her income from St Nicolaas Monastery.⁶⁷ In the same hospice, Catholic residents mocked their Reformed counterparts when the latter were observing a fast by allowing themselves an extra dish.⁶⁸ In the *Dolhuis*, Catholics likewise added fuel to their conflict with the Reformed. Someone, surely of the Catholic faith, had a psychiatric patient sing 'two popish parodies' (lit. 'scoffing songs'), which mocked the 'contemporary situation and success of the weapons of this State'.⁶⁹

The Holy Cross Hospice outside the Wittevrouwen gate was one of the most popular sites for Catholics. A reason for its popularity was the relic of an alleged fragment of the Holy Cross that had been kept in a chapel of the hospice since its establishment in the fifteenth century by the Holy Cross confraternity of St Jacob Church.⁷⁰ Despite the existing prohibitions, Catholics were appointed trustees there at least from 1643 to 1662.⁷¹ Especially from the end of the 1620s until the end of the 1630s, Catholics were particularly bold in this hospice, stirring up trouble with the Reformed. On 3 May 1628, a Catholic feast day of the Holy Cross, Catholics gathered in this hospice to practise 'horrible idolatry and superstition'. On that same day, 'many barges full of people were transporting the sick there from Lopik [a village near Utrecht] and other places, in order to exercise this idolatry and for pilgrimages'. The Reformed consistory regarded this as 'harmful to our reformation and [a] scandal to numerous pious people'.⁷² Two months later the city council instructed trustees of the hospice to remove the Catholic images and to close the hospice on 3 May every year to prevent Catholics from exercising their 'superstition' on their feast day.⁷³ Nevertheless, according to the minutes of the city council of 1633, Catholics also assembled in the hospice on Fridays, in particular on Good Friday, to practise their 'diverse superstitions'. The city magistrates saw this as 'a scandal and offence to many patriots and sympathizers of the true Christian reformed Religion, and contempt of the Magistrate of this City'. They ordered the trustees of

67 HUA, SAIL, 121-18, 18 November 1637.

68 HUA, KR, 6, 18 October 1652.

69 HUA, SAIL, 121-18, 6 August 1638: 'twee paepsche schempliedekens' and 'jegenwoordige gelegentheyt ende succes der wapenen van desen Staet'.

70 Margry and Caspers, *Bedevaartplaatsen*, I, pp. 759-60.

71 HUA, BAIL, 1840-1, passim in 1643-1662.

72 HUA, KR, 4, 18 May 1628: 'growlicke affgoderie ende superstitie', 'veele schuyten vol menschen tot pleginge deser affgoderie en bedevaerden van Lopick en andere plaetsen sieck daerhenen transporteren', and 'schaede onser reformatie ende schandael veeler vromen'.

73 HUA, SAIL, 121-13, 8 July 1628.

the hospice to close all the doors, windows, and entrances or exits between Thursday evening and Friday evening. Still, the trustees of the hospice, perhaps themselves Catholics, attempted to make a new object shaped like a cross. They were therefore forbidden by the city magistracy from producing such things without the prior consent of the burgomasters.⁷⁴ On 7 March 1636 the city council decreed that the trustees of the hospice were to remove Catholic images and ornaments by 11 March, and that the sheriff was to bring the Catholic materials found in hospices and elsewhere to the city hall.⁷⁵ Subsequently, in 1638 numerous Catholics came to a room in the hospice called the 'Offering Room' to practise their 'superstition' communally. Moreover, elderly Catholic women in the hospice scorned people who worked on the Catholic feast days. That same year Catholics continued to practise their 'superstition of pilgrimages' on the feast day of the Holy Cross.⁷⁶ On 25 April 1639 the Reformed consistory postponed sermons in hospices to the next week in order to warn against the 'superstition' which had been 'ordinarily' practised outside the Wittevrouten gate, probably in the Holy Cross Hospice, particularly on the feast day of the Holy Cross.⁷⁷

After this date, the minutes of the city council and consistory contain no further references to the cult of the Holy Cross in the hospice. However, in his mission report to Rome in 1656, Apostolic Vicar De la Torre did mention the cult in the Holy Cross Hospice:

In the other [hospice] of the Holy Cross near the city walls, a commemoration and a huge cult of the Holy Cross has existed from times of old, and Catholics from abroad rush there even in this tempest [of Protestant rule] for the sake of prayer, since God is working various miracles there.⁷⁸

Indeed, Catholics continued to be active in the Holy Cross Hospice even in the second half of the seventeenth century. On the night of 31 January 1650,

74 HUA, SAIL, 121-16, 15 April 1633: 'een scandaël ende ergernisse van veele patriotten ende liefhebbers vande ware Christelijcke gereformeerde Religie ende cleijnachtige vande Magistraet deser Stadt'.

75 HUA, SAIL, 121-17, 7 March 1636.

76 HUA, KR, 4, 10 May 1638; HUA, SAIL, 121-18, 3 December 1638: 'Offer Camertgen' and 'superstitie van de bevaerden'.

77 HUA, KR, 4, 25 April 1639.

78 Lommel, 'Relatio seu descriptio', p. 175: 'In alio vero S[anc]tae Crucis juxta civitatis moenia ab antiquo memoria et cultus maximus fuit ejusdem S[anc]tae Crucis, accurrentibus voti causa etiam hac tempestate undequaque Catholicis et Deo varia ibidem miracula operante'. Almost the same description can be found in the mission report from Rovenius and other secular priests, including De la Torre, to Rome in 1638. Hoogland, 'Descriptio', p. 192.

the priest Johannes Schade was invited into the hospice by his father Pieter, who was an advocate at the provincial court and a trustee of the Holy Cross Hospice, to give the last rites to women on their deathbed. A female overseer of the hospice is said to have greeted the priest cheerfully. She was then summoned by the Voetian consistory, which accused her of neglecting her duty to prevent 'popish superstitions', offending the Reformed communicant members residing in the hospice. Appearing before the consistory, she insisted that she had not known of the anointing by the priest. The consistory delegated two ministers to the city council to complain about this incident. The magistrates in their turn ordered the sheriff to conduct further investigations.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, in 1652, when Pieter Schade was still a trustee of the same hospice, the consistory was informed about Catholic trustees and Remonstrant trustees of the same hospice who were practising their 'superstitions'.⁸⁰ It is worth mentioning that in 1661, when at least one Catholic, that is, Nicolaes Dierhout, was serving the same hospice as a trustee, the Voetian consistory asked the trustees to lower the curtains to cover the stained glass panes, at least while Reformed ministers were preaching there.⁸¹ On this occasion, the consistory seems to have given up hope of ridding itself of the 'superstitious' images of the stained glass windows.

Catholic Utrechters were therefore quite bold in giving external and material expression to their religiosity in Utrecht's hospices, as the presence of Catholic trustees or overseers there made it possible for them to continue to treat the public space as if it were still their own.

While previous studies typically assumed that Dutch Catholics retreated from the urban public space in the wake of the Protestant Reformation and the Dutch Revolt, restricting their religious expression to the inside of their private homes, Utrecht's Catholics prove to have been far more active in demonstrating their faith in the city's public facilities. The physical and material presence of Catholicism there pushed Catholics to continue to regard such public spaces as their sacred spaces, collectively practising their faith and communally celebrating their feast days there, although Protestants had denied these spaces such sacredness. But continuity went hand in hand with adjustment, as Catholic Utrechters adapted themselves to the early modern multi-confessional reality by creating new doors and entrances or exits, re-installing their material objects in the public facilities, and the

79 HUA, BAI, 1840-1, *passim* in 1643-1653; HUA, KR, 5, 4, 11 February 1650; HUA, SAI, 121-23, 18 February 1650.

80 HUA, KR, 6, 28 September 1652.

81 HUA, BAI, 1840-1, *passim* in 1645, 1647-1662; HUA, KR, 8, 9 September 1661.

like, in their attempts to facilitate easy escape from judicial investigators. The spaces of such public facilities were therefore not just *lieux de mémoire* of a lost medieval Catholicism, but also lived spaces of an early modern outlawed Catholicism.

4.3. Houses and Public Streets

4.3.1. Open Clashes

At this point we begin the second round of our urban tour, visiting Catholic houses and public streets. A first feature of this tour is the open clashes between Catholic Utrechters and the politico-judicial authorities or Reformed neighbours, which were provoked by Catholic spatial practices through their homes, spaces between houses, and public streets. We will then go on outside the city walls, calling at houses and a castle owned by Catholics. After returning inside the walled city, the urban tour will be completed with a visit to the districts around Nieuwegracht and Mariahoek, where Catholics lived together and demonstrated a previously underestimated dynamism in their spatial practices.

Numerous Catholics with elevated social status provided their co-religionists with spaces for communal worship, even if their houses were not turned into clandestine churches. The large scale on which Catholics were holding illegal assemblies inside their private homes inevitably caught the attention of the authorities and Reformed neighbours, especially on Catholic holy days. On the feast day of the Assumption of Mary in 1638, for example, Gerard van der Steen, the Catholic canon of St Jan, hosted a gathering of twenty-six people in his house on Janskerkhof, inside the former immunity of St Jan {17} (Appendix 1). In another instance, the noblewoman De Edel tightly closed the door of her house on Christmas Eve 1628, when a number of Catholics were assembled there. The sheriff tried to interrupt this assembly by smashing the door with an iron hammer, but failed to enter. To his mind, this represented 'premeditated resistance', a 'disdain for justice and the public authority'.⁸² Utrecht's Catholics sometimes chose to assemble after dark or before sunrise, just like their co-religionists in other

82 HUA, SAII, 121-14, 29 December 1628: 'premeditate resistentie' and 'vilipendie vande justitie ende publiccq autoriteyt'. This noblewoman might be Maria d'Edell, who regarded the Buur Church as a Catholic sanctuary and provided a fund for the establishment of an altar in the same church. Geraerts, 'Competing Sacred Space', pp. 21, 26.

places of the Dutch Republic.⁸³ However, the scale or frequency of their gatherings at night rendered them recognizable as punishable offences through visibility or audibility as punishable offences.⁸⁴ A petition which the Reformed consistory sent to the city council in 1648 impatiently complained that Catholics were holding their gatherings in 'innumerable places' as if they had 'freedom' of assembly. It claimed that Catholics had already re-established their bishopric and divided the city into parishes – that is, the so-called stations formed around clandestine churches. The next potential step for Catholics would be to set up a 'political government'.⁸⁵

Catholic clandestine churches were constructed in houses that were large enough to accommodate the congregation and were thus mostly owned by wealthy individuals. Two clandestine churches in Utrecht had been under Dominican supervision. One of them, the *Onze Lieve Vrouw Rozenkrans*, had been standing at the corner of *Dorstige Hartsteeg* (or *Hendrick de Royensteeg*) and *Lange Nieuwstraat* since around 1620. Its founder, the Dominican Vincent Andriesz, was accused of performing clerical activities in 1636 {13}.⁸⁶ The 1665 investigation report referred to a 'church' constructed in the house of the Dominican Christophorus Floris <008>, who lived with his mother in *Lange Nieuwstraat*, near the *Onze Lieve Vrouw Rozenkrans*.⁸⁷ It is also known that Grietgen Janssen {53} lived in *Dorstige Hartsteeg*, and that Maria Francken {95} lived near the end of *Dorstige Hartsteeg* in *Lange Nieuwstraat*, although it is unclear whether their houses functioned as the Dominican clandestine church. In any case, both were suspected of hosting Catholic assemblies (Appendix 1). In 1657 the Reformed consistory reported that a priest called Hatterem was residing in a house on *Nieuwstraat* near *Dorstige Hartsteeg*.⁸⁸

One of the most exhaustive judicial investigations of Dutch Catholic houses was conducted in Utrecht in 1639. It was carried out on the house of the Catholic noblewoman Van Duivenvoorde, where Apostolic Vicar Rovenius frequently stayed.⁸⁹ During the subsequent trials against Catholic priests, including Wachtelaer {19}, two other priests, namely Jacobus de Gouda <10> and Johan van de Wall, were also interrogated, even though they evaded legal prosecution. The interrogation, together with the trials themselves, made the

83 E.g., Frijhoff, 'Dimensions', p. 230; Idem, *Embodied Belief*, p. 59.

84 E.g., {12} {35} in Appendix 1.

85 HUA, KR, 5, 28 February 1648: 'ontalijcke plaetsen', 'vryheyte', and 'polityct regieringe'.

86 For the general history of this Dominican clandestine church, see Hoogland, 'De Dominicanen', pp. 206–12. For {13}, see HUA, SAIL, 2236–3, 10, 19 November 1636, 3 December 1636.

87 HUA, SAIL, 616, probably in 1665 (Hofman, 'Allerlei', p. 188).

88 HUA, KR, 6, 20 April 1657.

89 Deelder, *Bijdragen*, I, pp. 170–76.

magistrates aware of the urgent need for further countermeasures to deal with Catholic spatial practices through doors, entrances, and exits.⁹⁰ Soon thereafter they decided that the sheriff, accompanied by militia captains, was to visit houses in every quarter of the city to investigate the doors and entrances or exits there.⁹¹ Such investigations were indeed frequently conducted, especially from around the mid-seventeenth century.⁹² Pews, altars with ornaments, sacred images, manuscript documents, (religious) books, and even relics were discovered in Catholic houses and confiscated by the authorities.⁹³

In this antagonistic situation where the authorities attempted to deprive Catholics of their physical spaces to act as Catholics even inside their private homes, the latter nevertheless never abandoned their effort to create and protect their sacred space inside their houses. Some Catholics civilly requested instructions from the magistrates. In February 1644, for instance, Anna Catharina Mom and the Catholic nobleman Assuerus van Borculo petitioned the city council to permit them to install new doors and entrances or exits to their houses. Upon receiving this request, the city magistracy found it necessary to delegate someone to inspect the premises visually, but the results of this investigation are unfortunately not known.⁹⁴ This does not mean, however, that the petitioners evaded legal prosecution. Van Borculo had already been accused by the city court of hosting a Catholic assembly a month earlier {32}. Likewise, Mom was charged by the court with hosting Catholic gatherings in her house in 1642 {27}, 1648 {42}, and 1655 {70} {72}, which functioned as the secular clandestine church of St Nicolaas Achter de Wal (Appendix 1). Catholic activities had been noticeable to the eyes of the magistracy in and around the secular clandestine church of St Nicolaas Achter de Wal, which, according to contemporary testimonies, was located near Lollestraat, Cellebroederstraat, and St Hieronymus School. As early as 1633, the sheriff had confiscated Catholic ornaments, pews, and an altar from the house of Cornelis van Kessel near St Hieronymus School.⁹⁵

90 HUA, SAIL, 121-19, 16 March 1640.

91 Ibidem, 4 May, 23 July 1640.

92 E.g., HUA, KR, 5, 9 August 1647 (Klaveren, 'Vergaderplaatsen'); HUA, SAIL, 121-23, 26 April 1649; HUA, SAIL, 121-27, 4 July 1664; HUA, SAIL, 616, 29 April 1665 (Hofman, 'Allerlei', pp. 183-89).

93 E.g., HUA, SAIL, 121-23, 23 August 1649.

94 HUA, SAIL, 121-20, 2 February 1644. Van Borculo was active in charity as he was connived as a trustee of St Anthony Hospice (in office at least 1628-1633, 1636-1638, 1641-1649) and of the municipal chamber of charity (in office 1638-1640). HUA, BAIL, 1987-1, *passim* in 1628-1633, 1636-1638, 1641-1649; HUA, SAIL, 1825-1, 3 October 1638, 4 October 1639.

95 HUA, SAIL, 121-16, 4, 11 November 1633. The house of a man known as Puyt (Poeyt), whose stall served as a meeting point for Catholics, was also situated near St Hieronymus School {48} (Appendix 1).

Other Catholics, however, were belligerent when facing the politico-judicial authorities and their Reformed neighbours. On one day in 1644, the sheriff together with other judicial officers raided a house to break up an illegal Catholic assembly, but the participants prevented them from entering and added further insult by calling them 'snitches, crooks, traitors, devils'.⁹⁶ An appeal from the public church to the city magistracy reveals that Catholics, even after being fined by the city court, continued to use their special doors or entrances and exits, and posted sentries on public streets near houses whose owners had already been prosecuted.⁹⁷ In 1649 the sheriff found a heavy door in the house of Grietgen Janssen, comparing it to the 'door of a castle' which, according to him, functioned as a 'door for retreat' {53}.⁹⁸ The 1665 investigation report shows that some Catholics equipped their houses with heavy doors made of poplar trees, physically obstructing judicial investigators. For instance, the house of 'Van Blickenburg', that is, the secular clandestine church of St Nicolaas Achter de Wal, had a door made of poplar trees, and two Catholic secular priests, Johannes Putkamer <013> and Johannes Lindeborn <014>, were residing in a neighbouring house with a blue gate. These houses were described as 'a large nest of *kloppen*'.⁹⁹ According to the city council, Catholics were planting trees in front of their doors to hide visitors from the public eye, drilling (possibly large) holes through walls (presumably as extra entrances and exits), and reinforcing doors with iron on the inside.¹⁰⁰ In 1662 the Voetian consistory claimed that, after their illegal assemblies, Catholics were even committing physical violence against Reformed communicant members on public streets, noting that three of them had recently been attacked.¹⁰¹

Catholics sometimes grossly provoked the judicial officers who raided their house assemblies. According to the 1665 investigation, Gerrichje van Wijck lived in a house on Oudegracht which had formerly been owned by the renowned Catholic medical doctor Anthoni Pelt, where several doors made of poplar trees were found.¹⁰² In August of that same year, the city magistracy ordered the sheriff to visit the same house to confiscate Catholic

96 *G.P.U.*, III, p. 469 (29 January 1644); HUA, SAIL, 121-20, 29 January 1644: 'verklikkers, schelmen, diefleyders, duyvels'.

97 HUA, KR, 7, 4 September 1659.

98 HUA, SAIL, 2244-100, fasc. 14, n.d. in 1649/50: 'deur van een kasteel' and 'deur van retraite'.

99 HUA, SAIL, 616, 29 April 1665 (Hofman, 'Allerlei', pp. 183-89, here especially pp. 185, 188): 'een groot nest van kloppen'.

100 HUA, SAIL, 121-27, 24 July, 28 August 1665, 27 August 1666.

101 HUA, KR, 8, 2 June 1662; HUA, SAIL, 121-27, 2 June 1662.

102 HUA, SAIL, 616, 29 April 1665 (Hofman, 'Allerlei', p. 185).

ornaments.¹⁰³ Two years later, judicial officers raided the same house, in which Marichge (Maria) Jacobs now resided. The sheriff and other judicial officers had been unable to enter the house and were forced to wait in front of the closed door. Meanwhile, a man inside told the sheriff through the iron lattice: 'Sir, we have committed an offence, we admit our guilt, but I seem to have mislaid the key'. The sheriff replied that he 'had to open the door, to see what assembly there was', but the man left without opening. The sheriff struck the door with a hammer, opening it, but then came upon another door inside the front entrance that was locked with a strong bolt. While he was hindered by these doors, many participants, whose number the sheriff estimated at more than one hundred, managed to escape onto Oudegracht canal by fleeing through a wharf cellar. In the same quarter, the sheriff found a maid who had lived with the late Pelt in another cellar, and twenty others in another house, all of whom seem to have fled from the gathering {90}.¹⁰⁴

Catholic Utrechters were flexible in the use and appropriation of their homes, spaces between houses, and public streets so as to create room to live as devout Catholics. Many members of the Catholic lay elite hosted illegal assemblies in their houses, harboured priests there, and paid substantial fines on behalf of their co-religionists. Catholics' active and even aggressive spatial practices provoked constant clashes with the politico-judicial authorities and their Reformed neighbours. This was particularly apparent outside the city walls.

