

Navigating Reformed Identity in the Rural Dutch Republic

Communities, Belief, and Piety



Amsterdam
University
Press



Amsterdam
University
Press

Kyle J. Dieleman

Navigating Reformed Identity in the Rural Dutch Republic



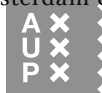
Amsterdam
University
Press

Navigating Reformed Identity in the Rural Dutch Republic

Communities, Belief, and Piety

Kyle J. Dieleman

Amsterdam University Press



Amsterdam
University
Press

Cover illustration: Van Ruysdael, Salomon. *River View with Church and Ferry*. 1649, Mauritshuis, The Hague.

Cover design: Coördesign, Leiden

Lay-out: Crius Group, Hulshout

ISBN 978 94 6372 762 4

e-ISBN 978 90 4855 077 7

DOI 10.5117/9789463727624

NUR 685

© K.J. Dieleman / Amsterdam University Press B.V., Amsterdam 2023

All rights reserved. Without limiting the rights under copyright reserved above, no part of this book may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the written permission of both the copyright owner and the author of the book.



To:

Andrea, the one who shapes my identity and our family's identity
for the better each day

Emden, the one whose self-authored "chapter" did not quite make
editing cuts

Hendrik, the one who sits with me too early in the morning to
practice Dutch

Theissen, the one whose snuggles remind me that "author" is only
part of my identity



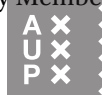
Amsterdam
University
Press



Amsterdam
University
Press

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	9
Introduction	11
Lived Religious Experience, Sources, and Methodology	13
Religious Identity, Confessionalization, and Tolerance	21
Rural vs. Urban and Rural Religion	29
Research Questions and Argument	39
1 Establishing Order via National, Provincial, and Local Church Orders: “Let All Things Be Done with Decency and Order”	57
Reformed, Theological Understandings of Order	61
National Church Orders	69
Provincial Church Orders	73
Church Order in Wemeldinge	75
Accepting Church Orders in Arnemuiden	82
Conclusions	84
2 Establishing Authority: Electing Elders and Deacons	91
Introduction	91
Theology of Elders and Deacons	93
Church Orders for Electing Elders and Deacons	98
Consistorial Elections: Elders and Deacons	101
Complications: Necessities, Adaptations, and Conflicts	109
Ecclesiastical Offices beyond Elders and Deacons	114
Conclusions	118
3 Establishing Confessional Identity: An “Honest Citizen, Even Though a Catholic”	125
Introduction	125
Case Studies in Arnemuiden	127
Case Studies in Sluis	133
Themes	145
Conclusions	150
4 Navigating Intra-Confessional Conflict: “Live at Peace with Everyone”?	155
Conflict and Consistory Members	156



Conflict and Schoolmasters	159
Conflicts and Pastoral Vacancies	171
Church Order Accommodations	177
Conclusions	181
5 Establishing Belief and Practice: Rural Approaches to Sabbath Observance	189
Expositions of the Sabbath: Catechetical Commentaries	191
Practicing and Disciplining Sabbath Observance	206
Prevalence of Sabbath Offenses	215
Conclusions	220
Conclusion: Establishing and Navigating Reformed Identity in the Rural Low Countries	225
Lay Religious Experience	228
Rural Religious Experience	230
Religious Identity	232
Research Limitations and Trajectories	234
Bibliography	237
Index	261

Acknowledgements

In my experience, the journey of researching and writing is a wandering one. At times, the work is delightful and progresses quickly and easily, like leisurely cruising on a wide-open road. The care that I have received from others for my own well-being and for my research has been humbling and inspiring. When I first journeyed into the world of academia, I was always pleasantly surprised when preeminent scholars would answer my random emails with careful attention. I continue to be grateful when scholars who are clearly giants in the field provide advice, encouragement, and insight. At the risk of leaving someone out, these generous, brilliant people have included Drs. Fred van Lieburg, Christine Kooi, Karin Maag, Richard Muller, Charles Parker, Herman Selderhuis, Jesse Spohnholz, and Mirjam van Veen. Raymond Mentzer, my dear friend, continues to play a vital role in my academic career, and his advice and care are invaluable to me, professionally and personally.

Not only did individuals aid in helping me complete this book, but institutions also provided various forms of support. Trinity Christian College provided me with summer research grants from 2018–2022. In 2019–2020, I was the grateful recipient of a Teacher-Scholar Grant, made possible through a Vital Worship Grant from the Calvin Institute of Christian Worship, Grand Rapids, Michigan. Funds provided by Lilly Endowment Inc. also financed a research trip in the summer of 2019 and a reduction in my regular teaching load for multiple semesters. These opportunities for research were wonderfully supported by my colleagues at Trinity, even when it meant extra departmental work. I am especially grateful to John Fry and David Brodnax, Sr. Librarian colleagues at Trinity, especially Sarah Hoeksema, and Paul Fields at the H. Henry Meeter Center have also aided me in securing the necessary and occasionally obscure secondary sources.

This book has been shaped for the better by Erika Gaffney's excellent editorial skills, which were superb from the beginning and polished this work from a rough manuscript into the final product. I have a difficult time imagining working with another editor in the future should Erika gracefully continue to be willing to work with me. Mike Sanders, Chantal Nicolaes, and Kimberley Skelton were also helpful in bringing the manuscript to publication, and what follows is much improved because of their work. I am also grateful to Amsterdam University Press (AUP) for seeing the potential of this project and for remaining flexible when the COVID-19 pandemic made completing the manuscript at the originally agreed-upon date all but



Amsterdam
University
Press

impossible because so much of the research and writing process became more complicated. AUP was generous in allowing me more time, and that generosity at least somewhat prevented sleepless nights worrying, in the midst of a global pandemic, about due dates, the quality of my research, and the impact that all of “this,” however defined, might have on my career. Writing a book while trying to carry out the demands of teaching and simply living in the midst of a global pandemic was certainly stressful and draining. I continue to stress over the fact that the final work is not as thorough as I might like. Yet, as these few short paragraphs have indicated, I have never been on this journey alone. The mistakes along the way and any that remain in the final product are, of course, my own.

At the very beginning of the research for this book, my wife, daughter, and I welcomed twin boys to our family. As perhaps only parents of multiples can grasp, our family life has been a wonderful chaos ever since. Yet, Andrea and, to the extent that they are able, Emden, Hendrik, and Theissen have been incredibly supportive of my work, including the incredible time and travel it has required. While I spent the summer of 2018 in archives around the Netherlands, Andrea tended to the much more important task of caring for and loving our children; our children have developed into something far better than this book. I am beyond grateful for the support of Andrea, Emden, Hendrik, and Theissen, and this book is dedicated to them.



Introduction

Abstract

The introductory chapter discusses the importance of researching rural Reformed churches of the early modern Dutch Republic in order to better understand the lived religious experiences of Dutch Reformed Christians. These religious experiences included theology and practice, two categories which did not always neatly align. The introduction argues for the predominance of rural communities and churches in the early modern Dutch Republic and highlights the need for more studies of those communities. Research questions are raised regarding the similarities and differences between urban and rural churches and how rural churches' unique features, such as geographical isolation and smaller population, affected their religious lives. Furthermore, understanding how rural communities navigated confessional disagreements and sought to establish Reformed identities provides a better understanding of early modern religious life in the Dutch Republic.

Keywords: Dutch Reformed; Lived Religion; Confessionalization; Tolerance; Rural

In 1610, the provincial synod of Zeeland received *gravamina* from four of its classes--Classis Walcheren, Classis Schouwen, Classis South-Beveland, and Classis Tholen. Each classis had a long list of *gravamina*. Classis Walcheren registered the most *gravamina*, twenty-five, and Classis South-Beveland had the fewest *gravamina* with only seven. Classis Schouwen and Classis Tholen had fourteen and fifteen *gravamina*, respectively. Within the Dutch Reformed church structure, *gravamina* addressed to the provincial synods contained complaints that the lower ecclesiastical bodies could not fully address or solve. Within these *gravamina* addressed to the provincial synod of Zeeland in 1610 are a variety of complaints, but a number of them, at least one-third, refer in some way to confessional disputes, religious conflict, or Sabbath observance.¹

¹ J. Bouterse, ed., *Classicale Acta 1573–1620, Vol. 4: Provinciale synode Zeeland* (The Hague: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 1995), 162–70.

These concerns often progress from one to another in a logical progression, a progression that, even if the entries are grouped together in the records, is also evidenced by the quick succession of entries. For example, Classis Tholen's seventh *gravamen* inquires about how to best educate the "baptized children of Christians" in the "foundation of the Christian faith."² The entry suggests that a shorter catechism might be of use and notes the importance of catechism lessons each Sunday afternoon. The following *gravamen*, the eighth, moves from education on the Sabbath to the petition for a placard to be issued regarding proper Sabbath observance because "in all villages there is great desecration of the holy Sabbath."³ The Classis immediately progresses from this Sabbath desecration to, in the ninth *gravamen*, the "great disorder" that included a large crowd of "papists" traveling to Catholic churches in places like Tholen, Bergen op Zoom, and Steenberg.⁴ The tenth *gravamen* continues with complaints about "papists and Jesuits," but this *gravamen* shifts attention away from Sabbath observance and church attendance to education. The *gravamen* notes that "a great number of inhabitants of this province send their children to school in Brabant where the youth are corrupted by papists and Jesuits in the cloisters."⁵ Notably, *gravamina* eleven through fourteen all continue with complaints about Catholic activity.⁶ One can clearly see, then, how the presence of confessional competition, Sabbath observance, and conflicts over religious life are closely intertwined and, indeed, overlap with one another.

Similarly, Classis Walcheren's twentieth *gravamen* requested that the provincial synod address the "abuse of witnesses at baptism" and then went on to describe the difficulty of living in close proximity with "the papists who come over to be witnesses [at the baptisms]." The twenty-first *gravamen* goes on to lament the profanation of the Sabbath and requests that "order ... be established." The twenty-second *gravamen* returns explicitly to interconfessional relationships, noting that members of the Reformed church who "are married to those who profess another religion are subjected to many sorrows and the quelling of their partnership."⁷

Taken at the individual level, the topics raised in these classical entries might be considered a random amalgam of practical and theological complaints. The wide array of topics might even be seen as tangential to early

2 Bouterse, *Classicale Acta Zeeland*, 168.

3 Bouterse, *Classicale Acta Zeeland*, 169.

4 Bouterse, *Classicale Acta Zeeland*, 169.

5 Bouterse, *Classicale Acta Zeeland*, 169.

6 Bouterse, *Classicale Acta Zeeland*, 169–70.

7 Bouterse, *Classicale Acta Zeeland*, 165.



modern Dutch Reformed religious experience. One might, for example, be tempted to dismiss complaints about the presence of Catholic witnesses at baptisms as an isolated complaint reflecting a random encounter within a particular congregation. Similarly, the complaints about Sabbath observance might be considered minute disagreements over basic religious piety. Yet, what if we were to approach complaints like the ones lodged at the provincial synod of Zeeland not as isolated or random but, instead, as essential features of the tangled fabric of religious life in the early modern Dutch Republic?

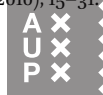
Lived Religious Experience, Sources, and Methodology

At least part of the impetus for researching rural communities arises from a commitment to uncovering and understanding the lives of everyday Christians who, in the historical context which is the focus of this book, may or may not have identified themselves as Reformed and Dutch. While historians have typically turned to social history to better understand the religious lives of ordinary people, I combine social history, church history, intellectual history, and historical theology to explore the religious lives of Christians in the early modern Dutch Republic. Scholars of religion have described this approach in a variety of ways, initially speaking of “folk religion,” then of “popular religion,” and more recently of “lived religion.”⁸ As Robert Orsi has argued, “Rethinking religion as a form of cultural work, the study of lived religion directs attention to institutions *and* persons, texts *and* rituals, practice *and* theology, things *and* ideas—all as media of making and unmaking worlds.”⁹ As other religious studies scholars have demonstrated, the lived religion approach requires attending to the material ways in which religion takes shape in people’s lives. Thus, David Morgan has demonstrated the importance of the human body in religious experience, and Colleen McDannell provides examples of the importance of material objects, such as Bibles and cemeteries, in the lives of religious communities and individuals.¹⁰

8 Robert A. Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880–1950*, 3rd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), xxxi–xlii. For the other seminal work on lived religion, see, David D. Hall, ed., *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

9 Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street*, xxxvii. Italics are original to the quote.

10 David Morgan, “The Material Culture of Lived Religion: Visuality and Embodiment,” in J. Vakkari et al, eds., *Mind and Matter: Selected Papers of Nordik 2009 Conference for Art Historians* (Helsinki: Society of Art History, 2010), 15–31.



This particular book is especially focused on two of the types of interactions highlighted by Orsi: (1) those between institutions, such as Reformed synods, classes, and consistories, and persons, such as Reformed pastors, elders, deacons, and church members and (2) those between practices, such as discipline, Sunday observance, and consistorial elections, and theology, such as theological ideas about order, heresy, and the Sabbath. A core tenet of this book's research is a commitment to understanding Dutch Reformed Christianity during the early modern period in all the complexities of lived religious experience, a task which requires paying attention to the intertwined realities of a wide range of categories, from practice to theology.

This approach is not unique to the field of religious studies. Historical studies since the 1960s have recognized the importance of "reconstructing ordinary people's experience of large structural changes," and the importance of ordinary people has become a staple of social history, although pinning down a definition of social history has proven elusive.¹¹ Over the past several decades, scholars of the Reformation have given increased attention to the study of lay experience. As Mack Holt has described, "One of the fields most affected by social history has been the Protestant and Catholic reformations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries."¹² Holt goes on to describe longstanding academic interest in lay piety, liturgical and sacramental rituals, and social discipline. The use of social history for studying the Reformation—the singularity here is important—was not without its critics, including major German scholars, such as Bernd Moeller.¹³ Repetition of these debates is not necessary here, but it is worth noting the importance of early scholarly works in pioneering the application of social history to the Reformation. These works include, for example, A. G. Dickens' *The German Nation and Martin Luther*, Robert Scribner's journal article entitled "Is there a Social History of the Reformation?," and Peter Blickle's *Die Revolution von 1525*.¹⁴

11 Charles Tilly, "Retrieving European Lives," in *Reliving the Past: The Worlds of Social History*, ed. Olivier Zunz (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 15.

