

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

Aspects of Religion and Society

in the Province of Zeeland (Netherlands)

in the Nineteenth Century

being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the University of Hull

by

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BA (Cantab.), MA (Cantab.)

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S U M M A R Y

Summary of Thesis submitted for PhD degree

by Michael Joseph Wintle

on

Aspects of Religion and Society in the Province of Zeeland

(Netherlands) in the Nineteenth Century

The body of the thesis has three major components: an assessment of the state of historical work and historical thinking concerning Zeeland since 1800; a study of church affiliation, and reactions to secularization; and an attempt to gauge the effects of religious attitudes on the socio-economic development of the province in the nineteenth century.

An examination of the existing literature reveals a 'received opinion' on the socio-economic history of Zeeland, namely that there was a conservative, traditional mentality among the inhabitants, expressed in religious attitudes, which was a significant contributory cause of the province's mediocre economic performance since 1800. There follows a survey of nineteenth century Zeeland in its demographic, social, economic, and political aspects.

A systematic examination of the growth and/or decline of the various religious denominations is conducted. In the face of secularization, the orthodox Calvinist groups and the Roman Catholics were better able to maintain their position than the mainstream Calvinist Hervormde Kerk or the smaller Protestant

Summary, continued

denominations. This conclusion is confirmed by a number of secondary sources concerning secularization.

In order to determine the effects of religious principles on socio-economic affairs, certain issues in Zeeland are selected for analysis. These include relations between Protestants and Catholics, certain principles held by the orthodox Calvinists, the role of the churches as a (service) sector in the local economy, and religious intervention in local politics. The conclusion is reached that although it was indeed possible for religious principles to affect - detrimentally - the local economy, this was not the case in the nineteenth century in Zeeland.

In conclusion, a modest contribution is made to several wide-ranging historical debates, and a number of subjects for further research are designated.

Preface

From being at the very top of the Dutch provincial league in about 1650, Zeeland witnessed a decline to a place in the lowest economic orders within the Netherlands by about 1900. At the same time, Zeeland has always had a reputation for conservatism in religion, particularly amongst its orthodox Calvinists. These two matters have traditionally been linked together, especially for the period of the nineteenth century.

With this as a background, this thesis sets out to clarify the religious situation in the last century, and to assess its effects on the socio-economic life of the province. In contrast with most of the other Dutch provinces, relatively little has been published by professional historians on Zeeland's history since 1800. This state of affairs has permitted certain loosely formulated opinions and ideas about the province to survive without being subjected to the critical analysis most other provinces have received. In this context, the whole question of regional history and its relation to national and international history is scrutinized and discussed.

The body of the thesis has three major components: an assessment of the state of historical work and historical thinking concerning Zeeland since 1800; a study of church affiliation, and reactions to secularization; and an attempt to gauge the effects of religious attitudes on the socio-economic development of the province in the nineteenth century.

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There is a very real sense in which a piece of academic work is always the product of co-authorship: any scholar's discussions with colleagues and friends mean that his ideas, interpretations and approaches are always qualified and amplified by the contributions of others. While this is certainly true in my own case, there are nonetheless certain people whose contribution has been instrumental. I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr A.R. Michell; my head of department, Professor P.K. King; and also Professors R.T. Griffiths (Free University, Amsterdam) and W.P. Blockmans (Erasmus University, Rotterdam). All four have long-standing associations with my research, and have become my good friends in the process: without their advice and encouragement the project would never have reached this present stage. For the section on the theoretical aspects of regional history (II.F) I am in the debt of specialists in the

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Bibliographical Appendix

List of Abbreviations used in the Notes

Manuscript source repositories:

ARA: Algemeen Rijksarchief;

State Archives, The Hague

GAZ: Gemeente Archief Zierikzee;

Municipal Archives, Zierikzee

RAZ: Rijksarchief in Zeeland;

State Archives in Zeeland, Middelburg

Contemporary periodicals:

S.S.J.B. Staatkundig en staathuishoudkundig jaarboekje

T.S.S. Tijdschrift voor staathuishoudkunde en statistiek

N.B. References to authorities and sources in the notes are made by short title only. Full details are to be found in the Bibliographical Appendix.

GLOSSARY

<u>Afscheiding</u>	orthodox schism from the main Calvinist church, the <u>NHK</u> (c.q.), in 1834
<u>Afgescheidenen</u>	those who took part in the <u>Afscheiding</u>
<u>burgemeester</u>	mayor
calamitous polder	polders (sections of diked-in land) unable to meet the financial burdens of dike maintenance, which had successfully applied for 'calamitous' status and the financial aid from province and state which went with it; only found in Zeeland
<u>classis</u>	regional or district administrative organ of Calvinist churches
<u>Commissaris des Konings</u>	King's Commissioner; reformed version of the Provincial Governor after 1850s
<u>deservant</u>	priest responsible for a Roman Catholic sub-parish
<u>Doleantie</u>	literally, the complaint; name given to second major orthodox schism from main Calvinist church, in 1886
<u>Doleerenden</u>	those who took part in the <u>Doleantie</u>
<u>dominee</u>	(Protestant) minister of the church
<u>gemeente</u>	civil municipality; also used (though not in this thesis) to mean religious congregation
<u>Gereformeerden</u>	orthodox Calvinists (see section IV.A.1)
<u>Hervormden</u>	member of the <u>NHK</u> (c.q.)
<u>kerkeraad</u>	parish council
<u>kerkvoogdij</u>	churchwardens' council
<u>kleine luyden</u>	literally, 'little people'; used to refer to lower middle class elements amongst the <u>Gereformeerden</u>
<u>maatschappij</u>	society
madder	root crop grown in heavy clay soils which, after drying and milling, yields a red dye used in textile industry before 1870; a speciality of Zeeland agriculture
<u>NHK</u>	<u>Nederlandsche Hervormde Kerk</u> ; mainstream Calvinist church; largest denomination in the Netherlands
<u>predikant</u>	preacher; minister of the church
<u>verzuiling</u>	vertical pillarization of society into ideological rather than socio-economic groups (see section II.E.3)
<u>volkskerk</u>	church of the people; the <u>NHK</u>
<u>zeeuw(en)</u>	someone from Zeeland
<u>zeeuws</u>	of Zeeland; pertaining to Zeeland

Figure O.1
The Netherlands, Belgium &
Luxemburg, c. 1874

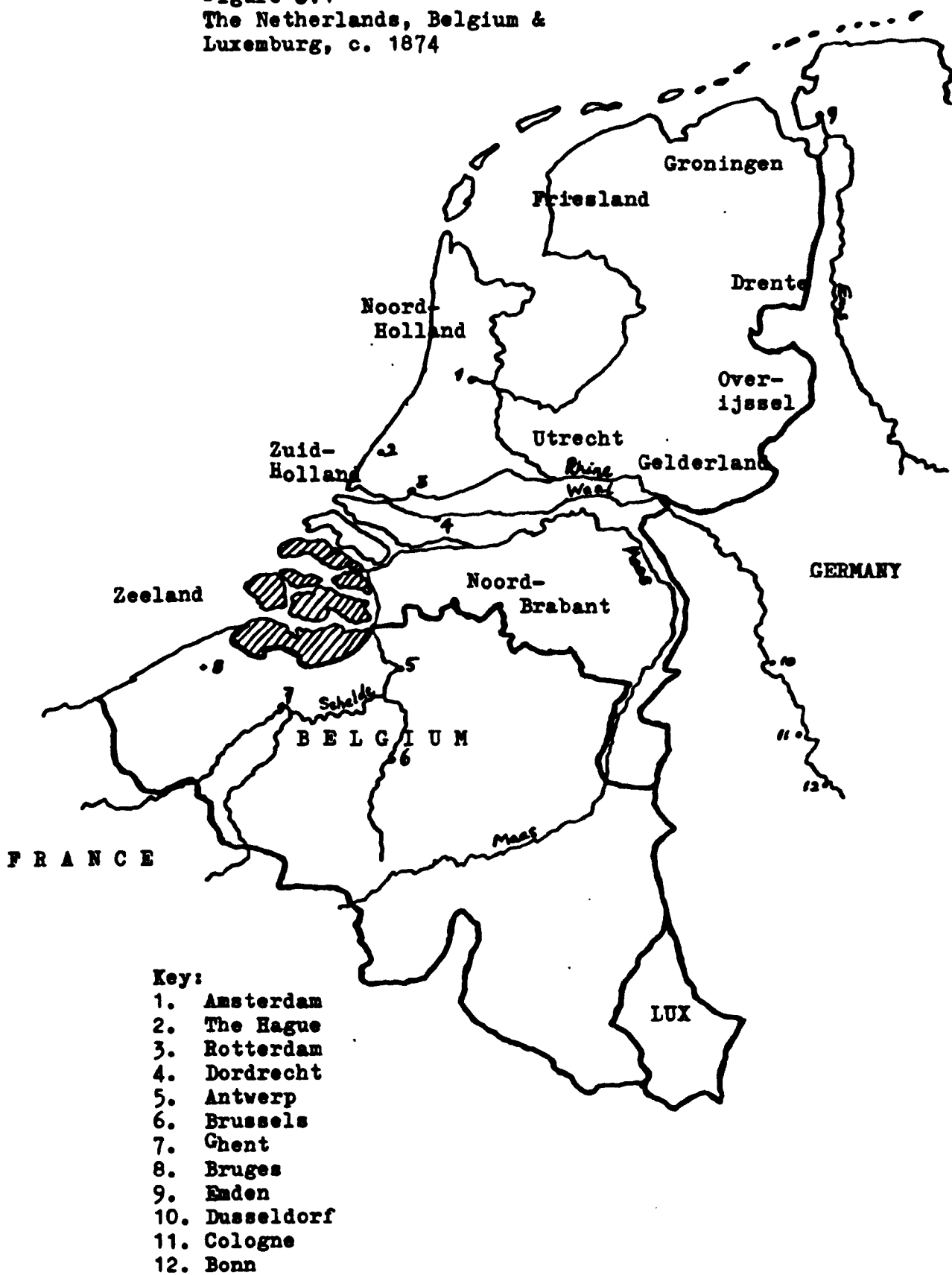
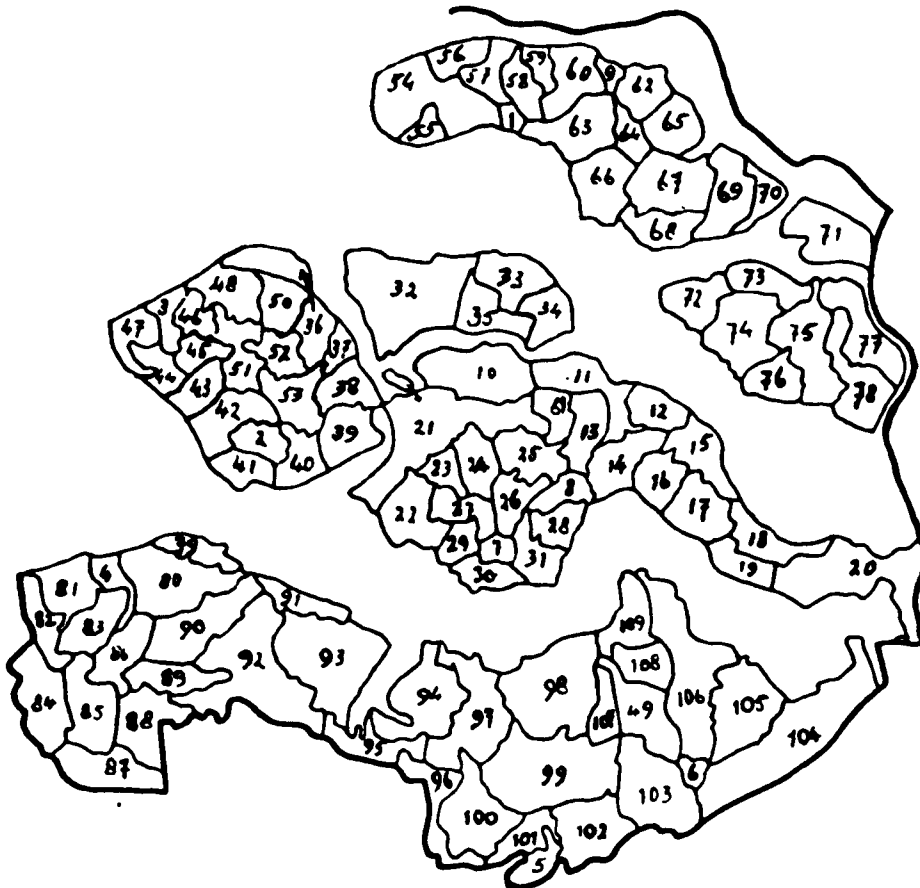


Figure 0.2
The Districts of Zeeland, c.1875,
showing Rail Link Vlissingen -
Bergen op Zoom



Figure 0.3

The Province of Zeeland in 1899: Municipal
(Gemeente) Boundaries *



* Note: the template for all the illustratory maps is adapted from one drawn and numbered by the staff of the Afdeling Agrarische Geschiedenis at the Agricultural University at Wageningen. I am grateful to Professor A. van der Woude, and to his assistant Mr A. Snel for permission to use the maps. In all cases the boundaries of the gemeenten are those which were current in 1899; this is also true of the main data bases, in Appendices 1 & 2.

ZEELAND, 1899

1	Serooskerke (Schouwen)	36	Vrouwenpolder
2	Souburg	37	Veere
3	Domburg	38	Arnemuiden
4	Nieuwvliet	39	Nieuw en St Joosland
5	Overslag	40	Ritthem
6	Hulst	41	Vlissingen
7	Oudelande	42	Koudekerke
8	's-Gravenpolder	43	Biggekerke
9	Brouwershaven	44	Zoutelande
10	Wolphaartsdijk	45	Meliskerke
11	Kattendijke	46	Aagtekerke
12	Wemeldinge	47	Westkapelle
13	Kloetinge	48	Oostkapelle
14	Kapelle	49	Stoppeldijk
15	Yerseke	50	Serooskerke (Walcheren)
16	Schore	51	Grijpskerke
17	Kruiningen	52	St Laurens
18	Krabbendijke	53	Middelburg
19	Waarde	54	Haamstede
20	Rilland-Bath	55	Burgh
21	's Heer Arendskerke	56	Renesse
22	Borssele	57	Noordwelle
23	's Heerenhoek	58	Ellemeet
24	Heinkenszand	59	Elkerzee
25	's Heer Abtskerke	60	Duivendijke
26	Nisse	61	Goes
27	Ovezande	62	Zonnemaire
28	Hoedekenskerke	63	Kerkwerve
29	Driewegen	64	Noordgouwe
30	Ellewoutsdijk	65	Dreischor
31	Baarland	66	Zierikzee
32	Wissekerke	67	Nieuwerkerk
33	Colijnsplaat	68	Ouwerkerk
34	Kats	69	Oosterland
35	Kortgene	70	Bruinisse

[ZEELAND (vervolg)]

71	St Philipsland	106	Hontenisse
72	Stavenisse	107	Boschkapelle
73	St Annaland	108	Hengstdijk
74	St Maartensdijk	109	Ossenisse
75	Poortvliet		
76	Scherpenisse		
77	Oud Vossemeer		
78	Tholen		
79	Breskens		
80	Groede		
81	Cadzand		
82	Retranchement		
83	Zuidzande		
84	Sluis		
85	Aardenburg		
86	Oostburg		
87	Eede		
88	St Kruis		
89	Waterlandkerkje		
90	Schoondijke		
91	Hoofdplaat		
92	IJzendijke		
93	Biervliet		
94	Hoek		
95	Philippine		
96	Sas van Gent		
97	Terneuzen		
98	Zaamslag		
99	Axel		
100	Westdorpe		
101	Zuiddorpe		
102	Koewacht		
103	St Janssteen		
104	Cline		
105	Graauw		

Chapter I: Introduction

Up until now, the history of the Dutch province of Zeeland in the nineteenth century has received very little attention from professional historians. The period of the Republic has had its fair share, but professional scholarship focussed on Zeeland in the period after 1815 has been minimal. Naturally, occasional sidelong historical glances are cast at the province in the course of dealing with the Netherlands as a whole. However, the number of professional historical works concerning Zeeland itself is remarkably small.

As a result of this lack of academic historical interest, Zeeland in the last century is not only under-studied, but it is also under-understood: much of the province's social, religious and economic development since 1815 remains a mystery, or a puzzle. Zeeland often seems to differ from the others, to display unusual characteristics, to present something of a discrepancy. This is reflected in what amounts to a sort of exasperation when Zeeland refuses to fit the pattern set for the rest of the country. For example, Hille de Vries, a historian specialized in

the modern agrarian history of the Netherlands, and therefore well qualified to comment on Zeeland's economy, conducted a pilot study of absentee landlords in the Netherlands in the last century, and came to the conclusion that wealthy men in the central Dutch provinces invested heavily in farmland in the outer provinces during times of agricultural prosperity (1860-80), and stopped doing so when agriculture became less viable (from 1880 onwards).¹ This generalization, however, does not fit the material he uses from Zeeland, and De Vries is quite willing to concede this. But he then goes on to explain this unfortunate refusal of much of his evidence to fit his theory with the remark that '...Zeeland displays a picture of complete deviation.'² So Zeeland is laid aside, rather as a freak occurrence, in the hope that it may be better explained by further research.