4.3.2. Outside the City Walls

In the Utrecht suburbs, where Catholics occupied political and judicial offices even as late as 1670,¹⁰⁵ and where they continued to assume posts as trustees of St Anthony Hospice and the Holy Cross Hospice, they openly displayed the Catholic faith. On Easter Sunday in 1646 (22 March), for instance, the farmer Wouter Woutersz, living in the suburb of Lageweide, hosted a Catholic assembly, which was raided by the Nederkwartier substitute marshal Michiell Loevre. Some 200 or 300 Catholics were said to have participated in that gathering, which may well have taken place in a warehouse or barn

103 HUA, SAIL, 121-27, 28 August 1665.

104 HUA, SAIL, 2244-125, n.d. in 1667: 'mijn heer wij sijn in breucke gevallen en bekennen onse schult, de sleutel kan ick niet bij de handt vinden' and 'de deur soude openen, dat moetste sien, wat vergaderingh daer was'. For the approximate address of the house formerly owned by Anthoni Pelt (Oudegracht), see, e.g., HUA, NOT, U056a001, 21, 14 December 1661.

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

belonging to the prosecuted farmer {39} (Appendix 1). According to the 1647 report of the consistory, Catholics were particularly active in the suburbs of Tollesteeg, Catharijne, and Absteede.¹⁰⁶ Maychgen Peters and her son, who insulted the Reformed minister Gualtherus de Bruyn, were living outside the Tollesteeg gate. The Reformed consistory took the incident seriously, delegating De Bruyn himself and several elders to the city council to urge the magistrates to enact stricter regulations against the Catholics in the Tollesteeg suburb {43} (Appendix 1). Likewise, outside the Tollesteeg gate and even beyond the jurisdiction of the city, Catholics were 'publicly', openly, and collectively holding their 'conventicles'.¹⁰⁷ According to the sheriff, Catholics were constructing a church in the suburb of Lauwerecht in 1651, although it is unknown whether the construction had been completed.¹⁰⁸ In 1656 the Reformed consistory was informed that 'Papists' were practising their 'idolatry' in the suburb of Oudwijk as well.¹⁰⁹

Two of the most prominent centres of Catholic activity were the Utrecht suburbs of Wittevrouwen and Weerd. On Easter Sunday in 1641, thirty-six Catholics were found assembling in the house of the gardener Eelgis Gerritsz in Wittevrouwen, including their priest Herman van Honthorst {23} (Appendix 1). After investigating two Catholic houses in 1664, the sheriff learned that a large assembly would soon be held outside the Wittevrouwen gate.¹¹⁰ Similarly, Catholics gathered in the house of Peter Jansz van Loenen, which stood in Bethlem in the suburb of Weerd, in 1647 {41} (Appendix 1).¹¹¹ There were more than 300 Reformed communicant members living in Weerd, but they had no minister and were therefore forced to attend worship in St Jacob Church inside the city walls. Catholics, in contrast, were 'publicly' and openly holding their assemblies in Weerd. The Reformed in the suburbs at times even turned to Catholic priests when their co-religionists became sick or fell critically ill, since Catholic priests were regularly present and always ready to anoint the sick or the dying even after the city gate was closed, preventing Reformed ministers from arriving.¹¹² Indeed, from around 1643 Catholics had a secular clandestine church called St Jacobus Buiten de Weerd,¹¹³ and in 1652

106 HUA, KR, 5, 9 August 1647 (Klaveren, 'Vergaderplaatsen', p. 27).

107 HUA, KR, 8, 25 February 1661: 'openbaerlijck'.

108 HUA, SAII, 121-24, 15 September 1651.

109 HUA, KR, 6, 14 April 1656.

110 HUA, KR, 8, 4 April 1664. Given the season of this report, the assembly may have been held for the cult of the Holy Cross at the Holy Cross Hospice in the suburb of Wittevrouwen.

111 HUA, KR, 5, 9 August 1647 (Klaveren, 'Vergaderplaatsen', p. 27).

112 HUA, KR, 5, 12 October 1650: 'oopenlijck'.

113 Faber and Rommes, 'Op weg', p. 255; *Naamlijst der pastoors*, 87.

the Catholic patrician Wilhelmus van Wenckum was accused of escorting a priest to the house of a sick woman in Weerd, probably to give her the last rites {61} (Appendix 1). In 1653 Cornelis Fransz was prosecuted for hosting a Catholic gathering in his house in Weerd {65} (Appendix 1). Two years later the magistrates were informed that Catholics were preparing their 'conventicles' in houses near the Bethlem Convent in Weerd, and thus ordered the sheriff to confiscate Catholic ornaments and pews there.¹¹⁴ In 1664 the consistory referred to the area around Bethlem as a place infamous for the 'boldness of Papists'.¹¹⁵ And indeed, in 1670 Petertje Gerrits in Bethlem was charged with holding a forbidden assembly {99} (Appendix 1).¹¹⁶

Although it fell outside the city's jurisdiction, Schalkwijk was one of the Catholic bastions where Utrechters could also be found in attendance. Its centre was the castle of Adriaen Ram, lord of Schalkwijk. According to the Utrecht provincial court's sentence against him on 29 July 1651, Ram confessed in the city's jail that he had renovated the tower of his castle as 'a formal church for those of the Roman faith', with a baptismal font stolen from 'the Reformed public church' in Schalkwijk.¹¹⁷ The provincial court argued that according to the provincial edicts, the doors should have been opened at the officials' request without resistance. The court demanded that the tower of the clandestine church be demolished, and that a fixed bridge or dam be installed to replace the drawbridge, which had hindered the officials from reaching the castle, in order to make sure that the 'House of Schalkwijk would always have an open entrance'.¹¹⁸ Although Ram was forced to surrender to the authorities, other notable Catholics, whose houses stood within the city walls, continued to play a crucial role for creating and defending Catholic sacred spaces in Utrecht.

Utrecht's Catholics may have found it relatively easier to practise their faith collectively and externally in the suburbs since they could exploit open spaces outside the city walls to escape Reformed eyes and to flee from judicial investigators. Yet Catholic spatial practices were even more evident around the Nieuwegracht district, inside the walled city, where a lot of Catholic Utrechters with elevated social status resided.

114 HUA, SAIL, 121-25, 8 January 1655.

115 HUA, KR, 8, 28 March 1664.

116 Petertje Gerrits might be the same person as 'Petertgen op Bedlehem', who was accused in 1664 {83} (Appendix 1)

117 HUA, HVU, 99-8, 29 July 1651 (Hilhorst, 'Het kerspel Schalkwijk', p. 61): 'een formele kerck voor de Roomsche-gesinde' and 'de Gereformeerde publycke kercke'.

118 HUA, HVU, 99-8, 29 July 1651 (Hilhorst, 'Het kerspel Schalkwijk', pp. 65-67): 'Huys van Schalckwyck altyt te mogen hebben een open toeganck'.

4.3.3. Around Nieuwegracht

The district around Nieuwegracht was a prestigious residential area where the provincial court of Utrecht stood and many (Catholic and other) jurists lived. The area had two clandestine churches for Jesuits, one for Augustinians, and two for secular priests. Around 1612 the Jesuit Joannes Rijser (Ryserius: 1572–1650) arrived in Utrecht as a substitute for the late Willem de Leeuw. Rijser came to serve the clandestine church of St Catharijne in Catharijnesteeg near Nieuwegracht. When he sought to leave Utrecht for the Southern Netherlands in 1649, Catholic Utrechters are said to have tried to keep him in the city. In 1623 another Jesuit, Theodorus de Weeze (1586–1629), came to Utrecht and established the Jesuit clandestine church of St Martinus in Herenstraat, not far from Nieuwegracht.¹¹⁹ Catholics likewise established the secular clandestine church of St Marie Op de Kamp alias Soli Deo Gloria in 1645, the secular clandestine church of St Servaas Onder de Linden in Servaashek and the Augustinian clandestine church of St Augustinus in Hieronymussteeg, the latter two no later than the mid-seventeenth century.¹²⁰

Catholics clashed with the politico-judicial authorities in the Nieuwegracht area around 1650, by which time the aforementioned clandestine churches had been established. In January 1644 the house of Assuerus van Borculo in Jeruzalemstraat was found to be the site of a Catholic assembly {32} (Appendix 1), although the next month Van Borculo petitioned the city council to allow him to install doors and entrances or exits in his house.¹²¹ Catholics are known to have assembled frequently around St Servaas Abbey, at least in 1647.¹²² In 1652 the house of the Catholic nobleman Willem van der Burch was twice identified as a place of Catholic assembly {62} {63} (Appendix 1). Given the brief, three-month interval between the two instances, he seems not to have been scared off by legal prosecution. At almost the same time, in 1651, the Catholic noblewoman Agatha Dierhout was charged with hosting a forbidden Catholic gathering in her house near Brigittenbrug, just around the corner of Catharijnesteeg and Nieuwegracht, which functioned as the Jesuit clandestine church of St Catharijne {58} (Appendix 1). This was hardly the last time she would be fined for such an

119 Hoeck, *Schets*, pp. 72–73; Lommel, 'Lijst der aanwezige pp. Jesuïeten', pp. 231–32, 234–35; *N.N.B.W.*, III, col. 1116, X, col. 1158–59.

120 Faber and Rommes, 'Op weg', p. 255.

121 HUA, SAII, 121–20, 2 February 1644.

122 HUA, KR, 5, 9 August 1647 (Klaveren, 'Vergaderplaatsen', p. 27).

offence, as her name is the one that appears most frequently in trials against Catholics in the fifty years under study; by 1672, she had been accused of hosting Catholic assemblies no fewer than four times.¹²³

In 1655 Catholics and the authorities further escalated their conflicts around Nieuwegracht. In that year the sheriff raided the houses of Catholics there in order to regulate their spatial practices through doors and entrances or exits. The sheriff first closed a number of entrances and exits leading to Herenstraat, and broke down a door there. He then put a lock on a door or gate between the houses of Van Borculo and Vuysting in Jeruzalemstraat, keeping the two keys for himself and the substitute sheriff. Double front doors were found in another house in the same area, along with an altar and many Catholic paintings. On 22 January 1655 the sheriff ordered the residents to tear down the doors and to throw away the altar and paintings, which had been used for the 'exercise of popish superstitions and assemblies'.¹²⁴ Later, the Catholic noblemen Willem de Wael van Vronesteyn and Cornelis Dierhout, both of whom owned houses in Herenstraat along Nieuwegracht, appealed to the city council to modify those orders.¹²⁵ The magistracy seems not to have acceded to their request, since the sheriff continued to conduct further investigations on other houses on both sides of Nieuwegracht. During these investigations, the sheriff found numerous doors and entrances or exits connecting the houses of the Catholic nobleman Aelbert Proeys van Hogelande; Geertruid van Blockland, the widow of the late Catholic provincial court councillor Pieter Dierhout and their children (including Agatha Dierhout); the Catholic provincial court advocate Dirck Lommetzum [50]; another Catholic provincial court advocate called Anthoni van Blockland (Geertruid's brother) [7]; and the Catholic nobleman Daniel de Ridder van Groenesteyn. The sheriff ordered these Catholic notables to close the doors, entrances, and exits within fourteen days, stipulating a fine of f. 600 in case of non-compliance.¹²⁶ Representing the Catholic owners of the houses, De Ridder van Groenesteyn and Lommetzum petitioned the city council to have the orders changed, but without avail.¹²⁷

123 {58} {75} {94} {105} in Appendix 1. In the late 1670s, she was charged with hosting Catholic assemblies twice: in 1676 (HUA, SAIL, 2236-5, 5 January 1676; HUA, SAIL, 2244-135, 1, 3, 4, 8, 15, 17, 21 December 1675); and 1679 (HUA, SAIL, 2236-5, 17 January 1679).

124 HUA, SAIL, 121-25, 22 January 1655 (this entry of the minutes of the city council was transcribed in Muller, 'Raadsbesluiten', pp. 237-39): 'exercitie van de paepse superstitiën ende bijeencomsten'.

125 HUA, SAIL, 121-25, 12 February 1655.

126 Ibidem, 26 March 1655.

127 Ibidem, 11 June 1655 (this entry of the minutes of the city council was transcribed in Muller, ed., 'Raadsbesluiten', pp. 239-40).

Catholics nevertheless continued to regard the area around Nieuwegracht as one of their bastions. A number of Catholic clerics continued to live there, including an Augustinian friar named Joan van Hoven <011>, whose residence was two or three doors down from that of the Reformed minister Arnoldus Teekmans.¹²⁸ Likewise, the area included the residences of the Jesuit Aloysius Ballast <010>, who served the Jesuit clandestine church of St Martinus in Herenstraat, and of the secular priests Cornelis van Velthuysen <012>, Johannes Roos <016>, and Dirck de Roy <017> (Appendix 3). According to a visitation report by the provincial superior of the Jesuit *Provincia Flandro-Belgica* in 1656, Ballast was an enthusiastic preacher. In his clandestine church of St Martinus, he sometimes celebrated Mass twice a day on Sundays and feast days, and four times a week during Lent.¹²⁹ Another Jesuit, Lambert van Dilsen <009>, who was dispatched to Utrecht in 1661,¹³⁰ lived next to Agatha Dierhout and served the clandestine church constructed in her house. A secular priest called Godefridus <019> worked for 'the new church' behind Agatha Dierhout's house (Appendix 3).¹³¹

It should be emphasized that Catholic (noble) women played a remarkable role there. As early as 1656 Agatha Dierhout was once again accused of hosting a Catholic gathering in her house, the Jesuit clandestine church of St Catharijne {75} (Appendix 1). The 1665 investigation reports still paid special attention to the houses of other Catholic women along Nieuwegracht. Among them, Gerrichje Verburch's house had several doors made of poplar trees, and the noblewoman Van Zanen's house had several (possibly secret) rooms along the wall as well as doors made of poplar trees.¹³² Van Zanen was probably the same person as Maria van Sanen, who was accused of hosting Catholic assemblies in 1664 {84} and 1665 {86} (Appendix 1). Likewise, there were Catholic assemblies taking place in the houses of the Catholic women Maria van Coddenoort (in 1664) {85} and Cornelia van de Kemp (in 1671) {102}, both located in Servaashek (Appendix 1). In August 1665, following an investigation, the city council authorized the sheriff to confiscate Catholic ornaments from Dierhout's house.¹³³ But as noted above, Dierhout was determined to continue serving the Catholic faith. On Whit Tuesday (22 May) 1668, she again hosted an assembly of fifty or sixty Catholics in her

128 HUA, SAIL, 616, probably in 1665 (Hofman, 'Allerlei', p. 188).

129 Besides, Ballast often visited houses of the nobility to carry out religious services there. Lommel, 'Relatio visitationis', p. 80.

130 Post, 'Zes verslagen', p. 150.

131 HUA, SAIL, 616, probably in 1665 (Hofman, 'Allerlei', pp. 188–89): 'de nieuwe kerck'.

132 HUA, SAIL, 616, 29 April 1665 (Hofman, 'Allerlei', p. 185).

133 HUA, SAIL, 121–27, 28 August 1665.

home {94} (Appendix 1). The other Jesuit clandestine church, St Martinus in Herenstraat, was served by Ballast <010> and owned by Maria Johanna van Amstel van Mijnden, known as the noblewoman Van Loenersloot. In 1666, one year after the aforementioned investigation report confirmed his presence in Herenstraat, Ballast was arrested in his St Martinus Church and then released after a bail of f. 1,200 was posted by Willem Baerle [3] and Balthasar van Bueren [15] {88} (Appendices 1 and 4).¹³⁴ In September 1667 the sheriff once again rushed to the clandestine church of St Martinus, knocking on the door and ringing the bell many times, but he failed to enter. The sheriff argued that Catholics had installed windows to allow them to escape to 'secret places'. Upon leaving the front entrance, he went behind the house, where he came upon some 100 people {91}.¹³⁵ Less than two months later, Van Loenersloot's house was once again raided by the sheriff. He claimed that he had seen around thirty people coming out of a gate in Herenstraat, near her house {92} (Appendix 1). Like Agatha Dierhout, Van Loenersloot was uncompromising in her Catholic devotion.

The district around Nieuwegracht was therefore crucial for the survival of Utrecht's Catholics, even though existing literature has rarely acknowledged this important function. Effectively using their doors and entrances or exits for the sake of escape, Catholic jurists and noblemen or -women in particular cooperated to defend their sacred spaces there. Another essential area for Utrecht's Catholics was the Mariahoek district.

4.3.4. Around Mariahoek

Mariahoek, located within the former immunity of the chapter of St Marie, has long been recognized by historians as a centre of Dutch Catholicism. The apostolic vicars regularly came to stay on Mariahoek, and numerous other important Catholics, both ecclesiastics and laypeople, lived together there in a kind of voluntarily created Catholic 'ghetto' (Fig. 3).

As early as 1636 Utrecht's politico-judicial authorities were aware that Catholics were gathering in houses on Mariakerkhof. No matter how often the sheriff rang the bell and hammered on the bolted doors, no one opened them. The sheriff also grumbled about the numerous entrances and exits connecting the houses there, preventing him from carrying out a successful raid.¹³⁶ Shortly thereafter, two important secular clandestine

¹³⁴ It should be noted that Van Bueren [15] was one of the defenders of Agatha Dierhout at her prosecution in 1668 {94} (Appendices 1 and 4).

¹³⁵ HUA, SAII, 2244-125, n.d. in 1667: 'heijmelijcke plaetsen'.

¹³⁶ HUA, SAII, 121-17, 11 January 1636.



Fig. 3 Pieter Jansz Saenredam, *St Marie Square and St Marie Church in Utrecht*, 1662, oil on canvas, 109.5 x 139.5 cm, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, photograph by Studio Tromp

churches were established around the former collegiate church of St Marie: Maria Minor Achter Clarenburg and St Gertrudis in Mariahoek. The influential Catholic nobleman Adriaen Ram bought a house on Achter Clarenburg in 1640, whose former owner was the Catholic nobleman As-suerus (Zweder) van Brakel van Blikkenburg, husband of Anna Catharina Mom {27} {42} {77} (Appendix 1). Ram permitted this house to be used as an important secular clandestine church, Maria Minor Achter Clarenburg, while he himself had the option at that time to participate in Mass in the clandestine church of his castle in Schalkwijk as well.¹³⁷ The clandestine church of Maria Minor was also raided by the sheriff. Late at night, just before midnight on Wednesday, 19 June 1644, Ram and Dr Anthoni Pelt [64] were found holding a Catholic assembly there {35} (Appendix 1). In 1647 Ram sold the house to the Catholic provincial court advocate Arnoldus Schade, so that the clandestine church came into the hands of a Catholic jurist.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ Ven, 'Het huis Clarenburch', pp. 43, 48–51, 61.

¹³⁸ Ibidem, pp. 49, 61.

The other important secular clandestine church, St Gertrudis, was established by Vicar General Wachtelaer. Using his privilege as a canon of St Marie, in 1625 he purchased the former choir house and chapter school located in Mariahoek, in the former immunity of the collegiate chapter of St Marie. Wachtelaer probably opened the former chapter school for Catholic gatherings, and had it expanded in 1633. Then, in 1638, Simon van Veen, the Catholic advocate of the provincial court of Utrecht, bought the former sixth cloister house in Mariahoek, although he was just a title-holder. It was in fact Wachtelaer who owned the house, and he turned it into the secular clandestine church of St Gertrudis.¹³⁹ In 1639 the city court brought accusations against him, and St Gertrudis was subjected to a violent raid. After being banished from his hometown in 1640, Wachtelaer in 1652 transferred the clandestine church to the Catholic provincial court advocate Berent van Zutphen, who appeared many times in legal records for the judicial defence of prosecuted Catholics [99] (Appendix 4).¹⁴⁰ Like their counterparts living in the Nieuwegracht quarters, Catholic jurists in and around Mariahoek, such as Schade, Van Veen, and Van Zutphen, played a pivotal role in Catholic survival, not only by providing legal support for the prosecuted Catholics but also by safeguarding their sacred spaces in word and deed.

Even after Wachtelaer was forced to leave Utrecht, the area around Mariahoek continued to function as the centre of the Catholic community. In its 1647 report, the Voetian consistory warned that Catholics were frequently assembling around Mariahoek, among other places in the house of the advocate Johan de Munter [60].¹⁴¹ In the 1650s the politico-judicial authorities time and again attempted to oppress Catholic spatial practices around Mariahoek. In 1652 the sheriff investigated houses in Walsteeg near Mariahoek, where 'secret' shutters, boxes, and other paraphernalia for 'large gatherings and forbidden assemblies' were found. The city council ordered the owners of the houses to destroy these utensils intended for their 'superstitions', and to close the doors and entrances or exits connecting the various houses and sites.¹⁴² Two years later the city magistracy ordered Catholics living in Mariahoek to close the doors leading to the cloister of the public church of St Marie.¹⁴³ Several days after this order was given,

139 *Idem*, 'De driehoek', pp. 35–41, 49–50.