12 Mack P. Holt, "The Social History of the Reformation: Recent Trends and Future Agendas," *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 1 (Autumn, 2003): 133.

13 Thomas A. Brady, Jr., "Social History of the Reformation/Sozialgeschichte der Reformation: A Conference at the Deutsches Historisches Institut London, May 25–27, 1978," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 10, no. 1 (Spring, 1979): 89–92.

14 A. G. Dickens, *The German Nation and Martin Luther* (London: Edward Arnold, 1974); Robert W. Scribner, "Is There a Social History of the Reformation?," *Social History*, 4 (1977): 483–505; Peter Blickle, *Die Revolution von 1525: The German Peasants' War from a New Perspective*, trans. Thomas A. Brady and H.C. Erik Midelfort (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1977).

For the most part, historians of the Protestant Reformations—the plurality here is significant—now acknowledge the importance of considering the lives of ordinary Christians. This trend in Reformation scholarship is now so widely adopted that the historiography is well known, and trends in this scholarship have already been outlined.¹⁵ While mentioning key scholarly contributions risks leaving out other important works, it is worth noting the groundbreaking contributions of female scholars, such as Natalie Zemon Davis and Susan Karant-Nunn, whose approaches and impacts have sparked the extraordinary work done by the next generation and more.¹⁶ The same might be said for a scholar such as Robert Kingdon whose work with consistory records in Geneva has opened up new means of exploring lived religious experiences.¹⁷

Social historical studies of the Reformed, or Calvinist, tradition have also found a home in modern scholarship. Philip Benedict's *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* is one seminal example of a social history approach to the Reformed tradition.¹⁸ As Amy Nelson Burnett observes, "Benedict's masterful overview demonstrates the shift in the

Blickle's book has undergone a number of reprints in both English and German, the most recent of which is a German edition published in 2004.

15 See, for example, Carter Lindberg, "History, Historiography, and Interpretations of the Reformations," in *The European Reformations*, 3rd ed. (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2021).

16 Among others of Davis's works, see: Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975) and *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984). Among others of Karant-Nunn's works, see: Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *Luther's Pastors: The Reformation in the Ernestine Countryside* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1979) and *The Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany* (London: Routledge, 1997). Subsequent scholarship following these two scholars directly or indirectly is too daunting to broach in a footnote, although a sense of the continuing impact of Karant-Nunn's scholarship on research trajectories is evident from a *Festschrift* compiled in her honor: Victoria Christman and Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer, eds., *Cultural Shifts and Ritual Transformations in Reformation Europe: Essays in Honor of Susan C. Karant-Nunn* (Leiden: Brill, 2020).

17 For examples of Kingdon's works, see: Robert M. Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming Wars of Religion in France, 1555–1563* (Geneva: Droz, 1956); *Adultery and Divorce in Calvin's Geneva* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995); and *Registers of the Consistory of Geneva in the Time of Calvin, Vol. 1: 1542–1544* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000). Kingdon's scholarly impact cannot be contained to one footnote, but two *Festschriften* in his honor begin to convey the reverberating impact of his work: Lee Palmer Wandel, ed., *History Has Many Voices* (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2003); Amy Nelson Burnett, Kathleen M. Comerford, and Karin Maag, eds., *Politics, Gender, and Belief: The Long-Term Impact of the Reformation: Essays in Memory of Robert M. Kingdon* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2014).

18 Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).



historiography of the Reformed tradition away from theology and great men, and toward a new concern with social and political context and with the impact of religious reform on common people.”¹⁹

Certainly, this interest in social history and lived religion has encompassed the Low Countries and their Reformations; in fact, there has been a significant amount of scholarship produced over the past several decades. Arie van Deursen’s pioneering study, *Bavianen en slijkgeuzen*, led the way.²⁰ Many subsequent works have presented careful, excellent research on local histories to illuminate the religious lives of Dutch communities—for instance, by utilizing consistory records.²¹ Historians’ interest in the Protestant and Catholic Reformations, including the Reformed tradition more specifically, has continued to expand. This expansion has coincided with increased attention to lived religious experiences of women, religious minorities, and native peoples in Asia, Africa, and the Americas—groups whose experiences included interactions with the Low Countries and with Dutch Reformed Christians.²²

Attempts to investigate the lives of early modern Dutch Reformed Christians in rural settings are beset with numerous challenges, particularly in

19 Amy Nelson Burnett, “Contributors to the Reformed Tradition,” in *Reformation and Early Modern Europe: A Guide to Research*, ed. David M. Whitford (Kirkville: Truman State University Press, 2008), 25.

20 A. Th. van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen. Kerken kervolkten tijde van Maurits en Oldenbarnevelt* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974). *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen* has undergone numerous editions; the most recent (fifth) edition appeared in 2016.

21 For only a few examples, see Joke Spaans, *Haarlem na de Reformatie: Stedelijke cultuur en kerkelijk leven, 1577–1620* (The Hague: Stichting Hollandse Historische Reeks, 1989); Guido Marnef, *Antwerp in the Age of Reformation: Underground Protestantism in a Commercial Metropolis, 1550–1577* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); Charles H. Parker, “Moral Supervision and Poor Relief in the Reformed Church of Delft, 1579–1609,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 87 (1996): 334–61; Christine Kooi, *Liberty and Religion: Church and State in Leiden’s Reformation, 1572–1620* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

22 A few recent examples of each include: Sarah Joan Moran and Amanda C. Pipkin, eds., *Women and Gender in the Early Modern Low Countries, 1500–1750* (Leiden: Brill, 2019); Elise Watson, “The Jesuitesses in the Bookshop: Catholic Lay Sisters’ Participation in the Dutch Book Trade, 1650–1750,” *Church History* 57 (2021): 163–84; Yudha Thianto, *The Way to Heaven: Catechisms and Sermons in the Establishment of the Dutch Reformed Church in the East Indies* (Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2014); Erica Heinsen-Roach, *Consuls and Captives: Dutch-North African Diplomacy in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2019); D. L. Noorlander, *Heaven’s Wrath: The Protestant Reformation and the Dutch West India Company in the Atlantic World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019); Jeroen Dewulf, “Emulating a Portuguese Model: The Slave Policy of the West India Company and the Dutch Reformed Church in Dutch Brazil (1630–1654) and New Netherland (1614–1664) in Comparative Perspective,” *Journal of Early American History* 4, no. 1 (March 2014): 3–36.

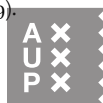
terms of sources. Consistory records from rural churches have often been lost or do not begin until the second half of the seventeenth century. Records that do survive are frequently in poor physical condition. I encountered innumerable pages with tears, water stains, and ink that was simply too faded to be legible. In my experience, consistory records of small churches also tend to be terser than those of larger churches; these records provide primarily the most basic and essential information and tasks. In addition, because of limited resources in the community, someone with little skill usually wrote these records, making it difficult for us now to decipher them. All of these factors limit what and how much the scholar can understand regarding these communities and the people who lived in them.

Nonetheless, consistory records have still proven to be remarkable sources for exploring the local, everyday religious and social practices of individual communities, even in rural areas. As sources, consistory records most certainly have their limitations. As Judith Pollmann has articulated through a meticulous study of Arnold Buchelius, these limitations include issues of what the records include or omit, in addition to the biases of the scribe and even of the consistory itself.²³ Furthermore, the consistory is an “official” religious institution that may or may not reflect the concerns, experiences, and expectations of everyday, lay Christians. When read with care and attention to issues of bias and subjectivity, however, consistory records can provide insights into the lives of Dutch Reformed Christians.

Much of the attention to Dutch Reformed consistories has focused on larger communities and cities. Furthermore, many of the most in-depth investigations have studied congregations in the province of Holland. The focus on these large, urban congregations, often in Holland, is understandable. The consistory records for these congregations are often extant for longer periods of time and are often more complete. The importance of Holland as a province is also certainly not to be ignored and worthy of the research that it has garnered.

What has been largely lacking is attention to consistory records from smaller, rural congregations throughout the Low Countries, although some remarkable exceptions do exist. In addition to van Deursen’s work, which was mentioned above, Fred van Lieburg’s *Een eiland na de Reformatie: Schouwen-Duiveland, 1572–1700* pays close attention to religious life on the

23 Judith Pollmann, “Off the Record: Problems in the Quantification of Calvinist Church Discipline,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 33, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 423–38; Judith Pollmann, *Religious Choice in the Dutch Republic: The Reformation of Arnoldus Buchelius, 1565–1641* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).



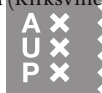
island in the province of Zeeland. Van Lieburg's findings, especially for the earlier years that he covered, provide helpful comparisons and contrasts to my research and thus will feature occasionally in what follows.²⁴ Enny de Bruijn's book, *De hoeve en het hart. Een boerenfamilie in de Gouden Eeuw*, is less closely focused on lived religious experience but still considers the church in society, pastors, theology, religious faith, and morality across rural communities in Gelderland.²⁵ Her work, too, offers useful context for the research presented in this book. Even with these studies, however, Christine Kooi's following observation still holds true: "More local studies of revolt and reformation are needed, especially outside the core provinces of Holland, Flanders, and Brabant."²⁶

This book discusses consistory records for these more far-flung areas in order to shed light on the religious experiences of Dutch Reformed Christians. Additionally, some attention is given to *classis* records, which are the records of regional groupings of churches and, to a lesser extent, records of the higher-up provincial synods. The following chapters draw primarily from the consistory records of the Reformed churches in Arnemuiden, Huissen, IJzendijke, Wemeldinge, Serooskerke, and Sluis. The general method for choosing the consistory records of these congregations included searching online databases of archives throughout the Netherlands for consistory records of Reformed churches from as early on as possible, ideally in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. The parameters of searching for small, Reformed churches combined with the chronological preferences limited the search results significantly. I then compiled a list of archives to visit during a summer research trip and charted an itinerary that allowed for visiting the most archives possible within my time constraints. The geographical diversity of the churches is not as wide as I and others might like, and the omission of northern provinces, such as Groningen, is particularly regrettable. However, limitations needed to be made on the archives visited, the research conducted, the numbers of words written for this book, and so on. These limitations were exacerbated with the COVID-19 global pandemic, which prevented international travel to archives for years. Having visited the archives and taken numerous photographs, I worked through the consistory records of the churches listed above. The consistory

24 Fred van Lieburg, *Een eiland na de Reformatie. Schouwen-Duiveland, 1572–1700* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 2011).

25 Enny de Bruijn, *De hoeve en het hart. Een boerenfamilie in de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2019).

26 Christine Kooi, "The Netherlands," in *Reformation and Early Modern Europe: A Guide to Research*, ed. David M. Whitford (Kirkville: Truman State University Press, 2008), 286.



records of Arnemuiden and Sluis have the distinct practical advantage of having been transcribed and published. The English translations of those records are my own. All other consistory records were consulted in manuscript form, and the transcriptions and translations are my own.

As the previous paragraph indicates, studying these churches and their consistory records is helpful for at least two reasons. First, these churches are all from small and rural areas. These congregations are not in major, or even middling, cities in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Low Countries. While some of these areas did have city rights and some had economic import, their populations and churches were small, particularly in comparison to urban centers across the Low Countries. Second, the congregations are drawn from a variety of provinces. While most communities are in the province of Zeeland, I have also included communities from the provinces of Gelderland and Flanders. Zeeland is a particularly interesting case study because it was both theologically stringent and geographically close to areas outside the control of the Dutch Republic, in addition to being largely rural. Moreover, comparing communities in Zeeland with communities in other provinces adds useful context and so assures that this work does not extrapolate too boldly from a single province. Again, to be clear, additional work on rural churches in other, particularly northern, provinces in the Dutch Republic would be beneficial but was impractical to carry out here. As much as possible, this book seizes the opportunity to explore churches from various parts of the Dutch Republic.

Beyond the local level, the process of a *classis* gathering complaints from its individual congregations and then formulating those *gravamina* for presentation at the provincial synod provides a sense of how the Dutch Reformed churches functioned and gives access, albeit filtered, to the everyday lives of rural churches and Dutch Reformed Christians. This system enacted in the consistory records, for example, relies on theological convictions about church offices, particularly pastors, elders, deacons, and schoolmasters, and the men who served in those offices. Similarly, the roles of participating ecclesiastical bodies were shaped by common agreements, which had been devised and articulated in church orders, about how church life should be conducted. Understanding the systems and mechanisms at play in these Dutch Reformed churches sheds valuable insights into the beliefs, articulated or assumed, and practices surrounding religious authority, the agency of lay Christians, the exercise of religious power, and resistance to that power.

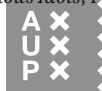
In an effort to provide a more complete understanding of the religious environments across the Low Countries, this book seeks to weave together

the concept of religious identity and the importance of rural Reformed communities throughout the Reformations occurring in the Low Countries. Pursuing those topics leads to other familiar topics in the study of the Reformation world. Most notably, the concept of religious identity is closely tied to the process of confessionalization and the concern for order in early modern Reformed communities.

As one engages in increasing detail with these issues, the complexity becomes even greater because the concepts become ever more interwoven. Another issue which arises is the historical relationship between churchgoers or church members and church leaders. Here terms tend to become confusing since the categories of “elite” and “lay” can be problematic. Clearly, pastors and theologians occupied places of power and authority that were not always accessible to the typical churchgoer. These power relationships are at the heart of the “confessionalization thesis.” How did those in power seek to shape their churches and the identities of the church members, and were they effective? Why was order such an important concept to these authorities, and how did they use confessionalization to maintain or restore order?

However, part of the weakness of the confessionalization theory is that it assumes, to a certain extent, that church and political authorities had the power and ability to shape the identities of those under their jurisdiction. The fields of social history and lived religion need to take into account the fact that such power was certainly not absolute and, in fact, may have not been able to shift identities, including religious ones, in any discernible manner. In fact, lay Christians could demonstrate a significant amount of agency in their religious experience and in their theological beliefs and articulations. Lee Palmer Wandel has articulated precisely this argument in her book *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands*. Her approach, which I largely adopt in this book, is worth quoting at length: “This book seeks to redress the distortions of the two-tiered model in two ways: first, to return to ordinary people their agency in the process of reform and, thereby, to suggest a more dynamic vision of ‘Reformation’; second, to recover something of their theologies, their conceptions of the nature of God and of humanity’s relation to Him.”²⁷ My research seeks to explore the interactions between Wandel’s two tiers of learned elite and ordinary people, paying close attention to the ways in which those dynamic interactions were navigated. However, my argument is that those tiers are arbitrary constructs that often were not fully reflective

27 Lee Palmer Wandel, *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands: Iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Strasbourg, and Basel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 3. For the broader context of Wandel’s approach, see *Voracious Idols*, 1–16.



of Dutch Reformed communities in rural areas. The following chapters will demonstrate that the boundaries between religious elites and ordinary people were often fluid and defined primarily by negotiations between or among individuals in the intimate spaces and communities they inhabited.