Another example of the air of inexplicability or mystery surrounding events in Zeeland is to be found in the demographic situation. Zeeland had some of the most alarming death rates for most of the nineteenth century, and also some of the highest birth rates in the country.³ Migration coefficients and marital fertility rates were equally extraordinary:⁴ there appears to be no obvious explanation to hand. To be more specific, in a recent study of infant mortality in the Low Countries,⁵ C. Vandebroecke and his co-authors remark upon Zeeland's reputation, until late in the nineteenth century, for a notorious and excessively high infant mortality rate. The reasons for it are not immediately apparent to the authors, and they conclude that the exceptional demographic conditions in the province will only be explained by new research at the local level.⁶ This reflects the frequent

observations of demographers and social historians on Zeeland's often exceptional conditions.

So in these two examples of absentee landlordism and of demographic indicators, the under-studied Zeeland appears to present to scholars a picture which in certain aspects is not easy to reconcile with that of the other provinces, and which for the most part remains to be explained by the necessary close-range local research.

This element of inexplicability is a direct encouragement to the student to focus his attention on the history of Zeeland, especially in view of its failure to attract interest from academic researchers. This thesis, therefore, will seek as its general objective to make a substantial contribution to the history of Zeeland in the modern period. But as well as being neglected, Zeeland is notable for certain unusual features which make her unique among the Dutch provinces. The particular focus this thesis will take, therefore, will be determined by various themes arising out of some of the unusual characteristics of Zeeland in the last century. And one of the most outstanding of those characteristics concerns the religion of its inhabitants.

Zeeland has something of a religious reputation. It was - and is still - very much a part of a "bible-belt" of Calvinist orthodoxy which stretches across the Netherlands from Gelderland to the Zeeland islands. Calvinism as a whole in the province has a name amongst both scholars and the general public, at home and abroad, for a doctrinaire severity unrivalled in most other provinces. Much of Zeeland's image in this respect is built on incidents and personalities from the sixteenth and seventeenth

centuries, highlighted with the odd detail from the most recent period. Many of the most stalwart and stern figures of early Dutch strict, puritan, orthodox Calvinism are associated with Zeeland province. The figurehead of the strictest orthodox theology, Franciscus Gomarus, and the widely read, characteristically puritan preachers Willem Teellinck and Bernadus Smytegeld, were all ministers of the church at Middelburg in Zeeland. So was Jean de Labadie, who later founded his own separate sect of puritan pietists. These orthodox tendencies amongst certain leading Calvinists in Zeeland under the Republic were investigated by A.A. van Schelven in an article on what he called Zeeland's 'mysticism', by which he meant a puritanical pietism, nurtured by close contacts with English Puritanism, and by the teachings of De Labadie.⁷ Godfridus Udemans, confidant of Maurits and scourge of the Remonstrants at the Synod of Dordt, was minister to the flock in Zierikzee. Amongst the laymen, 'Father' Jacob Cats, statesman and poet, was a Zeeland man: born and bred in Brouwershaven, becoming pensionary of Middelburg in 1621. His homiletic verses, also marked by a puritan Calvinism, continued to delight the ordinary people of the Netherlands until well into the nineteenth century. Zeeland's strong association with the West India Company has traditionally linked the province with that company's puritanical image in the early days. As P.C. Emmer has it, 'the image of the West India Company as a Calvinist-dominated war-machine has been very long-lived.'⁸ The Company's spiritual architect, Willem Usselinx, was an Antwerp-born firebrand of a fierce, intolerant orthodox Calvinism, renowned for his unrelenting attempts at colonization, and was strongly associated

with the province.⁹ In the twentieth century, Zeeland's reputation for ultra-orthodoxy was catapulted into the public eye by the efforts of Gerrit H. Kersten, the man responsible for the unification of two of the most orthodox Calvinist sects, the Gereformeerde Gemeenten onder 't Kruis, and the Oud-Gereformeerde Gemeenten. Kersten was a nationally well known figure in both religion and politics, and spent most of his life based in Zeeland (at Yerseke and Meliskerke), where almost half the initial support for his ultra-orthodox Calvinist political party, the Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij, came from.¹⁰ More recently, in the 1960s, the dramatic publicity afforded to orthodox Calvinists who refused to allow their children to be vaccinated against the polio epidemic was centred in the first place in Zeeland.

These incidents - and many others - have combined to give Zeeland a name for unbending Calvinist orthodoxy. With the same brush Zeeland in the nineteenth century is tarred as a place where the sterner sort of Calvinism held sway. But there are plenty of personalities and anecdotes from the nineteenth century as well: Zeeland's reputation for a puritanical, or orthodox Calvinist religion does not need to rest on evidence exclusively from before 1795 and after 1900. The orthodox Calvinist secession of 1834 (the Afscheiding) was of great importance in the province, and some of those associated with it in Zeeland became nationally famous figures. H.J. Buddingh, the first Zeeland Calvinist minister to secede in the 1830s, spent the rest of his life as an itinerant preacher, founding independent orthodox ('Evangelische') Calvinist religious communities in Groningen, the United States, and elsewhere, but for the most part in Zeeland. His erstwhile

disciple, L.G.C. Ledeboer, became equally well known for his work as a travelling minister, mostly conducted in Zeeland, where his followers eventually formed themselves into one of the strictest of all orthodox Calvinist denominations, the Oud-Gereformeerde Gemeenten. Another of these much persecuted seceding itinerant preachers was Cornelis van der Meulen, who serviced no less than twelve congregations in Zeeland, and who became well known for his work promoting the emigration of seceders' families to America. One more name which defies exclusion from this select list is that of Johannes Vijgeboom, a forerunner of the 1830s seceders, who set up his orthodox congregation in Axel in the 1820s. All these self-styled dominees achieved national importance, and have assisted the association of Zeeland as ^awhole with orthodox Calvinism. Finally, by 1899 the orthodox followers of Abraham Kuyper, members of the Gereformeerde Kerken, made up 12.5% of Zeeland's population, whereas the national figure was 8.2%.¹¹ The fact that the Counter-Reformation had booked successes in parts of Zeeuws-Vlaanderen and Zuid-Beveland served only, as it were, to keep the Calvinists on their guard, and to keep the standards of orthodoxy from slipping.

The unusual aspects of Zeeland are not confined to its religious characteristics, but extend to its socio-economic nature as well. Take, for example, its geographical nature and location. Zeeland consists of a series of diked-in mudflats forming scattered islands in the collective mouth of the Schelde and Zwin, and of the Rhine and the Maas, some of Europe's greatest rivers. This set of geographical conditions has had two principal consequences. Firstly, the water separating the islands from the

mainland, together with the difficulty of navigating the eddies and mudbanks in between, has always meant that the province has been to some degree isolated from the rest of the country. Secondly, the location of the islands in the estuaries of the great rivers - particularly of the Schelde and the Zwin - has meant that, in a commercial and strategic sense, Zeeland has been a very desirable area to have the use of and to control. So the island nature of the province has caused isolation, while its estuarine location promoted traffic and contact with other areas. More than anything else, it is this apparent paradox, or rather the balance between the factors of isolation and contact, which has accounted for the varying fortunes of the province over the centuries.

In the late Middle Ages the Zeeland towns shared the prosperity of the Flemish and Brabantine golden age of industry and commerce. At that time Middelburg was the seat of the English cloth staple, the location of the offices of the Merchant Adventurers, and a principal centre for the import of French wines. After the capture of Antwerp by the Spaniards in 1585, the rebel forces of the North closed the Schelde river to seaward trade, stifling the port of Antwerp, and the Zeeland towns like Middelburg and Veere were able, in the short term at least, to take over much of the international commercial function of the Schelde metropolis. In the first half of the seventeenth century during the hey-day of the Dutch Republic, Middelburg was perhaps second only to Amsterdam as a commercial centre in the northern Netherlands. By 1700, however, the relative decline of Zeeland's trade had set in, and as the economic focus moved definitively

from the Bruges-Antwerp axis to the Amsterdam-Rotterdam one, so Zeeland's commercial fortunes declined. By 1813, after the ravages of the French period, the province had been obliged to sacrifice all its old claims to greatness. The situation did not improve during the nineteenth century, and the designation in 1959 of the entire province as a Development Area, singled out for receipt of regional aid, underlines the long-standing and continuing peripheral nature of the province's economy within the country as a whole.¹² Only recently has new industry, and in particular tourism, begun to revive the province's fortunes. The tide has now perhaps begun to turn, and Zeeland's water-bound isolation (now much ameliorated) has now become an attractive feature for those investing in the recreation industries. The swings of the pendulum - from rags to riches and back - have been violent and severe. From a haphazard collection of tidal marshes Zeeland became a great centre of **commercial activity, but by the nineteenth century it can be portrayed as having regressed to an almost exclusively agricultural economy, remaining so until after World War Two.** This general account of the province's fortunes can best be extracted from the established literature on the history of Zeeland. W.S. Unger's standard work on the history of Middelburg¹³ splits its narrative into four periods, with the chapter headings reading as follows:

I: Beginnings and Early Development

II: Medieval Golden Age, 1300-1600

III: Second Golden Age, 1600-1795

IV: Demise and Slow Recovery, 1795-1945.

In the 1940s, the view of the provincial capital in a book issued by the British Admiralty was that the 'slow recovery' had not yet progressed very far: 'Middelburg ... remains little more than a picturesque memorial of a more active commercial past'.¹⁴

This contrast between the glory of the past and the mundane spirit of the present was something that obsessed most nineteenth century commentators on the economic state of the Netherlands, and in this respect the province of Zeeland is quite unexceptional. Until very recently this regret at the 'backwater status' of the Netherlands in the last century has been embedded in the historiography of the country as a whole. It is still relatively rare for historians to concede that anything went really well for the Dutch economy before 1890. The nineteenth century is traditionally portrayed as the economic winter of discontent, the unfortunate best-forgotten episode between the glory of the Republic and the energy of the of the twentieth century industrialization. This view of the Netherlands in the last century is like the one of the province of Zeeland writ large. But there is a difference, which once again makes Zeeland stand out from the rest. Whereas the Dutch as a nation regretted the fall from Republican supremacy to nineteenth century obscurity, Zeelanders, on top of that, had also witnessed a relegation from the top league of provinces within the Netherlands to the very lowest rung. It seemed, therefore, to be a matter of both absolute and relative decline, and of complete ignominy.

In contrast to former glories, Zeeland's nineteenth century

local economy had become almost exclusively agricultural. So, come to that, were the local economies of several other provinces, but again with Zeeland there was a difference. Whereas there was some degree of integration between arable and dairy or stock farming in most provinces, Zeeland was unusual in its extraordinarily high dependence on arable farming. Given the fact that the soil was almost uniformly heavy marine clay throughout the province, there was, as a result, very little diversity in the economy, and precious little flexibility. Changes on the world market in the price structure of an arable product like wheat could have devastating consequences for Zeeland's rather monolithic economy. That is, of course, exactly what happened in the 1880s, when the influx of cheap grains from the New World and elsewhere caused European prices to plummet. Zeeland was arguably the hardest hit of all the Dutch provinces in the agricultural crisis of the 1880s, if measured in terms of the value of her farmland. It fell faster and to lower depths than that of any other province. In the years 1885-93 it was only worth 64% of what its value had been in the period 1872-79, whereas the national figure was 79%, and no other province's farmland fell to below 72% of its 1870s value.¹⁵

Finally, it is clear from this list of some of the unusual features of Zeeland's history that it has a general reputation firstly for religious conservatism or orthodoxy, and secondly for economic backwardness.¹⁶ Moreover these two impressions have often been associated, and even linked causally.¹⁷ This thesis, then, will attempt to reduce the inexplicability of Zeeland primarily by providing a detailed account of some aspects of the socio-religious history of the province in the last century. The

opportunity will also be taken of examining any role that religion may or may not have played in the socio-economic life of the province.

In order to achieve these aims the work will proceed along the following lines. In Chapter II the historiography and received opinion on the province will be examined in some detail, identifying the areas where research has already been done, and those where it has yet to be launched. Chapter III will provide a broadly based sketch of the province of Zeeland in its demographic, economic, social and political aspects in the nineteenth century. From that point of departure Chapter IV will contain a detailed quantitative examination of the religious history of the province from 1815 to 1899. For the most part this will be based on two data series, one gathered from decennial national census information, the other from annual provincial surveys. Special consideration will be given to the effect of secularizing influences during the century. Chapter V will focus attention upon various contact points where developments in the religious life of the province may be thought to have affected its socio-economic fortunes. Under discussion will be such issues as the friction between Roman Catholics and Calvinists, the orthodox Calvinists' attitudes to vaccination, artificial fertilizers and the like, the temporal possessions of the churches, and attempts on the part of the clergy to affect the conduct of public affairs.

This approach will lead, in the final chapter, to several conclusions concerning the religion and the society of Zeeland in the last century. Reliable statistical evidence will have indicated the relative development of the various denominations,

where their strengths and weaknesses lay, and which sects were successful or otherwise in resisting any manifest modernization and secularization. The changing position and attitudes of the various groups - particularly those of the Catholics and the orthodox Calvinists - throughout the century may well shed some light at the local level on the evolution of verzuiling or 'vertical pluralism', the near-unique system of government and social organization which characterized the Netherlands from about 1900 to about 1960, and which was taking its form during the nineteenth century. It may also be possible to contribute towards an explanation of why Zeeland so often behaved differently from the other provinces. The examination of the effects of religion on the economic life of the province will allow conclusions concerning the extent to which the commonplace belief that religious and economic 'backwardness' go together is justified as far as Zeeland is concerned. And finally it will be possible to point the way towards particularly fruitful areas for future attention and research.

Thus the intention is to provide a contribution to the state of knowledge on the province of Zeeland, primarily for its own sake, but also as a secondary contribution to our knowledge of the Netherlands as a whole, and indeed of Europe. This raises the question of the relationship - theoretical or otherwise - between the history of any given region, and the history of nations or of civilization as a whole, and it is an issue littered with unanswered questions and unfinished, partial explanations. Some attention will be paid to these matters in Chapter II, and indeed this thesis may be able to contribute to the debate. But in 1971,

Pierre Goubert had this to say about the writing of local history:

The work of novices is generally worth about as much as their authors ... are worth. Most often, they simply confirm what was already known.¹⁸

Having launched that salvo, he moved on to the question of the most fruitful approach to local history:

Large provincial studies, concentrating on one important problem, analyzed over a long period of time (a century or more) - this is perhaps the best course to take.¹⁹

This work is intended to fall within the parameters outlined in the second quotation, while avoiding the shortcoming criticized in the first. If it succeeds, then many of the basic aims of the thesis will have been achieved.

Notes to Chapter I

1. H. de Vries, 1975, 118.
2. 'Zeeland laat een geheel afwijkend beeld zien' (ibid., p. 121). I have disputed De Vries' claim that it was Zeeland that was unusual - it can as easily be argued that Zeeland represented the norm, and that Friesland and the other provinces deviated from it. See M.J. Wintle, 1984(A).
3. J.C. de Man, 1850, 8-9; & A.C. de Vooy, 1941, 887.
4. J.C.G. Evers, 1882, 12; & A.J. Wichers, 1965, 172.
5. C. Vandenbroecke, 1981.
6. Ibid., p. 483.
7. A.A. van Schelven, 1916, 141-51. 'Mysticism' is interpreted by Van Schelven as an exaggerated attention to the inner spiritual life, together with puritanical and orthodox tendencies.
8. Whether or not the WIC actually was all that Calvinist is still a matter of expert dispute. P.C. Emmer, 1981, 73-75.
9. He moved to Middelburg from Antwerp in 1591, and was based there for some time until his involvement with the draining of the Beemster. See P.C. Molhuysen, 1911-37, & H.T. Colenbrander, 1926, 3-5.
10. I. Lipschits, 1977, 59. For further discussion of the SGP, see below, section V.D.
11. See Appendix 1. A detailed appraisal of the numbers of orthodox in Zeeland appears below in Chapters IV and V.
12. D. Pinder, 1976, 67-68.

13. W.S. Unger, 1966.
14. Netherlands, 1944, 227.
15. A. Venema, 1897, 850, cited and discussed in M.J. Wintle, 1984(A).
16. For example, the standard work on the socio-economic history of the Netherlands in the nineteenth century describes the agricultural economy of Zeeland in terms of 'a picture of backwardness and stagnation' (I.J. Brugmans, 1969, 163). In the classic study of Zeeland's agriculture, Bouman talks of 'hopelessness and passivity' in the face of nineteenth century crisis (P.J. Bouman, 1946, 376).
17. For details and examples, see below, section III.C.
18. P. Goubert, 1971, 123.
19. Ibid., p. 124.

Chapter II: Zeeland: A Historiographical Survey

II.A. Introductory

In the first chapter it was asserted that professional historians had paid only minor attention to Zeeland in the nineteenth century. This chapter will examine the existing historical work on the province, and will attempt to indicate the areas which are in particular need of further research and (re)assessment.

