

# Table of Contents

|                                                                                 |    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| <b>Acknowledgements</b>                                                         | 9  |
| <b>Abbreviations</b>                                                            | 13 |
| <b>List of Figures and Tables</b>                                               | 15 |
| <b>Introduction</b>                                                             | 17 |
| Utrecht as the Stage of Religious Coexistence                                   | 21 |
| Historiography: Early Modern Dutch Catholics and the Public/Private Distinction | 28 |
| Research Design: Catholic Agency in Coexistence and the Public Sphere           | 35 |
| Abbreviations                                                                   | 43 |
| Bibliography                                                                    | 44 |
| Published Primary Sources                                                       | 44 |
| Secondary Literature                                                            | 44 |
| <br><b>Part I. Reformed Governing Strategies</b>                                |    |
| <b>1. Repression: Dynamics of Anti-Catholicism</b>                              | 55 |
| 1.1. The Politico-Judicial Structure of Post-Reformation Utrecht                | 57 |
| 1.2. Legislation of and Pressure for Anti-Catholicism                           | 61 |
| 1.2.1. The Resumption of War against the Habsburg Monarchy, 1620–1638           | 61 |
| 1.2.2. The Last Phase of the Dutch Revolt, 1639–1648                            | 65 |
| 1.2.3. After the Peace of Münster and the Great Assembly, 1648–1659             | 69 |
| 1.2.4. Under the Republican Regime, 1660–1672                                   | 72 |
| 1.3. Legal Proceedings against Catholics                                        | 76 |
| 1.3.1. Chronological Developments                                               | 76 |
| 1.3.2. Charges                                                                  | 82 |
| 1.3.3. Sentences                                                                | 88 |
| 1.4. Conclusion                                                                 | 92 |
| Abbreviations                                                                   | 94 |
| Bibliography                                                                    | 95 |
| Archival Primary Sources                                                        | 95 |

|                                                          |            |
|----------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Published Primary Sources                                | 96         |
| Secondary Literature                                     | 97         |
| <b>2. Toleration: Limited Recognition and Connivance</b> | <b>101</b> |
| 2.1. Priests                                             | 103        |
| 2.2. Women                                               | 115        |
| 2.3. Public Office Holders                               | 125        |
| 2.4. Applicants for Citizenship                          | 136        |
| 2.5. Conclusion                                          | 142        |
| Abbreviations                                            | 144        |
| Bibliography                                             | 144        |
| Archival Primary Sources                                 | 144        |
| Published Primary Sources                                | 146        |
| Secondary Literature                                     | 146        |

## **Part II. Catholic Survival Tactics**

|                                                                               |            |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <b>3. Foundational Infrastructure: Social Status and Networks</b>             | <b>153</b> |
| 3.1. Defenders of the Prosecuted Catholics                                    | 155        |
| 3.2. Nobles and Canons                                                        | 160        |
| 3.3. Jurists                                                                  | 169        |
| 3.4. Those with Close Ties to the Reformed Elite                              | 176        |
| 3.5. Conclusion                                                               | 187        |
| Abbreviations                                                                 | 189        |
| Bibliography                                                                  | 190        |
| Archival Primary Sources                                                      | 190        |
| Published Primary Sources                                                     | 191        |
| Secondary Literature                                                          | 192        |
| <b>4. Spatial Practices: The Making of the Urban Landscape of Coexistence</b> | <b>197</b> |
| 4.1. Chronological Developments in Catholic Spatial Practices                 | 199        |
| 4.2. Public Facilities                                                        | 203        |
| 4.2.1. Public Church Buildings                                                | 203        |
| 4.2.2. Monasteries and Convents                                               | 206        |
| 4.2.3. Hospices                                                               | 208        |
| 4.3. Houses and Public Streets                                                | 213        |
| 4.3.1. Open Clashes                                                           | 213        |
| 4.3.2. Outside the City Walls                                                 | 217        |

|                                                                              |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 4.3.3. Around Nieuwegracht                                                   | 220 |
| 4.3.4. Around Mariahoek                                                      | 223 |
| 4.4. Conclusion                                                              | 228 |
| Abbreviations                                                                | 230 |
| Bibliography                                                                 | 231 |
| Archival Primary Sources                                                     | 231 |
| Published Primary Sources                                                    | 231 |
| Secondary Literature                                                         | 232 |
| <b>5. Discourses of Self-Representation: Public, Private, and Conscience</b> | 235 |
| 5.1. Four Rhetorical Elements                                                | 237 |
| 5.1.1. Denial and Deceit                                                     | 237 |
| 5.1.2. Jurisdiction                                                          | 240 |
| 5.1.3. Social Status and Contribution to the Common Good                     | 246 |
| 5.1.4. Conscience                                                            | 254 |
| 5.2. Two Examples                                                            | 264 |
| 5.2.1. Grietgen Janssen, an Immigrant Woman                                  | 264 |
| 5.2.2. Johannes Wachtelaer, a Native Priest                                  | 267 |
| 5.3. Conclusion                                                              | 274 |
| Abbreviations                                                                | 277 |
| Bibliography                                                                 | 277 |
| Archival Primary Sources                                                     | 277 |
| Published Primary Sources                                                    | 278 |
| Secondary Literature                                                         | 279 |
| <b>Conclusion</b>                                                            | 283 |
| Governing Strategies                                                         | 286 |
| Politico-Religious Structures                                                | 286 |
| Legal Schemes                                                                | 288 |
| Politico-Religious and Socio-Economic Circumstances                          | 291 |
| Survival Tactics                                                             | 295 |
| Numerical, Socio-Economic, and Historical Presence                           | 296 |
| Religious Infrastructure                                                     | 299 |
| Legal Resources                                                              | 304 |
| Delimitation of the Public                                                   | 309 |
| Abbreviations                                                                | 316 |
| Bibliography                                                                 | 316 |
| Archival Primary Sources                                                     | 316 |
| Published Primary Sources                                                    | 317 |
| Secondary Literature                                                         | 317 |

## **Appendices**

|                                                                                  |     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Appendix 1. Details of Legal Proceedings against Catholics in Utrecht, 1620-1672 | 326 |
| Appendix 2. Recognized priests in Utrecht, 1620-1672                             | 354 |
| Appendix 3. Connived priests in Utrecht, 1620-1672                               | 366 |
| Appendix 4. Defenders of prosecuted Catholics in Utrecht, 1620-1672              | 370 |

## **Bibliography**

|                           |     |
|---------------------------|-----|
| Archival Primary Sources  | 379 |
| Published Primary Sources | 381 |
| Secondary Literature      | 383 |

## **Index**

|     |
|-----|
| 413 |
|-----|