140 *Ibidem*, pp. 50, 56.

141 HUA, KR, 5, 9 August 1647 (Klaveren, 'Vergaderplaatsen', p. 27).

142 HUA, SAIL, 121–24, 4 October 1652 (this entry of the minutes of the city council was transcribed in Muller, 'Raadsbesluiten', pp. 236–37): 'verborgen' and 'groote bijeenkomsten ende verboden vergaderingen'.

143 HUA, SAIL, 121–25, 12 October 1654.

Divera van der Eem, the widow of the advocate Simon van Veen, and other owners of houses in Mariahoek petitioned the city council to change it, but in vain. The sheriff, who had already closed a number of shutters and doors while confiscating the keys, insisted that the magistrates should not accept any compromise with the Catholics.¹⁴⁴ In January 1655 he reported to the magistrates that he had finished closing the doors, entrances, and exits leading to the cloister of St Marie Church.¹⁴⁵ Nevertheless, Catholics continued to be extremely active in the areas around Mariahoek. Geertruyd van der Heyden was, for example, accused of hosting a Catholic gathering in her house on Achter Clarenburg in 1656 {76} (Appendix 1). In 1658 the Reformed consistory found a painting depicting the Trinity in a chapter-house of St Marie. When a Reformed canon of that chapter was summoned by the consistory, he promised that the painting would be removed or at least hidden from people's eyes.¹⁴⁶ When the sheriff investigated houses in Mariahoek in 1660, he found a new building along the city wall. It had been constructed by Maria van Ruempst, the widow of Reynier Loots, who was fined f. 100.¹⁴⁷ The Dominican clandestine church of St Dominicus is known to have moved from the Utrecht suburb of Wittevrouwen to Walsteeg in 1665,¹⁴⁸ and the investigation reports of the same year reveal that Catholics installed several doors made of poplar trees in Walsteeg.¹⁴⁹

The 1665 investigation report also shows that many priests were residing in Mariahoek. The vicar general in Utrecht, Abraham van Brienem <001>, was referred to as the 'prior' (*overste*) of the city's Catholics. He was reported to be living in Mariahoek, together with several *klopjes* and the tolerated secular priest Servaes van der Nypoort <41> <002> (Appendices 2 and 3). As Wachtelaer's successor, Van Brienem served the clandestine church of St Gertrudis, which was to be raided by the sheriff in 1674.¹⁵⁰ Other secular priests also took up residence in Mariahoek, including Anthonius van der Plaet <005>, Jacobus Vlugh <006>, and a certain Reinier <007>. The Dominican Albertus Wijnen <003>, who served the clandestine church of St Dominicus, and a secular priest called Teeckelenbergh <004>, who worked regularly in nearby Schalkwijk, likewise lived in Walsteeg, together with their relatives (Appendix 3).

144 Ibidem, 23 October, 1 November 1654.

145 Ibidem, 4 January 1655.

146 HUA, KR, 7, 30 August, 6 September 1658.

147 HUA, SAIL, 121-26, 3, 13, 27 August 1660.

148 Hoogland, 'De Dominicanen', pp. 206-7, 212-14.

149 HUA, SAIL, 616, 29 April 1665, probably 1665 (Hofman, 'Allerlei', p. 185).

150 HUA, SAIL, 616, 6 January 1675 (Hofman, 'Allerlei', pp. 192-95). On Van Brienem, see, e.g., Ackermans, *Herders*, passim; Ven, 'De driehoek', pp. 52-53, 56, 72-74, 80.

As was the case for the district around Nieuwegracht, Catholic women, including *klopjes*, were notably active in Mariahoek. According to the Reformed consistory, numerous *klopjes* in Mariahoek lived together in a 'beguinage way'.¹⁵¹ Indeed, the investigation report of 1665 noted that a lot of Catholic noblewomen resided around Mariahoek. In the house of the widow of Loots, for instance, the noblewoman Elisabeth van Dam and others were found to be living together. So too there was a house in Walsteeg where Anneken van Raveswaey and others resided. In the house of the noblewoman Lootsen, many Catholic noblewomen were living together, including Johanna van Brien en and a woman named Wevelhoven.¹⁵² In the house of Thomas de Knijff, where Cornelia van de Kemp, Sophia van Erckel, and Maria van Vianen lived together in 1665,¹⁵³ forbidden Catholic assemblies were discovered to be taking place on at least three occasions {87} {96} {104} (Appendix 1). During visits to Utrecht, Apostolic Vicar Johannes van Neercassel and French Jansenists stayed with Sophia van Erckel.¹⁵⁴ Likewise, the noblewoman Aletta van Schendel, who lived around Mariahoek, hosted Catholic assemblies {78} {93} {103} (Appendix 1). In 1668 {93}, when the sheriff was informed of Catholics assembling in her house, he had the substitute sheriff go there. After ringing the doorbell, he was immediately able to enter the house. However, the room where Catholics were thought to be assembling was closed off, and he failed to catch even a single one of the participants, who managed to escape through the various entrances and exits. The substitute sheriff estimated that more than 200 participants had been in attendance there.¹⁵⁵

Mariahoek had been home to notable figures of the Dutch Catholic community, both clergy and laity, from of old, and functioned as an important Catholic stronghold even after Catholicism was outlawed. It was spatial practices conducted especially by Catholic Utrechters of the socio-economic elite, including lawyers and nobles, that shielded this centre of Dutch Catholicism from the Reformed.

Catholic spatial practices through houses and public streets became something of a cat-and-mouse game. Even though they lived under anti-Catholic legislation, Catholic Utrechters exercised initiatives in first developing new spatial practices to defend and create spaces in which they could live

151 HUA, KR, 8, 2 June 1662.

152 HUA, SAIL, 616, 29 April 1665 (Hofman, 'Allerlei', p. 185).

153 HUA, SAIL, 616, 29 April 1665 (Hofman, 'Allerlei', p. 184).

154 Forclaz, *Catholiques*, pp. 55–56.

155 HUA, SAIL, 2244–126, 30 January, 13, 25, 27, 28 February 1668.

as devout Catholics, and then forcing the Reformed political authorities to promulgate new edicts and conduct new investigations of houses and public streets. The clashes steadily escalated over the course of the fifty years examined here. While scholars have consistently argued that Dutch Catholics were tolerated as long as they limited their religious expression to the space within the physical threshold of their houses, the politico-judicial authorities of Utrecht tried to regulate their assemblies and worship everywhere, including in private homes. However, Catholics challenged the authorities and the Reformed majority by repeatedly shifting the boundary of the public. Once again, their spatial survival tactics witness to both continuity and adjustment. Despite the prohibition, Utrecht's Catholics assembled in their private homes (including clandestine churches) and tried to continue their medieval parochial life, naming their four secular clandestine churches after the four parish churches now under Reformed control.¹⁵⁶ And they habituated themselves to the multi-confessional civic community and appropriated the urban space, adapting the inside of their homes while utilizing the spaces between their houses and the public streets to safeguard their new sacred spaces.

4.4. Conclusion

Utrecht's urban space changed drastically in the wake of the Protestant Reformation and the Dutch Revolt. Seventeenth-century Utrechters subjectively interpreted the objectively shared time and space, each in their own confessional style. Although physically they lived in the same city, psychologically they experienced the urban space in quite different ways. Cultivating their own confessional material culture after the outlawing of their faith, Catholics differentiated themselves from the Reformed who, at least in theory, had denied medieval Christianity as a material religion. Materials and sounds formed an essential part of a post-Reformation Catholic habitus in the Dutch Republic.¹⁵⁷ The urban tour above has demonstrated how Utrecht's Catholics actively created spaces for their pious Catholic way of life, contesting the discriminatory situation under the Reformed regime. They succeeded in preserving physical and material remnants of medieval

¹⁵⁶ St Gertrudis (the Geerte Church) in Mariahoeek; Maria Minor (official name of the Buur Church) Achter Clarenburg; St Nicolaas (the Nicolai Church) Achter de Wal; and St Jacobus (St Jacob Church) in Drakenburgersteeg. Faber and Rommes, 'Op weg', pp. 255, 258.

¹⁵⁷ Lenarduzzi, *De belevingswereld*, pp. 143–244; Idem, 'Subcultuur en tegencultuur', pp. 173–284.

Catholicism in public facilities, even in the second half of the seventeenth century. Besides, they seem to have shifted their meeting places over the course of the century from public facilities to private homes. Using guerrilla tactics, as it were, Catholic Utrechters fought their strategic exclusion from the public sphere that was forced on them by the political authorities, appropriating urban spaces including public facilities, houses, and public streets. Members of the Catholic socio-economic elite, in particular, played a pivotal role in the survival of Catholic ways of life through spatial practices, adopting two tactical approaches: continuity with the medieval tradition, and adjustment to the early modern religious diversity.

To Catholics, the space of the public facilities, where they found material remnants of the medieval Catholic past until the late seventeenth century, still seemed more sacred than other spaces – a typical Catholic sensibility of gradation of sanctity maintained since medieval times. The pilgrimages to the Holy Cross Hospice, where Catholics were persistently able to appoint their trustees in spite of existing prohibitions, are a clear example of the continuity of Catholicism. Many owners of Catholic meeting places in Utrecht were of elevated socio-economic status; some held canonries, and others pursued a judicial career or hailed from noble families. They or their families retained a rich socio-economic capital, which in some cases pre-dated the Protestant Reformation and the Dutch Revolt. When Catholics gathered in their clandestine churches, they undoubtedly maintained a sense of continuity with Utrecht's medieval past, preserving the rhythm of their parochial life. On the other hand, Catholics adjusted themselves in a flexible manner to religious diversity in Utrecht under Reformed rule. They undertook such spatial practices as the new installation of doors and entrances or exits when they illegally crept into monasteries, convents, and hospices for worship. Catholics time and again re-installed and re-visualized their material objects in public facilities to counter the Protestant efforts to physically and symbolically exclude Catholic remnants there and to render them invisible. The discovery of the sarcophagus of St Bernulphus in St Pieter Church allowed Catholics to assign renewed confessional significance to the church and to mobilize the relics to validate Catholicism in the midst of heretics. Catholics created invisible spaces inside the public church of St Job by closing the doors whenever they practised their faith. To escape the notice of the politico-judicial authorities and Reformed neighbours, they sometimes assembled before sunrise or after sunset. Moreover, Catholics created new sacred spaces for themselves, and shielded laypeople and priests, by appropriating the urban space for their own confessional purposes: they 'publicly' established clandestine churches, lived together in spontaneous ghettos around the social elite – such

as canons, lawyers, and noblemen or noblewomen – in the districts surrounding Nieuwegracht and Mariahoek, installed special doors and entrances or exits connecting their houses and public streets for easy escape from judicial officers, posted sentries on public streets, etc.

Through their spatial practices, Catholic Utrechters managed both to preserve their traditional sacred spaces and to create new ones, thereby transforming the urban space. They tactically delimited the public in its spatial dimension and even shifted its boundary on their own initiative, continuing to use the urban space as they had in medieval times, and newly appropriating it in order to adjust themselves to the early modern environment of religious coexistence. They demarcated the physical public sphere, controlling the visibility and audibility of their collective worship as well as the external, material expression of their faith, while asserting Catholicism in the abstract public sphere, challenging the official, 'public authority' of the magistracy and the public Reformed Church. By doing so, they physically and symbolically undermined Reformed ascendancy and power in the urban public sphere of the Christian social community (*corpus christianum*). Giving the urban space both traditional and new meanings, Catholics in Utrecht created an early modern urban landscape of religious diversity. In doing so, they not only actively created room for their survival as devout Catholic Utrechters, but also played an indispensable role in transforming Utrecht's urban space from a mono-religious medieval city to a multi-religious early modern city.

Abbreviations

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-
- HUA Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht
- BA Bewaarde archieven
- HVU Hof van Utrecht

KR	Nederlandse Hervormde gemeente Utrecht, kerkeraad
NOT	Notarieel archief
SA	Stadsarchief

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5. Discourses of Self-Representation: Public, Private, and Conscience

Abstract: Discourses of self-representation constituted an indispensable component of the survival tactics deployed by Catholic Utrechters. Exploring the petitions which repressed and tolerated Catholics submitted to the politico-judicial authorities, this chapter sheds light on how they perceived and used the concepts of ‘public’, ‘private’, and ‘conscience’, paying attention to four rhetorical elements: denial and deceit, jurisdiction, social status, and conscience. It also identifies several factors that shaped potential discourses for Catholic survival, such as their social status and the amount of support they received from their defenders. In order to defy persecution and win toleration, Catholic Utrechters mobilized various discourses of self-representation, drawing on their continuity with medieval thought and adopting the new, early modern idea of freedom of conscience.

Keywords: discourse, self-representation, petition, jurisdiction, conscience, freedom

In his 1639 petition Johannes Wachtelaer begged Stadholder Frederick Henry for mercy for himself, his superior Philippus Rovenius, and Dutch Catholics more generally. He concluded the plea with this observation:

Catholics seek no other thing than to keep living in the land [the Northern Netherlands] in tranquillity of conscience and a moderate, lawful exercise of their religion under [the stadholder’s] protection. And that it shall please His Highness to make the best decision in regard to the various matters related above.¹

¹ HUA, OBC, 159, December 1639 (Rogge, ‘Memorie’, p. 25): ‘Catholycquen niet anders en soecken, dan om met gerusticheyt van conscientien ende eenige matelicke toegestaene exercitie

Wachtelaer tried to remind the stadholder of his duty to defend his subjects' right to freedom of conscience, tacitly evoking article thirteen of the Union of Utrecht. Wachtelaer was hardly the only Catholic to submit written pleas to the politico-judicial authorities in an effort to defy persecution and win toleration, tactically mobilizing their own interpretations of the public/private distinction and freedom of conscience for the sake of their survival as observant Catholics and honourable citizens or residents in the multi-religious *corpus christianum*.

To shed light on survival tactics in Catholic discourses, this chapter examines petitions that repressed and tolerated Catholics submitted to the politico-judicial authorities. It will unveil the rhetorical dimension of the delimitation of the public, paying special attention to the way Catholic Utrechters perceived and used the concepts of 'public', 'private', and 'conscience'. In departure from previous studies, which only extract specific, intriguing parts of Dutch Catholic petitions in anecdotal fashion, it will offer a systematic analysis of their discourses of self-representation in the context of their own petitions, highlighting certain factors that determined their potential rhetorical tactics for survival, such as their social status and the amount of support they received from their defenders. It will therefore foreground a variety of discourses that individual Catholics mobilized. Petitions from prosecuted Catholics can be found for twenty-six of the 105 legal proceedings in the present study, most of them submitted before the final verdict, even though Wachtelaer and his defenders also submitted a number of their pleas after the city court had issued the sentence on 10 March 1640 {19}.² In terms of toleration, this chapter will focus on publicly recognized Catholics, who, in departure from their non-publicly connived counterparts, filed petitions before the magistracy. Such discourses for securing toleration were produced by thirty-four of the in total sixty-four recognized priests between 1630 and 1672,³ by the father of the recognized Teutonic Knight Willem de Wael van Vronesteyn, and by Maria van Pallaes, who was given recognition for the administration of her property. This chapter will first identify four elements found in discourses of Utrecht's Catholics: denial and

van hunne religie onder zijne protectie in de landen te moghen blijven woonen; ende dat daer over de selve Sijn Hoocheyt ten besten sal gelieven te duyden 't geene hier vorens in regarde van d'eene off d'andere verhaelt is'.

2 {1} {5} {8} {16} {17} {18} {19} {20} {39} {53} {64} {69} {74} {79} {80} {84} {85} {86} {87} {90} {91} {92} {93} {95} {98} {102} in Appendix 1.

3 <31> <32> <33> <34> <35> <38> <39> <41> <44> <50> <51> <52> <53> <59> <60> <63> <66> <69> <70> <71> <72> <74> <76> <77> <80> <85> <86> <87> <88> <89> <90> <91> <92> <93> in Appendix 2.

deceit, jurisdiction, social status, and conscience. Taking these rhetorical elements into consideration, it will then analyse the two well-documented cases involving Grietgen Janssen {53} and Wachtelaer {19}, whose petitions merit extensive analysis for their clear articulation of the four rhetorical elements identified. Once again, the Catholic survival tactics studied in this chapter will show two important features: continuity from the medieval past, and adjustment to the early modern religious diversity. I shall argue that Catholic Utrechters mobilized various discourses of self-representation, continuing to draw on traditional medieval thinking, while also adopting the new notion of freedom of conscience.

5.1. Four Rhetorical Elements

5.1.1. Denial and Deceit

In contrast with the heroic portrayal of martyrs and ‘recusants’ constructed by national church historians studying Catholicism in Protestant lands,⁴ not all Catholics in Utrecht faced the persecutions all that courageously. Govert van Moock {20}, a secular priest born in Nijmegen and the secretary to Apostolic Vicar Rovenius, confessed to his colleagues in a report on his interrogation by the city court that he did not have the ‘gift of bravery’. He begged to be pardoned for having ‘admitted many things that I could rather have forcefully denied’ during the prolonged examination, in the course of which he had been subjected to much ‘mockery [and] derision’. Whenever he heard clocks sounding in the city jail, he felt ‘as if a sword penetrated [his] heart’. When he and his brother Bernardus {21} were arrested, judicial officers mistook Govert for Rovenius, and it was only after a long verbal tug-of-war that they finally managed to identify him correctly. Govert tried to deny whatever the judicial officers asked on the basis of the ‘protocol’ which they had confiscated from him. Initially, he even pretended to be a cook at a monastery in Huissen. Soon, however, he caved under the pressure of the aggressive interrogations and mockery, acknowledging that he was a priest in Oldenzaal and lived there with a *klopje*.⁵ Remarkably, the judicial

4 For critiques of such nationalized constructions of heroism, see Kaplan and Pollmann, ‘Conclusion’, pp. 249–50.

5 His report was transcribed in Knuif and Jong, ‘Relaas van Godefridus van Moock’, pp. 387–401, here especially pp. 387–88: ‘donum fortitudinis’, ‘multa fassum esse quae magis fortiter negare potuerim’, ‘irrisionibus, ludibriis’, ‘quasi gladius cor meum penetraret’, and ‘coctorem’.

officers were keenly interested in the way Catholic priests used the term 'public' and in the connotations they assigned to it. They asked Govert what he had meant with the phrase 'for the public good' in letters to other clerics, including one to Wachtelaer in Cologne, a copy of which was preserved in the protocol. The officers suspected that 'public' had been used with a political connotation here, and assumed that the Catholic clergy were attempting to establish contact with the 'king's army'. They also suspected that the 'communal funds' were a means to raise money for the politico-religious cause. From Govert's own perspective, he had not responded well. After all, he had confessed that the priests were negotiating with the archbishop of Cologne, although he insisted that the negotiations were not a matter of the 'public good', avoiding a direct response to the question as to the intended meaning of the term 'public good'.⁶ After intensive interrogations lasting several months, in which he was repeatedly scolded and mocked as a 'liar', he finally wrote, with a degree of self-mockery: 'I am always a liar'.⁷ By this time, he had confessed to what would soon become a long list of criminal acts for which Rovenius and Wachtelaer would be indicted.