One final aspect of the approach of this book is the attention given at various points to theology. While I do not offer a systematic theology, my study at points might resemble a work of historical theology. If one is to investigate the relationship between religious elites and lay Christians, then it is worthwhile to consider the ways in which churches and individuals adopted, rejected, or changed theological tenets of their confessional tradition. Across this book, discussion of theology will serve as a reminder that theological confessions were themselves quite varied. Within that variety, an entrée into intellectual history via examinations of theology can provide insights into how theology was translated into daily practice.

While this book may seem to foolishly attempt to weave together (or, is the metaphor of untangling more apt?) some of these strands, there is no claim of arriving at a definitive account here. Instead, this book will highlight various aspects of church life in early modern Dutch Reformed churches and use those aspects to provide clarity on the aforementioned topics. Before proceeding to the main argument, it is prudent to sketch in slightly more detail the important themes at play throughout the book.

Religious Identity, Confessionalization, and Tolerance

As previously mentioned, one of the lenses used throughout this book is that of religious identity. The confessionalization thesis, popularized in the 1980s by Schilling and Reinhard, is no longer considered fully convincing in most scholarly circles.²⁸ Philip Benedict helpfully and succinctly traces the origins and development of the theory of confessionalization, and he also

28 Wolfgang Reinhard, "Gegenreformation als Modernisierung?: Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des konfessionellen Zeitalters," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 68 (1977): 226–52; Reinhard, "Konfession und Konfessionalisierung in Europa," in *Bekennnis und Geschichte. Die Confessio Augustana im historischen Zusammenhang*, ed. Reinhard (Munich: Vögel, 1981), 165–89; Heinz Schilling, *Konfessionskonflikt und Staatsbildung. Eine Fallstudie über das Verhältnis von religiösem und sozialem Wandel in der Frühneuzeit am Beispiel der Grafschaft Lippe* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1981); Heinz Schilling, "Die Konfessionalisierung von Kirche, Staat und Gesellschaft. Profil, Leistung, Defizite und Perspektiven eines geschichtswissenschaftlichen Paradigmas," in *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung. Wissenschaftliches Symposium der Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum und des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte*, eds. Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling (Munich: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1995), 1–49.

distinguishes between what he terms a “strong theory of confessionalization” and a “weak theory of confessionalization.”²⁹ The former theory Benedict defines as the view that “links the development of confessional identities to social disciplining and state-building.” He gives a lengthy definition of the latter by describing it as the view that “simply defines confessionalization as the process of rivalry and emulation by which the religions that emerged from the upheavals of the Reformation defined and enforced their particular versions of orthodoxy and orthopraxy, demonized their rivals, and built group cohesion and identity.”³⁰

The scholarly debate around the legitimacy of confessionalization has not gone away in recent years. Ute Lotz-Heumann has carried out much of the finest scholarly work.³¹ The most comprehensive examination of the applicability of the theory to Reformation Europe is the volume *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700*, a collection of essays in honor of the late Bodo Nischan.³² The conclusion in that volume, drawn from a wide array of excellent essays, follows Benedict’s distinction in the previous paragraph. The summative quote is as follows: “If a hard confessionalization was unique to the German scene, while the rest of Europe experienced varying degrees of restraint exercised by an established church, the oppressive emotional realities of confessionalization as a system of mutually hostile religious camps hovered over the entirety of the European scene.”³³

Naturally, scholarly examinations of the Reformations in the Low Countries have not escaped the debates surrounding confessionalization. Joke Spaans, for example, has highlighted the impact of the arts on the process of confessionalization, while noting that the process lasted well

29 Philip Benedict, “Confessionalization in France?: Critical Reflection and New Evidence,” in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559–1685*, eds. Raymond A. Mentzer and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 44–61.

30 Benedict, “Confessionalization in France?,” 48.

31 Among a number of other works, see Ute Lotz-Heumann, “The Concept of ‘Confession-alization’: A Historiographical Paradigm in Dispute,” *Memoria y Civilización* 4 (2001): 93–114; Ute Lotz-Heumann and Matthias Pohligh, “Confessionalization and Literature in the Empire, 1555–1700,” *Central European History* 40 (2007): 35–61; Ute Lotz-Heumann, “Confessionalization,” in *Reformation and Early Modern Europe: A Guide to Research*, ed. David M. Whitford (Kirkville: Truman State University Press, 2008); Ute Lotz-Heumann, “Confessionalization is Dead, Long Live the Reformation?: Reflections on Historiographical Paradigm Shifts on the Occasion of the 500th Anniversary of the Protestant Reformation,” in *Multiple Reformations?: The Many Faces and Legacies of the Reformation*, eds. Jan Stievermann and Randall C. Zachman (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018).

32 John M. Headley, Hans J. Hillerbrand, and Anthony J. Papalas, eds., *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700: Essays in Honor and Memory of Bodo Nischan* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

33 Headley, “Introduction,” in *Confessionalization in Europe*, xxv.



into the seventeenth century.³⁴ Benjamin Kaplan has also observed that confessionalization “sheds light on developments in the Netherlands,” but he goes on to demonstrate that the “case of the Netherlands casts a reflective and not uncritical light back on the [confessionalization] paradigm.”³⁵ Kaplan and Judith Pollmann have advocated for a similar nuance.³⁶

Not coincidentally, as scholars have questioned the extent to which confessionalization is a valid theory, the concept of identity in the Protestant Reformations has been given increased attention.³⁷ This research has included investigations of how identity functioned in the Low Countries. As has been well established, the Low Countries was a religiously diverse society.³⁸ How religious identities were shaped and contested in the early modern Low Countries has been investigated at length.³⁹ For example, Christine Kooi, Charles Parker, and Judith Pollmann have detailed how

34 Joke Spaans, “Reformed in the Low Countries,” in *A Companion to the Reformation World*, ed. R. Po-chia Hsia (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2006), 118–34.

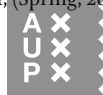
35 Benjamin Kaplan, *Calvinists and Libertines: Confession and Community in Utrecht, 1578-1620* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 5–12.

36 Benjamin Kaplan and Judith Pollmann, “Conclusion: Catholic Communities in Protestant States, Britain and the Netherlands, c. 1570–1720,” in *Catholic Communities in Protestant States. Britain and the Netherlands (1570–1720)*, eds. Benjamin Kaplan et al. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), 249–50.

37 Barabara B. Diefendorf and Carla Hesse, eds., *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800): Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davis* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993); Raymond A. Mentzer, *Blood and Belief: Family Survival and Confessional Identity among the Provincial Huguenot Nobility* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 1994).

38 Beyond those works listed above, see: Arie-Jan Gelderblom, Jan L. de Jong, and Marc Van Vaeck, eds., *The Low Countries as Crossroads of Religious Beliefs* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Judith Pollmann, *Religious Choice in the Dutch Republic: The Reformation of Arnoldus Buchelius, 1565–1641* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); Sherrin Marshall, “Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish Women in the Early Modern Netherlands,” in *Women in the Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe: Private and Public Worlds*, ed. Sherrin Marshall (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), 120–39; Samme Zijlstra, “Anabaptists, Spiritualists and the Reformed Church in East Frisia,” *Mennonite Quarterly* 75, no. 1 (2001): 57–73; Jan Machielsen, “When a Female Pope Meets a Biconfessional Town: Protestantism, Catholicism, and Popular Polemics in the 1630s,” *Early Modern Low Countries* 3 (2019): 1–31.

39 Most recently, see Robert Stein and Judith Pollmann, eds., *Networks, Regions, and Nations: Shaping Identities in the Low Countries, 1300–1650* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer, eds., *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands: Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Alastair Duke, *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries*, eds. Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2009). Christine Kooi notes the trend in “The Early Modern Low Countries,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 40, no. 1, (Spring, 2009), 254.



Catholic identities were altered and formed.⁴⁰ These studies have helpfully altered scholarly understandings of religious identity so that Dutch Catholics and other religious minorities are no longer seen as devotees struggling to maintain underground churches. Instead, as Geert Janssen summarizes, “Catholics constituted an integral, if unprivileged, part of this multi-confession society.”⁴¹ Similar understandings of religious identity have also been pursued for other religious minorities, such as Dutch Anabaptists and Lutherans.⁴²

Individual and collective identities in the Low Countries were complex because identities were also pluralistic in terms of politics, culture, and even language.⁴³ Some of these differences in identity, such as political ideology, clearly had significant implications for the Low Countries. Other identity markers, particularly language, appear to have been less of an obstacle in negotiating life in the Low Countries.⁴⁴

The means by which these various aspects of identity were shaped is also a blossoming scholarly field. Judith Pollmann and Jasper van der Steen have done extensive work on the importance of memory in shaping religious and political identities.⁴⁵ Andrew Pettegree has detailed the important role

40 Christine Kooi, *Cabvinists and Catholics during Holland's Golden Age: Heretics and Idolaters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Charles H. Parker, *Faith on the Margins: Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Judith Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520–1635* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

41 Geert H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 157.

42 Among a host of works, see: Alastair Hamilton, S. Voolstra, and Piet Visser, eds., *From Martyr to Muppy (Mennonite Urban Professionals): A Historical Introduction to Cultural Assimilation Processes of a Religious Minority in the Netherlands the Mennonites* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1994); Alastair Duke, “Martyrs with a Difference: Dutch Anabaptist Victims of Elizabethan Persecution,” in *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries*, 289–325; August den Hollander, Mirjam van Veen, Anna Voolstra, and Alex Noord, eds., *Religious Minorities and Cultural Diversity in the Dutch Republic: Studies Presented to Piet Visser on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); Sabine Hiebsch, “De bibliotheek van Evangelisch-Luthers Seminarium: boekenschat van een religieuze minderheid,” *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis* 23, no. 4 (2020): 311–28.

43 Robert C. Tash, *Dutch Pluralism: A Model in Tolerance for Developing Democracies* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991).

44 Robert Stein, “Introduction,” in *Networks, Regions and Nations*, 16; Brune Blondé, Marc Boone, and Anne-Laure van Bruaene, “City and Society in the Low Countries: Urbanisation and Urban Historiography,” in *City and Society in the Low Countries, 1100–1600*, eds. Brune Blondé, Marc Boone, and Anne-Laure van Bruaene (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2020), 9–10.

45 Judith Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Jasper van der Steen, *Memory Wars in the Low Countries, 1566–1700* (Leiden: Brill,



played by print media, including news and books—a question particularly important for exile communities abroad or religious minorities prevented from public discourse.⁴⁶ Mirjam van Veen, Geert Janssen, and Jesse Spohnholz have all made significant contributions concerning the importance of exile to Dutch identity.⁴⁷

This book fits within the scholarly discussion of religious identity and confessionalization in that it attempts to clarify how various Reformed communities in the early modern Low Countries understood their identities. In particular, I focus on the interactions among Reformed churches within these communities. Often, such interactions have been, to some extent, characterized as a relationship between lay Christians and elite religious authorities. The dichotomy of such characterization is understandable, but it is also problematic. It is true, of course, that pastors were ordained through a process that could be complex and time consuming. Elders and deacons, too, were officeholders in Reformed church polity. These men, and the gender was important, held official positions and, in the case of pastors, were often highly educated, especially in theology. However, this book argues that such divisions—here, of pastors from elders and deacons—were not nearly as stark as the terminology might indicate. The reality of religious life in rural Reformed communities was one where the lines between official and unofficial religion or elite and lay Christians were often blurred and permeable. As a result, attempts to establish religious identity were not

2015); Erika Kuijpers, Judith Pollmann, Johanness Müller, and Jasper van der Steen, eds., *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), especially chapters 2, 7, 10, and 15; Jasper van der Steen, “Remembering the Revolt of the Low Countries: Historical Canon Formation in the Dutch Republic and Habsburg Netherlands, 1566–1621,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 49, no. 3 (Autumn 2018): 713–41.

46 Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World: Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), especially the introduction; Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Dutch Republic and the Birth of Modern Advertising* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), especially chapter 3.

47 Geert H. Janssen, “The Republic of the Refugees: Early Modern Migrations and the Dutch Experience,” *Historical Journal* 60, no. 1 (2017): 233–52; Geert H. Janssen, “The Counter-Reformation of the Refugee. Exile and the Shaping of Catholic Militancy in the Dutch Revolt,” *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 63 (2012): 671–92; Jesse Spohnholz, “Exile Experiences and the Transformations of Religious Cultures in the Sixteenth Century: Kleve, England, East Friesland, and the Palatinate,” *Journal of Early Modern Christianity* 6, no. 1 (2019): 43–67; Jesse Spohnholz and Gary K. Waite, eds., *Exile and Religious Identity, 1500–1800* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016); Mirjam van Veen, “Exiles and Calvinist Identity,” in *Cultures of Calvinism in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Graeme Murdock and Crawford Gribben (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 157–70; Jesse Spohnholz and Mirjam van Veen, “The Disputed Origins of Dutch Calvinism: Religious Refugees in the Historiography of the Dutch Reformation,” *Church History* 86, no. 2 (2017): 398–426.



simply conflicts between religious authorities and lay Reformed Christians. Instead, what emerges is a more complex picture where religious elites and lay religious participants were more alike and negotiated together their religious lives and identities.