Since the last World War, Dutch provincial authorities have been active in stimulating, or even commissioning, more or less professional histories of their provinces. In a 1982 review article on Dutch 'provincial history', M.G. Buist suggested that this flurry of activity had its roots in the increasing unfashionability of national patriotism, and in the strong need of previously peripheral areas to assert their identity.¹ He cites the examples of the work done for the provinces of Noord-Brabant and Limburg, with their large, impressive series of scholarly monographs dealing with the region's history (Bidragten tot de

geschiedenis van het zuiden van Nederland, Maaslandse monografieën, Studies over de sociaal-economische geschiedenis van Limburg, etc., etc.). The situation across the country is as follows. The 'outer' provinces are apparently well looked after, the central provinces of Noord- and Zuid-Holland receive very little attention, a history of Utrecht is 'only in the planning stages', while Zeeland 'has got away with' a reprint of an ageing standard work, and some attention to the period of the Second World War.² Buist's explanation is that the central provinces of the Hollands, Utrecht and Zeeland have felt relatively little need to assert their identities, for the simple reason that they have always been the centre of attention. Within this dominant group, however, there are inequalities. While Noord- and Zuid-Holland have retained their economic prominence within the Netherlands, both Zeeland and Utrecht underwent what amounted to an economic eclipse. And Zeeland is additionally disadvantaged in comparison with the province of Utrecht because of its lack of a University town.

At the present time there are universities in Noord-Holland (Amsterdam, and the Free University), Zuid-Holland (Leiden, Rotterdam, Delft), Utrecht, Groningen, Limburg, Noord-Brabant (Tilburg, Eindhoven), Overijssel (Twente), and Gelderland (Nijmegen, Wageningen). Friesland used to have its own university at Franeker, and still has the important Frieske Akademie, which concerns itself with the Frisian culture in all its aspects. Drente has no university institutions, but has been subjected to scrutiny by historians stimulated in part by the very energetic local government and history association in Assen.³ The peat

works in Drente, and the textile industry in Overijssel, have ensured considerable attention on the part of economic and social historians to these two other provinces with weak university connections.

Zeeland, on the other hand, has no university, and has never had one. Rotterdam (Erasmus) university has few contacts with the province, and neither has the nearest Belgian university in Ghent.⁴ The indirect train route from the centre of the country to Middelburg has made it difficult and expensive for researchers - both staff and students - to spend adequate time in the archives, and in any case a large proportion of those archives was destroyed in the bombing of 1940.

Zeeland seems, then, to have fallen between two stools as far as her modern history is concerned. According to Buist's theory, because of the virtual identification of the central provinces of Holland and Zeeland with the idea of the 'nation' from the late Middle Ages onwards, Zeeland has, since the War, felt less need to assert its historical identity than the traditionally peripheral provinces, such as Drente or Limburg. On the other hand, local historical research has not had the stimulus that the presence of a research university can provide.

In spite of this state of affairs, there is actually no shortage of material published on the subject: the local history yearbooks and almanacs are filled with contributions, which come for the most part from highly motivated amateur historians. Nearly every village has had some form of local history written about it at some time over the last few decades. This kind of material is useful insofar that it establishes various basic data, such as,

for instance, the personal histories of the prominent figures in any given village, like the mayor, the aldermen, the minister, or the priest. In the words of H. Finberg, many of these studies have as their theme 'not the rise and fall of a local community, but the fortunes of one or two armigerous families'.⁵ A few of these contributions go much further, and provide useful economic data and reasonably systematic information on a whole range of topics. Nonetheless, in this genre, interpretation and analysis of the material remain characteristically weak.⁶ In order to clear the ground, there follows a short outline of the state of affairs in the writing of Zeeland's history at the present time.

II.B. The Historical Literature on Zeeland

II.B.1. Bibliographies

In order to assist in the use of these histories, there are several bibliographical aids available. For the monographs, the best exhaustive list is the Zeeland section of the computerized catalogue of the Provinciale Bibliotheek van Zeeland (PBZ); unfortunately it does not usually list articles in periodicals as separate entries. In the Encyclopedie van Zeeland⁷ there is a substantial bibliographical section. In certain fields the bibliographical appendices of standard works, like that of P.J. Bouman on agriculture, and that of M. van Empel and H. Pieters on the province in general, provide useful guidance.⁸ For the older literature, there is a list compiled by the publisher Altorffer in

1860,⁹ especially useful for the works on individual towns, villages, and districts. In 1950 the PBZ published a systematic list of selected titles, including many articles, arranged according to subject.¹⁰ A brief update of this appeared in 1980,¹¹ and the contents of certain Zeeland periodicals in the nineteenth century are listed in Volume XIII of the Dutch folklore bibliography series.¹² Concerning the nineteenth century specifically, a recent bibliographical aid is my own Books on Zeeland,¹³ which emphasizes the economic, social, and religious aspects of the province's fortunes in the last century. It has its limitations: 'It is ... a working bibliography, emphasizing this author's particular areas of interest ..., [while] books examined and then discarded are often not recorded.'¹⁴ Nonetheless, together with the regional sections of the standard Dutch bibliographical tools, it provides a satisfactory introduction to a considerable bulk of primary and secondary literature on the province of Zeeland after 1800. So there is material to hand, and the bibliographical apparatus providing access to the material is also present. What, then, is the general profile of the historiography to date on the province in that period?

II.B.2. General Works

The comprehensive works on the history of the province are few in number. The standard work, Zeeland door de eeuwen heen, by Van Empel and Pieters,¹⁵ gives a valuable introduction to many

subjects in the nineteenth century, but suffers from the interval of twenty-four years between the publication of the two volumes (in 1935 and 1959). Covering as it does the entire history of the province in all its aspects, from the earliest times to the present day, the treatment is of necessity cursory, and its main value remains introductory (its bibliographical usefulness has already been pointed out).

The earliest attempt at a comprehensive account is a sketch of the province from 1813 to 1913 by Willem Polman Kruseman, griffier or secretary to the provincial government from 1892 to 1918.¹⁶ It is now very dated, and shows signs of being somewhat partisan, both with respect to the province, and to certain interest-groups within it, such as the old aristocracy.¹⁷ However, Polman Kruseman's seventy-page essay remains virtually the only comment concerned just with the nineteenth century, covering the social, economic, political, and religious aspects.

Polman Kruseman's view of the province in the nineteenth century is one which might be labelled 'traditional'. According to him, the public transport and postal systems were very poor (pp. 66-69), the birth and death rates were the worst in the country (p. 70), and all the well-meaning attempts to restore the economy to its Republican glory were doomed to failure (pp. 72-73). Even the prosperity of the agricultural boom in the third quarter of the century only succeeded in making farmers lazy and slothful (p. 85), and he registers no dissent from the general view in the early nineteenth century that Zeeland's poverty and economic sluggishness were caused by a lack of spirit and moral fibre, and by indolence (pp. 82-84 & 91). Manufacturing is referred to only

in terms of the vanishing chocolate industry (p. 85), and despite his optimism, and an almost jingoistic confidence in the fortunes of his own era (the eve of the First World War) (p. 86), Polman Kruseman's view of the social and economic developments in Zeeland in the previous century was one which emphasized the missed opportunities, the failure to realize potential, and the resulting backwardness. The new canals and railway had failed to give birth to a new commercial boom, Vlissingen harbour still needed rebuilding at the time he was writing, and the floods still continued to take their terrible toll (pp. 100-11). But what could one expect, when dealing with what he refers to - albeit with a certain affection - as such an 'unprogressive' province as Zeeland (p. 73)?

In Polman Kruseman's eyes, the province was also backward in religious terms. The floods of 1825 had been seen in Zeeland as a punishment meted out by God (p. 106), the Calvinists were for the most part almost extreme in their orthodoxy, and in this respect had remained virtually moribund in their total refusal to undergo even the slightest changes in the course of the preceding hundred years. In fact Polman Kruseman suggested that in Zeeland the reasons for the reascendancy of (orthodox) Calvinism in the decades before 1914 were to do with the decline of the forces opposing it, for he could see nothing whatsoever in Calvinism itself in Zeeland in the way of a rebirth, renaissance or réveil (p. 113). He was quite happy to quote satire ridiculing the orthodox schism of 1834 (p. 114, the Afscheiding), and thought the political posturing of the Calvinist kleine luyden in his own era little short of laughable (p. 115).

Attention has been focussed on Polman Kruseman's essay because, although it is severely dated, it is one of the very few overviews of all the province's various sectors in the nineteenth century. As a result it has been heavily used and quoted by later writers,¹⁸ and no-one has, to my knowledge, ever taken issue with the general view Polman Kruseman held. In this way the essay can be assumed to have exercised some considerable influence. Its early date means that it has been available to commentators on Zeeland for a long time, especially to those seeking a general survey not afraid of imposing a 'character' on the period. It was easier to present a specialized study if there was a generally accepted opinion to which it could be related. I do not wish to overstress the claim that Polman Kruseman is the father of historiography on Zeeland in the nineteenth century. But his essay is an early and probably influential example of a view of the province in the last century which includes two points of particular significance: that the province was backward in a socio-economic sense, and that it was religiously conservative.

This view is reflected in some other general accounts. The folklorist P.J. Meertens (a Zeeuw himself) is the author of many pieces concerning Zeeland, although he has never attempted a general account of the nineteenth century. In his well known sketch of the 'folk-character' of the Zeeuwen, he emphasized their Calvinist orthodoxy, and pointed to the differences in character between the Protestants and the Catholics.¹⁹ Another prolific author on Zeeland, M.P. de Bruin, is not an academic historian, but as an archivist, and head of the provincial Documentation Centre, his knowledge of the province's past is probably

unrivalled. His writings on the nineteenth century are numerous, but the nearest he has come to a synthesis of his knowledge of that period is in his collaboration with T. Kannegieter in Zeeland bij gaslicht (Zeeland by Gaslight).²⁰ This is a most pleasing and entertaining collection of anecdotal sketches illustrating aspects of provincial life about a hundred years ago. Without wishing to detract from De Bruin's excellent and untiring work, it is only fair to point out that it does not, in the main, set out to systematize or analyse our knowledge of the past, but rather to unearth and narrate curious and pleasing incidents for a very much wider local reading public than the relatively small numbers of academic historians and students interested in the subject.²¹ De Bruin, and many like him, practise their craft by creating an atmosphere and by relating an anecdote, and they do it with considerable skill.

One writer in the 'popular' (rather than 'academic') genre, who has made a contribution very much his own, is G.A. de Kok. His centenary study of the engineering and shipbuilding works De Schelde in Vlissingen²² contains not only a painstaking and useful account of the history of the firm, based on primary sources, but also places this in the context of a well written and lively analysis of Dutch society as a whole towards the end of the nineteenth century. Perhaps a more characteristic book was De Kok's collection of essays on Zeeland, Sporen in de slik (Tracks in the Mud).²³ Anecdotal, and unencumbered by much in the way of a scholarly apparatus, it dwelt on the severity of Calvinist orthodoxy in Zeeland,²⁴ and was eloquent on what he called 'the future in the past' concept, which he suggests characterized the

aspirations of the Zeeuwen in the last century. He was referring to their hopes and expectations of what the future would hold, and to his assertion that those hopes were rooted in the glories of the Republican past. This backward-looking conservatism, according to De Kok, characterized the whole province.²⁵

The general works, then, from Polman Kruseman's in 1914 onwards,²⁶ have tended to portray the province in the nineteenth century as a place where economic activity was not very distinguished, and where social attitudes were for the most part very backward-looking, this being reflected in the orthodoxy of the province's Calvinism.

II.B.3. Specialized Works: Economic History

Leaving behind the general, all-embracing approach, there are several specialized studies concerning a single aspect of the life of the province. On the economic side, the principal activity of most Zeelanders before 1900 was to be found in some form of farming, and probably the best book on Zeeland in the nineteenth century remains P.J. Bouman's (1946) history of the province's agriculture since 1795, and of its Agricultural Society since 1843.²⁷ It was written as a centenary celebration of that society, the Zeeuwsche Landbouw Maatschappij, and it belongs to the best of Bouman's prolific canon of work on all manner of subjects. It has remained unsurpassed in its systematic compilation of the basic data needed for the study of the rural provincial economy in the



last century, with chapters on social conditions, on agricultural trade, and on credit and finance in farming. Bouman's work is indispensable, and well deserves pride of place, despite now being nearly forty years old.

Perhaps because of its prominence in the local economy, agriculture has received the lion's share of attention from academic historians. An important precursor to Bouman's classic is M.J. Boerendonk's 1935 doctoral dissertation on Zeeland's agriculture.²⁸ It covers farming from the earliest times onwards, and again is primarily a systematic compilation of useful data, rather than an analysis of those data. This is not true of Bouman's 1943 chapter in Z.W. Sneller's history of Dutch farming²⁹ on the agriculture in the sea-clay areas,³⁰ which provides a good comparison between Zeeland and provinces with a similar soil, like Friesland and Groningen. The showpiece of agriculture in the province, the model farm 'Wilhelminapolder', near Goes, has attracted a fair amount of scholarship,³¹ perhaps partly because of the excellence with which its records were kept. But this wonder of modern technology, investment and efficiency was hardly typical of the rest of Zeeland.

Outside the field of agriculture, academic history has not devoted much time to the province. The attention focused on the relative success of the Republican days, when Zeeland was an important commercial province,³² was not continued when it came to the nineteenth century. Again, that is not to say that there is not a great deal written about Zeeland. Zeeuws tijdschrift and Archief Zeeuws Genootschap, respectively the popular and scholarly local historical journals for the province, provide a continuing

stream of articles uncovering more and more material on all manner of subjects in Zeeland's past. What is more, there is a clutch of journals covering the history of smaller districts within the province, filled with similar material, such as Jaarboek 'De Vier Ambachten', Kroniek van het land van de zeemeermin, De Wette, De Spuije, Mededelingen van de Heemkundige Kring van west Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, and several more.

But outside agriculture, the economy in the nineteenth century has received only sporadic attention. Manufacturing industry was not a large sector in Zeeland in the last century. Perhaps as a consequence of this, a short list compiled by M.C. Verburg of factories on Walcheren³³ is one of the few attempts to assess the whole sector in a given area. Individual industries have been better accounted for: a good example is De Kok's work on the shipbuilders De Schelde, already noted.³⁴ The textile or calico industry which grew up in the factories of the firm G. & H. Salomonson has been admirably chronicled in R.A. Burgers' dissertation,³⁵ and the factual details concerning the garancine (madder) factories of the province have been assembled by J. Maclean.³⁶

Fishing in the nineteenth century has of course been chronicled in the local histories of the fishing villages, like Kesteloo's on Arnemuiden.³⁷ A more comprehensive approach to the fishing industry in the province as a whole is found in J.P. van den Broecke's book on the struggle against the water,³⁸ while local details continue to be filled in by new contributions on, for instance, the New Fishery enterprise in Zierikzee.³⁹

The service sector has also been the subject of some studies.

The infrastructure has not been dealt with in its entirety, but two particular surveys cover the network of ferry services by water across the province, taking in the nineteenth century. G.F. Sandberg's dissertation⁴⁰ comprehensively lists all services from the earliest times onwards in a legal-historical study, and a rather more approachable survey by the journalist R. Antonisse⁴¹ concentrates on the last 150 years. Both provide data for reference, without contributing very much to our understanding of the local economy in the nineteenth century. A contribution to the history of shipping is available in the centenary book of the Zeeland Steamship Company⁴² which (in the nineteenth century) plied the route between Vlissingen, and Queenborough in England. In this book, Professor Kuiler's essay in particular⁴³ gives an illuminating account of the failure of Vlissingen to fulfil expectations of becoming an industrialized bulk goods harbour on a footing with Rotterdam and Antwerp.⁴⁴ This issue is of course intimately related to the fortunes of the province as a whole, and Kuiler's work is very valuable; on the other hand the local economy itself is not the subject of much attention.

Finally, there are the works of Mrs. Steigenga-Kouwe on Zeeuws-Vlaanderen. Of the two publications under the title Zeeuws-Vlaanderen,⁴⁵ her doctoral dissertation of 1950 contains a mass of information on economic and social issues, particularly on the ownership of land. It is concerned with the twentieth century, but has a strong historical perspective. The work is a useful source of information, and there are elements of revealing analysis. Unfortunately, though, the overall impression remains somewhat confused, and it is probably of more use as a source book for data

than as a definitive historical statement.

II.B.4. Specialized Works: Socio-religious History

Work on the demographic situation of Zeeland in the last century is for the most part rather dated. A.C. de Vooy in 1941 gave an account of the circumstances which had led to the very low birthrates in Zeeland in the twentieth century.⁴⁶ His explanation was, in the last analysis, based on 'the exceptional mentality of the Zeeland population'.⁴⁷ De Vooy meant by this a peasant mentality, evolved in order to maintain the means of production - the farm - at a viable size without allowing it to be reduced by morcellement, or by any other means. In the twentieth century, when death rates were low and falling, this involved limiting births. This concept of a Zeeland 'mentality' (in this case originating with L. van Vuuren)⁴⁸ is enlightening, but in the end explains Zeeland within a 'special case' set of reasons: this kind of explanation was referred to in Chapter I as being unsatisfying. In a later article, De Vooy went into the strange circumstances in Zeeland in greater depth,⁴⁹ no longer satisfied with 'odd mentality' explanations, and came up with factors like epidemics, early marriages, infant mortality, nutrition, drinking water, and the nature of the physical work involved.⁵⁰ This was an important step in the right direction, but still the 'exceptional' side of Zeeland's demographic experience dominated the debate.