A number of other Catholics could not hold their own after facing prosecution. The petition which the farmer Wouter Woutersz submitted before the city court was inconsistent in its arguments. He was suspected of hosting an illegal assembly with 200 or 300 participants in his house in the suburb of Lageweide on Easter Sunday in 1646 {39}. On the one hand, the petition, which was signed by the city court solicitor Didolph van de Poel [66], argued that Woutersz had not held an assembly or caused any trouble and was therefore innocent. On the other hand, it complained about the fine (f. (florins) 1,200), arguing that it was too high for a farmer with a wife and children, while not effectively refuting the suspicion itself. In the end, the petition failed, as the city court levelled an even higher fine, ordering Woutersz to pay f. 4,800.⁸ In order to reduce the penalty or to assert their innocence, other prosecuted Catholics insisted that they had not been present at the scene of the crime. The citizen Splinter van Nijenrode claimed that his house, which was under construction at the time, had been used by unknown Catholics without his knowledge {1}. If he indeed was a Catholic, which is unclear, this discourse may have been purely tactical.⁹

6 Ibidem, pp. 390–91: 'pro bono publico', 'regiis militibus', 'aerarium pro communibus', and 'bonum publicum'.

7 Ibidem, p. 395: 'mendax' and 'semper sum mendax'.

8 HUA, SAII, 2244–95, 10 July 1646.

9 HUA, SAII, 2244–43, n.d. in 1621.

Other Catholics also denied the charges, but not in passive obedience. One such prosecuted Catholic, Maria Johanna van Amstel van Mijnden, alias the noblewoman Van Loenersloot, whose house functioned as the Jesuit clandestine church of St Martinus, submitted a petition to the city court signed by the city court solicitor Jacobus van Paddenburch [62]. Whereas the sheriff maintained that he had not had actual access to her house but had seen more than 100 people coming out of a back door, Van Loenersloot's petition argued that she had no idea what he was talking about and protested that she had been absent at the time of the raid {91}.¹⁰

Whether the reasons advanced in the petitions for stay or residence permits for priests were fake or genuine is unknown. A unique case is that of Henrick van Domselaer who, after three extensions, was given permission to stay in Utrecht for a total of some 145 days. He maintained that he had not been working as a Catholic priest for long. It is not certain whether this was true <37> (Appendix 2). For a number of other recognized clerics, it is clearer that they were attempting to deceive the political authorities. Servaes van der Nypoort, a son of the patrician Joost Willemsz, explained in 1645 and 1646 that he wanted to stay in Utrecht for reasons of health and for the medical care he needed <41ab>. On both occasions, he was granted permission to stay in his hometown for six months. He may well have fabricated this argument, as he had been serving the secular clandestine church of St Gertrudis in Utrecht since 1643. In 1648, he publicly obtained a permit for residence in the city until cancellation, although the purpose he submitted in his petition is unknown <41c> (Appendix 2). As all the recognized priests were required to observe the anti-Catholic edicts and were thus forbidden to exercise the Catholic faith, Van der Nypoort can hardly have been the only one who on paper concealed the real purpose for his stay or residence in Utrecht, which was to serve the city's Catholics. A Carthusian from Cologne named Arnoldus Rade(n) offered a surprising argument. On two occasions he publicly obtained permission to stay in Utrecht to visit and rent out the immovable property of unknown location in the Dutch Republic allegedly owned by the Carthusian order, and to see to its 'affairs' (*affaires*) <60ab> (Appendix 2).¹¹ The cases involving Rade(n) are remarkable because this regular priest appears to have been too honest to disguise the religious purpose of his stay, while the Reformed magistrates for their part seem to have been too lazy to prevent this regular priest from further infractions

¹⁰ HUA, SAII, 2244-125, 11 October 1667.

¹¹ In five other cases, priests were tolerated to visit Utrecht in order to execute their ('private' (*particuliere*)) 'affairs' (*affaires*). <66> <70b> <76> <90> <92> in Appendix 2.

of the edicts. After all, in the Dutch Republic every kind of revenue by and for Catholic ecclesiastical institutions had long been outlawed.

Not all the prosecuted Catholics stood up bravely to the politico-judicial authorities. Some of them timidly and/or compliantly denied the suspicions against them, offered inconsistent counter arguments, and presented far-fetched excuses. Although it is unclear whether the recognized priests were all dishonest in their applications for staying or residing in the city, at least some of them clearly intended to deceive the magistrates, concealing the real, confessional purpose of their visit to Utrecht.

5.1.2. Jurisdiction

In their petitions, a number of the prosecuted Catholics cast doubts upon the judicial competency of the city and provincial courts, knowing full well of the persistent conflict between the city and the province dating back to the Middle Ages under the prince-bishop of Utrecht.¹² According to the sentence pronounced by the provincial court, the influential Catholic nobleman Adriaen Ram, lord of Schalkwijk, whose castle had served as a battlefield between Catholics and the judicial authorities together with the provincial army in 1651, stated that 'the Marshal was not allowed to come to a qualified House without a special commission from the [Provincial] States [of Utrecht]'.¹³ He and his Catholic backers were well acquainted with the ins and outs of jurisdiction. Among those supporters, there was an Utrecht citizen named Peter Lamberts van Schalckwijk {56}. According to the city court's sentence against him, Lamberts was informed by a messenger in a tavern that the castle in Schalkwijk had been attacked by the marshal. On hearing the news, he and some farmers began preparations to rescue Ram, although other Catholics wished not to participate with the group, fearing captivity. Lamberts's company took a pistol and a sword from the marshal's servants, who attempted to check them, but it soon became clear that the amateurs roused by Lamberts would not be able to defeat the professional soldiers. After escaping from the sheriff of Schalkwijk, who held a pistol, Lamberts met a servant of the Utrecht provincial court in the meadows. According to the sentence, this servant said to Lamberts: 'What are you

12 On the struggle over jurisdiction between the city and the province in general, see Bogaers, 'Politieke verwickelingen', pp. 56–57; Faber, 'Politiek en bestuur', pp. 221–23, 228; Idem and Rommes, 'Op weg', pp. 259, 279; Milo and Dongen, *Hof van Utrecht*, p. 37; Pollmann, *Religious Choice*, p. 152; Schaik, 'Een nieuwe heer', p. 208.

13 HUA, HVU, 99-8, 29 July 1651 (Hilhorst, 'Het kerspel Schalkwijk', p. 63): 'den Maerschalcq sonder speciale Commissie van Staten op een gequalificeert Huys niet en vermochte te komen'.

doing here? Go home. People know you well. You are a citizen [of Utrecht]. You cannot [be] judged by us'. Despite this warning, Lamberts 'abused the edicts' of the Provincial States by attacking the marshal outside the city's jurisdiction, presumably in the hope that the provincial court would not be able to judge him as a citizen.¹⁴ After the army regained control, Ram and the other six were apprehended and judged in the provincial court,¹⁵ while Lamberts was tried in the city court {56}.¹⁶ Despite Ram's appeal to his seigneurial immunity, the sentence argued that 'by [the] known Edicts and daily practices [it is] clear that the officers were allowed to disturb the forbidden assemblies of the Roman believers and to levy fines'.¹⁷ It should be noted that whereas the politico-judicial authorities could justify their assault with an appeal to anti-Catholic edicts promulgated in early modern times, Ram relied on his seigneurial right originating from medieval times to assert his immunity from the province's jurisdiction.

Jurisdiction was a matter of significance in the legal procedure against Rovenius as well {18}. The numerous crimes alleged against him were explained in ninety-five clauses, and can be roughly classified into two categories: illegal clerical activities and connections with or loyalty to the king of Spain. Rovenius was accused of carrying out religious activities under the false title of 'archbishop of Utrecht', and his behaviour and statements were seen as hostile to the Dutch political authorities and favourable to the 'public enemy' or official enemy of the Protestant state.¹⁸ After escaping the raid on the house of Hendrica van Duivenvoorde, Rovenius went into exile in Cologne, even though the city court of Utrecht cited him to appear before it. In a letter to the Utrecht city court dated 9 October 1639, he tried to defend himself against the charges from Cologne. He argued that he had conducted his pastoral work in accordance with a legitimate title to which he had been 'publicly' appointed by the pope, denouncing the sheriff's interpretation of his title as ill-willed bias. His legitimate title in Latin was *Archiepiscopus Philippensis et Ultrajectensis, nec non Hollandiae, Zelandiae, caeterarumque confaederatarum Belgij Provinciarum atque Transisulaniae partium Vicarius*

14 HUA, SAIL, 2236-4, 8 August 1651: 'wat doet ghij hier, gaet nae huys toe men kent u well ghij zijt een borger ghij moet ons niet moveren' and 'exploiteren vande placcaten'.

15 HUA, HVU, 99-8, 29 July 1651. The priest Dirck van der Horst was sentenced in absentia.

16 HUA, SAIL, 2236-4, 8 August 1651.

17 HUA, HVU, 99-8, 29 July 1651 (Hilhorst, 'Het kerspel Schalkwijk', pp. 65-67): 'by bekende Placcaten ende dagelycx gebruyck notoir is, dat d'officieren op alle plaetsen de verboden vergaderingen der Roomsche-gesinde vermogen te verstooren ende te beboeten'.

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

Apostolicus. Utrecht's politico-judicial authorities interpreted this as a combination of 'archbishop of Philippi [in Macedonia] and Utrecht' and 'apostolic vicar of Holland etc.', whereas Rovenius insisted that it should be read as '(titular) archbishop of Philippi' and 'apostolic vicar of Utrecht, Holland etc.' He furthermore stated that if he had ever spoken or acted in a hostile manner towards the Dutch political authorities or contacted their Spanish counterparts, this would only have been before the fall of Groenlo in 1627, where Spanish troops had secured a stronghold in the Northern Netherlands. Surprisingly, Rovenius himself therefore acknowledged that he had once been known as a 'public enemy', while implying that he had since amended his ways. Moreover, citing canon law and Roman law, he questioned the jurisdiction of the city court of Utrecht, arguing that no one could be judged in a place where they did not legally reside.¹⁹ In the end, on 10 March 1640, Rovenius was tried in absentia and sentenced to banishment from the Dutch Republic.²⁰ His argument, which revolved around the matter of jurisdiction, is remarkable when it is compared with the petition which the Reformed synod of Utrecht submitted to the Provincial States in 1655/56. According to Catholic teaching, so the synod claimed, the pope was 'infallible and absolute' and elevated 'above all churches and polities'. This was why Catholic ecclesiastics were unwilling to swear an oath of loyalty before Reformed magistrates, claiming to be 'free and exempt' from the civil laws of their legitimate worldly rulers, even though they officially no longer represented a judicially separate order within Dutch society, as they had before the Protestant Reformation.²¹ Contrary to the synod's claims, Rovenius did not ignore but rather appropriate civil law, stressing his status as a socio-judicial 'outsider' so as to justify his non-appearance before the city court of Utrecht.

Jurisdiction was also at stake in the trial against the Dom canon Willem van Merode {64}, who was accused of violating an oath and transferring a canonry. The Van Merode family belonged to the nobility of Brabant, but one of its branches went on to acquire the seignury of Montfoort in the province of Utrecht and continued in the Catholic faith there until the family sold the seignury in 1649. Whereas Willem's sisters Maria and Agnes, who were also his heiresses, seem to have been Catholic, his young brother Reynhard was received into the Teutonic Order in Utrecht, which

19 HUA, SAIL, 2088 (this letter was transcribed in Jong, 'Het Utrechtse vicariaat', pp. 103–4): 'publickelijk'.

20 Doedes, 'Intendit', pp. 298–300; HUA, OBC, 159, 10 March 1640; HUA, SAIL, 2244–86, 10 March 1640.

21 HUA, VBB, 139, probably in 1655 or 1656: 'onfeylbaer ende absoluyt', 'boven alle kercken en politien', and 'vrij ende exempt'.

required its members to swear an oath to maintain the Reformed religion.²² In the lawsuit, two coalitions collided: the one coalition was at the civic level, uniting the sheriff, the city court, and the city council; the other was provincial, uniting the provincial court and the Provincial States. The latter coalition seemed sympathetic to the prosecuted canon.

Early in 1652 the sheriff insisted that Willem was unqualified to hold and transfer the canonry of the Dom, because he had converted to Catholicism and thus violated the 1615 provincial edict. Although the Provincial States of Utrecht had already approved Willem's resignation from the canonry and its transfer to Dirck Schaep [76], the son of a Remonstrant regent and the future secretary of Amsterdam (in office 1655–1697), the sheriff ordered the city council to forbid Willem to proceed with the case. According to the sheriff, the Provincial States probably did not know of Willem's conversion, since it would otherwise not have allowed a Catholic to keep and transfer the canonry. He continued by arguing that it was not the business of the Provincial States but the sheriff to decide on the penalty against Willem, who had committed his offence (i.e., violation of the oath) in a territory that fell under the sheriff's jurisdiction.²³ In a petition to the provincial court signed by an advocate named Ewijck [35], Willem insisted that the sheriff was not actually qualified to make a decision on canonries without a special commission from the Provincial States, which had exclusive rights for managing canonries.²⁴ Soon after Willem submitted a similar petition signed by the Reformed city court solicitor Henrick van Zuylen [100],²⁵ the Provincial States on 5 August 1652 reconfirmed Willem's right to transfer the canonry to Schaep.²⁶

In a letter to the city court dated 20 August, the sheriff claimed that when IJsbrant van Merode had obtained the canonry of the Dom for his young son Willem on 11 June 1624, he had sworn that he would raise him as a Reformed believer. Should Willem ever convert to another faith, he would forfeit the canonry. Therefore, so the sheriff concluded, when Willem converted to the Catholic Church, he automatically forfeited the right to hold and transfer the canonry.²⁷ The next day Willem reacted by sending the sheriff

22 On the Van Merode family, see Forclaz, *Catholiques*, p. 116; Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', pp. 86, 150, 253, 257; Idem, *Patrons*, pp. 102, 183; HUA, *Familie des Tombes*, 354; Rogier, *Geschiedenis*, I, p. 482, II, p. 648; Ven, *Over den oorsprong*, pp. 41, 49.

23 HUA, SAII, 2095, fasc. A. On Dirck Schaep, see Frijhoff, 'Neglected Networks', pp. 164, 192–94.

24 HUA, SAII, 2095, fasc. B, 10 May 1652.

25 Ibidem, 1 August 1652.

26 Ibidem, fasc. C, 5 August 1652.

27 Ibidem, 20 August 1652. For a copy of IJsbrant's oath, see ibidem, fasc. D, 11 June 1624.

another petition signed by Van Zuylen [100]. According to this petition, the sheriff should have known that Willem attended the 'public sermons' in the Reformed Church here in Utrecht before he had gone to Brabant. The petition supposed that the sheriff had deduced from the Reformed Willem's move to Catholic Brabant that he had also converted to the Catholic faith. The petition found this deduction to be 'unfounded', claiming that the sheriff had to prove that Willem had really converted, and if so, when.²⁸ On 13 September he submitted yet another petition signed by Van Zuylen [100] to the sheriff, stating that 'this matter is not a matter of justice but of government', insisting once again on the sheriff and city court's lack of jurisdiction. Since the Provincial States, which held sovereign power for the 'matter of government', had already decided that Willem could transfer the canonry to Schaep, it would be 'absurd' for an 'ordinary judge' – that is, the sheriff – to overturn this ruling.²⁹

Upon the request of the city magistracy, the city court came with a new judgment on 12 March 1653. The latter cited the oath that Willem had made when he had obtained the canonry, stating that he would promote the Reformed religion and exclude the 'foreign usurped authority over the people's conscience, body, and property'. Despite this oath, so the city court maintained, the accused had converted to Catholicism and continued to enjoy the benefits of the canonry by concealing his conversion – although it still had not produced any evidence for Willem's conversion. The city court also anticipated that Willem would appeal to freedom of conscience, and might argue that a 'change of religion is no crime, since the freedom of the Lands does not allow any compulsion of conscience, and [since] everyone is free to believe in his conscience as he finds fit'. Nevertheless, so the city court countered, Willem was not a criminal by his conversion as such but by his transgression of the provincial edicts, which required canons to swear an oath to promote the Reformed faith.³⁰ The city magistrates approved this argument.³¹

Willem passed away in 1653,³² but the criminal case had not been fully concluded when, in 1656, his sisters and heirs Maria and Agnes van Merode,

28 Ibidem, 21 August 1652: 'publijcke predication' and 'ongefundeerde'.

29 Ibidem, 13 September 1652: 'deze saecke niet en is een saecke van justitie maer van policije', 'absurd', and 'ordinaris rechter'.

30 Ibidem, fasc. F, 12 March 1652: 'vreemde geusurpeerde autoriteyt over de mensche conscientien, lichaemen ende goederen' and 'de veranderinge van religie geen crimen te sijn, vermits de vrijheyt der Landen niet toe en laet eenich dwonck der conscientie, ende elck een vrije staet in sijn conscientie te geloven soo als hij goet vindt'.

31 HUA, SAIL, 121-24, 14 March 1653; HUA, SAIL, 2095, fasc. G, 14 March 1653.

32 HUA, Familie des Tombes, 354, f. 11.

supported by the provincial court advocate Jacob van Dam [25] together with the aforementioned Van Zuylen [100], asked the city court to reach a settlement on their brother's case {74}. The city court decided that if Maria and Agnes paid a fine of f. 2,000, it would conclude the trial and remove the provisional embargo on the transfer of the canonry.³³ Remarkably, Willem van Merode justified his holding and transferring of the canonry by questioning the reasoning advanced by the politico-judicial authorities concerning his alleged conversion, and by seeking support from the provincial institutions that seemed favourable to him. He and his defenders were obviously well acquainted with the dispute over jurisdiction between the city and the province. It should also be noted that the city court recognized that it was impossible to prosecute someone for his or her conversion alone under the freedom of conscience guaranteed by the Union of Utrecht.

Another Catholic canon (St Jan), Gerard van der Steen, appealed to the former immunity of his chapter to insist that the city had no jurisdiction over his house since it belonged to the chapter {17}. When accused of hosting a Catholic assembly involving twenty-six participants, Van der Steen submitted a petition signed by the Reformed advocate Abraham van Kerckraad [45]. He begged the city court for mercy, alleging that the attendees were too poor, old, or young to be fined. This argument might be interpreted as an appeal to the non-political potential of the assembly. The twenty-six Catholics consisted of fourteen male participants, including five boys, and twelve female participants. Most of the adult men caught held modest jobs as carpenters, furniture makers, confectioner's servants, or the like, although Everard van der Schuer (Schuyr) [78] was an advocate of the provincial court of Utrecht. Moreover, the petition attempted to prove that the judicial officers had had no right to investigate the gathering in his house, reminding the city court that Van der Steen's house was the property of the collegiate chapter of St Jan. According to the petition, the assembly concerned a matter to be handled by Van der Steen's mother, Lucia van Esch, who was a 'private person'.³⁴ As such, Van der Steen claimed in his petition that, even though the immunities of the chapters in the city of Utrecht had officially been nullified after the Protestant Reformation, he as a canon should also have been exempt from the city's jurisdiction over the matter of a 'private person' within the former immunity, just as his medieval predecessors had been.

In this way, prosecuted Catholics and their defenders in Utrecht showed themselves well acquainted with the long-standing disputes over jurisdiction

33 HUA, SAIL, 121-26, 23 January 1656; HUA, SAIL, 2236-4, 24, 25 January 1656.

34 HUA, SAIL, 2244-88, 2 November 1638: 'privé'.

between the city and the province. Some of them represented the accused as socio-judicial outsiders, or else appealed to the aid of the provincial institutions, which seemed sympathetic to Catholics. Others recalled the medieval legal tradition and asserted the immunity of the accused from the city's jurisdiction due to their rights as seigneurs or canons.

5.1.3. Social Status and Contribution to the Common Good

Since the immunity of the chapters had officially become void, Van der Steen's petition might be interpreted as indirectly implying that the authorities had better refrain from offending this Catholic notable who, together with his ancestors, had contributed to the well-being of Utrecht for decades. For, as has been made clear above, Van der Steen did indeed play an important role in the city. Until his death as the last Catholic canon in early modern Utrecht in 1680, Van der Steen undoubtedly was a powerful figure within the multi-confessional civic community. This reality of everyday life in Utrecht, where Catholic notables contributed significantly to the civic community under the Reformed regime, was at odds with the magistracy's efforts, through its legislation and prosecution, to discredit Catholics as potential criminals. Advocating the legalization of anti-Catholicism, in its petition to the Provincial States in 1655/56, the Reformed synod of Utrecht claimed that a 'Popish Son' (i.e., a Catholic) would not 'stand under the power of a heretical, that is, Reformed Father'. Such 'Roman Emissaries' easily reneged on their promises to the Reformed, and thus they 'were not only against the Piety of Christians, but also against all civic virtue'.³⁵ In vivid departure from this confessionalized notion of the 'civic', Catholics stressed and mobilized their social status or historical contributions to the common good of the civic community.