As described above, the turn in the past decades to social history has done much to shed light on the importance of the religious lives of ordinary people. Still, in both religious studies and religious history, the assumption has often been that social history, with its emphasis on the everyday person, is somehow fundamentally different from the more official forms of religious life and thought. What happens, though, when the lines are blurred and, for example, popular religion adopts much of the official theology that comes from the so-called “top”? Here, the language of “lived religion” in religious studies is helpful in recognizing that religious life not only includes unofficial religious practices that may not be endorsed or are even explicitly rejected by religious authorities “from above,” but also contains much of what official religion endorses and seeks to require. Conversely, official religion is impacted by and adapts to the religious views, practices, and beliefs of practitioners “from below.”⁴⁸

In a similar vein, the process of confessionalization, especially in its “strong theory” form, has framed identity formation as a competitive process in which religious confessions did not cooperate but, instead, sought to eliminate one another. As described above, that competitive picture of confessional relationships has been challenged by many recent studies—for instance, by scholars who have demonstrated confessional cooperation or even tolerance.

Related to the notion of religious identity is the concept of toleration in the early modern Low Countries. The work on toleration in the Low Countries fits within examinations of religious differences in early modern Europe more broadly.⁴⁹ Those accounts are, of course, too numerous and broad to describe in full here, but the approaches of a number of scholars are helpful

48 The scholarly literature on a “lived religion” perspective is vast and now goes back several decades. For the classic treatments, see footnote 8 above. More recent treatments include, but are not limited to, important works such as Meredith B. McGuire, *Lived Religion: Faith and Practice in Everyday Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Kristy Nabhan-Warren, *The Cursillo Movement in America: Catholics, Protestants, and Fourth-Day Spirituality* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 11–12; Emma Anderson, *The Death and Afterlife of North American Martyrs* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 6–14.

49 Nicholas Terpstra, ed., *Reframing Reformation: Understanding Religious Difference in Early Modern Europe* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2020); Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010); Ole Peter Greel and Robert W. Scribner, eds.,

reminders that toleration was less a modern ideological principle than a negotiated approach to living together amidst religious differences.

Of course, the notion of tolerance is multifaceted and complex, but significant attention has been given in recent years to tolerance in the early modern Low Countries by, among others, Victoria Christman, Alastair Duke, Willem Frijhoff, Benjamin Kaplan, and Judith Pollmann. These scholars have complicated notions that the Low Countries was either a society that existed as a forerunner of modern conceptions of tolerance or a strictly confessional society where religious interactions among people of different confessions were necessarily hostile and violent.⁵⁰ In his introduction to *Reformation and the Practice of Toleration*, Kaplan provides a brief, helpful historiography of tolerance in the early modern Low Countries. He offers his own nuanced perspective, noting, “My own tentative conclusion is that confessional segregation in some spheres by no means precluded integration in others.”⁵¹

Drawing on Alexandra Walsham and Kaplan, Christman observes the development of “distinguishing between ‘tolerance’ as an ideological framework and ‘toleration’ in the form of pragmatic social practices that responded to specific, local situations.”⁵² In delineating these differences, Christman explains, scholars, among whom Christman should include herself, have forged a distinction between “toleration” as a theory or ideal and, to borrow her term, a “pragmatic toleration” that emerged from the lived experience of coexistence in a religiously plural society. Willem Frijhoff has also emphasized this idea of toleration, describing the situation as “the ecumenicity of everyday life.”⁵³

These recent scholars have delineated a picture of the Low Countries as a region where religious diversity was frequently negotiated in everyday

Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

50 Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Reformation and the Practice of Toleration: Dutch Religious History in the Early Modern Era* (Leiden: Brill, 2019); Dixon C. Scott, Dagmar Freist, and Mark Greengrass, eds., *Living with Religious Diversity in Early-Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); Genji Yasuhira, “Delimitation of the ‘Public’ and Freedom of Conscience: Catholics’ Survival Tactics in Legal Discourses in Utrecht, 1630–1659,” *Early Modern Low Countries* 3 (2019): 81–114.

51 Kaplan, *Reformation and the Practice of Toleration*, 24.

52 Victoria Christman, *Pragmatic Toleration: The Politics of Religious Heterodoxy in Early Reformation Antwerp, 1511–1555* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2015), 9; Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500–1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).

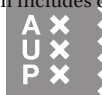
53 Willem Frijhoff, “Religious Toleration in the United Provinces: From ‘Case’ to Model,” in *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, eds. R. Po-Chia Hsia and Henk van Nierop (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 35.

interactions. These interactions were local, personal, and unique and, consequently, could occur in variety of ways. As will be demonstrated in this book, residents of the Low Countries could find themselves upset with community members who were Catholic and Anabaptist to the point where they might call, for example, for the offender to lose his or her job or be exiled from the community. On the other hand, as will also be demonstrated here, sometimes religious experiences were navigated with a willingness to live together with people who held to different confessions. At the same time, as noted by the scholars cited above, efforts at confessionalization certainly existed across the Low Countries; the Synod of Dort is the most prominent, collective example. These efforts could be intensely intolerant, as members of the Reformed Church sought to form churches into particular confessional identities. However, sometimes authorities in the Reformed Church were less stringent in their demands to discipline and regulate religious identity in the Low Countries. The research presented here will confirm these tensions and ambivalences and demonstrate that a complex mix of confessionalization and pragmatic tolerance existed in rural communities in the Low Countries.

These tensions and ambivalences adds a third strand to the relationship between confessionalization and tolerance: religious plurality in the early modern Low Countries frequently raised the issue of tolerance and required a practical coexistence.⁵⁴ In particular, I aim to illustrate more fully how religious ideas and practices were and were not tolerated in small or rural communities as members of those communities negotiated coexisting with other community members of different faith traditions. Given recent scholarship, it is perhaps not surprising that the religious picture in the Low Countries was complicated and varied widely. In the following chapters, examples abound of Reformed communities going to great lengths to establish a confessional identity and to exclude or even expel those who would not fall into line. However, other examples reveal how the community, or at least certain participants within the community, were so unwilling to impose confessional restrictions that they even resisted these restraints.

Thus, one of the arguments here, most explicitly in chapter 3, is that Reformed communities simultaneously sought to establish a confessional identity, which required removing other confessional groups, *and* sought to live cooperatively with adherents of other, or even no, religious persuasions.

54 For a recent work that provides a global context to the idea of coexistence, see Nicholas Terpstra, ed., *Global Reformations Sourcebook: Convergence, Conversion, and Conflict in Early Modern Religious Encounters* (New York: Routledge, 2021), especially "Part C: Co-existence, Conversion, Convergence," which includes chapters 7–10.



In some instances, as evidenced most clearly in the conflict resolution strategies and the Sabbath controversies discussed in chapters 4 and 5, confessional competition was the primary focus of Reformed congregations. However, even in these instances, examples abound of those who were tolerated to a certain extent—for instance, of those who were dealt with leniently or who were involved in resisting discipline.

Rural vs. Urban and Rural Religion

Even prior to the early modern period, the Low Countries had high urbanization rates. As Richard Paping has recently asserted, “Already around 1400 the territory of present day Netherlands was heavily urbanized with nearly a third of the population living in legal towns.”⁵⁵ This early urbanization occurred primarily in the southern Low Countries, especially in the regions of Flanders and Brabant.⁵⁶ Urbanization continued during the early modern period; Paping also notes, “It was after 1550 that the northern Netherlands decisively took the step to becoming the most urbanized region of the world for centuries, surpassing both the territory of present day Belgium and Italy.”⁵⁷ The shift to the northern Low Countries is particularly notable. Following the Dutch Revolt, a large number of inhabitants migrated from southern to northern regions as well as locations abroad.⁵⁸ In addition, the northern Low Countries saw an influx of immigrants from the Iberian Peninsula, German lands, and, later in the seventeenth century, France.⁵⁹ Holland and Zeeland were the two provinces that most experienced this urbanization as a result of both migration and economic changes.⁶⁰

Despite this urbanization the Low Countries, the overall picture is more nuanced. Perhaps most important is the fact that the main urban centers were in the province of Holland. In fact, Maarten Prak concludes, “The pattern of urbanization suggests that the Golden Age was concentrated in Holland” and that the rest of the provinces “resembled much more the

55 Richard Paping, “General Dutch Population Development 1400–1850: Cities and cCuntryside,” (Paper presented at 1st ESHD conference, Alghero, Italy, 2014), 10.

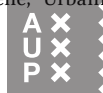
56 Maarten Prak, “Urbanization,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age*, eds. Helmer J. Helmers and Geert H. Janssen, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 16.

57 Paping, “General Dutch Population Development,” 14.

58 Christine Kooi, *Reformation in the Low Countries, 1500–1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 118.

59 Prak, “Urbanization,” 16–17.

60 Blondé, Boone, and van Bruaene, “Urbanisation and Urban Historiography,” 9.



patterns normal in the rest of Europe at the time.”⁶¹ Even in the province of Holland, the population ratio between the cities and countryside remained relatively unchanged during the first half of the sixteenth century. It was not until 1575 to 1675 that the urban population in Holland rose steadily, until it eventually reached around sixty percent.⁶²

As Paping notes, a large majority of Dutch towns were still relatively small, with far fewer than 10,000 inhabitants. According to Paping’s estimates, the population in the Low Countries around 1500 included roughly 345,000 people in cities and 615,000 in the countryside. In 1550, the estimates are 420,000 and 730,000, and in 1600, these numbers are approximately 560,000 and 860,000. By 1650, the numbers shift to 820,000 and 1,005,000.⁶³ Other scholars have given similar estimates. Wim Blockman, Bert de Munch, and Peter Stabel note that the number of people living in towns with populations larger than 25,000 was roughly 300,000 in 1525 and 815,000 in 1675. Respectively, those numbers represented 27 percent and 42 percent of the estimated total population of the Low Countries.⁶⁴

By 1560, the Low Countries contained around 121 urban centers, often referred to as towns.⁶⁵ Despite the high number of towns, the population in the Low Countries was still focused in only a few of the larger towns. In 1560, only Utrecht and Amsterdam had more than 25,000 inhabitants. Eight towns had between 10,000 and 25,000 inhabitants, fifteen towns had between 5,000 and 10,000 inhabitants, and another ten towns had between 2,500 and 5,000 inhabitants. Most towns, however, were much smaller. Forty-two towns had between 1,000 and 2,500 people living in them, and forty-four towns had fewer than 1,000 residents.⁶⁶ As Prak has explored in detail, even the largest cities in the Low Countries were not able to operate as freely as the urban elites might have wished because “they were under constant pressure from their own citizens” in what Prak describes as a uniquely Dutch model.⁶⁷

61 Prak, “Urbanization,” 17.

62 A. M. Van der Woude, “Population Developments in the Northern Netherlands (1500–1800) and the Validity of the ‘Urban Graveyard’ Effect,” *Annales de démographie historique* (1982): 56–57.

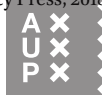
63 Paping, “General Dutch Population Development,” Appendix C.

64 Wim Blockmans, Bert de Munch, and Peter Stabel, “Economic Vitality: Urbanisation, Regional Complementarity and European Interaction,” in *City and Society in the Low Countries, 1000–1600*, 45.

65 Peter C. M. Hoppenbrouwers, “Town and Country in Holland, 1300–1550,” in *Town and Country in Europe, 1300–1800*, ed. S. R. Epstein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 56.

66 J. C. Visser, “Dichtheid van de bevolking in de laat-middeleeuwse stad,” *Historisch-Geografisch Tijdschrift* 3, (1985): 10–21.

67 Maarten Prak, *Citizens without Nations: Urban Citizenship in Europe and the World c. 1000–1789* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 203. Prak sets out his detailed argument regarding



These population estimates hint at the difficulties and fluidity in determining whether a community was properly a city, town, village (*dorp*), or something else entirely. In fact, the distinction between city and town is linguistically irrelevant in Dutch since both are indicated with the same word (singular “*stad*,” plural “*steden*”); thus, in the Low Countries, the terms “city” and “town” can be considered synonyms.⁶⁸ The term “*dorp*” tends to indicate a community smaller than a city and without rights, but the distinction between a town and a village is often linguistically irrelevant in Dutch. Moreover, the terms for a specific community are sometimes disputed and used interchangeably.

Within the history of the Low Countries the notion of “city rights” is, of course, a significant topic. A community in the Low Countries may have attained “city rights” even if its population was quite small. The types of rights that communities attained could vary markedly, and the historical contexts in which these rights were secured were quite disparate. This variance has led some scholars to state that “substantial differences among these earliest privileges argue against a method that takes the granting of such municipal rights as the point of departure for urbanisation.” They go on to argue, “For that reason it is necessary, when possible, to take population numbers into consideration. Much more than communal rights, they offer a reflection of the viability and vitality of a town.”⁶⁹

These scholars are discussing economic viability and vitality in mind, but the same argument could be made regarding religion. While a community’s political or religious rights may have been important, population was a more influential factor on the religious life of a community. Consequently, this study will focus particularly on population. Since, as mentioned above, Arnemuiden, Huissen, IJzendijke, Wemeldinge, Serooskerke, and Sluis feature the most prominently in the following chapters, a brief description of their populations, and thus rural contexts, is helpful.

With a population of roughly 5,000, Arnemuiden was markedly small during the early modern period.⁷⁰ It received its city rights in 1574 from Prince William of Orange and, correspondingly by Dutch early modern definitions,

the Dutch situation in the chapter entitled “The Dutch Republic: The Federalisation of Citizenship,” 183–204.

68 Paping, “General Dutch Population Development,” 3

69 Blockmans, Munck, and Stabel, “Economic Vitality,” 24.

70 The Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek lists the 1990 population as 4,629. See: <https://opendata.cbs.nl/>.



became a city.⁷¹ However, its population remained low. A. H. G. Verouden has noted that, in 1584, Arnemuiden had roughly 280 households and approximately 1,500 inhabitants, half of whom were most likely children.⁷² Other scholars have estimated the population to be significantly smaller, perhaps less than 500 by 1560 and less than 1,000 by 1670.⁷³ Even taking Verouden's larger estimate, Arnemuiden was still a small community relative to the major urban centers of the Low Countries.

Huissen received its city rights around 1314 and was part of the Duchy of Cleves throughout the early modern period. During these decades, Wesel was the most significant city in Cleves, but the duchy as a whole was rife with confessional disputes.⁷⁴ For most of the sixteenth century, the area was belonged to the united duchies of Jülich-Cleves-Berge. When Duke Johna Willem died in 1609 with no heirs, the War of the Jülich Succession began. Cleves came under the control of the Electors of Brandenburg and was then briefly captured by the Spaniards, only to be recaptured by the Dutch Republic. The Dutch would maintain a presence in Cleves until 1672, although the area was incorporated into Brandenburg-Prussia in 1666. Today, Huissen has merged with other municipalities so that its population is nearly 20,000. However, during the nineteenth century, the population was approximately 3,000. It is impossible to calculate a precise population for early modern Huissen, but the population is unlikely to have been more than 2,000 people.