In other areas of social history, considerable amounts of

information have been amassed, and occasional analytical pilot studies have begun here and there to evaluate that material. Thus the spadework of the history of the press in Zeeland has been provided by H.P. Abrahams,⁵¹ and some useful work on the upper echelons of secondary education, the Latin Schools, has been done.⁵² The local yearbooks are bursting with folkloristic anecdotes; systematic studies are much rarer. A lonely example of the latter is the dissertation by Hugo Arens on folk tales in eastern Zeeuws-Vlaanderen and the adjacent areas in Belgium.⁵³ Van den Broecke's study of the history of Zeeland's castles⁵⁴ contains many details on the social life of the élite in the nineteenth century, and in the genealogical periodicals⁵⁵ there is no shortage of material on the personal and family histories of the province. Again, a systematic or comprehensive analytical study is missing.

On religion there are several academic studies concerning Zeeland, many dating from the 1930s and 1940s, when hybrid social science disciplines like 'sociography', 'religiography', and even 'religio-sociography' encouraged local community studies in depth. Kruijt's dissertation on secularization contains a close-range survey of the religious characteristics of Zeeland,⁵⁶ while useful studies from the same generation of scholars exist for western Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, and for Retranchement and Kattendijke.⁵⁷ These case studies are valuable in presenting an exact and accurate picture of a community, dispelling doubts, and clearing up misapprehensions. For instance, De Vooy is able to establish for the community of Retranchement which social groups were most likely to be church-going (farmers under the age of forty), and

precisely which 'perils' were presented by Roman Catholic 'infiltration' into a basically Calvinist community (virtually none).⁵⁸ Saal completed a similar exercise for the whole district of western Zeeuws-Vlaanderen.⁵⁹ At a much more impressionistic and less scholarly level, J.W. Dippel tried, while concentrating on the provincial capital, to paint a portrait of the religious features of the province as a whole.⁶⁰ The result is an attempt to build up a psychological-religious portrait of the Zeeland 'volk', or to depict the contours of the Zeeland 'volkskarakter' in spiritual terms, and Dippel quotes enthusiastically from such specialists in the genre of capturing the Zeeland 'social mentality' as Meertens, W.H. Weeda, and A.A. van Schelven.⁶¹ The result is an impressionistic pastiche, or the creation of an atmosphere, which does little to contribute to our exact knowledge of the province, but which is of assistance in forming a backdrop, always provided that it is not based on misconceptions. For the rest, the academic historiography on the religious side of provincial society in the nineteenth century is confined to studies of small parts of the subject, like the provincial government's attitude to the church in Zeeland in the French period,⁶² or the lengthy conflict over ministers' vestments.⁶³ In the more popular historical literature, religious studies of particular towns and villages abound - again, nearly every denomination in every community has had its 'history' written at some stage, whether recently, or long in the past. One particularly prolific author of such studies, J. van der Baan, active in the later nineteenth century, provided antiquarian rather than historical studies full of useful information on a

succession of religious communities, including for example Wolphaartsdijk, Bruinisse, and Terneuzen.⁶⁴ A much more recent example is Schutijser's history of the Roman Catholic parish of Vlissingen.⁶⁵ Once more, information, rather than analysis, is the keynote.

II.B.5. Standard Works on Dutch History

In the historical textbooks on the nineteenth century, Zeeland is of course mentioned in passing, but seldom is the analysis devoted specifically to any of the 'peripheral' provinces, and there is no reason to expect that in textbooks it should be so.⁶⁶ Occasionally, though, we are given a glimpse of the general impression of Zeeland held by modern historians. Joel Mokyr relates how, when the Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij (NHM, Netherlands Trading Company) was involved with the manufacture of calicoes in the 1840s and 1850s, it had to indulge in 'arm twisting' to get the factories set up in Zeeland. The profit motive was held to be so low in such an out-of-the-way location, that the NHM had to force its contractors to locate their units of production there, and the Zeeland factories had to be artificially subsidized for more than thirty years.⁶⁷ In his first class but now rather dated textbook, Paardekracht en mensenmacht, Brugmans refers in passing to the 'picture of backwardness and stagnation' in Zeeland's agricultural economy.⁶⁸ In his recent survey of the first half of the nineteenth century,

J.M.M. de Meere refers to the province on several occasions, and provides some illuminating details, but is naturally more concerned with a national picture.⁶⁹ For the period at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Simon Schama is careful to point out that war was often good news for farmers, and probably was so for those in Zeeland. He also observes that smuggling in the province was widespread, and was no doubt very lucrative.⁷⁰ In general, though, he characterizes the economic situation in Zeeland in 1809 as disastrous, quoting the words of the landdrost (provincial governor), François Ermerins:

‘The impression given by all the available information is of so miserable and discouraging a condition ... of the once so prospering trade of the inhabitants of Zeeland, that without a speedy alteration ... nothing except a total collapse and the annihilation of all sources of prosperity can be foreseen.’⁷¹

The overall impression is that Zeeland was not likely to recover from this condition for a very long time.

II.C. The ‘Received Opinion’ on Zeeland’s History

What, then, can be extracted from this survey of all but the most recent work on the history of the province in the modern period? What is ‘the received opinion’ on the fortunes of Zeeland,

especially in the economic and social fields?

On the side of professional academic general histories, we have seen that there is no very clear picture at all, but only occasional references which, by virtue of both their infrequency and their content, seem to relegate Zeeland to a peripheral position. For a more detailed and concrete position, we are left on the one hand with monograph works, and on the other with products of the local history societies. The general impression is very much in tune with the remarks quoted from Polman Kruseman's essay⁷² at the beginning of this chapter, concentrating on the economic stagnation, the social backwardness, and the religious conservatism.

As a fairly representative if explicit example of 'the received opinion' on the economic side of affairs, the economic historian R.A. Burgers had this to say:

In the first half of the nineteenth century Zeeland was experiencing a period of serious decline. Trade, one of her most important sources of wealth in previous centuries, had been crippled by 'the lack of interest in commercial ventures and the absence of an entrepreneurial spirit', and in the thirties by the conflict with Belgium. Wharves were used only as safe anchorages by ships bound for other ports. Industry was virtually negligible, and was limited to a few workshops of only local significance, and to the madder mills, which were not only dependent upon the wildly fluctuating madder harvest, but which were also under strong competitive pressure from the French mills. Under

these circumstances the foundation of a new industry would have been a godsend.⁷³

By another author we are told, furthermore, that attempts to revive the fishing industry, of which by 1815 'there was very little left', met with 'poor results', and were 'not enough to revive the industry'.⁷⁴ Only agriculture is seen to have been in the least successful, and this is generally viewed as a result of a fertile soil rather than of the efforts of the farmers, who were, for the most part, anything but progressive.

On the demographic side, because of bad water, poor diets, and consequent high mortality rates, Zeeland was considered to be a dangerously backward area.⁷⁵ It seems accepted that there was a 'special local mentality'⁷⁶ amounting to backwardness in social attitudes strongly reflected in the religious situation. This 'Zeeuwsche folk character' was manifested in 'their conservatism, which opposes anything that is new, [and in] their worship of tradition.'⁷⁷ In religious terms this conservatism was responsible for an unusually slow advance on the part of secularization. It was expressed in the orthodoxy of Zeeland's Calvinism, and in the general importance afforded to religion, which tended to exaggerate such things as the differences between Catholics and Protestants.

Now the fact that economic and socio-religious backwardness co-existed alongside one another is significant enough in itself. The linking of the two conditions - economic stagnation and socio-religious conservatism - in the minds of both scholars and the general public is almost inevitable. However, some commentators have gone further, and have explicitly stated that there is a

causal link, and not just an 'elective affinity' between the two conditions. Sometimes this has been done deliberately, with the author well aware that to suggest a causal link is an assertion of some significance. More often in the more popular literature the causality of the link is virtually taken for granted. The association of the two conditions is not confined to Zeeland, as can be seen from examples referring to other areas in the Netherlands. Without actually underlining the causality, Professor W.J. Aalders implied that the religious orthodoxy in the Betuwe region, as part of a conservative social make-up, had something to do with the fact that there were no factories, no canals, and no large farms.⁷⁸ In his sociological study of the population of the town of Sassenheim in the bulb-growing region of the Netherlands, I. Gadourek noticed and recorded an association between Roman Catholicism and agricultural occupations, as opposed to occupations in the secondary or tertiary sectors. He remarked that '... we find in this association a certain validation of the theories ... accounting for the more capitalist-minded outlook of the Calvinists.'⁷⁹

Focusing the spotlight on Zeeland in particular, H.M. Robertson used the province as a prime example of the severest kind of Calvinism there was to be found anywhere. In his polemical classic on the relationship between capitalism and religious belief, he represented Zeeland in the sixteenth century as the only place in the Netherlands where Calvinism was both genuine and orthodox, and not just a surface allegiance of convenience.⁸⁰

Writing of his own time (the 1930s), he remarked that

... the revival of Catholicism in the Netherlands in

recent years has been so marked that it appears to be only in Zeeland that the country remains predominantly Calvinist - and Zeeland is the least progressive of the provinces, a province of fishermen and farmers [my italics].⁸¹

In the nineteenth century itself, Frederik Nagtglas (another prolific commentator, this time a contemporary, and resident in Zeeland) also made the connection between economic stagnation and religious conservatism. Himself a progressive liberal in religion, he was of the opinion that the preoccupation of the Zeeuwen with the Old Testament, with the wrath of a vengeful Jehovah, and with the orthodoxy of their ministers, was only helping the rural population of the province into yet more severe socio-economic straits.⁸²

This association - causal or not - is more often understood than specifically stated, but it nonetheless underlies the approach of a great deal of the popular history written on Zeeland in the nineteenth century. In the near absence of comprehensive, analytical or systematic historical works, the idea of a conservative mentality expressed in religious orthodoxy, associated with the undistinguished economic performance of the province in the last century remains 'the received opinion'. One of the aims of this thesis is to examine the validity of that association as closely as possible.

II.D. Recent Developments in Research

In this brief sketch of the historiography on the province of Zeeland, it is something of a pleasure to be able to point to some fairly recent and as yet rather isolated attempts by students of the discipline of history to tackle the problems of the past in Zeeland. Mainly in the last few years, articles in the academic journals have begun to appear on the subject of Zeeland in the nineteenth century. The scholars have, so to speak, begun at the beginning, for the French period (1795-1813) has received the most generous attention to date. In 1971 a study of the provincial economy by J.D.H. Harten appeared, based on an analysis of an 1807 survey of occupations and professions.⁸³ W.M. Zappey has edited the Zeeland section of an economic survey of the country dating from 1800, originally written by the Minister for Economic Affairs, Johannes Goldberg.⁸⁴ I have done the same with a report on the local economy in 1808 by the Provincial Governor Abraham van Doorn.⁸⁵ These articles, with their general introductions and apparatus of notes and references, attempt to ratify and rectify contemporary descriptions of the economy.⁸⁶ And Van Holthe tot Echten has published two articles which make use of valuable archive sources for the period around 1809.⁸⁷

Concerning the rest of the nineteenth century, the peculiar demographic conditions of the province have attracted some investigation. An article on pregnancy-precipitated marriages by Engelen and Meyer is based on data taken for the most part from the Zeeuws-Vlaanderen communities of Boschkapelle and Zaamslag,⁸⁸ while the study by C. Vandenbroecke and others of child mortality

pays special attention to the Zeeland case.⁸⁹ The financial aspects of agriculture in the province are the subject of two recent articles by the present author, one on tithing,⁹⁰ and one on the price and ownership of farmland.⁹¹ The taxation situation in 1842 in Zeeland receives a fair share of specific attention in an article by Blok and De Meere, which is useful in providing comparisons between Zeeland and other areas in the country, both central and peripheral.⁹² In an account of the regional make-up of the Dutch national economy in the nineteenth century, Griffiths calculates the contribution of each province, including Zeeland, to a number of national economic indicators.^{92a} This is exactly the kind of close-focus attention which is needed in order to help build up an accurate picture of the province's history. And as a final example of these contributions, there is A. van Ommens' very thorough account of the local organization and caucus of the Middelburg liberals for much of the nineteenth century.⁹³ This also contains a competent sketch of the general social and political history of the period.

Another contribution to an updated, accurate view based on systematic and analytical research is being provided by certain student dissertations and long essays. Naturally these are of varying levels, standards, lengths, and qualities. Most remain unpublished, some appear as articles and monographs, some are edited into collections of essays. But often these studies are motivated by a strong personal interest in the area under scrutiny, and they are usually written under the supervision of someone with an awareness of the current issues in historical methodology. So, for instance, we have available to us studies on

a range of subjects like the economic decline of Zeeland in the eighteenth century,⁹⁴ Zeeland's representatives in parliament from 1814 to 1848,⁹⁵ the terminology of social class in a Zierikzee newspaper,⁹⁶ social violence,⁹⁷ two fishing communities,⁹⁸ Zeeuws-Vlaanderen before and after the Belgian secession of 1830,⁹⁹ and domestic service in the town of Goes.¹⁰⁰ One of particular interest for the subject of this thesis is W. Brand's work on the organization of the Roman Catholic church in the southern part of the province (Zeeuws-Vlaanderen and Vlissingen) in the 1830s.¹⁰¹

Finally, some of the local village histories written over the last few years are beginning to adopt high standards of historical investigation, so that as well as being coffee table literature, they can also be a reliable source of data and indeed of interpretation and analysis for the professional historian concerned with a larger area. One example of this 'new village history' is Aarssen's excellent book on the gemeente Rilland-Bath.¹⁰²

These recent developments in the academic study of the province's history have not yet come anywhere near providing a total view or interpretation. Neither will this thesis perform that task. The 'received opinion' still holds sway, for there is as yet no new version to replace it. But in terms of the historiography on Zeeland this thesis will have two objectives: firstly, to subject another quite substantial area of the life of the province - its religion - to systematic and accurate scrutiny; and secondly, to review the evidence concerning the supposed elective affinity between Zeeland's religious and economic conditions, both considered to be 'backward'.

II.E. Historical Debates Involving Zeeland

II.E.1. The Weber Thesis

The issues raised here will inevitably relate the discussion to existing debates, some within the Netherlands, some world wide, some of recent origin, and some of long standing. For example, any examination of a possible relationship between religion and the economy raises the question of the Weber thesis.

The discussion aroused by the Weber thesis in the last eighty years has raked over the issue so many times that it is necessary to re-establish exactly what the Weber 'thesis' is.¹⁰³ For our purposes, the crucial point is that Weber assumes 'the principal explanation' for the economic performance of various groups is to be found in 'the permanent intrinsic character of their religious beliefs, and not only in their temporary external historico-political situation.'¹⁰⁴ Thus each religious group has its own developed attitudes to all aspects of life, and these attitudes do not necessarily depend on the economic position of that group. This challenges the tenets of those taking a marxist approach, who would hold religion - or any other ideology - to be a function, This extension, or reflection of economic forces and their social consequences. present investigation, then, may be able to contribute something towards the debate on the relationship between ideology and economics.

It is a debate which has received a considerable airing in the work of scholars concerned with some of the problems covered in the present investigation, both in the Netherlands, and outside

it. Lenski's survey of Chicago in the 1950s is one of the best known examples of studies of this type, with unequivocal 'Weberian' conclusions, like his assertion that no Roman Catholic state could hope to be a leading industrialized nation.¹⁰⁵ Golde's study of two south German villages, one Catholic and one Protestant, was set up specifically to test the Weber thesis in 'laboratory conditions', and the conclusions echoed his master's voice: 'We have to acknowledge the religious factor as the primary force instrumental in shaping these divergences.'¹⁰⁶ Turning to studies of the situation within the Netherlands, we have seen that I. Gadourek was prepared to give qualified support to the Weber thesis in his investigation of the gemeente of Sassenheim.¹⁰⁷ A.J. Wichers, on the other hand, in his study of regional variations in mentality in the Netherlands, rejected hypotheses based on religious (or ethnic) differences.¹⁰⁸ The debate has been a long one, and has involved protagonists concerned with theory, empirical proofs, and polemic: neither side - the Weberians or the marxists - can claim to have 'won'.¹⁰⁹ If the great debate has brought the participants any nearer agreement, it is probably in the shape of an understanding that neither economic nor ideological determinism alone is the answer.¹¹⁰

And what kind of contribution might the present study make towards this seemingly endless debate? The 'received opinion' on Zeeland's nineteenth century history, which has been outlined in the preceding pages, plays implicit allegiance to the Weber thesis, in that it sees the economic misfortunes of the province emanating from a religious mentality. This thesis will examine the justice of that opinion, and, should it be discovered to be

unfounded, then as far as Zeeland in the nineteenth century is concerned, the 'Weber thesis' will not be proven. However, it is important to remember that this is not a project primarily concerned with Weber. Therefore, the opposing marxist theories - that religious mentality is an extension or function of the socio-economic situation - are unlikely to be proved either, even by default.