In their attempt to urge the politico-judicial authorities to favour them or their co-religionists, many of Catholic Utrechters not only hinted indirectly at their elevated social status or contribution to the civic community, but also referred directly to it. In his petition to the Utrecht city court, for instance, the other Catholic canon of the Dom, Diderick van Muylert, explicitly mobilized his elevated status in order to reject the sheriff's claim {16}. Diderick was publicly approved as a canon in 1603, but in 1625 asked Rovenius to grant him dispensation from apparent simony. Although

35 HUA, VBB, 139, probably in 1655 or 1656: 'Paepsch Sone', 'staet onder de macht van een kettterschen, dat is gereformeerden Vader', 'Roomsche Emissarissen', and 'strijdich niet alleen met de Godsaligneyt der Christenen, maer oock tegen alle borgel[ijcke] eerbaerheyt'.

Rovenius nominally re-ascribed the canonry to Diderick, on the official level virtually nothing changed. While Diderick's petition, which was signed by a city court solicitor named Cornelis van Clarenburch [20], asserted that he had neither known nor spoken to Rovenius (which was false), it also emphasized that Diderick was born in Lingen, which belonged to the prince of Orange, and had 'diverse noble and other properties from olden times'. According to the petition, when Lingen was under Spanish rule, Diderick left for 'neutral' territory and then moved to Utrecht in 1627. As 'a nobleman', he recognized the Provincial States as 'his lawful sovereign' and was subject to the stadholder. Yet, so the petition continued, contrary to 'all right reason and equity', the sheriff was trying to put the 'body and property' of this 'honourable person' in danger, labelling him as one of the 'enemies of the Lands'. It moreover maintained that, 'without boasting', he had been living in the city of Utrecht as a 'qualified nobleman' with a 'good reputation' and had contributed financially to the Provincial States so that it could afford its 'War against the enemy of the land'. The petition even added that he had been forced to 'totally alter' his view of Utrecht's authorities by the unjust nature of the prosecution to which he was subjected.³⁶

Diderick's brother Ernest [61], a nobleman in Grumsmühlen near Lingen, supported Diderick's claim. Diderick had visited Ernest in 1625, when Lingen still belonged to the Habsburgs, but the surrounding countryside, including Grumsmühlen, was controlled by the States General. The governor of Lingen, Lucas Cayro, learned that Diderick was a canon of the Utrecht chapter of the Dom and attempted to apprehend him. Diderick escaped the Spanish army and fled across the Ems to Emden. Enraged, Cayro tried to confiscate Diderick's property in Lingen. Warned by a priest about Cayro's plan, Ernest succeeded in defending his brother's interests.³⁷ Ernest's testimony was confirmed by a vice *drost* of Lingen, Silvester Danckelman [26]. According to Danckelman, Cayro attempted to capture Diderick in 1625 on the pretext that Diderick had received a command from the States General.³⁸ In this way, Ernest and the vice *drost* insisted that Diderick could not in fact be linked to the 'public enemy' or official enemy of the Republic; on the contrary, he had been under threat from the 'public enemy'. This Catholic canon therefore was represented in two different ways. The Protestant authorities

36 HUA, SAIL, 2244-84, 21, 22 November 1639: 'verscheydene adelijcke ende andere goederen van oudts', 'een edelman', 'sijn wettige souvereine', 'alle rechten redenen, ende billickheyt', 'lijff ende goet', 'eerlijck p[er]soon', 'vijanden vanden Landen', 'sonder beroem', 'gequalificeert edelman', 'goede reputatie', 'Oorloge jegens s'lands vijande', and 'geheell anders'.

37 Ibidem, 14 December 1639, 10 January 1640.

38 Ibidem, 3, 10 January 1640.

in Utrecht represented Diderick as a potential traitor who conspired with the 'public enemy', noting that he was a Catholic with close ties to Rovenius. The Catholic governor of Lingen, on the other hand, represented him as a spy of his enemy – i.e., the Dutch Republic – because he was a canon officially appointed by the Provincial States of Utrecht. Although the outcome of the case is unknown (even if it is probable that the city court rejected the charges), Diderick continued to be a prominent figure in Utrecht. He was non-publicly appointed a trustee of St Bartholomew Hospice, and in 1656 he was mentioned by Jacobus de la Torre as one of the eleven remaining Catholic canons.³⁹

In their attempt to persuade the city magistrates to tolerate their residence in Utrecht, the recognized priests drew special attention to their relationships with the civic community. Indeed, in 1630 the city council declared that Catholic clerics who were sons of citizens could be permitted to come back to Utrecht on the condition that they observe the edicts.⁴⁰ After all, thirty-five of the sixty-four recognized priests had some connection or other with Utrecht.⁴¹ In twenty-four of these cases, the priests had family members who were Utrecht citizens.⁴² In six cases, recognized priests maintained that they intended to visit Utrecht to dispose of a deceased person's properties.⁴³ The secular priest Jacob Pieck's visit to Utrecht <32>, for instance, was tolerated as he was acting as an executor of the will of the late Jacob Bool, a registered secular priest <3>. Dirk Ferdinand de Ridder van Groenesteyn <74b>, who had been married and had children before entering the Society of Jesus, was publicly recognized to stay for two months to save his and his child's property in his hometown (Appendix 2). In seventeen cases, tolerated clerics mentioned family visits as the reason for their stay.⁴⁴ The secular priest Nicolaes Prins's return to his hometown was thus tolerated so that he could grieve with his family following the death of his brothers <51a> and could rescue their properties <51b>. On another, similar occasion <51c>, permission was requested on

39 HUA, BAII, 1604, c. 1653; Lommel, 'Relatio seu descriptio', p. 177.

40 HUA, SAII, 121-14, 15, 20 September 1630; HUA, VSOKN, 112, 20 September 1630.

41 <31> <32> <33> <34> <38> <39> <41> <43> <44> <45> <46> <50> <51> <52> <56> <59> <64> <69> <71> <72> <74> <75> <77> <79> <83> <84> <85> <87> <88> <89> <90> <91> <92> <93> <94> in Appendix 2.

42 <31> <33> <34> <38> <41> <43> <45> <46> <51> <52> <56> <59> <64> <69> <71> <77> <79> <83> <84> <90> <91> <92> <93> <94> in Appendix 2.

43 <32> <38a> <51b> <59bc> <74b> in Appendix 2.

44 <33a> <34> <38ae> <44> <51a> <52b> <59a> <69a> <72d> <77c> <85ab> <88> <89> <92> <93> in Appendix 2.

his behalf by Eva van Amerongen, the widow of his brother Gerard Prins [68], an advocate of the provincial court of Utrecht and a defender of Agatha Dierhout {58} (Appendices 1, 2, and 4). Willem de Munter, a son of the provincial court advocate Johan de Munter [60] and Walburga Both, was publicly tolerated so as to visit his sick mother <59a> and then dispose of his parents' property <59bc> (Appendix 2). In eleven cases, recognized ecclesiastics justified their stay or residence in Utrecht by declaring that they needed to receive medical care in Utrecht.⁴⁵ For instance, a first visit to Utrecht by Balthasar van de Kemp, a canon in Emmerich and a son of a citizen, was tolerated in 1641 so that he could dispose of his deceased father's property <38a>, and later, in 1658, to assist his elderly mother <38e>. Finally, in 1659 Van de Kemp received permission to reside in his hometown indefinitely in recognition of his advanced age and visual impairment <38f> (Appendix 2).

For the secular priest Godefroy van Vianen (c. 1642–1708), his family's elevated social status in Utrecht played an indispensable role when he obtained his residence permit. As noted above, the Van Vianens were well-connected through family bonds to many members of the Catholic social elite in Utrecht, especially lawyers. Born as the son of Valentijn van Vianen, provincial court advocate and secretary of the Teutonic Order, Godefroy had worked as a secular priest in Mons in the Southern Netherlands.⁴⁶ In 1668 his mother Anthonetta van der Eem pleaded with the city magistracy to permit her son to reside in Utrecht, stating that he wanted to avoid the ongoing war – i.e., the War of Devolution, 1667–68, when France invaded the Habsburg Netherlands – and the resulting inflation in Mons. Away from the battlefield, he needed to live quietly in his hometown. In the end, he was officially given permission to reside in Utrecht indefinitely, barring cancellation of his permit <91> (Appendix 2). The elevated social status of his family in Utrecht seems to have been necessary to win him public recognition. Had Van Vianen been a social outsider to the civic community, the magistrates may not have permitted this Catholic priest to escape the war between Catholic forces and to take refuge in their officially Protestant city.

Likewise, the Catholic painter Gerrit Hermansz van Honthorst effectively utilized his family's elevated status in the civic community and his close connection to the Protestant ruling elite. In 1631 Gerrit pleaded with Stadholder Frederick Henry, his patron, to permit his brother Herman, a secular priest, to reside in their hometown of Utrecht. According to Gerrit, Herman had

45 <38f> <41ab> <44> <50b> <51d> <80> <86> <87abc> in Appendix 2.

46 Ackermans, *Herders*, pp. 462–63.

been ordained in 1628, when he was staying in Antwerp with his parents to study sculpture, before secretly returning to Utrecht in 1630. In his petition Gerrit represented the Van Honthorst family as respected, obedient citizens of Utrecht. He noted that Gerrit, together with his ancestors, had always been 'faithful subjects and good patriots of Your Princely Excellency and these lands'. Appealing to his family's elevated social status, Gerrit insisted that Herman be given permission to stay with his aging parents in Utrecht. He argued that if Herman were required to leave, his elderly parents would become depressed. According to the painter, Herman was ready to live 'silently and modestly' alongside citizens and 'numerous other Religious persons'.⁴⁷ On 5 March 1632 the city council sent the ex-burgomaster Johan van Weede (in office 1626–1629; father of Everard van Weede van Dijkveld) as a representative to the prince of Orange. The magistracy was afraid that if Herman were allowed to stay, it would set a precedent that would make it hard to refuse entry to other priests who were 'noble and held more titles'.⁴⁸ Here the magistrates clearly felt the threat of Catholics of elevated social status, who might claim special privileges for the clergy members of their families. Several days later the city council received a disappointing report from Van Weede. According to the decision made back in 1631, Frederick Henry had once again declared that Herman was to be allowed to stay in Utrecht for six months. Yet the stadholder also acknowledged the fear of the Utrecht magistrates, assuring them that he would not extend the period of Herman's stay, to prevent further problems from arising <33a>.⁴⁹ Gerrit thus succeeded in winning toleration in the form of limited recognition for his brother to stay in their hometown.

However, in contravention of the conditions, Herman began working as a secular priest in Utrecht under the supervision of Gerrit Pelt in 1636, although it is unclear whether he had been staying in Utrecht continuously from 1632 onwards.⁵⁰ While the precise details of the negotiations remain unknown, in 1637 Herman once again managed to obtain a special permit for residence in Utrecht from the stadholder through Gerrit's mediation <33b>.⁵¹ In 1638 Herman was banished by the city council without trial before the city court,⁵² but he later returned, probably relying on the weight of the special permit

47 HUA, SAI, 121-15, 5 March 1632: 'getrouwe onderdanen ende goede patriotten van U Pr[inc]e Ex[celen]tie ende dese landen', 'stil ende modest', and 'veele andere Geestel[ijcke] personen'.

48 Ibidem, 5 March 1632: 'adelicke ende meer gequalificeerde'.

49 Ibidem, 19 March 1632.

50 Hofman, 'De Witte Vrouwen', pp. 147–49.

51 HUA, SAI, 121-19, 10 August 1641 (this entry was transcribed in Hofman, 'Het Kerspel buiten de Wittevrouwenpoort', p. 95).

52 HUA, SAI, 121-18, 6 August 1638.

granted him by the stadholder in 1637. When Herman was found presiding at a Catholic assembly in 1641 {23}, the incumbent burgomaster Frederik Ruysch (in office 1639–1643 and 1650–1652) and ex-burgomaster Gijsbert van der Hoolck (in office 1634–1639) visited Frederick Henry at Gennepe to inform him of Herman's illegal activities. They sought to prevent Herman and his friends – and, probably, his brother Gerrit – from once again asking a favour from the prince, emphasizing the 'harm' that Herman had caused 'to this city and the Reformed religion'. After securing the cancellation of Herman's special residence permit from the prince, the city court sentenced him definitively to banishment from the city {25}.⁵³ These cases involving recognized priests demonstrate that they could exploit the elevated social status of their families in Utrecht, implicitly or explicitly reminding the authorities of their or their relatives' longstanding contribution to and outstanding reputation within the civic community. This is noteworthy given that most of the city's Reformed ministers were newcomers.⁵⁴

Gerard de Wael van Vronesteyn also mobilized his family's elevated social status and historical contribution to the 'fatherland'. In 1625, when Gerard sought to secure a future position for his son Willem in the Teutonic Order's bailiwick of Utrecht, he was troubled by the oath Willem would be required to swear, obliging him to raise his son in the Reformed religion. In a letter to Stadholder Frederick Henry in 1632, he claimed that this was contrary to 'his conscience'.⁵⁵ When he petitioned the city council in 1639 to grant Willem dispensation, he represented his family as patriots of the Republic, insisting that his ancestors had contributed their 'property and blood to the Fatherland'.⁵⁶ Gerard likewise showed the Provincial States of Utrecht how his family had experienced tribulations under the regime of the duke of Alba and reminded them that his forefather Adriaen had been executed by the Council of Troubles (*Raad van Beroerten*) in 1568. He used a comparable discourse in a letter to Frederick Henry, having his friends plead with the stadholder on his behalf. Representing Gerard as a 'pious nobleman', the prince declared in response that he was inclined to grant Willem dispensation from the oath of religion.⁵⁷ And indeed, at his

53 HUA, SAIL, 121-19, 5, 26 June 1641, 5, 10, 16 August 1641 (Hofman, 'Het Kerspel buiten de Wittevrouwenpoort', pp. 94–96): 'nadeel van dese stadt ende Gereformeerde religie'. HUA, SAIL, 2236-4, 5, 7 May 1641, 11 August 1641.

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

55 Geraerts, 'Dutch Test Acts', pp. 72–74.

56 HUA, SAIL, 121-18, 4 May 1639: 'goet ende bloet aant Vaderlandt'.

57 Geraerts, 'The Catholic Nobility', p. 91; Idem, *Patrons*, p. 108. For similar arguments of Catholic nobles, see also idem, 'Competing Sacred Spaces', pp. 14–15.

appointment to the Teutonic Order, Willem was given public recognition and not required to swear the oath of religion.⁵⁸

When Maria van Pallaes bequeathed her extensive possessions, she showed her fidelity not only to the Catholic faith but also to the civic community of Utrecht. In her 'Foundation Letter of [the] Twelve Chambers' (*Fundatie Brief van XII Cameren*), dated 29 November 1662, she established rules for her free dwellings on Agnietenstraat. Residents of her almshouses could live there for free, receive certain amounts of commodities like butter and cheese every year, and their funerals would also be financed by the foundation. Van Pallaes 'preferred the Citizens of this City Utrecht and their widows over foreigners' as candidates for these dwellings, and they were to be 'old poor people, who up to now receive no support yet from the [Reformed] Diaconate, [the municipal] chamber of charity, or any others'.⁵⁹ Implicitly, impoverished Catholic citizens of an advanced age and their widows therefore had priority in Van Pallaes's free dwellings. This preference was indeed reflected in practice, as ten of the twelve residents in 1687 were of the Catholic faith.⁶⁰ An inscription in a gable stone above the entrance to the refectory of the free dwellings, which can still be seen from the public street today, reads as follows: 'Maria van Pallaes driven by / God's love / She, the widow of / Mr Schroyesteyn, has / Established These Chambers [and] / provided sustenance for them / Not considering worldly favour but / a Place in the Court of heaven'.⁶¹ This very Catholic notion of charity has been materialized and visualized for centuries in the public sphere of Utrecht. The coats of arms of both the Van Pallaes and Van Schroyesteyn families were placed above the doors of the twelve chambers, which likewise remain visible today. As such, the fame of both families was publicly and openly commemorated. In 1657 Van Pallaes commissioned the Catholic painter Hendrick Bloemaert to portray her and five of her six children, all of whom had already passed away; her oldest son Johan was omitted on the painting (Fig. 4), as he was omitted from her and her husband's testament in 1624. On the painting, which was hung above the hearth of the refectory, Van Pallaes and her children distribute alms to the needy in front of the

58 HUA, SAI, 121-19, 6 March 1640.

59 HUA, BAI, 692, 'Foundation Letter' (on 29 November 1662): 'prefererende de Borders deser Stadt Utrecht, en der selver wed[uw]en voor ijtheemsche' and 'oude arme luijden, dewelcke nochtans niet vande Diaconije, Aelmoessenierscamer, ofte ymant anders bedeylt worden'.

60 HUA, KR, 10, 18 July, 26 September 1687 (Klaveren, 'Vrijwoningen', p. 26).

61 'Y Maria van Pallaes door liefde / Goodts gedreven / Heeft doen sy weduw was van / d'Heere Schroyesteyn / Dees Cameren gesticht eenich / onderhout gegeven / Niet achtend 'swerels gonst maer / Plaets in s'hemels Pley'n'.



Fig. 4 Hendrick Bloemaert, *The Annual Food Distribution to the Poor by Maria van Pallaes*, 1657, oil on canvas, 90.7 x 178.8 cm, Centraal Museum, Utrecht (on loan from van Maria van Pallaes Foundation)

Agnieten Convent and the Twelve Chambers with its refectory, both on Agnietenstraat.⁶² Through her free dwellings, Van Pallaes publicly and openly showed her allegiance to the city as well as to the Catholic cause, and she may have staked a claim for publicness for Utrecht's Catholics, questioning their exclusion from the public sphere.⁶³ In her eyes, devotion to the Catholic faith was fully compatible with loyalty to the civic community of Utrecht.

The repressed and tolerated Catholics therefore utilized their social status in their discourses, emphasizing their historical relationship with Utrecht through their families or ancestors from medieval times, their politico-social credibility in the local society, and their politico-financial contributions to the common good of the city and the Dutch Republic, at times in the context of the Eighty Years' War. These Catholics attempted to remind the politico-judicial authorities of their secular duty to protect their subjects' legitimate rights. Presumably, the non-publicly connived Catholics refrained from submitting official requests out of fear that they would only end up facing persecution if they provided the Protestant magistrates with their personal information. By appealing to their elevated social status as well as the civil services they performed, the publicly recognized Catholics, in contrast, questioned the legitimacy of what in their eyes was a confessionally driven persecution (which the magistrates for their part regarded as lawful

62 For the painting, see Offringa and Hidden, 'De fundatie'; Offringa and Hidden, *Fundatie*, especially pp. 5–30; Roethlisberger and Bok, *Abraham Bloemaert*, I, pp. 492–93.

63 See also Lenarduzzi, *De belevingswereld*, pp. 136–41, 290; Idem, 'Subcultuur en tegencultuur', pp. 167–69, 419.

prosecution), and encouraged the authorities to bestow toleration on their presence or activity in Utrecht. Therefore, for Catholics with an elevated social status it may well have been safer openly to submit official requests than secretly to commit illegal actions in the hope of connivance from the magistrates. Appealing to their social status, they claimed the rights that were legitimately theirs in the public sphere, reversing, whether openly or tacitly, their representation as 'public enemies' by the Reformed Church, and counter-representing themselves as 'obedient citizens', 'trustful subjects', and 'good patriots'.

5.1.4. Conscience

Freedom of conscience was newly conceptualized in the context of early modern religious diversity.⁶⁴ During the debates that agitated the Dutch Reformed Church throughout the first decades of its existence, not only Libertines and Remonstrants but also Contra-Remonstrants (strict Calvinists) recognized the freedom of conscience guaranteed by the Union of Utrecht.⁶⁵ Yet the Dutch Republic had no legal system by which the state could enforce observance of the Union's freedom of conscience clause. Moreover, the clause remained vague about what it meant to 'be free in his or her conscience', containing no concrete provisions for protection.⁶⁶ Therefore, while the Union stipulated a normative discourse on freedom of conscience, the political authorities, the public church, and dissenters, including Catholics, could deploy discourses for justifying their decision and behaviour by mobilizing their own interpretations of freedom of conscience.⁶⁷ As the city court noted in the trial against Willem van Merode {64},⁶⁸ Utrecht's politico-judicial authorities indeed assumed that a reference to freedom of conscience could function as an effective discourse technique for Catholics to defend their rights. Accordingly, the Reformed Church found it necessary to elaborate discourses on conscience. In a 1649 petition to the city council, the Voetian consistory claimed that Catholics were 'publicly', openly mocking the Reformed faith. Priests and *klopjes* instilled Catholic 'principles and maxims that tear them from obedience to their

64 Sorabji, *Moral Conscience*, pp. 97–165.

65 Gelderen, 'Arminian Trouble'.

66 Deursen, 'Tussen eenheid en zelfstandigheid'; Jong, 'Unie en religie'.

67 On different connotations of freedom of conscience in the Dutch Republic, especially among the city magistrates, see Pettegree, 'The Politics of Toleration', pp. 186, 195.