IJzendijke's status was a bit more complicated.⁷⁵ It was granted city rights in 1238 but had those rights revoked in 1328 after the inhabitants participated, along with a number of Flemish cities, in a revolt. City rights were then granted again in 1330. However, the city was flooded a number of times during the next two centuries, and it ultimately collapsed. In 1587, the Duke of Parma built the current IJzendijke as a fortress, and it was subsequently expanded by Prince Maurits in 1604. A specifically Protestant church, one of the earliest Protestant churches to be built in the Dutch Republic, was

71 Joost C.M. Cox, *Repertorium van de stadsrechten in Nederland: "quod vulgariter statreghte nuncupatur"* (Den Haag: VNG Uitg., 2005), 11. Accessed online: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/geesteswetenschappen/institute-for-history/repertorium-stadsrechten.pdf>.

72 A. H. G. Verouden, ed., *Actaregister van de kerkenraad Nederduits Gereformeerde Gemeente te Arnemuiden, 1575–1625* (Rotterdam: Hollandse Vereniging voor Genealogie 'Ons Voorgeslacht,' 2013), 6.

73 Piet Lourens and Jan Lucassen, *Inwonertallen van Nederlandse steden, ca. 1300–1800* (Amsterdam: Vereniging het Nederlands Economisch-Historisch Archief, 1997), 90.

74 Machielsens, "Female Pope," 6–15.

75 Cox, *Repertorium*, 103.



constructed in 1614.⁷⁶ IJzendijke was granted city rights again in 1816; however, with a population of a little over 2,000 inhabitants, contemporary IJzendijke is often referred to as a village. Population estimates in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are difficult to calculate, but the population was certainly much smaller than it is now, likely significantly less than 1,000 residents.

Wemeldinge is a small village in the Dutch province of Zeeland. As part of the Zuid-Beveland peninsula, the village and surrounding areas have long battled water. For most of its history, Zuid-Beveland, including Wemeldinge, was an island where floods frequently overwhelmed towns and villages. In 1850, construction on the Zuid-Beveland Canal began to connect two estuaries of the Scheldt River. Wemeldinge sits at the northern mouth of the Zuid-Beveland Canal. Later, in 1871, the Sloedam was constructed to dam the Sloe Channel so that Zuid-Beveland and neighboring Walcheren were connected. One of the results of this long process of reclaiming land from the sea is that Zuid-Beveland is no longer an island but now is a peninsula. Today, Wemeldinge has been incorporated into the municipality of Kapelle and has approximately 3,000 inhabitants. During the nineteenth century, the population was less than 1,000, suggesting that the population in the early modern period would have been much less than 1,000.

Serooskerke, in Walcheren, not to be confused with Serooskerke in Schouwen, was a small community and did not have city rights.⁷⁷ The village, originally named in the twelfth century after a prominent family, originated in the thirteenth century around Monastery Mariëndaal. Between 1572 and 1574, the monastery was destroyed in the Dutch Revolt; it was later rebuilt as a Dutch Reformed church. Again, population estimates are nearly impossible, although Serooskerke was undoubtedly much smaller than the approximately 900 inhabitants counted in an 1840 census. Thus, in terms of population and city rights, Serooskerke certainly was a rural community in the early modern Dutch Republic.

Sluis was part of the larger Flemish *Brugse Vrije*, which had once included Bruges itself, but the city and the castellany were separated in the twelfth century. Sluis was important geographically during the Dutch Revolt, and it had long been a strategic site for military defense. The Battle of Sluis in 1340 was part of the Hundred Years War between France and England and

76 J. W. P. Prins, ed., *Een Mauritskerk. IJzendijke 1614–2014* (IJzendijke: Stichting Hervormd Kerkgebouw IJzendijke/Elhapé, 2014).

77 For Serooskerke's history, see Ronald Stenvert et al., eds., *Monumenten in Nederland. Zeeland* (Zwolle: Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg, Zeits/Waanders Uitgevers, 2003), 220–21.

is indicative of the strategic importance of Sluis for both countries. Sluis was also important for trade because it could receive large ships that came from the North Sea and that had a difficult time navigating the shallower Zwin River to get to Bruges.⁷⁸ Already in the fourteenth century, Sluis had become a key shipping center, and the building of fortifications and city gates from the fourteenth century are indications of its importance.⁷⁹

As a result of the 1579 Union of Utrecht, Sluis was officially in revolt against Spanish power and would remain free of Spanish control until the Duke of Parma's reconquest campaign. In 1587, it was besieged by the Duke of Parma, Don Alexander Farnese. Despite efforts at relief from Dutch and English troops, the garrison surrendered after thirteen days, and the Spanish took control of the town.⁸⁰ During 1604, Prince Maurits undertook a campaign to retake Sluis and other towns, such as Cadzand, IJzendijke, and Aardenburg. After a costly siege that lasted throughout the summer, the Spanish garrison surrendered, and Sluis was again under Dutch control.⁸¹

Sluis received its city rights in 1290 and, like Arnemuiden, was significantly smaller than more formidable Dutch cities in terms of population. Estimates for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries put Sluis's population between 1,000 and 2,000.⁸² Population estimates for this time period are already tentative, but estimates throughout these years are further complicated by the fact that Sluis and the surrounding area saw significant military action in the Dutch Revolt.⁸³ To seek safety and religious freedom, people fled both to and from Sluis, depending on who held the town at the moment. Nonetheless, the population estimates indicate that Sluis remained small and certainly not, despite its city rights, a major urban center.

78 A. Bauwens and D. van der Bauwhede, eds., *Kerkeraad te Sluis. Acta van de Kerkeraad van de Nederduits Gereformeerde Gemeente te Sluis, 1578–1587* (Torhout, Belgium: Uitgeverij Flandria Nostra, 1986), 17.

79 J. H. van Dale, *Een blik op de vorming der stad Sluis en op den aanleg harer vestingwerken van 1382 tot 1587* (Middelburg: J. C. & W. Altorffer, 1871), 1–6.

80 Christopher Duffy, *Siege Warfare: The Fortress in the Early Modern World, 1494–1660* (London: Routledge), 80; James Tracy, *The Founding of the Dutch Republic: War, Finance, and Politics in Holland, 1572–1588* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 223.

81 Bauwens and Bauwhede, *Kerkeraad te Sluis*, 17; Duffy, *Siege Warfare*, 89; Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477–1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 260; Jan Willem Wijn, *Het krijgswezen in den tijd van prins Maurits* (Utrecht: Drukkerij Hoeijenbos & Co., 1934), 282–83.

82 Lourens and Lucassen, *Inwonertallen*, 96. Present-day population numbers for Sluis are around 23,000; see, <https://opendata.cbs.nl/>.

83 Dale, *Een blik op de vorming der stad Sluis*, 85–90; Anton van der Lem, *Revolt in the Netherlands: The Eighty Years War, 1568–1648*, trans. Andy Brown (London: Reaktion Books, 2018), 139–42, 155–57.



Thus, while some communities studied in this book had city rights or economic significance, they faced unique religious experiences because their populations were not comparable to the populations of the cities and larger towns in the Low Countries. Each of the communities discussed in the following chapters had no more than 2,000 residents and, more often, closer to a few hundred residents. Because of their small populations, these communities functioned as towns or villages and not, even if given the technical designation, as cities. The question, then, becomes how religious life in these small communities in the Dutch Republic played out, particularly in contrast with the urban centers.

The vast majority of scholarship, including on the Protestant Reformations, has often emphasized the urban nature of the Low Countries and, in fact, has even made urbanization the defining feature of the Low Countries. This emphasis on urbanization can lead, and indeed has led, to a triumphalist focus on the achievements of urban centers. Too often, J.H. Huizinga's rhetorical question remains the usual perspective, even if less explicitly so: "can any province other than Holland, Zeeland, and Utrecht really be said to have furthered the culture, greatness and glory of the Netherlands as a whole?"⁸⁴ Huizinga takes the argument even further, writing, "even Utrecht and Zeeland failed to make a contribution in any way comparable to that of rich and mighty Holland."⁸⁵ More recently, Prak has asserted that "the Golden Age should be appreciated as a direct result of the urban dimension of Dutch society in the seventeenth century."⁸⁶

Simultaneously, the emphasis on urbanization tends to de-emphasize, or even deny the importance of, rural areas and the people who lived in them throughout the Low Countries. Such lack of attention is understandable given pragmatic issues, such as source scarcity, scholarly interest, and the limits of scholarly projects. For instance, I have found that the paleography needed to read the consistory records of small churches is significantly more difficult than that needed for larger churches. Because consistorial secretaries in rural communities were less trained than their urban counterparts, they often had more irregular handwriting. In addition, consistory records for rural areas have often received less care than records from major urban centers and are, thus, in poor physical condition. The recent move to digital archival records creates another situation in which urban lives

84 J. H. Huizinga, *Dutch Civilisation in the Seventeenth Century and Other Essays*, trans. Arnold J. Pomerans (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), 14.

85 Huizinga, *Dutch Civilisation*, 15.

86 Prak, "Urbanization," 16.



might be prioritized at the expense of rural lives. Digitization efforts are wonderful on so many levels, but what material is digitized first? How is this affected by the fact that the archives with the most resources are often the ones located in major cities? Who gets to decide what gets digitized and prioritized? It seems likely, though not certain, that materials from urban centers—Amsterdam, Antwerp, Groningen, Batavia, and so on—will be digitized long before material from smaller towns and villages. Obviously, such issues are complex, and the decisions required are difficult. However, scholars should be attuned to the ways in which these decisions have an impact on whose stories are studied and, subsequently, told.

The privilege of urban culture is more nefarious when accompanied by an attitude of urban superiority or the perspective that rural life was (or even is!) simply less important. Prak has noted the tendency to focus on elites even in studies of urban centers. As a corrective, he argues that “the role of ordinary people in urban politics has been systematically underestimated, and that civic institutions directly or indirectly helped shape local politics in most premodern towns.”⁸⁷ When intentional, a lack of attention to rural areas is also poor history. Perhaps obviously, the population figures noted above make it clear that, although the Low Countries may have been the most urbanized country in Europe, the majority of its people still lived in the countryside.⁸⁸ Indeed, for the sixteenth century and also for most of the seventeenth century, the people living in rural areas were a fairly substantial majority. In even the most urban province of Holland, the percentage of people living in towns was still only roughly half of the population. Focusing only on urban centers, then, entails ignoring over half the population of the Low Countries.

Related to the population distribution of the Low Countries was the economic situation. Of course, the language of the “Dutch Golden Age” has pervaded common culture so thoroughly that the economic success of the Low Countries during the seventeenth century is often taken for granted. The scholarly literature on the Dutch economic situation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is too vast to explore in depth here.⁸⁹ Pertinent to the discussion of rural areas in the Low Countries, however,

87 Prak, *Citizens without Nations*, 5. By “premodern,” Prak seems to include anything prior to the French Revolution, thus including the time period covered in this book.

88 For 1500, 1550, 1600, and 1650, using the estimated figures, the percentage of people living in the countryside was, respectively, 64 percent, 63 percent, 61 percent, and 55 percent.

89 For an introduction to the Dutch economy in the sixteenth century, see: Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Danielle van den Heuvel, “A



is the importance of what one scholar has called “a process of agricultural specialization and commercialization.”⁹⁰ That is to say, when discussing the economic prosperity of the Low Countries, the role of rural areas and their endeavors should not be underestimated.

The tension between urban and rural early modern life extends also to religion. Navigating the changes of the Reformations has come to be seen as increasingly complex and varied. As scholars have recognized the agency of lay Christians in the Reformations, much attention has been given to urban centers.⁹¹ Perhaps most famous are Bernd Moeller’s *Imperial Cities and the Reformation* and Steven Ozment’s *The Reformation in the Cities*, although a number of other examples could be cited.⁹² As recently as 1996, Scott Dixon could argue, “In contrast to our understanding of the process of urban reform, the course of the Reformation in the countryside remains relatively unknown.”⁹³ Mack Holt, too, has described the focus of social historians of the Reformation on urban centers.⁹⁴ Since Dixon’s assertion, however, a number of studies have investigated the changes wrought by the Reformation in rural settings.

The Reformations in rural Germany have received the most scholarly attention. Dixon himself has addressed the Reformations in the rural Germanic lands, arguing that most reform and development left “rural parishioners untouched and their habits unchanged.”⁹⁵ He examines in detail what he calls “popular religion” by considering such topics as parish customs, interactions between parish and pastor, and discipline. Prior to Dixon’s work, Peter Blicke discussed German rural areas with a focus on the so-called “Peasants’ War.”⁹⁶ The Peasants’ War has been the focus of much of the research done on the rural Reformation in Germany, including Christopher Close’s recent

Market Economy,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age*, 149–65; Michiel van Groesen, “Global Trade,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age*, 166–86.

90 Oscar Gelderblom, “Introduction,” in *The Political Economy of the Dutch Republic*, ed. Oscar Gelderblom (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 4.

91 C. Scott Dixon, *The Reformation and Rural Society: The Parishes of Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach, 1528–1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 2.

92 Bernd Moeller, *Imperial Cities and the Reformation: Three Essays*, ed. and trans. H. C. Erik Midelfort, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972); Steven E. Ozment, *The Reformation in the Cities: The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975, reprinted 1980).

93 Dixon, *The Reformation and Rural Society*, 3.

94 Mack P. Holt, “The Social History of the Reformation: Recent Trends and Future Agendas,” *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 1 (Autumn, 2003): 134–35.