11.E.2. The Reasons for Economic Retardation

A specifically Dutch discussion has for some time now been testing the merits of various explanations for the disappointing economic performance of the country as a whole in the nineteenth century, especially in comparison to a neighbour like Belgium, which was just as small, but highly industrialized. Two major sets of reasons have been presented by the historians: firstly, 'independent economic circumstances', like the lack of raw materials, the shifting of the economic focus of northern Europe, the loss of the colonies, and suchlike. However, other scholars have put forward a rationale based on 'psychological factors', like the lack of an entrepreneurial spirit or a proletarian worker mentality, limited in-migration, and the absence of technical education.¹¹¹ It is true that this controversy has subsided in recent years, and that other issues, like the dating of an economic upsurge in the second half of the nineteenth century,¹¹² and the historicity of the alleged stagnation of the economy in

the first half if it,¹¹³ have taken over the central position in Dutch historiography concerning the post-Napoleonic period. But still the question of the 'mentality' or attitudes of the Dutch continues to occupy the minds of historians in their examination of the failure of the Netherlands to behave like England, Belgium, Germany, or the other great leaders in the 'Industrial Revolution'. In 1978 Dr Pieter Stokvis summarized the state of play in what he saw as a continuing debate:

For many participants in the discussion the crux of the matter remains this: was economic stagnation attributable to the prevailing circumstances, or to the mentality?¹¹⁴

This concept of a collective 'mentality' is one that requires examination. The classical portrayals of the Zeeland 'folk character' have already been referred to, and their strong dependence upon religious and spiritual characteristics has been noticed and emphasized. Although the academic fashion for analyzing the national or local character was at its height in the forties, and has since fallen into some disrepute, the concept of religion shaping a regional 'mentality' is still very much with us. In an article of 1980 tracing the history of 'volkskarakter' sociology, Bart van Heerikhuizen remarked:

Scholars nowadays are probably less likely to think in terms of the influence of the landscape, of the race, or of the tribe, but they do indeed pay attention to the differences between people from various religious groups. Generalizations about jovial Brabantine Catholics, and stern Gereformeerden [orthodox

Calvinists] from the Veluwe, are still alive and kicking.¹¹⁵

He might have added that not only Brabant and the Veluwe, but very often Zeeland as well, are the subject of many such remarks.

The present study will provide data from which conclusions about religion in Zeeland in the last century can accurately be drawn, and will endeavour to establish the precise effects of any resulting religious mentality upon the social and economic life of the province.

II.E.3. Verzuiling

A final example of a debate which continues, provoking research and analysis at local, national and international level, is the discussion around the origin, nature and demise of verzuiling. This 'vertical pluralism', as characterized by Lijphart in his Politics of Accomodation,¹¹⁶ was a system almost unique in its Dutch form, in full operation between about 1917 and 1960, where society was split into almost hermetically sealed vertical compartments, or ideological pillars. Only the élite leadership of each 'pillar' was in contact with the other groups, producing an endless stream of well oiled compromise measures, designed to maximize the ideological isolation of the rank and file. No Catholics were more Catholic than the Dutch Catholics; orthodox Calvinists could lead almost entirely orthodox Calvinist lives

'from the cradle to the grave'; and all this by virtue of the artificial separation from other religious or ideological groups. Until 1960 or thereabouts, the Dutch world was in effect four worlds: a Catholic world, an orthodox Calvinist world, a Socialist world, and a less exclusive 'liberal' or neutral world.

Verzuiling has been integrated into the development of a sociological theory of 'emancipation' in the Netherlands. This is particularly so of the emancipation of the religious groups: orthodox Calvinists, and the Catholics. For example, according to J. Hendriks, verzuiling is the essence of the third of four stages of the social emancipation of the orthodox Calvinists. Phase one (1860-1880) is characterized as one of 'Awakening and Agitation', phase two (1880-1920) is 'Organization and Confrontation', phase three (1920-1950) is 'Goals Achieved', and phase four (after 1950) is 'Reintegration into Mainstream Society'.¹¹⁷ A similar typology can and has been applied to other emancipation groups, for example by J.M.G. Thurlings for the Roman Catholics.¹¹⁸

This debate over verzuiling and emancipation has been further developed, and is now the subject of research programmes and discussion platforms throughout the Low Countries. Volume XIII(1982) of the journal Revue Belge d'histoire contemporaine was devoted to the subject in a Belgian context, and both the University of Amsterdam and the Catholic University of Nijmegen have laid out plans for wide-ranging investigative projects to re-examine the whole concept of verzuiling, from its origins - for the most part in the nineteenth century - to the present day.¹¹⁹ These projects have posed many of the questions with which this study will be concerned. The Nijmegen group asks:

To what extent do religion and the church still determine the ethos of the Dutch people?... How significant is the 'religious factor' in determining ethics and morals, social and political behaviour?¹²⁰

The importance of work at local level is also stressed in these programmes. One research project co-ordinator thinks it '... a most compelling option to give the local level of research [into verzuiling] the central focus',¹²¹ and another enquires of verzuiling and secularization, 'How exactly do these processes occur at national, regional, and local level?'¹²² A close examination of the changing circumstances of the various religious groups in Zeeland in the the last century may well make a significant contribution to this debate. If, for instance, it can be shown in detail that the Gereformeerden (orthodox Calvinists) and the Roman Catholics took substantially different action in the face of encroaching secularization, then it may provide an explanation of the particular form that verzuiling was to take in the Netherlands, as opposed to other areas.

II.F. Regional History: the Theoretical Context

The paucity of provincial history for Zeeland has already been pointed out. At this stage, it is worth pausing for a moment to ask why we shouldn't let this particular sleeping dog lie. Do we really need a history of the province of Zeeland? Why is provincial history written at all? Why not instead concentrate on the traditional 'national' history, or 'village' history, or 'community' history? What relevance can the results of historical investigation at provincial level actually have for the rest of the country, or, come to that, for the rest of mankind? The author of a contribution to provincial history may be assumed to have, as this author has for Zeeland, an interest - perhaps even a sympathetic one - in the province of his choice. But is there no more to it all than a whimsical preference on the part of any given researcher? It is as well to establish the theoretical framework in which local and regional history is written, in order that this work on Zeeland may eventually be integrated into the larger process of the writing of history as a whole.

In 1982 the anthropologist Anton Blok drew up a list of some possible theoretical links between the locality and the totality, available to historical (and anthropological) researchers.¹²³ He found all of them to be riddled with inadequacies. The most heinous of the theories is the fallacy that one can generalize at will from the local to the national or indeed to the general plane. This 'microcosm-macrocosm' theory implies that if it can be shown that, say, only coalminers beat their wives in County

Durham, then this will probably be true in Cornwall, Sussex, Bordeaux, the Congo, and Zeeland as well, whether there be any coalminers there or not. This tendency to try and develop Natural Laws from local research may sound ludicrous, but it is perhaps surprising how many studies assume that it can be done. It belies an over-attention, on the part of some researchers, to the importance of the results of their projects, at the expense of attention to their conceptual or hypothetical approach. In reality, almost endless diversity is the essence of history. In his account of religion and society in Europe, H. McLeod almost despairs of the extremes of behaviour he finds, which defy synthesis, let alone the formulation of Natural Laws.¹²⁴ What of course is hypothetically possible at the local level is to develop 'models' of economic, social, or political behaviour, which can then be applied to other regions, filling in the various variables according to local conditions. This is a very ambitious and difficult exercise, if only for the reason that historians concerning themselves with a small region very seldom have available to them, before the twentieth century, anyway, the quantity of systematic data required to indulge successfully in this social science model-building. One of the few examples of an attempt of this nature is the doctoral dissertation of Professor Paul Klep, on the demographic and labour history of the Belgian province of Brabant.¹²⁵

A variation of this theory is the assumption that a single community (or a handful of them) can be 'representative' for a region. In many ways this is a technique rather than theory, based on expedience: where it is virtually impossible for one scholar to

unearth the detailed demographic history of a region containing, say, a hundred communities, a sample of a few 'key' villages may be undertaken. The sample is of course an arbitrary one, for no two communities are ever quite the same, let alone a hundred. Some members of the French Annales School have¹²⁶ made interesting implicit use of this expedient, with their string of village studies. A more explicit use can become more problematic. Hille de Vries took a single gemeente in Friesland, subjected it to a microscopic examination, and then combined his findings with the results of a provincial survey to give an account of the whole region during the agricultural crisis of the 1880s.¹²⁶ L.H. Mulder, in his study of the Afscheiding schism (1834) in the same province, used a similar technique with less success, due to his concentration on his sample of eight villages at the expense of the province as a whole.¹²⁷

Professor Blok points to another theory of regional history which has been implicit in the practice of history at all spatial levels for about as long as it has been written: the 'bricks in the facade' concept. In this line of thinking, it is supposed that when enough local studies have been researched, a comprehensive study or synthesis of a larger area, encompassing all the salient points of the small-scale works, will be feasible. Each village's history, then, can be seen as a building block from which an entire edifice can eventually be erected. Lawrence Stone subscribes implicitly to this view in his 1971 article on English social history;¹²⁸ A. Doedens does the same in a recent article exhorting local amateur historians (in Zeeland) to produce systematic works, so 'that the large-scale picture' can be

constructed 'from the local, regional parts'.¹²⁹ In 1940 Sylvia Thrupp proclaimed that modern national histories 'rest on hundreds of patient investigations into ... local officials, ... local industries, ... the trade of ports, the fortunes of the peasant'; her prediction that a new international history would be written on the basis of national studies has been realized by scholars like Braudel, who has actually 'created' new supra-regional constellations.¹³⁰ The 'theory' is an attractive one, of course: the crucial point is, however, as Blok is quick to point out, that the whole is always more than the sum of the parts.¹³¹ This theory remains 'naive inductionism' if the fact is ignored that a synthesis is more than a mean average: the bricks are of little use on their own, but need foundations, mortar, doors, windows and an architect to make a proper facade.

Regional (or, more particularly, local) history can also be used as a social science technique, to test hypotheses formed at a higher level in controlled 'laboratory' conditions. The study by Golde of two German villages, side by side, one Catholic and one Protestant, is an attempt in this direction.¹³² Sociologists and geographers have also sought to use 'community studies' as a technique in this way, to examine 'representative social processes' under the microscope.¹³³ As a technique, local history can be interesting, but a village - especially one set in the past - can never be a laboratory, in the sense of a clinically sealed unit where most of the variables can be neutralized or rendered inoperative, so that one or two can be singled out and comprehensively tested under 'scientific' conditions. It might be contended, therefore, that Golde's ratification of the Weber

thesis on the strength of his two villages tells us little more than just what went on in those two villages.

The interesting point about the 'laboratory' theory is that it does at least reverse the direction of the other theoretical frameworks. It insists that local studies are usefully practised when ideas won from large-scale studies are used as the main analytical instruments. The assumption inherent in the other theories that local studies will 'help' us understand the macrocosm infuriated some of the earlier English local historians of the Leicester School, who were struggling to rid their public of the illusion that local history was a sort of training ground for real (national) historians. In 1952 H.P.R. Finberg exclaimed,

I am quite sure that to esteem local history only or chiefly for its propaedeutic value is to underestimate it, and that to treat it as an introduction or contribution to national history is to invert the true relationship between them.¹³⁴

Twelve years later, Alan Everitt (also of the Leicester School) reiterated the same sentiments.¹³⁵

Isolated local or regional history is impossible: the community exists in a context, and often the interaction between the locality and its surroundings is the most interesting feature of a regional historical study. In this area historians are able to make use of a battery of theories from other social sciences, particularly from economics and geography. There are theories embracing the relationship between cities and their hinterlands, between the centre and the periphery, and also concerning the mechanics of regional backwardness.¹³⁶ This attention to the

dynamics of interaction between regions and levels of regions is very welcome, and will probably play an important part in the eventual pinpointing of, for instance, the reasons for Zeeland's economic decline in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In summary of these various versions of a theoretical context for regional history, it seems banal to aim at the discovery of 'Laws' in the microcosm which can then be applied to the macrocosm of national history, or indeed to mankind as a whole. Similarly, the idea that local history is but a school for serious (national) history ignores the fact that a region cannot be studied in isolation, and cannot be properly understood if the historian is not acutely aware of developments and themes at national and international level. It is clear that local and national history differ not only in scale, but also in kind: source materials available at local level, like cadastral and court records, are simply not practicable, even with sampling, for an entire nation. This kind of source material, furthermore, means that variants of the discipline such as 'total history', 'the history of daily life', and 'mentalité history', are much more feasible on the smaller scale. In this way, then, local and national history more often complement than copy one another. But when they do deal in the same approaches, then the answer would seem to lie in accepting that the relationship between the local and national levels is two-way and interdependent: that one constantly refines impressions of the other, and vice-versa. Moreover, it is important that this reciprocity should operate through the questions and hypotheses which determine the approach of historical investigation, rather than simply through the results

of research. If local and regional history are to be of relevance to those working in other areas, then the initial formulation of working hypotheses and given assumptions must be conducted at as high or as wide a level as possible, in order to relate the - undoubtedly unique - occurrences in the locality to events elsewhere.¹³⁷ The 'asking of the questions' (vraagstelling), with which every historical investigation must - implicitly or explicitly - begin, should be conducted with as wide a backdrop as possible. With this as a basis for research, the local or regional historian can work to seek out the roots of general processes (like, for instance, modernization, industrialization, urbanization), and to explain the variety within these processes by an examination of the social conditions pertaining in his area. The operation is reciprocal: the local findings can then be used to modify macrocosmic hypotheses, to explain their variable functioning, and indeed to suggest new ones.

This discussion has, up to now, avoided the question of why a province - rather than a larger or smaller administrative area, or indeed a region which crosses provincial boundaries - should be chosen as an object for study. In the light of Sidney Pollard's plea for ignoring national boundaries, especially in economic history where, for instance, geology and not government has determined the location of the mineral resources,¹³⁸ it is wise to review the pros and cons of accepting the limits of the frontiers separating Zeeland from Zuid-Holland, Noord-Brabant, and Belgium. This is an issue which has posed particular problems for German historians, with much of their research traditionally specialized in the history of a particular Land, or province.¹³⁹

Local patriotism, be it loyalty to a Dutch province, a German Land, an American state, or an English county, no longer amounts to self-evident justification for the geographical delimitation of a historical study.

An 'ecological' approach to the problem, which assumes that local environmental conditions combine to make a region unique and separate from surrounding regions, seems to me to smack of a rather undesirable geographical determinism.¹⁴⁰ The realistic approach is probably the best: the sources are grouped and collected in such a way that it is almost impossible to ignore the administrative unit of the province. The province provides a manageable area in which to explore various themes, and in many countries, including the Netherlands, the boundaries of the provinces have changed so little over the centuries that although they may have been quite arbitrary to begin with, the traditions of generations have moulded them into a unit in a wider sense than purely the administrative. In many cases, there are natural frontiers which strengthen the administrative ones. In the case of Zeeland, the water has played an important part, separating the islands from the mainland, giving them a common interest and a common enemy. On a nineteenth century map, Zeeuws-Vlaanderen appears to be part of the mainland: this of course is a fairly recent change, as a glance at a seventeenth century map will show. But nonetheless the links between Zeeuws-Vlaanderen and Belgian Flanders are strong ones, and those between Zeeuws-Vlaanderen and the islands are weaker than those between the more northerly islands. We might look to the heavy marine clay soil, which dictated to a large extent a common form of arable farming. This

is an undeniably strong uniting factor for the province, but the same kind of soil is to be found on the Zuid-Holland islands of Goeree and Overflakkee, and in the northwest corner of Noord-Brabant: must we include them in the study? The natural frontier theory, then, is of some assistance in justifying the province as an area of study, but cannot provide a total answer.

In the end one falls back on the expedient reasons: manageability, and the arrangement of the sources. But there are two final points to be brought into the debate. Firstly, as was pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, the history of Zeeland as a province does not compare well with the situation in the other provinces in the Netherlands. In the sense that the history of religion in the nineteenth century has never been written, then it is time that more was known about it, if only to bring our knowledge of the past in Zeeland up to the standard reached in most other provinces.

Secondly, and most importantly, I have suggested a theoretical framework which is centred on a reciprocal relationship between the thematic approaches of regional and national history. The words 'regional' and 'national' here are unimportant: a more appropriate terminology would be 'small-scale' and 'large-scale'. And this brings the point home: the size or precise boundaries of the area for local study are relatively unimportant, as long as there is scope for investigating the problems which have been formulated at the outset of the research. If the source material will provide answers to the questions asked, then the scope of the study, and its geographical boundaries, are no longer the principal consideration.

II.G. Conclusion

In summary then, the ensuing examination of religious change in Zeeland, and of the effects of that change on the socio-economic circumstances of the province in the nineteenth century, is undertaken primarily to fill lacunae in the systematic and analytical history of the province, and to examine the validity of the received opinion on that subject. The central questions governing the investigation are formulated with problems of national and indeed international significance in mind; the findings will of course only apply to Zeeland itself. Nonetheless, by clarification and explanation of those central questions at local level, the questions themselves may undergo modification, and become better directed towards the problems they are intended to solve. In this way, a contribution may be made to continuing discussions and debates amongst historians and other social scientists, both within the Netherlands, and outside.