68 HUA, SAII, 2095, fasc. F, 12 March 1652.

legitimate Government and bind their consciences to other Superiors'.⁶⁹ Another petition from the consistory to the city council, this one in 1670, denounced Catholics for bringing 'evident harm to God's church, and shame to the reformation'. Priests 'oblige them [Catholics] in conscience to be subject to the territory of foreign potentates, indeed the Pope of Rome'.⁷⁰ The consistory therefore problematized Catholic conscience in the context of political loyalty.

Two other petitions from the Reformed Church further illustrate its confessionalized understanding of the Catholic conscience. According to the petition which the Voetian consistory sent to the city council in February 1648, it would be impossible to win Catholic souls by 'connivance', since Catholics would only be satisfied once they had regained all ecclesiastical 'properties and public churches' as well as the city hall. If the magistrates were to permit the 'exercise of the popish religion', they would end up allowing the 'papists' 'exorbitant freedom' and show 'excessive connivance'. The petition argued that one could not deny that 'freedom of conscience is established in these lands, because people have to distinguish between freedom of conscience and freedom of conventicles for the papists'. It continued by insisting that 'some pretend that freedom of conscience cannot exist unless the papists have their priests and conventicles as they in conscience judge them to be necessary'. In the eyes of the Reformed consistory, this argument was flawed. What Catholics judge necessary in conscience ought not to be realized, since their consciences might order them to revolt against the legitimate Protestant government.⁷¹ In this way, the consistory, on the one hand, made a concession by referring to the distinction between freedom of conscience and freedom of 'conventicles', claiming that only the latter could be denied under the conditions of the Union of Utrecht. On the other hand, it not only rejected the broad interpretation of conscience, which would create room for some public

69 HUA, SAIL, 121-23, 17 December 1649: 'opentlick' and 'fundamenten ende maximien, die haer afreken vande gehoorsaemheyt van haer wettige Overicheyt ende haer consciëntien verbinden aen andere Opperhoofden'.

70 HUA, KR, 9, 6 June 1670: 'merckelycke schade van Gods kercke, en schande van de reformatie' and 'haer in consciëntie verplicht en subject makende aen het gebied van vreemde potentaten, ja vande Paus van Romen'. See also *ibidem*, 20 June 1670; HUA, SAIL, 121-28, 20 June 1670.

71 HUA, KR, 5, 28 February 1648: 'conniventie', 'goederen ende publycke kercken', 'exorbitanten vryheyt', 'ongematchde conniventie', 'exercitium van de paepere religie', 'vryheyt der consciëntie in dese landen es vastgesteld want men moet onderscheyt maecken tusschen vryheyt der consciëntie en tusschen vryheyt van conventiculen van de papisten', and 'sommige voorgeven dat de vryheyt der consciëntie niet en kan bestaen sonder dat de papisten hare papen ende conventiculen hebben alsoo sij in consciëntie ordelen die haer nodich te sijn'.

Catholic presence in the form of clergy and worship, but also denounced Catholic consciences as being politically polluted and a danger to the Reformed public order.

Another petition from the Reformed Church, this one submitted by the synod to the Provincial States in 1655/56, likewise placed Catholic conscience in a political context, while recognizing the importance of distinguishing freedom of conscience from freedom of worship. One objection anticipated by the petition is that at the outset of the Revolt against Spain, 'people let those of the Roman faith preserve the free exercise of their Religion in every respect', referring to the bi-confessionalism of the 'religious peace' as it had been realized in Utrecht from 1579 to 1580. The imagined opponent then continues by problematizing how 'people nowadays are hardly willing to allow [Catholics] to maintain even a few Mass-priests to perform their service in private houses'. In response, the synod countered that 'such promises' had been made on the condition that Catholics would behave 'as Enemies of the Spanish and obedient Subjects of the State'. However, as the 'Netherlandish histories' showed, particularly in 1579 and 1580, Catholics had repeatedly dishonoured that condition. For this reason, one could not return to the bi-confessional system under which Catholics had enjoyed the right of public worship. Furthermore, the synod regarded the current practices of the Catholic faith, which they exercised inside their 'private houses', as 'public', claiming that Catholics now practised 'their Idolatry publicly [openly and externally] without any fear'.⁷² Another anticipated objection maintained that 'the banishment of the Roman clergy and the prevention of the free exercise of their Religion is a constraint of conscience'. Denying that this was the case, the synod insisted instead on the importance of 'distinguishing between freedom of conscience and freedom of exercise of Religion'. Once again, the synod alluded, obviously but tacitly, to the Union of Utrecht. The public church recognized that Catholics were entitled to freedom of conscience, by which 'they might freely be popish, profess [that] they are popish, feel and believe in their hearts [what they want], and read in their houses what they want'. At the same time, they must be denied the 'freedom of conventicles and exercise of Religion' and the 'public freedom of their Religion'. Even though magistrates in other Dutch cities might extend

72 HUA, VBB, 139, probably in 1655 or 1656: 'men de Roomsche-gesinde de vrye oeffeninge van hare Religie in allen deelen soude laten behouden', 'men haer nu nauwelicks eenige weynige Mis-priesters wil laten behouden om haren dienst in private huysen te doen', 'sulcke beloften', 'als Vyanden van Spagnien ende gehoorsame Subjecten vanden Staet', 'Nederlantsche historien', and 'sonder eenige vreesse hare Afgoderye openbaerlick'.

greater toleration to Catholics, Utrecht's magistrates were not to commit such a 'disgrace of God' and 'offence of their [Reformed] consciences'.⁷³

This Reformed confessionalized interpretation of the Catholic conscience may well have been what allowed the politico-judicial authorities to justify their raids on Catholic houses in the context of their judicial investigations. When the substitute sheriff explained his raid on a Catholic gathering in the house of Jasper Heyndricxz in 1624 {8}, he argued that such assemblies were prohibited, regardless of whether they took place 'in secret' or 'in public'.⁷⁴ In 1633 the sheriff complained about Catholic assemblies which, as he claimed, were at that time 'so public'.⁷⁵ Likewise, in 1661 the Reformed consistory accused Catholics of 'publicly [openly] going to [their clandestine] church',⁷⁶ and in 1665 the city court accused them of 'increasing licence' and 'public attendance at their churches or meeting-places'.⁷⁷ Similarly, the Voetian consistory complained in 1670 that many Catholic Utrechters were going 'freely in and out of' their assemblies, in which they 'freely and independently' practised their 'idolatry'. It was 'as public and with almost as much liberty as that [an assembly] of the public church'.⁷⁸ Another petition from the consistory, this one submitted in 1662, referred to Catholic gatherings as 'public and bold assemblies'. By closing their houses on their feast days, so the same petition continued, Catholic Utrechters were declaring 'publicly', openly, and externally that they deserved more freedom.⁷⁹ It is worth noting that the Reformed consistory claimed that Catholic initiatives to close their doors and remain inside their private homes on their holy days represented a public, open, and external expression of Catholicism.

In this way, by implicitly recalling the Union of Utrecht, the public church insisted on the importance of distinguishing between freedom of

73 Ibidem, probably in 1655 or 1656: 'het uytseggen van de Roomsche geestelickheyt ende het beletten vande vrye exercitie van hare Religie is conscientie-dwangh', 'onderscheyt maeckt tusschen vryheyt van conscientie, ende vryheyt van exercitie der Religie', 'sij mogen vryelick paepsch sijn ende seggen dat se paepsch sijn ende in hare herten gevoelen en geloven, ende in hare huysen lesen wat se willen', 'vryheyt van conventiculen en exercitie van Religie', 'publicke vryheyt van haer Religie', and 'oneere van God' and 'quetsinge van hare conscientien'.

74 HUA, SAIL, 2244-55, n.d. in 1624: 'in het heymelick' and 'in het openbaer'.

75 HUA, SAIL, 121-16, 4 November 1633: 'soo publycq'.

76 HUA, KR, 8, 12 August 1661: 't openbare kerck gaan'.

77 HUA, SAIL, 616, 29 April 1665 (Hofman, 'Allerlei', p. 186): 'aengewassene licentie ende openbare toeloop na hare kercken ofte vergaderplaatsen'.

78 HUA, KR, 9, 18 April, 6 June 1670: 'vrij uijt en in', 'vrij en vranck', 'afgoden-diensten', and 'so opentlyck en byna met so veel libertyt als die van de publyqe kercke'.

79 HUA, KR, 8, 2 June 1662; HUA, SAIL, 121-27, 2 June 1662: 'openbare en stoute bijeenkomsten' and 'openbaer'.

conscience and freedom of 'conventicles'. The Reformed Church together with the politico-judicial authorities understood the clandestine nature of the conventicles inside the houses as the concealment of contraventions of the Reformed public order. Moreover, they objected that Catholic consciences were firmly connected to and arbitrarily ruled by the pope through clerics and *kloppjes*. As such, even though their consciences required some public Catholic presence in the form of ecclesiastics and sacraments, such demands were to be denied. In particular, the synod redefined freedom of conscience for Catholics as no more than being, professing, feeling, believing, and reading. Accordingly, the public church pushed the politico-judicial authorities to denounce the celebration of Mass as 'public', irrespective of where the Catholics were worshipping, even if it be in their private homes. By their use of the term 'public', the Reformed Church and the authorities emphatically condemned the Catholic violation of the public order, which, in the utopian vision of the Voetians, ought to be confessionalized. Three elements stood out here as criteria for 'public' in the eyes of the Reformed ecclesiastical authorities: the open transgression of the law, which was evident to them and other city dwellers through the visibility and audibility of Catholic gatherings; the communal nature of what went on inside Catholic private homes, where Catholics used altars and other objects, making Catholic worship a form of 'idolatry' that was offensive both to God and the consciences of the Reformed; and the presence of priests, who politico-religiously bound Catholic consciences to foreign 'public enemies'.

How, then, did Catholics deploy discourses on conscience? Closer investigation reveals that Utrecht's Catholics appropriated freedom of conscience for their own cause, attaching various connotations to it, most of which were inconsistent with the Reformed interpretation of conscience. One good example concerns the prosecuted canon of St Marie, Gijsbert Dirksz alias Gijsbert Junius {80}. According to the indictment drawn up in 1657, Junius's father Willem Dirksz had secured a canonry of St Marie for Junius by swearing on 22 August 1622 that he would raise his eleven-year-old son in the Reformed faith, and that Junius would forfeit the canonry if Willem ever violated this oath. In his indictment, the sheriff argued that Junius had in fact been educated as a Catholic, so that the canonry was to be forfeited.⁸⁰ Junius's side responded by submitting a petition signed by the Reformed city court solicitor Van Zuylen [100]. It first stated that Junius's canonry had not been acquired on 22 August 1622 by his father, but by his uncle, Gijsbert Willemsz de Roy, on 1 August 1622. For this reason, the alleged proviso had

80 HUA, Kapittel van Sint Marie te Utrecht, 90, 27 August 1657.

no judicial bearing. Sometime after 1 August 1622, Junius's grandmother in Germany had taken responsibility for raising Junius, since his family in Utrecht did not have the resources to care for their many children. The petition insisted that Junius had converted to Catholicism while still a minor in Germany, where he was not supervised by the family patriarch. Moreover, it asserted that 'according to article thirteen of the Union of Utrecht, every individual may be free in his religion'. It argued that by the time Junius returned to Utrecht at the age of majority and was appointed to the canonry anew in April 1634, his Catholic faith was 'publicly', openly known. Since then, Junius had been in undisputed possession of the canonry for over twenty years.⁸¹ Citing Roman law, the petition claimed that the oath allegedly sworn by Junius's father had become irrelevant, implicitly arguing that conversion was not a crime and in fact enjoyed protection under the provisions of the Union of Utrecht.⁸² In the end, the city court rejected the charges.⁸³ It is worth noting that Junius's petition referred to freedom of conscience, understood here as the right for 'every individual' to 'freely remain in his religion', while it also vindicated the traditional patriarchal right concerning the religious education of children.⁸⁴

There were also a number of recognized priests who explicitly referred to the Union of Utrecht and freedom of conscience. In 1630 a petition was sent to the city magistracy in the name of all the priests who had resided in the city before 1622, then left after the promulgation of the harsh anti-Catholic edict of 1622, and had since returned. The petition noted how in the past many Catholic notables and citizens had been expelled from the city for political reasons during the war, which had been fought against the 'rigorous edicts of the King of Spain' and for the 'liberty of the lands and of Religion'. Now, however, 'the union [of Utrecht] and [the] religious peace' prescribed that 'everyone in these lands, whether ecclesiastical or secular, should live in a religion by which he thinks he will be saved'. On the basis of this principle, the petition argued that people should be allowed to leave their hometown freely to study at universities abroad, regardless of their choice of subject of study, whether it be theology, law, or medicine. The petition maintained that the 1622 edict should be applied only to those who went to stay in 'enemy lands'. In contrast, 'obedient citizens', including the petitioners,

81 Ibidem, 11 September 1657: 'volgens de unie van Utrecht articule dertien een yeder particulier in sijn religie vrij mach blijven' and 'publiccquijck'.

82 Ibidem, 11 September 1657.

83 Ibidem, 21 August 1658.

84 For the absolute authority of early modern parents over their children in the matter of religious education, see, e.g., Roosenboom, *Ontvoerd of gevlucht?*, pp. 54–58, 133–35.

who had come back to Utrecht after studying abroad should be allowed to live in their 'paternal City'. This request was approved by the magistrates on the condition that the priests observe the anti-Catholic edicts.⁸⁵ On the basis of the freedom of conscience prescribed in the Union, the clerics therefore attempted to justify their right to study abroad and to return to live in their hometown by representing themselves as 'obedient citizens' with long-standing roots in Utrecht.

Prosecuted Catholics and their defenders likewise mobilized a discourse of conscience in cases of suspected illegal assembly. A tailor and citizen named Jan Dirxz, and another citizen named Elisabeth Hubertsdr, were accused of participating in a Catholic gathering in the house of Splinter van Nijenrode {1}. The notary Nicolaes Verduyn [84] collected testimonies on their behalf, all providing them with alibis for the time of the assembly. The petitions of both Dirxz and Hubertsdr, which were probably written by Verduyn [84], maintained in virtually the same language that the sheriff had 'unjustly accused' them and 'denied him [or her] in relation to conscience. [He or she] was oppressed in the matter of religion'. As such, the petitions obviously alluded to the Union of Utrecht, on whose basis they insisted that the city court should reject the sheriff's indictments. Hubertsdr's petition, in particular, argued that the city court should protect her so that she could 'enjoy her citizenship', reminding it of its civic duty as a secular court beyond all confessional prejudice.⁸⁶ The petitions therefore denounced the sheriff's prosecution on the basis of the principle of freedom of conscience guaranteed by the Union of Utrecht, which forbade judicial officers from prosecuting anyone with an alibi solely on religious grounds.

Other prosecuted Catholics defended their practice of the Catholic faith within their private homes without explicitly mentioning either the public/private distinction or the concept of conscience. In these cases, the key notion was that of 'silence', with visibility and audibility again playing an indispensable role. According to a petition which the city court solicitor Petrus van Halen [40] signed and submitted on behalf of the Catholic noblewoman Van Loenersloot, Maria Johanna van Amstel van Mijnden,

85 HUA, VSOKN, 112, 20 September 1630: 'rigereuse placaten vande Coninck van Spaengien', 'liberteyt vande landen, ende vande Religie', 'bij den unie ende religions vrede', 'een yder 'tzij geestelick ofte weerlick in dese landen in sulcke religie soude mogen leven, daer mede hij meenden salich te worden', 'vijanden Landen', 'gehoorsame borgers', and 'vaderlicke Stadt'. Catholic notables and citizens were purged in 1585 and 1586. Kaplan, *Calvinists and Libertines*, pp. 166, 175–76.

86 HUA, SAIL, 2244–43, 21, 22 February 1621: 'onrecht beschuldicht', 'ontken[nende] hem conscientie halven, In sake van religie beswaert heeft geworden', and 'genieten hare borgerr[echt]'.

the sheriff claimed that she had hosted a Catholic assembly in her house, which served as the Jesuit clandestine church of St Martinus. Although the indictment for this case cannot be found, the sheriff is said to have argued that he saw approximately thirty people coming out of a gate in Herenstraat near her home. Van Loenersloot's petition, however, maintained that the participants Van Outheusden and Johan Adriaen van Renesse van Baer were in her house 'in complete silence', together with other eight or ten friends, to practise their 'Religion'. It even went so far as to suggest that the sheriff had probably fabricated the part about observing thirty people coming out of the house, and that he had staged a group of people passing through the gate. Van Loenersloot's petition was so belligerent as to cast suspicion on the sheriff's testimony. Another remarkable feature of the petition is the way it draws a boundary line between a 'silent' and a 'non-silent' – that is, a tolerable and intolerable – assembly as lying somewhere between ten and thirty participants {92}.⁸⁷ Likewise, the petition of the noblewoman Maria Francken, which was signed by the provincial court advocate Johan van Deurkant [27], maintained that on the feast day of the Nativity of Mary, she had practised her 'Religion' 'in complete silence' with fifteen or sixteen 'simple, poor people', while the sheriff had insisted that he had found forty people in attendance at her house, whose front door he had smashed into pieces with a hammer. Here the dividing line between what does and does not constitute a 'silent', tolerable assembly was drawn somewhere between fifteen and forty participants {95}.⁸⁸ In comparison to the petition from Van Loenersloot, whose house the sheriff had failed to enter, the argument in Francken's discourse seems less aggressive since the sheriff had indeed witnessed the forbidden gathering inside the house. As such, Francken could not insist that the sheriff had invented the charges. A remarkable feature of these two petitions is that they acknowledged that Catholics had assembled for worship, while most of the other petitions studied avoid specifying the purpose of the gathering. Another significant feature is the distinction they draw between a 'silent' and a 'non-silent' assembly, implicitly appealing to freedom of conscience which, in their interpretation, ought to allow Catholics to conduct the 'silent' practice of their faith.