95 Dixon, *The Reformation and Rural Society*, 207.

96 Peter Blicke, *Die Revolution von 1525*.



Amsterdam
University
Press

work.⁹⁷ Blicke has also expanded his research to these rural German areas.⁹⁸ Finally, Gerald Strauss has analyzed education in the German Reformation, including for a variety of rural areas.⁹⁹

Across the Swiss regions, Bruce Gordon has considered at length the ways in which Reformation ideas were implemented and received in the countryside. His conclusion, based on careful research into the Zürich Synod, highlights the varied expectations that created a gap between ministers and the laity. He argues that the Zürich Reformation did not, and even could not, meet the spiritual needs and desires of the laity. Indeed, he observes, “This popular spirituality was the declared enemy of the reformers, yet it proved unassailable.”¹⁰⁰

Most importantly for this study, the recognition that the Reformation in the rural areas and small villages of the Low Countries might have proceeded differently than in urban centers is not new. Already in 1956, G. van der Zee provided brief descriptions of how the Reformations progressed in the villages across the province of Utrecht.¹⁰¹ Recently, however, scholars have begun to pay closer attention to rural areas of the Low Countries, especially with an eye towards the experiences of “ordinary” Dutch Christians. The legendary Arie van Deursen pioneered this approach with his *Bavianen en slijkgezzen*, which has already been mentioned, and continued it later with his *Een dorp in de polder: Graft in de zeventiende eeuw*.¹⁰² The definitive tomes that Wouters and Abels completed on Delft also include, as indicated in their title, a significant amount of research on the surrounding rural areas. Most recently, various scholars have compiled accounts of experiences of the Reformation in Dutch towns and villages.¹⁰³ In English, the most notable exception to the scholarly lacunae is Alastair Duke’s “The Reformation of the Backwoods: The

97 Christopher W. Close, “‘One Does Not Live by Bread Alone’: Rural Reform and Village Political Strategies after the Peasants’ War,” *Church History* 79, no. 3 (September 2010): 556–84.

98 Peter Blicke, *Gemeinde-reformation. Die Menschen des 16. Jahrhunderts auf dem Weg zum Heil* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1985); the English translation is: *Communal Reformation: The Quest for Salvation in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1992).

99 Gerald Strauss, *Luther’s House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978); Strauss, “The Social Function of Schools in the Lutheran Reformation in Germany,” *History of Education Quarterly* 28, no. 2 (July 1988): 191–206.

100 Bruce Gordon, *Clerical Discipline and the Rural Reformation: The Synod in Zürich, 1532–1580* (Bern: Lang, 1992), 221.

101 G. van der Zee, “Schets van de crisis de kerkelijke Reformatie in de dorpen van de provincie Utrecht, plm. 1580–1620,” *Jaarboekje van het Oudheidkundig Genootschap ‘Niftarlake’* (1956): 1–97.

102 Arie Th. Van Deursen, *Een dorp in de polder. Graft in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 1994).

103 Enny de Bruijn, ed., *Volk in verwarring. Reformatie in Nederlandse steden en dorpen* (Apeldoorn: de Banier uitgeverij, 2017).



Struggle for a Calvinist and Presbyterian Church Order in the Countryside of South Holland and Utrecht before 1620.”¹⁰⁴ Beyond these relatively few studies just mentioned, which are mostly in Dutch, the rural areas of the Low Countries have still not received adequate scholarly investigation. Here, the focus is on small villages. A basic argument of this book is that despite the relatively small populations of these communities, the community’s and the individual’s religious life were important and provide insights into how people understood themselves, their communities, and their Christianity.

A critique of the research in this book could be that the selection of towns is too narrow or that the events highlighted from the church records are too anecdotal. A practical response might include reminders that limits of time and resources require restricting the number of towns and churches and that one could not possibly include in one book all the material and stories contained in the various consistory records. A more theoretical response, however, is that the research on these communities and the evidence remaining about them matters regardless of how widely it is corroborated. Of course, it may be helpful to determine whether patterns found in the communities studied here appear in other parts of the Low Countries. However, even if the situations here are unique, they existed for these people in these communities. Put another way, the uniqueness of the rural strategies of navigating religious identity within small parishes does not negate the value of studying those communities and the individuals therein. Their religious lives, beliefs, and identities *were* the religious life, belief, and identity of the early modern Dutch Reformed Church, whether their experiences are corroborated widely or turn out to be unique. To be sure, expansion of the research presented here is welcome and even necessary, but, I would argue, these communities and their stories of lived religious experience are valuable in and of themselves and not simply because they do or do not fit broader patterns within the Dutch Reformed churches, the religious culture of the Low Countries, or the Protestant Reformations more broadly.

Research Questions and Argument

How, exactly, was Dutch Reformed religious experience lived in early modern rural communities, and how did the rural nature of those communities affect

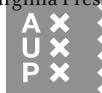
104 Alastair Duke, “The Reformation of the Backwoods: The Struggle for a Calvinist and Presbyterian Church Order in the Countryside of South Holland and Utrecht before 1620,” in *Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries* (London: Hambledon Press, 1990), 227–68.

those experiences? As these questions indicate, this book seeks to investigate the processes, practices, and beliefs of early modern Dutch Reformed religious life, particularly as it was experienced in rural areas. Through this investigation, it argues primarily that the seemingly insignificant or random aspects of rural Dutch Reformed religious practice are not to be dismissed but, instead, should be studied with careful attention. Thus engaging in an in-depth study of the “loose ends of history” will provide a more complete understanding of the religious beliefs, practices, and identities of these rural Dutch Christians.¹⁰⁵ Across the following chapters, I will attempt to demonstrate that various aspects of rural Dutch Reformed religious life might seem random to the modern eye but are, in fact, not random at all and instead make up the very essence of religious experience. In other words, while it may be difficult for the contemporary scholar to systematize the relationship between accounts in church records of the elections of elders and deacons, inter-confessional conflicts, Sabbath debates, and so on, trying to form a cohesive narrative may miss the point entirely. Instead of trying to fit these various issues into a singular narrative, this book argues, precisely by examining these loose threads of religious experience will we be better positioned to understand the religious experiences of these Christians, in all their complexity, messiness, and randomness.

In researching the Dutch Reformed church records, a number of helpful research questions can guide one’s inquiries. In particular, what aspects of religious life appear consistently in rural consistory records, and what do those aspects tell us about how Dutch Reformed Christians understood their religious lives? What was the interplay between theology and practice in rural Reformed churches? What agency did lay Dutch Christians in these communities have, and how was it expressed? Were there unique challenges that rural churches faced and strategies that they adopted which were specific to their small size and geographical isolation and which urban churches may not have encountered or, at least, may have encountered differently? With this line of questioning, I am drawing on David Lubke’s notion of “hometown religion”—a notion that leads him to reflect how, for small communities in Westphalia, “The hometown environment, in other words, shoved people together despite their religious differences.”¹⁰⁶

105 See a series of panels organized by Jesse Spohnholz and Carina Johnson at the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference held in 2021 and 2022 in San Diego, CA and Minneapolis, MN, respectively: <https://sixteenthcentury.org/program-archive/>.

106 David M. Luebke, *Hometown Religion: Regimes of Coexistence in Early Modern Westphalia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2016), 15.



The argument posited in this book expands Luebke's focus on religious coexistence to the whole of religious experience. The premise is, then, that lived religious experience as a whole was complicated by the small size and geographical isolation of rural communities in the early modern Low Countries.

This book will focus on five elements that were recurrent parts of religious life in the early modern Dutch Reformed Church: church orders, electing elders and deacons, confessional interactions, conflicts in and among Reformed churches, and Sabbath observance. The array of topics addressed in the book's five chapters are hardly meant to be exhaustive but highlight frequently occurring topics gleaned from close readings of church records at the level of provincial synods, classes, and consistories. It is perhaps overly obvious to state that how Dutch Reformed church members and ordinary Dutch citizens experienced their religious lives was varied and local. On the other hand, common elements of piety, or at least shared expectations of piety, did exist in Dutch Reformed congregations. Without being audacious enough to feign being comprehensive, this book focuses on the frequently appearing features of religious life mentioned above and outlined in more detail below.

In seeking to understand these recurring aspects of Dutch Reformed religious life in rural areas, this book will use the conceptual category of religious identity. I define this category as those aspects of religious life by which religious authorities sought to shape the religious identities of congregants within their churches. Conversely, it was precisely in these arenas of religious life that Reformed Christians could and did assert their own religious agency and thus shaped their theology, piety, and religious identity in ways that they chose. In more theological terms, these religious issues were part of a Reformed Christian's discipleship, a process that was navigated among individuals, theological perspectives, and churches, all with occasionally conflicting visions of what a Reformed identity entailed. Researching how these aspects of religious life were understood and practiced can provide a more thorough understanding of the individual Christians themselves, their identities, and their lived religious experiences.

The topics addressed here as means of identity formation should not be considered an exhaustive list. Certainly, other means of identity formation functioned at a variety of levels. At the institutional level, the concept of poor relief and the procedures and institutions accompanying poor relief were often cast in confessional terms, to cite just one example.¹⁰⁷ In

107 Charles Parker, *The Reformation of Community, Social Welfare and Calvinist Charity in Holland, 1572–1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Charles Parker, "Moral Supervision

terms of lay practices, significant scholarly work has been done on sacred space, including confessional debates around burial disputes and burial sites.¹⁰⁸ Even sensory rituals, including those surrounding death, took on confessional qualities.¹⁰⁹

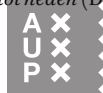
This book is also clearly focused on Reformed communities in the early modern Low Countries. It does not consider the ways in which other confessional groups approached religious identity. Limitations at the levels of both research and publishing require omitting the perspectives of other confessional groups, such as Anabaptists, Catholics, and Lutherans, as well as non-Christian minorities, for instance, Jewish populations, all of which were as varied and non-monolithic as the Reformed tradition. The absence of these groups is not in any way to suggest their unimportance. Other extraordinarily capable scholars, including Christine Kooi, Carolina Lenarduzzi, Charles Parker, Joke Spaans, and Judith Pollmann, have addressed the idea of religious identity as understood and practiced by these groups in the Low Countries, as have numerous journal articles by a wide range of historians.¹¹⁰

and Poor Relief in the Reformed Church of Delft, 1579–1609,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 87 (1996): 334–61.

108 For a well-rounded volume on sacred space, see Liesbeth Geevers and Violet Soen, eds., *Sacrale ruimte in de vroegmoderne Nederlanden* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2017); more broadly, Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, eds., *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). For sacred space surrounding death, see Tiffany Brouard, “Aan de rand van het graf. De transformatie van het funeraire leven en landschap in antwerpen en Brugge tijdens de calvinistische republieken (1577/1578–1584/1585),” in *Sacrale ruimte in de vroegmoderne Nederlanden*, 59–86; Judith Pollmann, “Burying the Dead, Reliving the Past: Ritual, Resentment and Sacred Space in the Dutch Republic,” in *Catholic Communities in Protestant States*, 84–102; Andrew Spicer, “Rest of Their Bones: Fear of Death and Reformed Burial Practices,” in *Fear in Early Modern Society*, eds. William G. Naphy and Penny Roberts (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 167–83.

109 Louise Deschryver, “You Only Die Once: Calvinist Dying and the Senses in Lille and Tournai during the Dutch Revolt,” *Early Modern Low Countries* 4, no. 1 (2020): 35–57; Tarald Rasmussen and Jon Øygarden Flaeten, eds., *Preparing for Death, Remembering the Dead* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 108–22, 361–77.

110 The broadest but now quite dated treatment of Catholicism is L. J. Rogier’s classic book, *Geschiedenis van het katholicisme in Noord-Nederland in de 16e en 17e eeuw*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Urbi et Orbi, 1947). For other, more recent works on Catholicism, see: Carolina Lenarduzzi, *Katholiek in de Republiek. De belevingswereld van een religieuze minderheid 1570–1750* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2019); Parker, *Faith on the Margins*; Joke Spaans, “Catholicism and Resistance to the Reformation in the Northern Netherlands,” in *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands 1555–1585*, eds. Philip Benedict, Guido Marnef, Henk van Nierop, and Marc Venard (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Academie van Wetenschappen, 1999), 149–63. Among other works, for the Lutheran tradition, see: C. Ch. G. Visser, *De lutheran in Nederland tussen katholicisme en calvinisme, 1566 tot heden* (Dieren: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1983); Sabine Hiebsch,



Amsterdam
University
Press

The first two chapters of this book focus on identity formation in the context of the Reformed churches as an institution. That is, the emphasis is on the roles of church orders, elders, deacons, and pastors in the lives of rural churches. Particular attention is given to how the formal ecclesiastical structures served as a means to shape the church as an institution and, thereby, instruct individual church members.

Chapter 1 discusses the use of church orders at the national and provincial levels to organize the life of Dutch Reformed congregations. It explores the theological importance of order in the Reformed tradition and then moves beyond these well known, “from above” church orders to incorporate new research that uncovers a local church order developed by a Reformed consistory. This production of a local church order highlights the local agency of the consistory and the consistory’s recognition that ecclesiastical life in a small community required more localized ecclesiastical structures.

Chapter 2 considers elders and deacons, two of the church offices institutionalized in the church orders. It begins with a brief exploration of theological understandings of elders and deacons. From there, I examine the processes by which elders and deacons were nominated and elected. How many men were nominated? How were elections conducted, and did procedural difficulties emerge? The chapter also explores the men who were nominated and elected. Did men serve as deacons prior to serving as elders? How frequently were men reelected? Were there reasons men were or were not elected? These questions allow for conclusions about a variety of questions, including what church members prioritized, the challenges of religious life in rural communities, and the artificiality of lay and elite distinctions in Reformed Christianity.

In the remaining chapters the focus shifts from the church as an institution to the church as an organism. Rather than discussing “from the top down,” so to speak, the subsequent chapters will analyze the lay experiences of Reformed Christians in the Low Countries. These chapters continue the emphasis on theological articulations within the Dutch Reformed tradition and the importance of consistory and *classis* records for understanding lived religious experiences.

“The Coming of Age of the Lutheran Congregation in Early Modern Amsterdam,” *Journal of Early Modern Christianity* 3, no. 1 (2016): 1–29. Among other works, for the Anabaptist community, see: S. Zijlstra, *Om de ware gemeente in de oude gronden. Geschiedenis van de dopersen in de Nederlanden 1531–1675* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2000). For works on Jewish communities, see: R. G. Fuchs-Mansfeld, *De Sefardim in Amsterdam tot 1795. Aspecten van een joodse minderheid in een Hollandse stad* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1989); M. Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation: Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997).