Notes to Chapter II

1. M.G.Buist, in *Regionale geschiedenis*, 1982, 34-38.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
4. Recently a liaison committee has been formed to strengthen Zeeland's links with the Universities: the Commissie Universitaire Contacten of the Koninklijke Zeeuws Genootschap der Wetenschappen (1980).
5. H.P.R. Finberg, 1952, 15.
6. There have been countless pleas from professional to amateur historians to systematize their works. One example specifically aimed at people with a historical interest in Zeeland pleads for 'a more structural reconstruction of the local past ... far too much effort is invested in researching purely incidental matters.' (A. Doedens, 1984, 48.)
7. *Encyclopedie*, 1982-84, vol. III.
8. P.J. Bouman, 1946, 573-79; & M. van Empel, 1935-59, *passim*.
9. Zeeland, 1860. The work is signed only 'J.C.A.', which were the initials of J.C. Altorffer (1814-89), a Middelburg bibliographer and local historian (P.C. Molhuysen, 1911-37, vol. III, p. 27).

10. Literatuur, 1950.
11. M.P. de Bruin, 1980.
12. R. de Gryse, 1971.
13. M.J. Wintle, 1983, 120 pp.
14. Ibid., foreword, p. 2.
15. M. van Empel, 1935-59.
16. W. Polman Kruseman, 1914. Polman Kruseman was also secretary to the Zeeuws Genootschap der Wetenschappen from 1885 to his death in 1918. See Encyclopedie, 1982-84, vol. II, p. 515.
17. There are, for instance, references to 'the old aristocracy, whose natural inborn privileges of a refined and distinctive life' will and must 'guarantee them their rightful place at the head of society' (W. Polman Kruseman, 1914, 93), and to the lower classes, which 'are now [1914] depressing our social standards' (ibid., p. 58).
18. It is to be found, of course, in the bibliography of Bouman's classic agricultural history: P.J. Bouman, 1946, 576.
19. P.J. Meertens, 1938, 249-52.
20. M.P. de Bruin, 1975.
21. This is not true of all De Bruin's work, by any means. His work on the history of the defences against the water is, for instance, very much more systematic and analytical. See M.P. de Bruin, 1971; & M.P. de Bruin, 1981.
22. G.A. de Kok, 1975. De Kok was, strictly speaking, the editor. The bulk of the research was done by G.A. Kemper and K. Cijssouw.
23. G.A. de Kok, 1973.
24. Ibid., pp. 39-41.

25. Ibid., pp. 91 & 103.
26. W. Polman Kruseman, 1914.
27. P.J. Bouman, 1946.
28. M.J. Boerendonk, 1935.
29. Z.W. Sneller, 1943.
30. P.J. Bouman, 1943.
31. See J.M.G. van der Poel, 1959; J.A. Kuperus, 1962; & P.J. Bouman, 1964. They all provide useful data and analysis.
32. E.g. J.G. van Dillen, 1925, on the Middelburg wisselbank, H. van Dijk, 1971, and H. van Dijk, 1979, on the political and social élite of the Zeeland towns, H.F.J.M. van den Eerenbeemt, 1975(B), on social conditions and beggary; M. van der Bijl, 1981, on early 18th century politics; and a host of books on the provinces of Holland and Zeeland as the centrepiece of the early Republic.
33. M.C. Verburg, 1950.
34. G.A. de Kok, 1975.
35. R.A. Burgers, 1954, 69-83.
36. J. Maclean, 1978. Madder is a red dye produced from a root crop. See glossary.
37. H.M. Kesteloo, 1875.
38. J.P. van den Broecke, 1970, 89-117.
39. See E.W. Smit, 1978(A).
40. G.F. Sandberg, 1970.
41. R. Antonisse, 1979.
42. Stoomvaart Maatschappij Zeeland; see P.W. Klein, 1975. Of particular interest are the chapters by J.M. Dirkzwager, K.W. Witte, L.L. von Münching, H.C. Kuiler, & H.B. Roos.

43. H.C. Kuiler, 'De SMZ in de golven der maatschappelijke ontwikkelingen', in P.W. Klein, 1975, pp. 125-65. See also the now rather dated standard work on Vlissingen, E.A. Kautz, 1933.
44. P.W. Klein, 1975, 135-41.
45. S.E. Steigenga-Kouwe, 1948; & S.E. Steigenga-Kouwe, 1950.
46. A.C. de Vooy, 1941.
47. 'De bijzondere mentaliteit van de Zeeuwsche bevolkingsgroep' (ibid., p. 887).
48. L. van Vuuren, 1930, 25-27. De Vooy refers to this article in his notes (A.C. de Vooy, 1941, p. 887).
49. A.C. de Vooy, 1951.
50. Ibid., 236-68.
51. H.P. Abrahams, 1912.
52. See R. Reinsma, 1975.
53. H. Arens, 1973.
54. J.P. van den Broecke, 1978.
55. E.g. Mensen van vroeger, and for Zeeland in particular, Van Zeeuwse Stam.
56. J.P. Kruijt, 1933, 130-39.
57. C.D. Saal, 1947; A.C. de Vooy, 1947; & B. Breek, 1949.
58. A.C. de Vooy, 1947, 65-72.
59. C.D. Saal, 1947.
60. J.W. Dippel, 1942.
61. P.J. Meertens, 1938; W.H. Weeda, 1932; & A.A. van Schelven, 1916.
62. A. Mulder, 1930.
63. D. de Rijcke, 1913.

64. See J. van der Baan, 1866; J. van der Baan, 1890; & J. van der Baan, 1894.
65. A.J. Schutijser, 1980.
66. No specific characterization of the situation in Zeeland appears in, for example, E. Baasch, 1927; J.A. van Houtte, 1964; J.A. de Jonge, 1976; J.H. van Stuijvenberg, 1977; or in R.T. Griffiths, 1980.
67. J. Mokyr, 1976, 108. Mokyr is concerned to portray all the Dutch maritime provinces, including Zeeland, between 1795 and 1850, in terms of economic stagnation.
68. I.J. Brugmans, 1969, 163. See above, Chapter I, note 16.
69. J.M.M. de Meere, 1982. See e.g. pp. 35 & 101-02, on Zeeland's urbanization and general demographic conditions.
70. S. Schama, 1977, 563-64, 569, & 575-76.
71. Ibid., p. 581. For a discussion of Schama's sources on these issues, see M.J. Wintle, 1984(B).
72. W. Polman Kruseman, 1914.
73. R.A. Burgers, 1954, 69-70.
74. E.W. Smit, 1978(B), 3 & 5.
75. A.C. de Vooy, 1951, *passim*. See below, section III.A, on demography.
76. A.C. de Vooy, 1941, 887.
77. J.W. Dippel, 1942, 215, citing W.H. Weeda, 1932.
78. S.F.H.J. Berkelbach van der Sprenkel, 1942, 106.
79. I. Gadourek, 1956, 373.
80. H.M. Robertson, 1933, 172.
81. Ibid., p. 171.
82. F. Nagtglas, 1870, 15.

83. J.D.H. Harten, 1971.
84. W.M. Zappey, 1978.
85. M.J. Wintle, 1984(B).
86. Other examples of the edited publication of contemporary source materials are the diary of the burgemeester of Middelburg at the time of the English invasion of Walcheren in 1809 (J.H. Schorer, 1963), and the autobiographical notes of a typical Zeeland gentleman of the upper middle classes (F. Nagtglas, 1977).
87. G.S. van Holthe tot Echten, 1980; & G.S. van Holthe tot Echten, 1983.
88. T.L.M. Engelen, 1979.
89. C. Vandenbroecke, 1981.
90. M.J. Wintle, 1982.
91. M.J. Wintle, 1984(A).
92. L. Blok, 1975.
- 92a. R.T. Griffiths, 1982. Griffiths is advancing along the approach taken by De Jonge a few years earlier, in an attempt to assess the economic importance of the 'outer' provinces in relation to Noord- and Zuid-Holland (J.A. de Jonge, 1971).
93. A.F. van Ommen, 1981.
94. G.B. Schoenmakers, 1965.
95. W.F. Harberts, 1973.
96. J.J.I. van Damme, 1979.
97. A. Doedens, 1981. This books of essays contains two on Zeeland subjects: one by L.J. Koole on the rail and canal works around 1870, and one by K. Glerum and M. Kippers on the Belgian Revolution.

98. T. Stobbelaar, 1982.
99. J. van Damme, 1983.
100. M. Jongejan, 1984.
101. W.J.P.M. Brand, 1981.
102. P.J. Aarssen, 1977.
103. For a re-examination of Weber's work and a concise re-statement of his thesis, see J.H. van Stuijvenberg, 1975(B).
104. M. Weber, 1976, 40.
105. G. Lenski, 1961, 315.
106. G. Golde, 1975, 2 & 183-84.
107. I. Gadourek, 1973, 373. See above, section II.D.
108. A.J. Wichers, 1965, 219-20 & 224-28. He eventually explains the situation in terms of boundaries of feudalization, romanticization, etc.
109. For some of the most famous contributions to the debate over the years, see H.M. Robertson, 1933; A. Hyma, 1937; C.H. George, 1961; L. Turksma, 1962; & A. Giddens, 1971.
110. This compromise conclusion is reached in the works of, e.g., J. Verrips, 1977, 233-34; & J.P. Kruijt, 1943, 75-76.
111. A useful summary of this debate can be found at J.H. van Stuijvenberg, 1975(A), 53-59.
112. For an early statement of the issues in this dispute, see *ibid.*, 72-74.
113. Professor R.T. Griffiths of the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam has played the role of enfant terrible here: see R.T. Griffiths, 1980; & R.T. Griffiths, 1981.
114. P.R.D. Stokvis, 1978, 523.
115. B. van Heerikhuizen, 1980, 665.

116. A. Lijphart, 1975.
117. J. Hendriks, 1971, 204-36.
118. J.M.G. Thurlings, 1978.
119. See J.C.H. Blom, 1981; & Secularisering, 1982.
120. Secularisering, 1982, 3.
121. J.C.H. Blom, 1981, 33.
122. Secularisering, 1982, 4. For local research, see *ibid.*, pp. 18-19.
123. A. Blok, 'De minaturen van anthropologen', in *Regionale geschiedenis*, 1982.
124. H. McLeod, 1981, 55 & *passim*.
125. See P.M.M. Klep, 1981, especially p. 14.
126. H. de Vries, 1971.
127. L.H. Mulder, 1973.
128. L. Stone, 1971.
129. A. Doedens, 1984, 49.
130. S.L. Thrupp, 1977, 265-67.
131. *Regionale geschiedenis*, 1982, 12.
132. G. Golde, 1975.
133. See the discussion in, and the examples cited by C. Bell, 1971, 39-40.
134. H.P.R. Finberg, 1952, 10.
135. A. Everitt, 1964, 38.
136. For a résumé of these theories, see the article by P. Kooij in *Regionale geschiedenis*, 1982.
137. In much of what follows, I am dependent on the article by W. Köllmann, 1975. See also the review of *Regionale geschiedenis* in G. Trienekens, 1984.

138. See S. Pollard, 1973.

139. There is a large theoretical literature on this issue, of which relevant examples are: K. Bosl, 1970; and the collection of essays on this subject in P. Fried, 1978.

140. This approach is discussed in V.H.T. Skipp, 1981, 394-96.

Chapter III: Zeeland in the Nineteenth Century

III.A Introduction

Location and Size

Zeeland is the province situated at the extreme south-western end of the coastal zone of the modern Netherlands. Originally made up of islands in the estuaries of the Zwin, Schelde, Rhine and Maas, by about 1900 Walcheren and Zuid-Beveland had become one long peninsular attached to the mainland of Noord-Brabant, while Zeeuws-Vlaanderen had become part of the mainland left bank of the Schelde. These changes were effected by means of reclaiming land from the sea and rivers. Only ^cShouwen-Duiveland, Tholen, and Noord-Beveland were left as islands proper. Nevertheless the province retained an overwhelmingly maritime character, with fresh or salt water dominating the almost completely flat landscape. Much of the province lay below sea level, and was protected by a system of river- and sea-dikes, which demanded constant vigilance and expensive maintenance.

Zeeland was one of the smallest provinces, and remains so today. Out of a national population of about five million in 1899, Zeeland had barely 200,000 inhabitants (4.24%), and thus was the second smallest of the eleven provinces, after Drenthe (2.91%).¹

In terms of land area, Zeeland was again the second smallest province, with 5.5%, this time after Utrecht (4.26%).²

The province measured 173,756 hectares in 1832, and 176,889 hectares in 1899, of which 138,653 and 148,183 hectares respectively were under cultivation.³ Those figures imply an increase of land area in the sixty-seven years of 3,133 hectares, or of 1.80%, mainly by means of reclamation from the water.⁴ Nearly all the soil in the province was a very heavy marine clay, which was extremely difficult to work, but very fertile if well tended. Near the dunes and along the border with Belgian Flanders there were some farms with a more sandy soil: these, however, were very few in number.

Population

Zeeland was divided into five administrative regions, and (by 1900) 109 gemeenten or municipalities. The details of the population of each gemeente will be dealt with the next chapter, but here some comment is appropriate on the population of the province as a whole. Table III.1 shows that the province nearly doubled its population between 1815 and 1899, increasing at a fairly steady rate.

Table III.1
The Population of Zeeland, those resident in Towns of more than 5,000 inhabitants,
1795-1899, with Percentages of Zeeland's Total Population

Date	1795	1815	1829	1839	1849	1859	1869	1877	1889	1899
Total population of Zeeland	114593	112699	137497	151358	160295	166092	177498	188569	199234	216046
Average percentage growth per annum		-0.083	+1.571	+1.008	+0.590	+0.362	+0.689	+0.780	+0.471	+0.844
Residents in towns > 5,000	31923	19374	29184	37154	38830	40063	39947	39699	50151	64680
Percentage of total population	27.86	17.19	21.22	24.55	24.22	24.12	22.51	21.05	25.17	29.94

Source: Appendix 1, & (for 1795) J.C. Ramaer, 1931, 254-58.

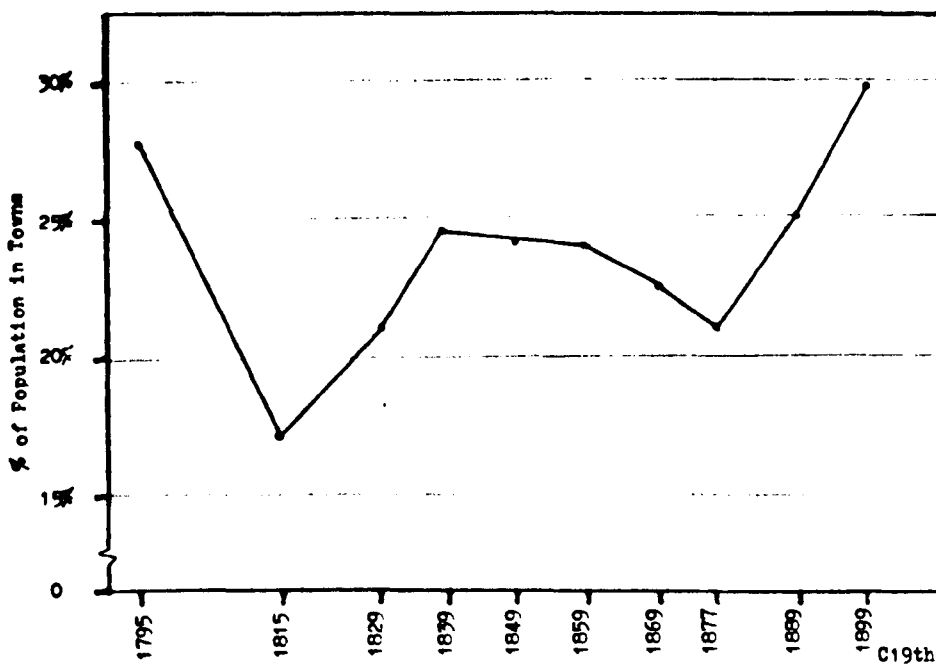
During the preceding French period (1795-1815) there was a drop in the population, and from 1815 to 1839 a significant recovery: the latter was the fastest growth of the century in terms of annual percentage increase. That the seventies were a decade of healthy growth, and that the eighties were less so (respectively 0.78 and 0.47 percent p.a.) is predictable in the light of the boom in the agricultural economy in the third quarter of the century, and the ensuing crisis of the 1880s. Concealed within the growth of the province as a whole were considerable regional variations between the districts: the Bevelanden, the northern islands, and eastern Zeeuws-Vlaanderen were the expansion areas.⁵

But this growth was meagre compared to the rest of the country. Only Limburg was slower in population increase between 1830 and 1899, and in the twentieth century Zeeland dropped into bottom place overall. The national population increased in the period 1830-99 by a multiplication factor of 1.95, with a province such as Zuid-Holland reaching 2.39. Zeeland only managed 1.58.⁶

Zeeland was not an urbanized province. Jan de Meere has

calculated urbanization 'grades' for the provinces from 1795 to 1840, and puts Zeeland in fifth out of eleven places for the first half of the nineteenth century. More significantly, he points to the decline in Zeeland and Drente in the proportion of the population resident in large towns, especially in the period from 1795 to 1815.⁷ Using a calculation which differs slightly⁸ from De Meere's, Table III.1 gives the percentages of Zeeland's population resident in towns with more than 5,000 inhabitants. These percentage figures are reproduced in graph form in Figure III.2.