Yet another interpretation of conscience is presented in an anonymous pamphlet written in 1640 to justify Rovenius and other Catholic priests in the Dutch Republic. It drew a distinction between 'external forum' and

87 HUA, SAII, 2244-125, 5, December 1667: 'in alle stillicheyd' and 'Godsdienst'.

88 HUA, SAII, 2244-127, 28 November 1668: 'Godsdienst', 'in alle stillicheyd', and 'slechte geringe luijden'.

'internal forum'; the former concerned the 'public rule' of the politico-judicial authorities, while the latter related solely to 'conscience'. Regardless of the specific 'external forum' in which Catholics lived, they could not neglect their own 'internal forum', which required the religious services of Catholic bishops and priests. According to the pamphlet, the Dutch Catholic clergy were not hostile to 'the Fatherland' but were only concerned about 'conscience, honour, and public harmony'. The pastoral activity of such priests was indispensable for the 'internal forum' of Catholic consciences, which required at least the 'private' exercise of their faith. In its concluding remark, the pamphlet insisted that 'the moderate [...] exercise of Catholic Religion be privately allowed', although it is not clear what constituted the 'private' and 'moderate' exercise of religion. The priests were thus represented as not only serving Catholic consciences and as being politically reliable, but also as contributing positively to public order in the multi-confessional state.⁸⁹

In direct opposition to the Reformed Church's interpretation of freedom of conscience, Hans Vreeman, likely writing under a pseudonym, argued that freedom of conscience inherently included the freedom of public worship. Vreeman authored a pamphlet to counter the aforementioned remonstrance from Utrecht's Reformed consistory to the Provincial States, published in 1651, which justified the 'express exclusion of the Popish religion' from the Dutch Republic. He insisted that Catholics were legitimately entitled to the 'public exercise of the Catholic Roman Religion' under 'the freedom of conscience', as guaranteed by many politicians' letters as well as legal texts in the context of the Dutch Eighty Years' War, including the Union of Utrecht and Utrecht's religious peace of 1579. Moreover, Vreeman bolstered his argument by citing contemporary examples, such as Poland under the Warsaw Confederation (1573) and France under the Edict of Nantes (1598), where Protestant dissenters were allowed to practise their faith publicly. He also referenced the case of Switzerland, where both Catholics and Protestants used the same public church in rotation, a practice of church sharing known as *simultaneum*. Furthermore, Vreeman criticized the situation in which Dutch Catholics were prohibited from practising their faith publicly, despite being granted freedom of conscience. In arguing this point, he cited a plea submitted by John Casimir of the Palatinate-Simmern (1543–1592),

89 HUA, OBC, 168 (this pamphlet was transcribed in Broedersen, *Tractatus Historicus*, I, pp. 313–18): 'forum externum', 'forum internum', 'publicum regimen', 'conscientiam' 'Patriciam', 'conscientiam, & honestatem, concordiamque publicam', and 'moderato [...] exercitio Catholicae Religionis privatim concessio'.

a staunchly Calvinist prince, to King Charles IX of France (1550–1574) in 1570. Drawing on the prince's own words, Vreeman claimed that it was as if the king gave 'his subjects life' 'while depriving them of the food to live'. Vreeman concluded his pamphlet by urging the reader to 'Let Freedom [be granted] to our Nation / to exercise the Old Religion [Catholicism] / [and] also to teach [it] in public'.⁹⁰ In his perspective, freedom of the public practice of faith was an indispensable part of freedom of conscience.

The Reformed and Catholics interpreted freedom of conscience in quite different ways. Although the Reformed Church recognized the importance of distinguishing between freedom of conscience and freedom of conventicles, it also insisted that Catholic consciences were bound by priests and *klopjes* to foreign 'public enemies' and to the pope in particular. For the Reformed Church, freedom of conscience for Catholics was no more than the right to embrace an internalized belief individually and without the external and collective practice of the faith. Therefore, even though Catholic consciences demanded a certain public presence in the external form of priests and sacraments, these were not to be permitted them. Catholic worship inside 'private homes' was denounced as 'public' since it was a visual and audible open secret that idolatry was being communally presided over by priests who were controlled by the 'public enemies' there, to the harm of the Reformed consciences. Catholics, in turn, represented the clergy as necessary mediators for their conscience in search of salvation. They argued that Catholic clerics were even beneficial for the public good of the Dutch Republic since they oversaw the Catholic community with a view to maintaining public order in the multi-confessional society. For a number of Catholics, freedom of conscience meant the individual right to freely convert to, remain in, and study Catholicism, with the traditional patriarchal right of the religious education of children remaining intact. Some others insisted that if the sheriff prosecuted Catholics on insufficient evidence, he would be infringing upon their consciences in the matter of religion. Yet other Catholics presented original views on criteria based on visibility and audibility for determining which assemblies should be perceived as 'silent', 'modest', and 'non-public', and thus tolerable.⁹¹ Remarkably, Vreeman went a step further and justified

⁹⁰ Vreeman, *Aen-merckingen*, pp. 3, 7–10, 16–19: 'expresse exclusive van de Pauselycke ghesindtheydt', 'publycke exercitie van de Catholycke Roomsche Religie', 'de vryheyt der conscientien', 'aen syn ondersaten het leve gaf', 'hen ondertusschen het voedsel om te leven benam', and 'Lieten Vryheyt aen ons Nacy / 't oud Geloove t'exerceren / Oock in 't openbaer te leeren'. I would like to thank Benjamin Kaplan for drawing my attention to this primary source.

⁹¹ For comparable findings on such criteria, see also Frijhoff, 'Dimensions', p. 230; Idem, *Embodied Belief*, p. 59; Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, p. 191; Idem, 'Fictions of Privacy', pp. 1056–57;

the freedom of the public practice of Catholicism, which, according to him, had been guaranteed by the Dutch politico-legal arrangements in the name of the freedom of conscience.

5.2. Two Examples

5.2.1. Grietgen Janssen, an Immigrant Woman

On 15 December 1649, at 11 a.m., the sheriff with his subordinates forced their way into a house on Dorstige Hartsteeg where Grietgen Janssen rented a room and lived together with three other 'separate Families'. She was suspected of hosting a clandestine Mass and harbouring a priest. Although the sheriff may well have intended to raid the Dominican clandestine church of Onze Lieve Vrouw Rozenkrans established around the corner of Dorstige Hartsteeg around 1620, it is not known whether this clandestine church was the same as the house which the sheriff invaded in 1649. Janssen's petition to the sheriff begins by insisting that the following 'facts' should be understood as the 'truth' by both herself and the sheriff:

[I]n this province of Utrecht as well as in the other United Provinces, no one is forced to renounce the Roman Catholic religion in his heart, or to profess anything contrary to the prescriptions of his conscience. Thus, everyone is free to profess his faith, also in its private exercise. [However,] assemblies for the exercise of the aforementioned Roman Catholic religion are forbidden by edicts.⁹²

Based on this alleged consensus, the petition attempted to prove that the sheriff had unjustly investigated and prosecuted this Catholic woman. Its argument, as in the quotation above, seems to resonate with that of the anonymous 1640 pamphlet on the moderate, private exercise of the Catholic faith. Yet the question remains to what extent this tactic of conformity to

Idem, *Reformation*, pp. 194–95; Lenarduzzi, *De belevingswereld*, pp. 143–244; Idem, 'Subcultuur en tegencultuur', pp. 173–284.

92 HUA, SAII, 2244-100, fasc. 14, n.d. in 1649/50: 'distincte Familien', 'feyten', 'waer', and 'in dese provincie van Utrecht als in andere geconfaedereerde provincie niemant in zijn gemoet geperst wort de Roomsche Catholijcke religie aff te gaen, ofte eenige contrarie tegens uytwijzen van zijn conscientie te belijden. Diensvolgens een yeder in die professie van zijn ghelooft vrije is, oock in zijn exercitie privé. [...] die vergaderingen tot het exercitie van die vers[egde] Roomsche Catholijcke religie bij placaten verboden sijn'.

a public/private distinction can be generalized, and what factors pushed Janssen to deploy this particular discourse.

Addressing freedom of conscience as the individual right to choose his/her religion and the prohibition on Catholic assemblies, Janssen's petition emphasized that she had meticulously observed the existing border between public and private established by the political authorities. It then argued that, following this existing norm of the public/private distinction, no one could hinder this prosecuted woman, despite her Catholic faith, from coming from Holland to enjoy Utrecht's 'famous good Air' for her own health and probably that of her sick sister as well. By arguing that Holland was more moderate than Utrecht in relation to prosecuting those who exercised the Catholic faith, the petition attempted to persuade the city court that Janssen's motive for moving was not religious in nature, but medical. In addition, it represented her as a good neighbour of 'prominent people of the reformed religion'. Although the tone of her petition seems geared to compliance with the existing rules of the public/private distinction, above all it tried to depict Janssen as a law-abiding immigrant who happened also to be Catholic and lived in good standing with the local Reformed community. The petition thus sought to affirm the social reliability of this migrant.⁹³

The sheriff's raid on Janssen's room was violent and threatening. As soon as the sheriff arrived at the house, he smashed the front door to pieces with a hammer, without even ringing the bell. The chaos was so appalling that Janssen's sick sister 'lost consciousness', and that onlookers flocked to adjacent Nieuwstraat. Judicial officers searched the house from top to bottom, but, so the petition notes, could find neither priest nor altar, 'without which Roman Catholics do not exercise their religion'. Contrary to the sheriff's insistence, the priest in question was at that moment absent from the province of Utrecht, although it is unknown who he was and how Janssen or the writer of the petition obtained this information. The sheriff suspected forbidden spatial practices, assuming that a heavy door in the house was a 'door for retreat'. The petition argued in its turn that the door was a 'communal door' that had been designed as a fire exit, and that it had already been in place, in accordance with building regulations, when Janssen arrived there. The sheriff claimed that he had once seen twenty-five Catholics, including Janssen, leaving an adjacent house owned by Van Arckell, to which Catholics could flee from Janssen's room by climbing over a wall. However, the petition rejected this as a fabrication, noting that the

93 Ibidem, fasc. 14, n.d. in 1649/50: 'bekenden goeden Lucht' and 'eerl[ijcke] luyden van die gereformeerde religie'.

wall was too high for a woman to climb and adding that Van Arckell was in fact Reformed.⁹⁴

Based on these arguments, the petition claimed that malicious accusers had given the sheriff false testimony in order to demean Janssen. Citing prestigious works of medieval commentators on Roman law such as Bartolus de Saxoferrato (1314–1357) and Conradus Lancellottus (1520–1590), the petition argued that no one could act as a witness if he/she was a stakeholder in the matter. Furthermore, it claimed that the alleged accusers should be ‘publicly’, officially punished and banished, referring to the classics written by Tacitus (c. 55–c. 122) and Pliny the Younger (61–112). Here it drew a comparison between the ‘Tyrannical’ Roman Emperor Tiberius Julius Caesar (B.C. 42–A.D. 37), who trusted accusers (according to Tacitus’s *Annales*), and the ‘beloved’ Roman Emperor Marcus Ulpius Nerva Trajanus Augustus (53–117), who criticized the harmful effect of accusers (according to Pliny the Younger’s *Panegyricus*). Judging from the absence of a sentence against Janssen, it seems probable that the city court rejected the charges.⁹⁵

Utrecht’s Catholic community was not monolithic, and the diverse social status of its members should therefore be taken into consideration. Janssen was a social outsider of the civic community. Her lack of social resources in Utrecht defined the rhetorical potential of the petition, which served to confirm her fear of malicious accusers. Moreover, it seems unlikely that an early modern woman would herself have written a petition citing treatises on Roman law or the classics, all of them in Latin. Although the existing copy of the petition does not specify who supported her, as an immigrant woman Janssen may well have asked well-informed defenders to write a petition on her behalf. Besides, judging by the description in the petition and the absence of a sentence against her, the sheriff seems to have raided her residence on the basis of insufficient evidence. Accordingly, in order to win the case, it probably sufficed for her unknown defenders to demonstrate her compliance with the existing norm of the public/private distinction, and

94 Ibidem, fasc. 14, n.d. in 1649/50: ‘onmacht’, ‘deur van retraite’, ‘gemeene deur’, and ‘sonder t’welck de Roomsche Catholiken haer exercitie van religie niet en doen’. The 1655 investigation report, however, noted that Catholics lived in the house of an advocate named Henrick van Arckell in Nieuwstraat. HUA, SAII, 616, 29 April 1665 (Hofman, ‘Allerlei’, p. 185). If this advocate is to be identified as Janssen’s neighbour, he may not have been a Reformed believer, as Janssen’s petition insisted, or he may have allowed Catholics to use his house, even though he was Reformed.

95 HUA, SAII, 2244–100, fasc. 14, n.d. in 1649/50: ‘publijckelijck’, ‘Tyran’, and ‘beminden’. Although the petition only mentioned Bartolus’s name, Lancellottus’s work was cited by folio number. Lancellottus, *Tractatus de officio praetoris*, p. 158. I would like to thank Jan Hallebeek helping me with this reference to judicial texts.

to prove the unjust nature of the sheriff's charges. Alternatively, it is also possible that unknown defenders used her, an innocent female immigrant from the more lenient province of Holland, as a test case to nudge the court to grant local Catholics greater freedoms.

5.2.2. Johannes Wachtelaer, a Native Priest

Johannes Wachtelaer mobilized diverse discourses to defend not only himself but also Rovenius, and even attempted to expand the right of Dutch Catholics in the public sphere. It was the elevated social status of this native priest that made it possible for his arguments to be more aggressive than those presented by the unknown defenders of the immigrant woman Janssen. Wachtelaer and his numerous defenders, and in particular the 'special deputy' Johan de With [93], sent a number of different petitions to various recipients, including the city court,⁹⁶ the sheriff,⁹⁷ the provincial court,⁹⁸ and – through the Venetian ambassador – Stadholder Frederick Henry.⁹⁹ The charges against Wachtelaer were almost the same as those against his superior Rovenius: illegal clerical activities and connections with or loyalty to the Habsburg monarchy.¹⁰⁰

The petitions first attempted to dispel these charges. One key word here is conscience. Catholic priests in the Northern Netherlands, so the petitions stated, did not want to establish 'a state within the state or an order within the order'.¹⁰¹ Thus, punishing priests meant constraining the 'conscience' of those who trusted the clergy.¹⁰² The duties of Catholic clerics were related not to 'the government of these lands', but to 'the matter of conscience and religious matters' of Catholics,¹⁰³ which was unconnected to the 'detriment of our fatherland in its politics'.¹⁰⁴ According to a petition signed by De With, Wachtelaer engaged only the 'security of conscience'

96 HUA, MKOKN, 557, 19 September 1639, n.d. (before 10 March 1640).

97 Ibidem, 11, 26 November, 6 December 1639.

98 Ibidem, n.d. (after 24), 28 September, 10, 28 October 1639, n.d. (after 10 March 1640); HUA, SAIL, 2244-87, 10 October 1639.

99 HUA, OBC, 159, December 1639 (Rogge, 'Memorie', pp. 1-25).

100 For Wachtelaer's indictment, see HUA, OBC, 159; HUA, SAIL, 2087; HUA, SAIL, 2244-87.

101 HUA, MKOKN, 557, n.d. (after 10 March 1640), 11 September 1645: 'regnam in regno ofte ordinam in ordine'.

102 Ibidem, 11 September 1645.

103 Ibidem, n.d. (after 10 March 1640): 'de policie deser landen' and 'de saecke van conscientie en geestelicke saecken'. For comparable arguments, see also HUA, OBC, 159, December 1639 (Rogge, 'Memorie', p. 14).

104 HUA, MKOKN, 557, 11 September 1645: 'ondienst van ons vaderlant int politicq'.

of Catholics, and therefore had nothing to do with the 'public' – in other words, political – matters of the states.¹⁰⁵ The petition to the stadholder asserted that Catholic priests were even ready to pray for Protestant political authorities, if indeed they permitted Catholics to enjoy 'some freedom of the exercise' of their religion.¹⁰⁶ Here, the petitions attempted to break the alleged connection between high politics and Catholic consciences, portraying ecclesiastics as only served the latter.

At the same time, the services and obligations of the Catholic clergy were understood within the national and international politico-religious contexts of the time. De With's rebuttal to the indictment emphasized that Rovenius was working for the 'consciencs' of Catholics, since 'good Catholic subjects' would otherwise be forced to take recourse to the nuncio in Brussels or the archbishop of Mechelen in order to receive the sacraments, the practice of border-crossing known as *Auslaufen* in German.¹⁰⁷ Wachtelaer's petition to Frederick Henry argued that Stadholder Maurice had objected to Rovenius's ordination as archbishop of Utrecht, but approved his ordination as archbishop of Philippi, and that Rovenius had only acted as apostolic vicar and archbishop of Philippi, not as archbishop of Utrecht. Hence, he conducted religious services under a legitimate title recognized by the prince of Orange.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, the same petition maintained that it was the obligation of priests, especially those who, like Wachtelaer, had properly registered with the local magistracy, to keep 'order and discipline' within the Catholic community. In that context, it referred to an incident in Gooiland, where priests had settled a conflict between Catholics without the intervention of lawyers.¹⁰⁹ Rather, disorders could be caused by 'foreign' priests, regulars in particular, who had come 'secretly' after the expiration of the Twelve Years' Truce in 1621. These regular priests only obeyed the orders of their own superiors and not of the apostolic vicar. This situation exposed the 'native' priests to the danger of 'persecution' or forced them to

105 HUA, Kapittel van Sint Marie te Utrecht, 93, 17 March 1640; HUA, SAIL, 2244-87, 17 March 1640: 'securitatem conscientiae' and 'gemeen'.

106 HUA, OBC, 159, December 1639 (Rogge, 'Memorie', p. 11): 'eenighe vrijcheyt der exercitie'.

107 HUA, MKOKN, 557, n.d. (before 10 March 1640): 'conscientien' and 'goede Catholijcke ingesetenen'. On *Auslaufen*, see Kaplan, *Cunegonde's Kidnapping*, passim; Idem, *Divided by Faith*, pp. 144-71; Idem, *Reformation*, pp. 279-97; Idem, 'Religious Encounters'.

108 HUA, OBC, 159, December 1639 (Rogge, 'Memorie', p. 10). According to the same petition, Rovenius may have used the term 'heretics' (*ketters*) for the Protestant magistrates, but then in the sense of 'electors' (*verkiesers*); nevertheless, this argument seems far-fetched. HUA, OBC, 159, December 1639 (Rogge, 'Memorie', p. 10).

109 HUA, OBC, 159, December 1639 (Rogge, 'Memorie', pp. 5-6, 9, 14-15, 21-22): 'ordre ende discipline'. See also HUA, MKOKN, 557, n.d. (before and after 10 March 1640).

pay heavier 'taxes' (probably a fine or the recognition fee). For this reason, leaders of 'native' priests, such as Rovenius and Wachtelaer, were in contact with the pope to prevent the harmful effects which the 'foreign' priests could bring to 'native' Catholics.¹¹⁰ Wachtelaer's petitions therefore drew a sharp distinction between trustworthy 'native' (secular) priests, including the apostolic vicar and Wachtelaer himself, and unreliable 'foreign' regular priests.

The petitions signed by De With in particular questioned whether the city court had the jurisdiction to judge Wachtelaer, noting that the matter was in dispute between the city and the province. According to these petitions, once the provincial court had accepted the appeal from Wachtelaer and prohibited the city court from proceeding with the trial, the sheriff and the city court were to be denied further jurisdiction.¹¹¹ The provincial court indeed ordered the city court to defer the lawsuit against Wachtelaer, and overturned the city court's decision. In addition, the provincial court fined the sheriff and attempted to summon him before it. The signatories to this resolution included the Catholic councillors Jacob de Wys and Pieter Dierhout.¹¹² The stadholder may have intentionally left his standpoint somewhat less than clear in this case. According to the report from the sheriff dated 19 October 1639, Frederick Henry approved the provincial court's judging of Wachtelaer, but advised the sheriff not to appear in the provincial court.¹¹³ The city court and the sheriff, who enjoyed the city council's support, regarded the provincial court's interference as an infringement upon the 'jurisdictions, privileges, and ancient customs of the City and its Court', which had all been enjoyed since medieval times.¹¹⁴ According to the rebuttal written by De With, the representative of the city of Utrecht in the Provincial States was unwilling to hear the position of the first and second estates in the Provincial States regarding Wachtelaer's petition to the stadholder.¹¹⁵ Wachtelaer's side was certainly aware that the

110 HUA, OBC, 159, December 1639 (Rogge, 'Memorie', p. 15); HUA, Kapittel van Sint Marie te Utrecht, 93, 17 March 1640; HUA, MKOKN, 557, n.d. (before and after 10 March 1640); HUA, SAIL, 2244-87, 17 March 1640: 'vreemden', 'secretelick', 'inlandse', 'vervolging', and 'belasting'.

111 HUA, Kapittel Sint Marie te Utrecht, 93, 17, 18 March 1640; HUA, MKOKN, 557, n.d. (after 24 September), 26 November 1639, n.d. (after 10 March 1640); HUA, SAIL, 121-19, 26 March, 10 April, 13 November 1640; HUA, SAIL, 2244-87, 17, 28 March 1640.

112 HUA, MKOKN, 557, 28 September, 10 October 1639; HUA, SAIL, 2244-87, 8, 10 October 1639.

113 Ibidem, 19 October 1639.

114 HUA, MKOKN, 557, 28 November 1639; HUA, SAIL, 121-19, 24 October, 15 November 1639; HUA, SAIL, 2244-87, 10, 18, 19 October 1639: 'jurisdictionen, privilegien ende oude observantie vander Stadt ende Gerechte van dien'.

115 HUA, MKOKN, 557, n.d. (before 10 March 1640).

city and the province were fighting over jurisdiction, and that the official institutions at the provincial level, whose membership included Catholics, could be more sympathetic to Catholics than those at the civic level.