Amsterdam
University
Press

Chapter 3 considers the broadest of the remaining topics—confessional relationships between Reformed, Anabaptist, or Catholic Christians. The focus when examining these confessional relationships is on the ways in which Reformed churches and church members described and interacted with other confessional groups. As this chapter demonstrates, complaints about Catholics and Anabaptists were frequent, but consistorial efforts at disciplining confessional variance did not always go as the consistory would have liked. In fact, lay Christians had remarkable agency in these small communities; they resisted disciplinary oversight of their religious lives, explored religious belief, and educated themselves in their own theological confessions.

Chapter 4 addresses the specific ways in which conflict was seen as a crucial, ubiquitous aspect of religious life in Dutch Reformed churches, particularly as Reformed Christians could and did find themselves in intra-confessional disputes with their local church members, local church authorities, and other ecclesiastical bodies. The case studies explored here reveal varying types of conflicts, including conflicts between consistorial members, conflicts surrounding schoolmasters, and conflicts related to vacant churches and the process of securing pastors. As a whole, the chapter complicates the idea of unified religious elites functioning in unanimous agreement about how to regulate religious life in their communities. Furthermore, the conflicts portray the complexity of religious life in small communities, where identities were multifaceted and relationships were interconnected. Also challenged is the caricature of religious elites dictating religious life since the case studies present local communities claiming and enacting their own agency as local Reformed communities.

The final chapter, chapter 5, focuses on the role of the Sabbath as a means of identity formation and piety within the religiously plural setting of the Low Countries. Like the first and second chapters, this chapter begins with a theological exploration of how various Dutch Reformed voices understood the Sabbath. From there, the chapter examines complaints about Sabbath observance at the levels of the *classis* and consistory and explores how expectations and practices surrounding Sabbath observance functioned at local and regional levels. Thus, the chapter addresses questions about the relationship between theology and practice, in addition to the similarities and variances of religious expectations in small, local communities versus larger ecclesiastical bodies; here, size is defined in terms of both geography and representation.

Together, these chapters argue for the importance of examining the religious lives of Reformed Christians in rural communities. Some challenges



faced in these rural churches were likely unique to life in small religious communities; in other instances, however, the religious life in rural churches seems to have been comparable to that in urban Reformed churches. Because of these two scenarios, this book argues, research into rural communities provides a broader, more complete understanding of the complex and varied religious life of Reformed communities across the early modern Low Countries.

A second overall argument presented here focuses on the relationship between theology and practice. This relationship has been a driving interest in my previous research, and the argument here attempts to synthesize theology and practice into a more cohesive portrait that stresses how religious belief and practice were not dichotomous but always interrelated. In structuring the book, the binary nature of theology and practice was stubborn and difficult to overcome. Some chapters, especially the first, second, and fifth, and the sections within those chapters might appear to treat theology and practice separately. That appearance is only due to an inability to overcome the practical issues of structuring a chapter; hopefully, the presence of theology and practice within not just one book but also within individual chapters indicates their interrelatedness. To that end, various points throughout the book highlight instances where theological doctrines were adapted or even rejected in practice because of the needs and preferences of the immediate community. At other points, religious practices aligned with or even were driven by theological understandings.

The third argument pursued here is that lay religious agency persistently challenged religious authority. Religious authorities certainly did try to regulate ecclesiastical practices, moral life, and theological belief, as I will demonstrate. These authorities were in positions of power that provided them with various means by which they could seek to enact, severely at times, this power. However, religious authorities did not simply get their way. In numerous examples, church orders were not simply accepted in local churches, and Sabbath observance was never what religious authorities envisioned. Moreover, confessional conflicts did not result in the accused relinquishing their Anabaptist or Catholic beliefs and practices. Across all of these instances, Reformed and non-Reformed Christians claimed and enacted agency in defining their religious identities and contested the ability of religious authorities to force religious identity on them.

Related to this third argument of the book, the very distinction between lay and elite religion is challenged in the following chapters. The difficulty

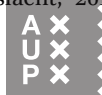
questioning this distinction is obvious since some language is needed to describe differences between, for example, theologically educated pastors or professors and church members who were illiterate. Nonetheless, the distinction proves artificial and fluid. In reality, lay members could wield significant power in how they practiced their religion, could be well versed in their theological views, and could participate in the official life of the Reformed churches in much the same ways as religious “elites.” With a variety of examples, I illustrate how the division between laity and elites was often ignored, challenged, and transgressed.

In sum, this book aims to build on exciting trends in Reformation scholarship to provide a more thorough account of the religious lives of Reformed Christians in rural communities across the Low Countries. It is hoped that the unique challenges and opportunities facing rural churches as well as the means utilized by small Reformed communities to navigate individual and communal religious life will be better understood. Particular attention is given here to the ways in which Reformed Christians sought to define Reformed religion in the face of a range of cultural and religious challenges. However, this book will also demonstrate that such processes were challenged and negotiated within the particular context of life in small, rural communities. In a sense, then, what follows is about recognizing the complexity of the human experience especially as it pertains to religion. To that end, appreciating the religious complexity of rural Reformed communities in the early modern Low Countries might promote a more serious reckoning with the lives of people who have been ignored and, sometimes literally, written out of history. A reckoning of that sort, for both then and now, is surely a worthwhile endeavor.

Chapter Bibliography

Primary Sources: Published

- Bauwens, A., and D. van der Bauwhede, eds., *Kerkeraad te Sluis. Acta van de Kerkeraad van de Nederduits Gereformeerde Gemeente te Sluis, 1578–1587*. Torhout: Uitgeverij Flandria Nostra, 1986.
- Bouterse, J., ed. *Classicale Acta 1573–1620. Vol. 4: Provinciale synode Zeeland*. The Hague: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 1995.
- Verouden, A. H. G., ed. *Actaregister van de kerkenraad Nederduits Gereformeerde Gemeente te Arnhemuiden, 1575–1625*. Rotterdam: Hollandse Vereniging voor Genealogie “Ons Voorgeslacht,” 2013.



Amsterdam
University
Press

Secondary Sources

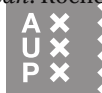
- Anderson, Emma. *The Death and Afterlife of North American Martyrs*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013.
- Benedict, Philip. *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Benedict, Philip. "Confessionalization in France?: Critical Reflection and New Evidence." In *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559–1685*, edited by Raymond A. Mentzer and Andrew Spicer, 44–61. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Blickle, Peter. *Gemeindereformation. Die Menschen des 16. Jahrhunderts auf dem Weg zum Heil*. Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1987. English translation: *Communal Reformation: The Quest for Salvation in Sixteenth-Century Germany*. Translated by Thomas Dunlap. Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1992.
- Blickle, Peter. *Die Revolution von 1525*. Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1975; English translation: *The Revolution of 1525: The German Peasants' War from a New Perspective*. Translated by Thomas A. Brady and H. C. Erik Midelfort. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977.
- Blockmans, Wim, Bert de Munck, and Peter Strable. "Economic Vitality: Urbanisation, Regional Complementarity and European Interaction." In *City and Society in the Low Countries, 1100–1600*, edited by Bruno Blondé, Marc Boone, and Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, 22–58. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.
- Blondé, Brune, Marc Boone, and Anne-Laure van Bruaene. "City and Society in the Low Countries: Urbanisation and Urban Historiography." In *City and Society in the Low Countries, 1100–1600*, edited by Bruno Blondé, Marc Boone, and Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, 1–21. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.
- Bodian, M. *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation: Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997.
- Brady Jr., Thomas A. "'Social History of the Reformations/Socialgeschichte der Reformation': A Conference at the Deutsches Historisches Institut London, May 25–27, 1978." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 10, no. 1 (Spring 1979): 89–92.
- Brousard, Tiffany. "Aan de rand van het graf. De transformatie van het funeraire leven en landschap in Antwerpen en Brugge tijdens de calvinistische republieken (1577/1578–1584/1585)." In *Sacrale Ruimten de vroegmoderne Nederlanden*, edited by Liesbeth Geevers and Violet Soen, 59–86. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2017.
- Bruijn, Enny de. *De hoeve en het hart. Een boerenfamilie in de Gouden Eeuw*. Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2019.
- Bruijn, Enny de. *Volk in verwarring. Reformatie in Nederlandse steden en dorpen*. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974.



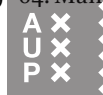
- Burnett, Amy Nelson. "Contributors to the Reformed Tradition." In *Reformation and Early Modern Europe: A Guide to Research*, edited by David M. Whitford, 25–56. Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2008.
- Burnett, Amy Nelson, Kathleen M. Comerford, and Karin Maag, eds. *Politics, Gender, and Belief: The Long-Term Impact of the Reformation, Essays in Memory of Robert M. Kingdon*. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2014.
- Christman, Victoria. *Pragmatic Toleration: The Politics of Religious Heterodoxy in Early Reformation Antwerp, 1511–1555*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2015.
- Christman, Victoria, and Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer, eds. *Cultural Shifts and Ritual Transformations in Reformation Europe: Essays in Honor of Susan C. Karant-Nunn*. Leiden: Brill, 2020.
- Close, Christopher W. "'One Does Not Live by Bread Alone': Rural Reform and Village Political Strategies after the Peasants' War." *Church History* 70, no. 3 (September 2010): 556–84.
- Coster, Will, and Andrew Spicer, eds. *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Cox, Joost C. M. *Repertorium van de stadsrechten in Nederland: "quod vulgariter statreghte nuncupatur"*. Den Haag: VNG Uitg., 2005.
- Dale, J. H. van. *Een blik op de vorming der stad Sluis en op den aanleg harer vestingwerken van 1382 tot 1587*. Middelburg: J. C. & W. Altorffer, 1871.
- Davis, Natalie Zemon. *The Return of Martin Guerre*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984.
- Davis, Natalie Zemon. *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975.
- Deschryver, Louise. "You Only Die Once: Calvinist Dying and the Senses in Lille and Tournai During the Dutch Revolt." *Early Modern Low Countries* 4, no. 1 (2020): 35–57.
- Deursen, Arie Th. van. *Bavianen en slijkgeuzen. Kerk en kerkvolk ten tijde van Maurits en Oldenbarnevelt*. Franeker: Van Wijnen, 1991.
- Deursen, Arie Th. van. *Een dorp in de polder. Graft in de zeventiende eeuw*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 1994.
- Dewulf, Jeroen. "Emulating a Portuguese Model: The Slave Policy of the West India Company and the Dutch Reformed Church in Dutch Brazil (1630–1654) and New Netherland (1614–1664) in Comparative Perspective." *Journal of Early American History* 4, no. 1 (March 2014): 3–36.
- Dickens, A. G. *The German Nation and Martin Luther*. London: Edward Arnold, 1974.
- Diefendorf, Barbara B., and Carla Hesse, eds. *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800): Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davis*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993.



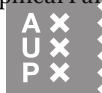
- Dixon, C. Scott. *The Reformation and Rural Society: The Parishes of Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach, 1528–1603*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Duffy, Christopher. *Siege Warfare: The Fortress in the Early Modern World, 1494–1660*. London: Routledge, 1979.
- Duke, Alastair. *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries*. Edited by Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer. Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2009.
- Duke, Alastair. *Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries*. London: Hambledon Press, 1990.
- Frijhoff, Willem. “Religious Toleration in the United Provinces: From ‘Case’ to ‘Model.’” In *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, edited by R. Po-Chia Hsia and Henk van Nierop, 27–52. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Fuchs-Mansfeld, R. G. *De Sephardim in Amsterdam tot 1795. Aspecten van een joodse minderheid in een Hollandse stad*. Hilversum: Verloren, 1989.
- Geevers, Liesbeth, and Violet Soen, eds. *Sacrale ruimte in de vroegmoderne Nederlanden*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2017.
- Gelderblom, Arie-Jan, Jan L. de Jong, and Marc Van Vaeck, eds. *The Low Countries as Crossroads of Religious Beliefs*. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Gelderblom, Oscar. *The Political Economy of the Dutch Republic*. London: Taylor & Francis, 2009.
- Gordon, Bruce. *Clerical Discipline and the Rural Reformation: The Synod of Zürich, 1532–1580*. Bern: Lang, 1992.
- Greel, Ole Peter, and Robert W. Scribner, eds. *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Groesen, Michiel van. “Global Trade.” In *The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age*, edited by Helmer J. Helmers and Geert H. Janssen, 166–85. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Hall, David D., ed. *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Hamilton, Alastair, S. Voolstra, and Piet Visser, eds. *From Martyr to Muppy (Mennonite Urban Professionals): A Historical Introduction to Cultural Assimilation Processes of a Religious Minority in the Netherlands the Mennonites*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1994.
- Hart, Marjolein ‘t. “Town and Country in the Dutch Republic, 1550–1800.” In *Town and Country in Europe, 1300–1800*, edited by S. R. Epstein, 80–105. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Headley, John M., Hans J. Hillerbrand, and Anthony J. Papalas, eds. *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700: Essays in Honor and Memory of Bodo Nischan*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.
- Heinsen-Roach, Erica. *Consuls and Captives: Dutch-North African Diplomacy in the Early Modern Mediterranean*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2019.



- Helmets, Helmer J., and Geert H. Janssen, eds. *The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Heuvel, Danielle van den. "A Market Economy," In *The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age*, edited by Helmer J. Helmets and Geert H. Janssen, 149–65. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Hiebsch, Sabine. "De bibliotheek van Evangelisch-Luthers Seminarium. Boekenschat van een religieuze minderheid." *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis* 23, no. 4 (2020): 311–28.
- Hiebsch, Sabine. "The Coming of the Age of the Lutheran Congregation in Early Modern Amsterdam." *Journal of Early Christianity* 3, no 1 (2016): 1–29.
- Hollander, August den, Mirjam van Veen, Anna Voolstra, and Alex Noord, eds. *Religious Minorities and Cultural Diversity in the Dutch Republic: Studies Presented to Piet Visser on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- Holt, Mack P. "The Social History of the Reformation: Recent Trends and Future Agendas." *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 1 (Autumn, 2003): 133–44.
- Hoppenbrouwers, Peter C. M. "Town and Country in Holland, 1300–1550." In *Town and Country in Europe, 1300–1800*, edited by S. R. Epstein, 54–79. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Huizinga, J. H. *Dutch Civilisation in the Seventeenth Century and Other Essays*. Selected by Pieter Geyl and F. W. N. Hugenholtz and translated by Arnold J. Pomerans. New York: Harper & Row, 1969.
- Israel, Jonathan. *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477–1806*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.
- Janssen, Geert H. "The Counter-Reformation of the Refugee: Exile and the Shaping of Catholic Militancy in the Dutch Revolt." *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 63 (2012): 671–92.
- Janssen, Geert H. *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Janssen, Geert H. "The Republic of the Refugees: Early Modern Migrations and the Dutch Experience." *Historical Journal* 60, no. 1 (2017): 233–52.
- Kaplan, Benjamin. *Calvinists and Libertines: Confession and Community in Utrecht, 1578–1620*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006.
- Kaplan, Benjamin J. *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010.
- Kaplan, Benjamin J. *Reformation and the Practice of Toleration: Dutch Religious History in the Early Modern Era*. Leiden: Brill, 2019.
- Kaplan, Benjamin, and Judith Pollmann. "Conclusion: Catholic Communities in Protestant States, Britain and the Netherlands, c. 1570–1720." In *Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands (1570–1720)*, edited by Benjamin Kaplan, 249–64. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009.