Figure III.2
Percentage of Population in Zeeland resident in Towns with more than 5,000 Inhabitants; 1795-1899



Source: Table III.1

The changes in the degree of urbanization in the province over time are very revealing, and indeed reflect quite closely the general economic fortunes of the province throughout the century. After a catastrophic French period (1795-1815), recovery was rapid

until 1840. A reasonably prosperous third quarter of the century was followed by a decline reaching its nadir in the late 1870s (and probably 1880s), after which a recovery set in that continued to the end of the century and beyond.

One reason for the relatively slow population growth was an out-migration surplus. Very few people moved into Zeeland permanently, while large numbers left the province for good in the course of the century. E.W. Hofstee has computed some figures which clarify Zeeland's position in relation to the other provinces.⁹ From 1815 to 1830 there was actually a substantial surplus of in- over out-migrants in Zeeland, which Hofstee explains as a reaction to the epidemics and wars of the preceding period, and as a result of the building of the Ghent-Terneuzen canal.¹⁰ But this early influx was not characteristic for the rest of the century. True, Zeeland belonged to the North Sea coastal area which attracted seasonally migrant workers, and her dike- and canal-works, her flax, grain, and especially her madder crops pulled many thousands of temporary migrants into the province, for the most part at harvest time, for much of the century.¹¹ However, after 1830, Zeeland's figures show it to have been a province losing rather than gaining from non-seasonal migratory movements. J. Evers observed that in the middle decades of the century, Zeeland had the highest out-migration surplus in the Netherlands, and that, according to his calculations, this had reduced Zeeland's population increase by more than thirty-seven percent.¹² Hofstee's figures for selected periods in the nineteenth century make it clear that from 1830 onwards, especially in periods of agricultural difficulty, like the 1830s

and 1880s, the sea-clay farming provinces of Groningen, Friesland, and Zeeland in particular had the greatest overall losses from these internal migratory movements. For the period after 1880 in particular, H. ter Heide's study of internal migration shows Zeeland and Friesland losing thousands of migrants each year, with the surplus being taken up by the urban(izing) provinces of Noord- and Zuid-Holland.¹³

Writing of internal migration in the 1850s, Hofstee remarks on the very small number of gemeenten or villages in the Netherlands which showed an out-migration surplus in those years. Those very few gemeenten happened to be in Zeeland; this Hofstee attributes to the proximity of the growing town of Rotterdam.¹⁴ The demographic historian of nineteenth century Rotterdam, H. van Dijk, is concerned primarily with the period before 1880, after which he admits that crisis-struck agricultural Zeeland was one of the main suppliers of the stream of migrants swelling Rotterdam.¹⁵ But before that, according to Van Dijk, migration seems to have been a rather more complex phenomenon, in which Zeeland (along with the economically similar northwestern Brabant and Zuid-Holland islands) played only a minor role. Many of those who did move to Rotterdam from Zeeland in the pre-1880 period came not from the rural villages, but from small towns with an infrastructural function, like Brouwershaven: perhaps this was not surprising in the agriculturally prosperous sixties and early seventies. It is also the case that many of these migrants may have been using such towns as staging posts, in what Van Dijk calls 'staggered' migration.¹⁶ Most of Rotterdam's immigrants in the nineteenth century were of an orthodox Calvinist bent:¹⁷ the

fact that much of Zeeland shared this characteristic is not insignificant. Finally, the events at the end of the century (the 1890s) have been brought into relief by a study by K. Reyne dating from 1904. Taking the non-urban areas of Zeeland as a case study, he demonstrated the very large-scale migration from rural Zeeland to the industrial cities under the pressure of the agricultural crisis.¹⁸

In the first chapter it was noticed that Zeeland's demographic circumstances had attracted a certain amount of research on account of their peculiarity. The death rate was the highest in the country: averaged over the years from 1815 to 1879, it was 32.8 per 1,000 per annum, which was way above the national mean, and outstripped even the urban Zuid-Holland.¹⁹ The incidence of death by fever, dysentery, ulcers, and general 'underdevelopment' was the highest in the country.²⁰ Birth rates for Zeeland during most of the nineteenth century were also the highest in the Netherlands,²¹ as were the marriage rates, and the marriage fertility rates.²² To a certain extent these various indicators are coupled together: a high infant mortality rate may 'cause' a high birth rate; a high death rate amongst adults will often lower the marriage age, which may in turn affect marriage fertility.²³ Nonetheless, Zeeland seems to have held an extraordinary position.

This situation, of Zeeland leading the country in birth, death, child and infant mortality, and marriage (fertility) rates, did not last through the nineteenth century. The turning point in the 'demographic transition' in the Netherlands, when the death rate began to fall so quickly that, despite a descending birth

rate, the population began to rise very rapidly indeed, occurred around the decade of the 1870s. And from that moment on, the demographic indicators in Zeeland began to be less and less extreme, differing less and less from the national norm. From the 1870s until the beginning of the twentieth century, Zeeland's birth rate differed little from the national average; in 1903 it fell below the mean, and as the twentieth century progressed, Zeeland developed one of the lowest birth rates of all the provinces.²⁴ Similarly, the death rate and the fertility rate also began to decline quickly.²⁵

Here is not the place for a thorough study of these matters, but some of the tentative theories setting out to explain this extraordinary state of affairs in Zeeland must be summarized.

It has been assumed by many scholars, especially by those writing before 1945, that high birth and fertility rates were, generally speaking, linked to the high death rates. In a Malthusian situation it was not only desirable, but economically possible, for Zeeland to reproduce rapidly in order to counteract the high incidence of death and migration. So much of the research has been attracted to explaining the high death rates. It appears that the unusual feature of Zeeland's death rate was its very high infant and child mortality component, and the reason for that was ill-health caused by poor diet.²⁶ The diet was poor for many reasons, two of the most important being a low incidence of breast-feeding, and the atrocious condition of the drinking water, some of it so bad as to 'contaminate the air'. As to the former, Van Tijn quotes the case of the island of Noord-Beveland around the mid-century, where farmers' wives were coerced into working

together with their husbands in the fields. The resulting absence of breast-feeding is held to be responsible for the extremely high infant mortality rate in that period.²⁷ As to bad water, the contemporary medical reports on the supply read like horror stories. The towns received most of the publicity, with their fetid open sewers full of decomposing feces, their putrifying canals full of rotting fish and industrial effluent (acid waste from the madder-refining factories), and the neighbouring malodorous sunken marshes and bogs which bore in foul-smelling vapours on the breeze.²⁸ But the problem was not exclusively an urban one. The reason for the bad drinking water in the towns was exactly the same for the countryside: there was virtually no sweet running water, gradual salination rendered what there was undrinkable, the water table was high in the polderland, and the circulation was not vigorous enough to prevent much of it becoming stagnant. Hofstee points to the salination problems affecting much of the western Netherlands, to the resulting poor state of the ground water there, and to the devastating effect these factors had on the health of the inhabitants in the middle of the nineteenth century.²⁹ One possible reason for Zeeland's overwhelming preference for arable farming was the perennial problem of sweet drinking water for the cattle: it was often contaminated, and the rural humans probably did little better.³⁰

Not only did bad circulation and salination cause the drinking water to be impure, but the resulting stagnant pools provided an ideal environment for the larvae of the malaria-carrying mosquito. This disease was virtually endemic in the Netherlands until about the 1870s, and there is an indisputable

correlation between the areas affected, and the regions affected by salination problems.³¹

De Vooy's article of 1951 on the death rate in the middle of the nineteenth century mentions many possible causes for Zeeland's infamous leadership in the death rates, and most of them are to do with diet and water supply.³² One of the problems was the changing level of the sea, and thus of the water table. Polders were meant to drain naturally, and mudflats were not as a rule reclaimed from the sea until they were high enough to drain themselves at low water. However, the level of the sea water had risen over the centuries, and auxiliary pumping had become necessary. Schouwen was particularly low-lying. Drinking water piped in from other areas was to provide the only real answer to the problem, but only Middelburg and Vlissingen had this facility by 1900. Zeeland was a province dependent on rainwater, but there was never enough of it to go round.³³ Many were obliged to use the surface or ground water, which, until the widespread use of steam pumps to improve circulation, remained a health hazard.³⁴

Often, then, Zeeland polders were poorly drained, and the province was very slow to introduce steam into the system. In 1883, Zeeland had only five steam pumps working, compared with 160 in Zuid-Holland, and 102 in Noord-Holland; of the seaboard (polder) provinces, Zeeland had the smallest amount of steam boiler surface area by far.³⁵ By the 1890s her relative position had not improved. With only ten boilers integrated into the drainage system (550 sq. m. surface area), only Drente was less advanced, with presumably far less need.³⁶ On Walcheren, parts of the island were permanently waterlogged until relatively recently:

the first steam pump was installed at Middelburg at the late date of 1929.³⁷

But it is of course true that from about the 1870s onwards the use of steam pumps in drainage was increasing, and, equally important, that other aspects of water technology were moving rapidly forward. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the medical reports were finally heeded, and the water supply was much improved, by better drainage, and by the prevention of some of the pollution. All this may go some way towards explaining the gradual improvement of the atrocious pre-1870 situation. On the other hand, Hofstee has expressed his distrust for theories which attribute the fall in the death rate to the introduction of piped drinking water (much later than the 1870s), to medical advances (with the exception of the the use of quinine against malaria), or to other 'external' circumstances. He is far more sympathetic towards an explanation which rests on a modernization of the people themselves regarding their attitudes to personal hygiene, diet, and the like.³⁸

So much for the death rates. Looking at the problems from the other perspective, some explanations which have been put forward have concerned themselves with the province's very high birth and fertility rates. In a broad perspective, Zeeland was clearly part of a region of the Netherlands which had very high positive demographic indicators (birth and fertility rates) for much of the nineteenth century up to about 1870, and then increasingly low ones into the twentieth century. A great deal of research and discussion has gone into the problem of regional differences in the birth and fertility rates in the Netherlands, and all that can

be done here is to outline Professor E.W. Hofstee's thesis of a diffusion of modernization through the country from the coastline inwards. In a long series of publications he has maintained that regional variations in the reproduction rates are a result of a phased entry into the country, roughly from North-West to South-East, of a 'modern' mentality.³⁹ In provinces with high death rates, like Zeeland and Zuid-Holland, argues Hofstee, the sharp increase in the birth and fertility rates which was the first symptom of modernization (the 'proletarian interim phase'), was more easily accommodated.⁴⁰ When the second and final phase of modernization ('modern dynamic rational pattern') reached the coastal provinces in the second half of the nineteenth century, the reproduction rates gradually came down and fell behind those of the inland provinces, which by then were only just reaching the 'proletarian interim' phase.⁴¹ Indeed, Hofstee applied his hypothesis of diffusion to the death rates themselves, in an article in 1958.⁴² He pointed to the contrast between extremely high mortality in the west and particularly in Zeeland in the 1850s, and then to the quite low rates characterizing those regions by 1900. As an explanation, he suggested the early entry (around 1870) of a 'modern' mentality to the western seaboard provinces. This modernization reached the west first because of its coastal location and consequent long-standing integration into international markets, its advanced water-transport system, its rich clay soils, and its urbanization. The modern mentality allowed a relatively early acceptance and use of existing medical and health improvements. This explanation tallies with the emphasis laid by medical historians - in particular by J.A.

Verdoorn - on the crucial importance of improvements not only in the supply of modern medical and hygienic services, but also in the demand for and acceptance of their availability.⁴³

But this whole area of demography in Zeeland has not yet been really thoroughly explored, and is an obvious target for future research. For the moment the indicators seem to point to the importance of Zeeland's coastal location and commercial traditions, which ensured that she was in the forefront of social modernization despite economic disappointments, and to the technological changes which gradually improved an atrocious water provision system.

III.B The Economy of Zeeland

In comparison with its halcyon days before, say, 1650, the economy of Zeeland in the nineteenth century was one with a very narrow base. It was, in effect, a local economy with one leg only: agriculture. The only other sector which really thrived was the nascent service sector centred on the growing governmental bureaucracy in the provincial capital Middelburg. Zeeland's agricultural sector was the largest of all the provinces in 1859 in terms of the working population, and by 1909 she was still second only to ~~Drente~~ in this respect (see Table III.3).

Table III.3
Economically Active Population in the Dutch Provinces
engaged in Agriculture in 1859, 1889, & 1909: Percentages

Province	Percentage in Agriculture		
	1859	1889	1909
Noord-Holland	17.6 %	13.9 %	11.8 %
Zuid-Holland	20.3	17.9	14.1
Utrecht	29.0	27.8	22.5
Groningen	44.3	37.0	32.9
Friesland	45.6	43.2	40.6
Overijssel	48.6	43.0	33.1
Gelderland	49.4	45.5	38.5
Noord-Brabant	50.6	46.5	40.0
Limburg	53.8	49.1	41.0
Drente	55.1	49.0	48.5
<u>Zeeland</u>	59.4	48.8	46.1
Netherlands	39.9	33.7	27.6

Source: R.T. Griffiths, 1982, 533 (from census returns).

In terms of the workforce, she was far more dependent upon the agricultural sector than either Friesland or Groningen, the other two agricultural marine clay provinces. And as Table III.4 shows, this distribution of the labour force changed very little towards the end of the century. Zeeland remained an agricultural economy in 1909, and while her tertiary sector expanded, industry actually declined in the half-century from 1859 to 1909.

Table III.4
Economically Active Population in Zeeland from
1859 to 1909: Percentages

Economic sector	1859	1889	1909
Industry & utilities	16.1 ⁺ %	17.0 %	14.3 %
Agriculture	59.4	48.8	46.1
Commerce, transport & finance	8.6	12.0	15.3
Other	15.9	22.2	24.3

Source: R.T. Griffiths, 1982, 528-33 (from census returns).
+ includes construction.

One of the mainstays of Zeeland's economic power before the nineteenth century had been trade. Much of the Republic's trade had been with the East Indies, and after the French period the Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij was formed to supervise and conduct the trade with the colonies in the East. Middelburg expected a share, and was entitled to one under the NHM charter. However, to Zeeland's great frustration, the NHM began to concentrate its sales in one or two ports (Amsterdam and Rotterdam) at the expense of smaller ones like Middelburg, which did not have much in the way of return freights.⁴⁴ This relative commercial decline, often to the benefit of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, was not confined to trade with the East Indies. The important trade in Zeeland's agricultural produce used to be conducted through the market towns of the province, like Zierikzee, Goes, and especially Middelburg, which had always been

a major grain market. But during the nineteenth century, Rotterdam came to take over much of this marketing function, to the detriment and anger of the Zeeland towns.⁴⁵

A Zeeland commercial speciality in the eighteenth century had been the trade with the American continents. It was exploited both by the West-Indische Compagnie, and by various private concerns concentrating mainly on slaving, like the Middelburg Commercie Compagnie. By the beginning of the nineteenth century this empire lay in ruins: to the structural decline towards the end of the eighteenth century was added the death-blow of the strict imposition of Napoleon's embargo on seaward trade.⁴⁶ After 1770 a severe decline set into the West Indies trade, mainly due to near-bankruptcy on many of the plantations there. As a major investor in both the colonial plantations and the carrying trade which serviced them, Zeeland suffered enormous financial losses.⁴⁷ The Dutch slave trade had afforded considerable benefit to Zeeland's merchants (if not to her industrialists), but by 1800 it was virtually extinct.⁴⁸ And such concessions as the Scot^{ish} staple at Veere, long ineffective, did not survive the French period.⁴⁹

Turning to the manufacturing sector, Zeeland's industrial base before 1800 was made up of 'trafieken', or trade-based industries, as indeed was that of the Republic as a whole. When trade declined, therefore, so did the industries. This is not to deny that there was an industrial sector in Zeeland: by 1900 the canal areas between Middelburg and Vlissingen on the one hand, and between Sas-van-Gent and Terneuzen on the other, were rapidly becoming real modern industrial zones. But for most of the nineteenth century, the province's workshops were not very

prosperous. Scientific advances played havoc with her specialized industries: Van Houten's new formula for relatively fat-free cocoa saw the decline of the chocolate industry in Zeeland, as did chemical red dye (aniline) for the madder-processing mills.⁵⁰ Textile factories were never much more than a philanthropic exercise to reduce the numbers of unemployed, and increasing competition after the mid-century ensured their elimination.⁵¹ In a maritime province one might have expected to find a reasonably healthy shipbuilding industry, and indeed the De Schelde company in Vlissingen was one of the early and most successful really modern heavy industrial enterprises in the country. But the other wharves in Zeeland operated on only a very modest scale, and in the long term cannot be said to have had a great deal of success.⁵² Other branches of manufacture continued to eke out an existence, but it was all very small-scale, and very much confined to the principal towns. The number of the 'mills' connected with agriculture (grain, madder and flax mills) indicates that much of what is called 'industry' was actually the basic processing of the province's farm products.