Moreover, the petitions also emphasized Wachtelaer's elevated social status and public reputation in Utrecht. Many insisted that he was 'an old citizen' and a member of one of the 'leading families' which had long been living in Utrecht and owned rich properties and a 'public house' there, probably meaning the house belonging to the collegiate chapter of St Marie, which had functioned as the clandestine church of St Gertrudis. For that reason, so it implied, he was deserving of respect. Wachtelaer was widely reputed to be 'always honest and pious', and to respect the politico-judicial authorities.¹¹⁶ And indeed, in 1622 he had duly registered with the magistrates in compliance with the edict <26> (Appendix 2). In his petition to the stadholder, Wachtelaer represented himself as a prominent figure who was an 'obliging and beloved person, not only among the Catholics, but also among the Reformed and all the others'. The same petition also stressed that his cousin Cornelis van Werckhoven worked in the Council of State as a representative of the province of Utrecht.¹¹⁷ In addition, he was a legitimate canon of St Marie. Among his colleagues in the chapter, it was known that Wachtelaer's tenure of the canonry was 'tolerated' despite his Catholic faith and he was trusted to observe the edicts.¹¹⁸ As such, the petitions tactically constructed an image of Wachtelaer as a law-abiding citizen, although on at least two occasions during the 1620s he had already appeared in court to pay a fine {2} {9}.¹¹⁹

Furthermore, Wachtelaer's petitions defended not only himself and Rovenius, but also all Dutch Catholics as a group, by underlining their elevated social status, political trustworthiness, remarkable contributions to the common good, and honourable piety, all of which were historically embedded in the Northern Netherlands. Numerous Catholics, the petition to the stadholder maintained, had been living in the United Provinces since

116 HUA, MKOKN, 557, 19 September 1639, n.d. (before and after 10 March 1640); HUA, OBC, 159, December 1639 (Rogge, 'Memorie', pp. 20, 21–22): 'een oudt borger', 'voornaemste geslachten', 'domicilium publicum', and 'altijdt eerlick en vroom'.

117 HUA, OBC, 159, December 1639 (Rogge, 'Memorie', p. 20): 'gedienstich ende bemint persoon, niet alleen bij de Catholycquen maer oock bij de Gereformeerden ende alle anderen'.

118 HUA, Kapittel van Sint Marie te Utrecht, 93, 17 March 1640; HUA, MKOKN, 557, n.d. (before and after 10 March 1640); HUA, SAIL, 2244–87, 17 March 1640: 'getolereert'.

119 Wachtelaer once appeared in court because of an illegal assembly in 1621 {2}, and on another occasion in 1626 for unknown suspicions {9} (Appendix 1). In the latter case, he and another secular priest, Jacob Bool, paid a fine of f. 150, which they may have done on behalf of others.

olden times, and were 'the principal people, of both noble and bourgeois families'. Though excluded from public political offices, they were ready to obey the 'governments or magistracy' of the Reformed faith. Such politically trustworthy, native Catholics believed that the government would not force them to leave the Northern Netherlands on religious grounds.¹²⁰ Recalling the ongoing Eighty Years' War, the petition noted that Catholics and their ancestors 'have driven the Spanish out of the land', arguing that 'the war, which we undertake, is a war not of religion, but of the state'.¹²¹ This argument is remarkable when compared to that which the Reformed synod of Utrecht devised in 1655/56. While reluctantly recognizing that Catholics had taken up arms against the Habsburg monarch, the synod insisted that 'Papists' were not fighting 'for the freedom of Religion' since that freedom had not been denied them by the king of Spain. They were just fighting 'for the freedom of the Privileges and the Laws of the land, which they enjoy alongside others'.¹²² Here, the synod cast doubt on the political credibility of Catholics, problematizing the absence of religious motivations for the war against the Habsburg monarchy. Wachtelaer, in contrast, emphasized Catholics' contribution to the 'war of state', arguing that they too were indispensable members of the Dutch Republic alongside the Reformed and others. He tried to decouple confessional affiliation from the common good of the multi-confessional Republic, which Dutch Catholics had also been advancing. His petition to the stadholder also argued that Dutch Catholics followed the 'example of the early Christians', noting that the Catholic faith had existed in the Northern Netherlands since the Christianization of the pagans there by St Willibrord. The Reformed were just as heavily indebted as Catholics to these common origins of Christianity in the Low Countries. Netherlandish Catholicism had been a faith without which 'the Reformed would have had nothing to reform', and 'we all together, without difference of religion, would still have been heathens or idolaters to this very day'.¹²³ Given

120 HUA, OBC, 159, December 1639 (Rogge, 'Memorie', p. 2): 'de principaelsten, soo adelijcke als burgerlicke familien' and 'overicheden of magistraet'. For a comparable argument, see also HUA, MKOKN, 557, n.d. (before 10 March 1640).

121 HUA, OBC, 159, December 1639 (Rogge, 'Memorie', pp. 5, 7): 'de Spainjaerden uyt den lande gedreven hebben' and 'het oorloch, t'welck wij voeren, is een oorloch niet van religie, maer van staet'.

122 HUA, VBB, 139, probably in 1655 or 1656: 'voorde vryheyt van Religie' and 'voorde vryheyt vande Privilegien ende Rechten des lants, ende die genieten sij soo wel als eenige andere'.

123 HUA, OBC, 159, December 1639 (Rogge, 'Memorie', pp. 2, 7): 'd'exempelen van de oude christenen', 'de gereformeerde geen subject en soudén hebben gehad om yet te reformeren', and 'wij alle te samen sonder onderscheyt van religie tot op den huydighen dach noch heydenen ende affgodendieners soudén geweest zijn'.

that other Dutch Catholics, such as the priest and poet Joannes Stalpert van der Wiele (1579–1630), reminded his co-religionists in a confessionalized way that the father of Christianity had been a Roman Catholic,¹²⁴ it is remarkable that Wachtelaer, in his attempt to beg the stadholder for mercy, tactically represented St Willibrord as a shared ancestor for Reformed and Catholic Christians in the Northern Netherlands alike.

Wachtelaer's petitions sought to preserve the rights of Dutch Catholics on the basis of these positive representations, tacitly but undoubtedly alluding to the Union of Utrecht. In his petition to the stadholder, he argued that 'in these lands, ever since the change of the public religion, it has been kept as a maxim and declared by various edicts and public decisions that every individual should be allowed to live freely in accordance with his conscience' and should not be coerced to practice the Reformed religion 'which is now exercised publicly [openly and officially] in the church'.¹²⁵ The rebuttal of the indictment, written by De With, even reminded the Provincial States of their secular and supra-confessional obligation to protect their subjects' right to freedom of conscience,¹²⁶ confirming at the same time that Catholics had enjoyed connivance.¹²⁷ Wachtelaer's petition to the stadholder in particular observed that 'thanks to the reasonable connivance' long exercised by Reformed magistrates, Catholics had come to believe that they had in practice been allowed to gather in their houses for the practice of the faith.¹²⁸ As such, he suggested that Catholics' trust in the political practice of connivance, which had been exercised in accordance with the freedom of conscience, was now being undermined or betrayed by the 'persecution' they were experiencing since the raids on Rovenius and on Wachtelaer himself.

Finally, like Vreeman, Wachtelaer even boldly demanded more rights for Catholics in the public sphere than, for instance, the anonymous pamphlet or Janssen's petition did; the latter two merely insisted on the freedom of the 'moderate' and 'private' exercise of the Catholic faith. In his petition to the stadholder, Wachtelaer maintained that 'it is not possible for the Catholics to live under the freedom of conscience without priests' to administer the

124 Parker, *Faith on the Margins*, p. 56.

125 HUA, OBC, 159, December 1639 (Rogge, 'Memorie', p. 3): 'in dese landen altijd, zedert de veranderinge der publycque religie, voor een maxime gehouden ende oock bij verscheyden placcaten ende publycqe acten verclaert is, dat een yeder vrijelick mochte leven na zijn conscientie' and 'die nu, om in de kercke opentlick geexerceert te worden'.

126 HUA, MKOKN, 557, n.d. (before 10 March 1640): 'uyt de redelicke oochluycckinge'.

127 Ibidem, n.d. (after 10 March 1640).

128 HUA, OBC, 159, December 1639 (Rogge, 'Memorie', pp. 4–5).

sacraments to them.¹²⁹ As shown above, in the argument of the petitions from Wachtelaer's side, the clergy engaged solely in pastoral activities that pertained to conscience. Wachtelaer here proposed a completely different view of the concept of 'conscience' than that advocated by the Reformed Church. The latter believed that Catholic consciences were religiously and politically ruled by the pope through priests and *klopjes*. Accordingly, Catholics were to content themselves with the 'toleration and connivance' to live in freedom of conscience, which meant living without priests, practices of faith, and external and collective expressions of Catholicism.¹³⁰ On the other hand, Wachtelaer was not satisfied with the existing situation of 'toleration and connivance', which he found instead to be a 'shame'. Referring somewhat vaguely to a remonstrance from the Huguenots to the French king, Wachtelaer insisted that it was as if people were telling Catholics that they 'would be allowed to live, but not to eat'.¹³¹ According to the rebuttal written by De With, 'no religion can exist without supervision or direction', through which the clergy could keep 'order and discipline' in the religious community.¹³² The petitions insisted that other dissenters in the Dutch Republic, such as the Anabaptists, Remonstrants, Lutherans, and Jews, were living under much more desirable circumstances. Jews in particular were allowed to perform 'many more ceremonies publicly [openly with official permission]' than Catholics.¹³³ The public church had depicted Catholics as a political threat by referring to the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre in France in 1572, the Catholic revolt in Ireland in 1641, and other similar events in contemporary European contexts.¹³⁴ In his petition to the stadholder, Wachtelaer, in contrast, pointed to several contemporary

129 HUA, OBC, 159, December 1639 (Rogge, 'Memorie', p. 3): 'voor de Catholycken niet mogelijk sijnde, in vrijicheyt van consciencie te mogen leven, sonder van priesters'.

130 HUA, VBB, 139, probably in 1655 or 1656: 'tolerantie ende conniventien'. For a comparable argument delivered by the Reformed consistory of Utrecht, see HUA, KR, 5, 10, 17 December 1649; HUA, SAIL, 121-23, 17, 19 December 1649.

131 HUA, OBC, 159, December 1639 (Rogge, 'Memorie', pp. 3-4): 'infamie' and 'souden moghen leven, maer niet eeten'. While Wachtelaer did not explicitly mention the source of the French Huguenots' argument, it is highly likely that he was referencing the same plea submitted by Casimir to King Charles IX in 1570, which was cited by Vreeman. I am grateful to Benjamin Kaplan for bringing this connection to my attention. For further insights into the prevalence of this metaphor in dissenter discourses within the Dutch Republic, see a forthcoming article co-authored by Kaplan and myself.

132 HUA, MKOKN, 557, n.d. (before 10 March 1640): 'geen religie bestaen kan sonder hooft opsicht off directie'.

133 Ibidem, n.d. (after 10 March 1640); HUA, OBC, 159, December 1639 (Rogge, 'Memorie', pp. 6-7): 'veel meer ceremonien opentlick'.

134 E.g., HUA, VBB, 139, probably in 1655 or 1656.

Catholic states as ideal examples of religious coexistence. Referring to France under the Edict of Nantes and Poland under the Warsaw Confederation, his petition claimed that non-Catholic dissenters in these Catholic lands could 'live freely without any brand of dishonour'. They could conduct the 'free and public exercise of their religion' without being told that they had 'only freedom of conscience without exercise of religion'. Following these examples, Wachtelaer maintained that 'all impartial people' judged that Dutch Catholics should be enjoying similar freedoms, that is, legitimate rights for honourable citizens of early modern Europe, including not only freedom of conscience but also freedom of the public practice of their faith.¹³⁵

Janssen's petition showed her obedient conformity to the existing norm of the public/private distinction which the politico-religious authorities had already established and strategically tried to control. Its interpretation of freedom of conscience justified the withdrawal of Catholics from the public sphere occupied by the Reformed. However, her rhetorical tactics for survival should not be generalized, and we must reflect instead on the conditions under which certain discourses were mobilized. One such condition was the petitioners' social status. By contrast with this immigrant woman, Wachtelaer in his petitions drew upon his own and many co-religionists' elevated social status in order to defend himself as well as his colleagues, and even attempted to extend the rights of Dutch Catholics by shifting the boundary of the 'public'. According to Wachtelaer, 'conscience' was a-political and purely religious in nature, meaning that it required the ministrations of priests. Hence, freedom of conscience necessitated a certain public presence of the clergy, who could contribute to the maintenance of public order in the multi-confessional society. On the basis of this interpretation, Wachtelaer insisted that Catholics should also enjoy the right to maintain priests and also to practise their faith publicly and communally.

5.3. Conclusion

The repressed and tolerated Catholics tactically mobilized diverse discourses of self-representation in the public sphere of Utrecht for the sake of their survival. Through their petitions, they gave a supra-confessional reinterpretation of the responsibilities of the politico-judicial authorities, who

¹³⁵ HUA, OBC, 159, December 1639 (Rogge, 'Memorie', pp. 4, 7): 'vrijelick woonen sonder eenighe note van infamie', 'vrije ende opentlicke exercitie van hare religie', 'alleen [...] vrijheyte van conscientie buyten exercitie van religie', and 'alle onpartijdighe'.

were to prevent the unjust persecution of Catholic Utrechters and endorse their legitimate rights in the multi-confessional *corpus christianum*. Both continuity from medieval traditions and adjustment to the new notion of freedom of conscience shaped the rhetorical tactics for Catholic survival.

A number of Catholics simply denied the charges against them or intentionally misled the authorities, but others could not hold their own when they were accused and subjected to interrogation. The prosecuted Catholics and their defenders were well acquainted with canon law, Roman law, and the medieval legal tradition of the immunity of seigneurs and canons. They sometimes attempted to exploit the lingering antagonism between city and province over jurisdiction in the hope of support from the provincial court, which had shown itself to be more sympathetic to them. Relying on their own or their families' elevated social status, repressed and tolerated Catholics rejected negative representations of them by the Reformed, and affirmed their positive self-representation, stressing their historical ties with Utrecht, their politico-social reliability, and their politico-economic contributions to the city and the state. In doing so, they redefined the common good of the multi-religious society, in which Catholics had also played their part. Moreover, Utrecht's Catholics effectively utilized freedom of conscience in their discourses, defining this new notion differently than the Reformed did. According to the Reformed Church, freedom of conscience allowed Catholics to confess the Catholic faith individually and internally without collective, external practices of the faith supervised by the clergy. Even if the consciences of Catholics demanded a certain public presence of their faith in the external form of priests and sacraments, so the Reformed Church argued, this was to be categorically denied them since Catholic consciences were politically polluted by the pope through the mediation of priests and *klopjes*. Catholic worship inside private homes was denounced as 'public', since the idolatry collectively conducted there was openly known to others and presided over by priests who were controlled by foreign 'public enemies' or the official enemy of the Protestant Republic. On the other hand, although freedom of conscience was originally conceptualized in the Union of Utrecht in response to the imposition of the Catholic Inquisition upon Protestants by the Habsburg monarchy, Utrecht's Catholics now appropriated this concept for their own survival under Protestant rule. They argued that it was impossible for them to embrace the Catholic faith under freedom of conscience without priests and communal practices of their faith, which required external expressions of their material religion. Some Catholics defined freedom of conscience as the individual freedom to remain in or study the Catholic faith, immune from coerced conversion

or oppression on religious grounds. For others, conscience was a-political in nature, requiring the ministrations of the clergy, who contributed to the maintenance of public order in the multi-religious society. Yet there were also those, like Vreeman, who argued that the freedom to publicly practise Catholicism was an integral component of freedom of conscience.

Obedient conformity to the existing norm of the public/private distinction as it was displayed in Janssen's petition was, therefore, just one of the various rhetorical tactics deployed by Catholic Utrechters. In contrast with this immigrant woman, Vicar General Wachtelaer in his discourses could exploit his elevated social status. His broad or Catholic conception of conscience, which demanded public and external resources for salvation, departed from the narrow or Reformed confessionalized conception, according to which Catholic consciences had been politically polluted by the 'public enemy'. It also differs from the modern or liberal concept, which promotes privacy as a fundamental human right of autonomous individuals. Although the notion of freedom of conscience was itself an early modern product, the concepts of conscience endorsed by both Reformed and Catholics in Utrecht continued to entail traditional medieval ideas, and they cannot always be equated with the private, but on the contrary often related to the public. For them, conscience was not an internalized or privatized belief, but something that was politico-religiously ruled by public enemies (the Reformed confessionalized interpretation), or something that demanded a certain public presence of religion in the external form of ecclesiastics and communal rituals (the Catholic interpretation). Thus, it was not the private but the public that the Reformed and the Catholics in post-Reformation Utrecht managed to define in their discourses.

Deploying these discourses of self-representation in the public sphere, in which they combined traditional thoughts with new ideas, Utrecht's Catholics managed to defy persecution and win toleration. They tactically delimited the public in its rhetorical dimension and defined its boundary on their own initiative, continuing to embrace medieval concepts and newly appropriating the notion of freedom of conscience. In their discourses, they asserted their own definitions of the physical public sphere on the basis of their original visual and audial criteria, while asserting their legitimacy in the abstract public sphere by foregrounding their or their ancestors' contribution to public order and the common good of the shared *corpus christianum*, claiming their rightful honour and reinterpreting the duty of the politico-judicial authorities so as to allow Catholic Utrechters to enjoy greater religious liberties. By doing so, they resisted the Reformed monopoly of the physical and abstract public sphere. Seeking a way to live as devout

Catholics and respected citizens or residents under the Reformed regime, Catholic Utrechters contributed to the construction of the religiously diverse society by communicating and exchanging discourses of self-representation with the Reformed.

Abbreviations

<i>A.A.U.</i>	<i>Archief voor de geschiedenis van het aartsbisdom Utrecht.</i> Utrecht, 1875–1957.
<i>J.O.U.</i>	<i>Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht.</i>
<i>M.O.U.</i>	<i>Maandblad Oud-Utrecht.</i>
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
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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 112. Petitions from Catholic priests who had lived in the city since before 1622 to the Utrecht magistracy, 1630
- HUA, *Kapittel van Sint Marie te Utrecht* (221)
 90. Documents concerning the trials against Huybert de Roy and Gijsbert Junius, 1657–1658
 93. Documents concerning the trial against Johannes Wachtelaer, 1640
- HUA, *Hof van Utrecht* [HVU] (239-1)
 99-8. Sentences in criminal cases in the provincial court of Utrecht, 1638–1732

HUA, Verzameling van Buchel-Booth [VBB] (355)

139. Notes on the Reformed Church, especially in the province of Utrecht, by Cornelis Booth, 1579–1656, including a petition from the provincial synod of Utrecht to the Provincial States of Utrecht, 1655 or 1656

HUA, Stadsarchief II [SAII] (702)

- 121-4 ~ 121-5, 121-8 ~ 121-30. Minutes of the city council, 1599/1600–1612/13 and 1619/20–1686/87
616. Reports on forbidden Catholic assemblies with lists of Catholic priests, 1664–1681
2087. Documents concerning the trial against Johannes Wachtelaer, 1639
2088. Documents concerning the trial against Philippus Rovenius, 1640
2095. Documents concerning the trial against Willem van Merode, 1652
- 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, Bewaarde archieven I [BAI] (708)

692. 'Foundation Book' (*Fundatie-boeck*) of the almshouses of Maria van Pallaes, 1665–1708

HUA, Bewaarde archieven II [BAII] (709)

1604. Lists of the trustees of St Bartholomew Hospice, c. 1651 and 1653

HUA, Nederlandse Hervormde gemeente Utrecht, kerkeraad [KR] (746)

- 3 ~ 10. Minutes of the Reformed consistory, August 1618–July 1690

HUA, Apostolische vicarissen van de Hollandse Zending [OBC] (1003)

159. Documents concerning the trials against Philippus Rovenius and Johannes Wachtelaer, 1639–1640
168. Anonymous pamphlet on the free exercise of Catholic worship in the Dutch Republic, 1640

HUA, Metropolaan Kapittel van de Oud-Katholieke Kerk van Nederland [MKOKN] (1835)

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