- Karant-Nunn, Susan C. *Luther's Pastors: The Reformation in the Ernestine Countryside*. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1979.
- Karant-Nunn, Susan C. *The Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany*. London: Routledge, 1997.
- Kingdon, Robert M. *Adultery and Divorce in Calvin's Geneva*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995.
- Kingdon, Robert M. *Geneva and the Coming Wars of Religion in France, 1555–1563*. Geneva: Droz, 1956.
- Kingdon, Robert M., Thomas A. Lambert, and Isabella M. Watt, eds. *Registers of the Consistory of Geneva in the Time of Calvin. Vol. 1: 1542–1544*. Translated by M. Wallace McDonald. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000.
- Kooi, Christine. *Calvinists and Catholics during Holland's Golden Age: Heretics and Idolaters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Kooi, Christine. "The Early Modern Low Countries." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 40, no. 1 (Spring, 2009): 253–55.
- Kooi, Christine. *Liberty and Religion: Church and State in Leiden's Reformation, 1572–1620*. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Kooi, Christine. "The Netherlands." In *Reformation and Early Modern Europe: A Guide to Research*, edited by David M. Whitford, 273–89. Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2008.
- Kooi, Christine. *Reformation in the Low Countries, 1500–1620*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022.
- Kuijpers, Erika, Judith Pollmann, Johanness Müller, and Jasper van der Steen, eds. *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Lem, Anton van der. *Revolt in the Netherlands: The Eighty Years War, 1568–1648*. Translated by Andy Brown. London: Reaktion Books, 2018.
- Lenarduzzi, Carolina. *Katholiek in de Republiek. De belevingswereld van een religieuze minderheid 1570–1750*. Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2019.
- Lieburg, Fred van. *Een eiland na de Reformatie. Schouwen-Duiveland, 1572–1700*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 2011.
- Lindberg, Carter. *The European Reformations*, 3rd ed. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2021.
- Lotz-Heumann, Ute. "The Concept of 'Confessionalization': A Historiographical Paradigm in Dispute." *Memoria y Civilización* 4 (2001): 93–114.
- Lotz-Heumann, Ute. "Confessionalization," In *Reformation and Early Modern Europe: A Guide to History*, edited by David M. Whitford, 136–57. Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2008.
- Lotz-Heumann, Ute. "Confessionalization Is Dead, Long Live the Reformations?: Reflections in Historiographical Paradigm Shifts on the Occasion of the 500th



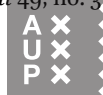
- Anniversary of the Protestant Reformation." In *Multiple Reformations?: The Many Faces and Legacies of the Reformation*, edited by Jan Stievermann and Randall C. Zachman, 127–37. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018.
- Lotz-Heumann, Ute, and Matthias Pohlig. "Confessionalization and Literature in the Empire, 1555–1700." *Central European History* 40 (2007): 35–61.
- Lourens, Piet, and Jan Lucassen. *Inwonertallen van Nederlandse steden ca. 1300–1800*. Amsterdam: NEHA, 1997.
- Luebke, David M. *Hometown Religion: Regimes of Coexistence in Early Modern Westphalia*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2016.
- Machielsen, Jan. "When a Female Pope Meets a Biconfessional Town: Protestantism, Catholicism, and Popular Polemics in the 1630s." *Early Modern Low Countries* 3 (2019): 1–31.
- Marnef, Guido. *Antwerp in the Age of Reformation: Underground Protestantism in a Commercial Metropolis, 1550–1577*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Marshall, Sherrin. "Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish Women in the Early Modern Netherlands." In *Women in the Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe: Private and Public Worlds*, edited by Sherrin Marshall, 120–39. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991.
- McGuire, Meredith B. *Lived Religion: Faith and Practice in Everyday Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Mentzer, Raymond A. *Blood and Belief: Family Survival and Confessional Identity among the Provincial Huguenot Nobility*. West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 1994.
- Moeller, Bernd. *Imperial Cities and the Reformation: Three Essays*. Edited and translated by H. C. Erik Midelfort. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972.
- Moran, Sarah Joan, and Amanda C. Pipkin, eds. *Women and Gender in the Early Modern Low Countries, 1500–1750*. Leiden: Brill, 2019.
- Morgan, David. "The Material Culture of Lived Religion: Visuality and Embodiment." In *Mind and Matter: Selected Papers of Nordik 2009 Conference for Art Historians*, edited by J. Vakkari et al, 15–31. Helsinki: Society of Art History, 2010.
- Nabhan-Warren, Kristy. *The Cursillo Movement in America: Catholics, Protestants, and Fourth-Day Spirituality*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013.
- Noorlander, D. L. *Heaven's Wrath: The Protestant Reformation and the Dutch West India Company in the Atlantic World*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019.
- Orsi, Robert. *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem*, 3rd ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.
- Ozment, Steven E. *The Reformation in the Cities: The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975.



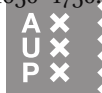
- Paping, Richardus. "General Dutch Population Development 1400–1850: Cities and Countryside." Paper Presented at 1st ESHD Conference, Alghero, Italy, 2014.
- Parker, Charles H. *Faith on the Margins: Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch Golden Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Parker, Charles H. "Moral Supervision and Poor Relief in the Reformed Church of Delft, 1579–1609." *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 87 (1996): 334–61.
- Parker, Charles H. *The Reformation of Community, Social Welfare and Calvinist Charity in Holland, 1572–1620*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Pettegree, Andrew, and Arthur der Weduwen. *The Bookshop of the World: Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020.
- Pettegree, Andrew, and Arthur der Weduwen. *The Dutch Republic and the Birth of Modern Advertising*. Leiden: Brill, 2020.
- Pollmann, Judith. "Burying the Dead, Reliving the Past: Ritual, Resentment and Sacred Space in the Dutch Republic." In *Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands (1570–1720)*, edited by Benjamin Kaplan, 84–102. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008.
- Pollmann, Judith. *Catholic Identity and the Revolt in the Netherlands, 1520–1635*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Pollmann, Judith. *Memory in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Pollmann, Judith. "Off the Record: Problems in the Quantification of Calvinist Church Discipline," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 33, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 423–38.
- Pollmann, Judith. *Religious Choice in the Dutch Republic: The Reformation of Arnoldus Bachelius, 1565–1641*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.
- Pollmann, Judith, and Andrew Spicer. *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Prak, Maarten. *Citizens without Nations: Urban Citizenship in Europe and the World c. 1000–1789*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Prak, Maarten. "Urbanization." In *The Cambridge Companion the Dutch Golden Age*, edited by Helmer J. Helmers and Geert H. Janssen, 15–31. Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Prins, J. W. P., ed. *Een Mauritskerk. IJzendijke 1614–2014*. IJzendijke: Stichting Hervormd Kerkgebouw IJzendijke/Elhapé, 2014.
- Rasmussen, Tarald, and Jon Øygarden Flaeten, eds. *Preparing for Death, Remembering the Dead*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015.
- Reinhard, Wolfgang. "Gegenreformaton als Modernisierung?: Prolegomena zu einer theorie des konfessionellen Zeitalters." *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 68 (1977): 226–52.



- Reinhard, Wolfgang. "Konfession und Konfessionalisierung in Europa." In *Bekenntnis und Geschichte. Die Confessio Augustana im historischen Zusammenhang*, edited by Wolfgang Reinhard, 165–89. Munich: Vögel, 1981.
- Rogier, L. J. *Geschiedenis van het katholicisme in Noord-Nederland in de 16e en 17e eeuw*. 2 vols. Amsterdam: Urbi et Orbi, 1947.
- Schilling, Heinz. "Die Konfessionalisierung von Kirche, Staat und Gesellschaft. Profil, Leistung, Defizite und Perspektiven eines geschichtswissenschaftlichen Paradigmas." In *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung. Wissenschaftliches symposium der Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum und des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte*, edited by Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling, 1–49. Munich: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1995.
- Schilling, Heinz. *Konfessionskonflikt und Staatsbildung. Eine Fallstudie über das Verhältnis von religiösem und sozialem Wandel in der Frühneuzeit am Beispiel der Grafschaft Lippe*. Gütersloh: Mohn, 1981.
- Scribner, Robert W. "Is There a Social History of the Reformation?" *Social History*, 4 (1977): 483–505.
- Spaans, Joke. "Catholicism and Resistance to the Reformation in the Northern Netherlands." In *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands, 1555–1585*, edited by Philip Benedict, Guido Marnef, Henk van Nierop, and Marc Venard, 149–63. Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Academie van Wetenschappen, 1999.
- Spaans, Joke. *Haarlem na de Reformatie. Stedelijke cultuur en kerkelijk leven, 1577–1620*. The Hague: Stichting Hollandse Historische Reeks, 1989.
- Spaans, Joke. "Reformed in the Low Countries." In *A Companion to the Reformation World*, edited by R. Po-chia Hsia, 118–34. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2006.
- Spicer, Andrew. "'Rest of Their Bones': Fear of Death and Reformed Burial Practices." In *Fear in Early Modern Society*, edited by William G. Naphy and Penny Roberts, 167–83. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997.
- Spohnholz, Jesse. "Exile Experiences and the Transformations of Religious Cultures in the Sixteenth Century: Kleve, England, East Friesland, and the Palatinate." *Journal of Early Modern Christianity* 6, no. 1 (2019): 43–67.
- Spohnholz, Jesse, and Gary K. Waite, eds. *Exile and Religious Identity, 1500–1800*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2016.
- Spohnholz, Jesse, and Mirjam van Veen. "The Disputed Origins of Dutch Calvinism: Religious Refugees in the Historiography of the Dutch Reformation." *Church History* 86, no. 2 (2017): 398–426.
- Steen, Jasper van der. *Memory Wars in the Low Countries, 1566–1700*. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Steen, Jasper van der. "Remembering the Revolt of the Low Countries: Historical Canon Formation in the Dutch Republic and Habsburg Netherlands, 1566–1621." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 49, no. 3 (Autumn 2018): 713–41.



- Stein, Robert, and Judith Pollmann, eds. *Networks, Regions, and Nations: Shaping Identities in the Low Countries, 1300–1650*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- Stenvert, Ronald, et al., eds., *Monumenten in Nederland. Zeeland*. Zwolle: Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg, Zeits/Waanders Uitgevers, 2003.
- Strauss, Gerald. *Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.
- Strauss, Gerald. "The Social Function of Schools in the Lutheran Reformation in Germany." *History of Education Quarterly* 28, no. 2 (July 1988): 191–206.
- Tash, Robert C. *Dutch Pluralism: A Model in Tolerance for Developing Democracies*. New York: Peter Lang, 1991.
- Terpstra, Nicholas, ed. *Global Reformations Sourcebook: Convergence, Conversion, and Conflict in Early Modern Religious Encounters*. New York: Routledge, 2021.
- Terpstra, Nicholas, ed. *Reframing Reformation: Understanding Religious Difference in Early Modern Europe*. Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2020.
- Thianto, Yudha. *The Way to Heaven: Catechisms and Sermons in the Establishment of the Dutch Reformed Church in the East Indies*. Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2014.
- Tilly, Charles. "Retrieving European Lives." In *Reliving the Past: The Worlds of Social History*, edited by Olivier Zunz, 11–52. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985.
- Tracy, James. *The Founding of the Dutch Republic: War, Finance, and Politics in Holland, 1572–1588*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Veen, Mirjam van. "Exiles and Calvinist Identity." In *Cultures of Calvinism in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Graeme Murdock and Crawford Gribben, 157–70. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.
- Visser, C. Ch. G. *De lutheran in Nederland tussen katholicisme en calvinisme, 1566 tot heden*. Dieren: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1983.
- Visser, J. C. "Dichtheid van de bevolking in de laat-middeleeuwse stad." *Historisch-Geografisch Tijdschrift* 3 (1985): 10–21.
- Vries, Jan de, and Ad van der Woude. *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500–1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Walsham, Alexandra. *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500–1700*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006.
- Wandel, Lee Palmer, ed. *History Has Many Voices*. Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2003.
- Wandel, Lee Palmer. *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands: Iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Strasbourg, and Basel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Watson, Elise. "The Jesuitesses in the Bookshop: Catholic Lay Sisters" Participation in the Dutch Book Trade, 1650–1750." *Church History* 57 (2021): 163–84.



- Wijn, Jan Willem. *Het krijgswezen in den tijd van prins Maurits*. Utrecht: Drukkerij Hoeijenbos & Co., 1934.
- Woude, A. M. van der. "Population Developments in the Northern Netherlands (1500–1800) and the Validity of the 'Urban Graveyard' Effect." *Annales de démographie historique* (1982): 55–75.
- Yasuhira, Genji. "Delimitation of the 'Public' and Freedom of Conscience: Catholics' Survival Tactics in Legal Discourses in Utrecht, 1630–1659." *Early Modern Low Countries* 3 (2019): 81–114.
- Zee, G. van der. "Schets van de crisis de kerkelijke Reformatie in de dorpen van de provincie Utrecht, plm. 1580–1620." In *Jaarboekje van het Oudheidkundig Genootschap "Niftarlake"*, edited by Martini Buys, 1–99. Utrecht: Drukkerij, 1956.
- Zijlstra, Samme. *Om de ware gemeente in de oude gronden. Geschiedenis van de dopersen in de Nederlanden 1531–1675*. Hilversum: Verloren, 2000.
- Zijlstra, Samme. "Anabaptists, Spiritualists and the Reformed Church in East Frisia." *Mennonite Quarterly* 75, no. 1 (2001): 57–73.