In the transport sector, which was bound up with the development of the province's infrastructure, there were certainly changes recorded in the course of the century. Because of Zeeland's insular situation, shipping was an essential component of the local economy. The basis of the network was the system of ferry services which criss-crossed the province and provided links with the neighbouring areas.⁵³ International lines were necessary if Zeeland was to have hopes of being anything more than an agricultural hinterland, and one of the most important of these

was the Stoomvaart Maatschappij Zeeland, which ran from Vlissingen to English ports. The harbours from which these lines had to operate were a perennial headache, with their silting problems and their general deterioration. The major canal-building projects were also vital to the local economy,⁵⁴ as was the great infrastructural enterprise of the century, the railway line across the islands of Walcheren and Zuid-Beveland. It required the building of two major new canals, and the construction of new polders and dikes between the islands, mostly in the third quarter of the century. The line from Vlissingen to the mainland was opened in 1872. However, despite the considerable energies which had been invested, despite the significant improvements which had been made, and despite the giddy expectations of all concerned, these developments in the infrastructure failed to bring about the revival of Zeeland's golden age of commerce and industry. At the end of the century in places like Domburg it was just possible to see the beginnings of Zeeland's economic saviour of the twentieth century: tourism.⁵⁵ But for most of the last century, the province's isolation was a factor which gave very few economic advantages indeed.

The financial sector in Zeeland was perhaps one of the healthiest, but it did not often work to the advantage of the local economy. Most investment business was placed through local agents with brokers in the Holland cities.⁵⁶ The specifically Zeeuws financial enterprise of investment in the West Indies plantations was an unmitigated disaster.⁵⁷ The fishing industry had some localized successes in the nineteenth century, like the new oyster-farming business, and the shrimp and mussel fisheries

in the Schelde estuary. But deep-sea fishing, as practised from Arnemuiden (and to a lesser extent from other ports like Zierikzee) was characterized by relative and absolute decline.⁵⁸

So at the end of the day the provincial economy was to a very large extent dependent upon agriculture, and finally in this sketch of the socio-economic background in Zeeland, it will be useful to outline the general profile of the agricultural economy. Bouman's now classic work on the province continues to cover the ground very efficiently:⁵⁹ what follows is intended to be no more than a convenient summary.

Partly because of the nature of the soil, but also because of generations of tradition, nearly all the province's farming was of one basic type, dubbed the 'Zeeuwsche tarwe-teelt' (Zeeland wheat cultivation) by W.C.H. Staring.⁶⁰ This implied a heavy bias towards arable farming: less than a quarter of the farmland was under pasture in 1899 (23.65%).⁶¹ Only on Walcheren, around the provincial capital, was dairy farming to be found on any scale. It is worth dwelling for a moment on this strong leaning towards arable farming. Under the early Republic, arable farming and especially grain farming had come under pressure as the merchants nurtured and built up the vast trade in grain imported from the Baltic. This was the sector destined to become the 'mother-trade' (moedernegotie) of the Dutch staple.⁶² At the time (the first half of the seventeenth century), Zeeland complained bitterly of the competition for her grain farmers, and demanded prohibitive tariffs on grain imports.⁶³ In the nineteenth century, Zeeland had few cattle (in 1883 the fewest of all provinces except Drente),⁶⁴ and her dairy produce did not enjoy a good reputation.⁶⁵ The

cultivation was centred on wheat, and indeed Zeeland was the principal producer of that crop in the Netherlands.⁶⁶ The rootcrop madder (used for making textile dyes) was a speciality of the province, and demanded long, careful and highly skilled cultivation.

The soil once more was a major factor in determining the approximate size of the farming units. Whereas on lighter sandy soils the land could be farmed in small units, in most of Zeeland it was essential to use costly capital equipment - draught horses and farm implements - in order to till the land properly. Accordingly, there was a minimum size of farm below which the maintenance of the necessary capital goods was not really viable. So in a country where agriculture tended to be very capital- and labour-intensive, Zeeland had relatively large farms compared to the provinces with lighter soil. At the beginning of the century the mean size of farm was not far short of fifty hectares, and by 1900 it was still about twenty, although the median size was much smaller.⁶⁷ The reason for the declining size was an ever-increasing escalation of the labour and capital input into the same area of land. This effected an increase in production and in productivity, which in turn reduced - within limits - the minimum area from which a given number of people might live. Other factors included a certain amount of morcellement, due to an absence of strict primogeniture, and, towards the end of the century, certain social changes which allowed more families of modest means to run their own farms.⁶⁸

Relatively few farmers were owners of the land they cultivated. Changes in the ownership of the land were

considerable, but in general it can be said that tenancy was dominant in Zeeland - more so than in any other province.⁶⁹ Nearly all farmland in Zeeland was subject to tithing,⁷⁰ and tenancies in the province were by tradition short, at seven years.⁷¹ These factors exercised a braking effect on technological improvements such as field drainage and the like, for the capital expended on such projects was difficult to recoup in increased yields and profits in the short time upon which tenants could rely, especially under a restrictive tithing system. Much of the produce, especially the wheat, and the cash-crops like madder and beets, was exported from the province to the rest of the Netherlands and abroad, for the most part (and increasingly) via Rotterdam.⁷²

Agriculture in Zeeland, then, had its own special character, and indeed had its problems, but as the main pillar of the provincial economy it was reasonably well ordered, and fully integrated into the market economy of northern Europe.

III.C Retardation of the Local Economy

III.C.1. Economic Factors

Apart from the modest record of achievement in agriculture, the economic performance was rather undistinguished. There is of course no single reason for this, but amongst the various economic explanations, three in particular stand out: the geography of the province, various structural features of its economy, and capital deprivation.

Putting aside weather conditions, perhaps the most vital economic characteristic of an area is its geographical location. Zeeland's shape and position - islands in one of Europe's major estuaries - was responsible for a large proportion of her economic fortunes. As we saw in Chapter I, Walcheren's prosperity in the sixteenth century had been based on its location on the route to Antwerp and the constellation of Flemish towns which formed the economic focus of northern Europe at the time. After the fall of Antwerp in 1585, there was a change in the economic geography of northern Europe, with the focus moving northwards towards Amsterdam, and this continued to take its toll on Zeeland in the eighteenth century.⁷³ By about 1900, another axis of economic power was emerging: the route between the industrial

might of England's midlands, and that of the coalfields of northern Europe in Wallonia, in the German Ruhr, and in northern France. When after 1850 the Dutch found themselves moving closer to the focus of economic life once again as a result of their position between these new industrial titans,⁷⁴ Zeeland too could feel some hope. Indeed, the expectations of the role that Vlissingen might play in connecting the German and British industrial cores were wild and unfettered.⁷⁵ The success of enterprises like De Schelde and the Stoomvaart Maatschappij Zeeland was undoubtedly based on a changed economic-geographical situation, which had granted new favour to a position on the Walcheren coast.⁷⁶ But for the eighteenth century, and most of the nineteenth, the location of Zeeland, with its less-than-perfect access to the industrial hinterland, put it at a disadvantage compared with the cities of Holland, with the northern German towns, and with the port of Antwerp when it was opened again to the sea in 1813.

Besides the difficulties caused by geographical location, the Zeeland economy suffered from certain structural problems, two of the most important of which were over-specialization, and high wage-levels. A debate continues around the relative importance of wages in 'retarding' the Dutch industrial sector in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁷⁷ The principal dichotomy in Dutch wage levels was between the highly paid workers in the coastal provinces, and the lower paid ones inland. Amongst the coastal provinces, Noord-Holland had the highest wages, followed by Zuid-Holland and Zeeland.⁷⁸ As a result, if a new enterprise were to be established, the entrepreneur would tend to choose an area (all

other things being equal) with lower wages in order to keep down his production costs. As a high wage area, Zeeland therefore suffered. On the other hand, it is often the case that high wages stimulate an economy by creating a healthy demand for manufactured goods on the home market. Unfortunately Zeeland was not able to benefit from this aspect of high earnings: wages were high because the cost of living was high, and that was inflated because of very high levels of local indirect taxation.⁷⁹ Other areas had equally high wages - Zuid-Holland, for instance - but Zeeland did not share Zuid-Holland's infrastructural advantages at the mouth of the Rhine.

The other unusual feature in the structure of Zeeland's economy was the over-concentration on one sector. The very fact that her other economic sectors were relatively weak gave the local economy a lean towards agriculture, and gave an impression of inequilibrium. More than that, as we have seen, agriculture in the province was almost exclusively arable, with very limited amounts of dairy- and stock-farming. This put, as it were, all the province's economic eggs in one basket. If conditions were unfavourable for arable farming in Friesland, they could and would expand the dairy side of the business. Zeeland, however, had very little to fall back upon.

Finally, there is the question of the availability of capital. Now capital is one indispensable ingredient for modern economic growth. Relatively underdeveloped regions tend, in the nature of things, to experience capital shortages. A financial system in the free market often tends '...to become an instrument for siphoning off the savings from the poorer regions to the

richer and more progressive ones where the returns on capital are high and secure.⁸⁰ This is exactly what happened in Zeeland: any available savings went into the international money market run from Amsterdam, and not into the provincial economy. Added to this is the fact that, even in its hey-day, Zeeland had always been short of capital in comparison to Noord- and Zuid-Holland.⁸¹ Agriculture in Zeeland was always on the look-out for more working capital.⁸² The province's agricultural society, the Zeeuwsche Landbouw Maatschappij, was a constant campaigner for increases in the availability of capital to farmers, especially in the crisis-ridden eighties.⁸³ Farmers were desperately short of capital to finance the purchase of seed and chemical fertilizer. This led, in part, to the discrepancies between sugarbeet farmers and the industrialist-processors, who tried to control the farmers by advancing them credit on strict conditions.⁸⁴ It also led, towards the end of the century, to the formation of agricultural purchasing co-operatives. In another agricultural industry, the processing of madder, the increasing proportion of the roots exported from the province to be pulverized and processed elsewhere was reckoned to be costing Zeeland some of its profit, and to be due simply to a lack of capital for investment in the mills or meestoven.⁸⁵

Not only in agriculture was there a demand for capital, but also in the other economic sectors. To name but a few examples, a mill in the capital, the Middelburgsche Stoompellerij en Meelfabriek, was desperately seeking capital in the sixties;⁸⁶ the founders of the steamship company the Stoomvaart Maatschappij Zeeland experienced considerable trouble in putting together the

necessary funds in Zeeland;⁸⁷ and the new oyster-beds in Yerseke had to be developed with capital from outside.⁸⁸ These instances do not demonstrate that Zeeland was starved of capital - merely that capital was a sought-after commodity there. Some capital did exist in Zeeland: the wealthy élite families, often the descendants of the regent oligarchy which had ruled Zeeland under the Republic, could be counted upon to invest token amounts of their considerable fortunes in local enterprises. In shipping, for instance, it was entirely normal for a scion of the Schorer or Hurgronje dynasties to buy a share in a keel laid down on one of Zeeland's wharves.⁸⁹ But the bulk of the élite's capital was deposited outside the province.⁹⁰ Perhaps this capital deficit was actually no larger than in other agricultural provinces: these things are extremely difficult to measure. In a province where farming was the overwhelmingly dominant economic sector, and farmers' profits were the principal source of capital accumulation, the diversion of those profits away from the development opportunities in the local economy could bring about what amounted to a situation of 'retardation'. Two ways in which this was effected are as follows. Tithes were paid as a rule to seigneurial lords of the manor, who invested these profits creamed off Zeeland's agriculture outside the province. There is conclusive evidence that Zeeland suffered more than the other provinces from this disability.⁹¹ Secondly there is proof that, in a farming province where the level of land tenancy was very high indeed, transactions on the land market over a long period of time in the nineteenth century led to severe financial losses being sustained by the Zeeland farmers.⁹² Those losses, most of which

left the province, were representative of the profits of Zeeland's only really successful economic sector.

In these two ways, then, tithing and land sales, and no doubt in others as well, a degree of retardation was caused by the inability of agriculture to accumulate capital which could be invested in new economic activity.

III.C.2. Retardation: Social Factors

Lastly, there is the question of the influence of social factors on the economy of a region, and it is a question which forms an important part of the subject matter of this thesis. It is here, in this grey area between the hard facts of economic performance and the charm of the world we have lost, that research is most needed.

In the first half of the century, the socio-political scene was dominated by the old regent families, whose representatives in the controlling offices of the provincial government brooked no change, and allowed no new blood to penetrate their ranks. In the 1830s, J.E. Wagenaer, a radical (if rather off-beam) pamphleteer, spoke of Zeeland in terms of '... this black gloom of darkness';⁹³ and recently A.F. van Ommen has characterized the politics of Middelburg in the following words:

In Zeeland's capital in the forties, conservatism so engulfed the whole political atmosphere that no-one even

dared to apply for external membership of the liberal Amstel Society.⁹⁴

A set of conservative - not to say reactionary - Provincial Governors prior to the mid-century ensured that any liberal aspirations were nipped firmly in the bud. In Baron H.J. van Doorn van Westkapelle (Governor of Zeeland 1818-26), who went on to be Minister for Internal Affairs and ^{Vice-}Chairman of the Council of State,⁹⁵ and Baron E. van Vredenburg (Governor 1826-53), Zeeland had chief executives in the conservative mould.

Not everyone, however, went along with this reactionary tone. Professor Van Tijn has portrayed mid-century liberalism as an emancipation movement of the outer provinces in the Netherlands, and Zeeland played a role here too.⁹⁶ As Van Ommen explains, the role was an ambivalent one, because of Zeeland's geographical and traditional associations with the dominant Holland provinces.⁹⁷ Nonetheless, certain elements were acutely aware of the damage done to Zeeland's trading sector by the Holland ports of Rotterdam and Amsterdam.⁹⁸ There were stirrings at local level around the mid-century, which reflected the accession to power on the national plane by the Thorbeckian liberals in 1848. A symbol of those stirrings was the dismissal of the seventy-two-year-old Van Vredenburg from the post of Commissaris des Konings (the newly styled office of Provincial Governor) in 1853. Thorbecke was understandably aware that his reforms were bound to founder at local level with such ancien régime figureheads in the key posts. So he demanded the old man's resignation, and despite great histrionics and outrage on the part of Van Vredenburg, Thorbecke achieved his intention.⁹⁹ The radical (lilliput) press in Zeeland

also showed that not everyone in the province was content with the ruling conservatism: in the forties the Vlissingsche Courant and the Zierikzeesche Nieuwsbode were important radical liberal opposition newspapers, both from within Zeeland.¹⁰⁰ Towards the third quarter of the nineteenth century, other groups began to enter ^{the} political arena in Zeeland, as well as at a national level. For example, the Catholics, with a power base in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, began to challenge the monopoly of the liberals in representing Zeeland in parliament, using the education issue as their rallying point.¹⁰¹ Nonetheless, only detailed further research will confirm or deny the general impression that, despite these new departures, Zeeland was slow to follow the national lead in the social and political emancipation of new groups in the second half of the century. In Middelburg, anyway, there is little doubt that the traditional local élite remained dominant for most of the century.¹⁰² A vitriolic pamphlet of 1879 was still directing its fury at the closed ranks of the élite on the town council of Middelburg. There was no room allowed, the pamphleteer claimed, amongst this oligarchical closed shop, for public opinion, or for the middle classes.¹⁰³ And the liberal Frederik Nagtglas, although elected to membership of the Middelburg council from 1872 to 1884, was blackballed in 1883 from the office of alderman, because (he alleged bitterly) he was not a member of the traditional patriciate.¹⁰⁴

Outside the towns the situation was different. In most of Zeeland's 109 municipalities, the world of politics was very far away for most of the century. A cliché vision of traditional village communities in Zeeland, closed off from the world outside,

is probably not very far from the truth. Before the inroads made by improved transport and communications, and by the technological and economic changes enforced by the agricultural crisis of the 1880s, a typical Zeeland village community was probably to a large extent a closed society. Its unified and internally integrated cohesion would have been enhanced by the involvement of almost everyone in an almost identical economic activity - arable farming - and (in the earlier part of the century) the almost universal membership of either the Catholic or the mainstream Calvinist Church. This was, then, 'The World We Have Lost', the 'traditional' village society of yesteryear, the community life which, in the words of Shorter, had 'existed in Europe since "time out of mind"' and continued to exist until social and economic modernization brought about the 'later, urban, industrial civilization'.¹⁰⁵

One of the main props - perhaps even the backbone - of that 'traditional' life in the Netherlands was of course religion. For those in the small towns and villages, it was religion, far more than politics, that was the unifier and divider in society. In the first two chapters we saw that Zeeland's religious reputation was one marked by conservatism, even backwardness. The following chapters will endeavour to test that reputation against the historical reality, and to establish which effects religious belief and controversy actually had upon the socio-economic life of the province in the last century.

Notes to Chapter III

1. Jaarcijfers (1938), 3.
2. Ibid. (1901), p. 1.
3. Verslag van den landbouw (1873), 15; & (1899), vol. I, p. 100. The cultivated area was 79.8% and 83.8% respectively of the whole province.
4. See P.J. Bouman, 1946, 15.
5. See Bevolkingsontwikkeling, 1950, 1-3.
6. J. Postmus, 1928, table on p. 36.
7. J.M.M. de Meere, 1982, 34-35.
8. Ibid. His 'urbanized' population at a given date is the population of the towns which in 1840 had more than 5,000 inhabitants. My Table III.1 gives the numbers resident in towns of more than 5,000 at the time of the census in question.
9. E.W. Hofstee, 1978, 207; and a similar table at E.W. Hofstee, 1981, 140.
10. Ibid., 1981, p. 88.
11. J. Lucassen, 1984, 71-80, 83-85, & 291-93.
12. J.C.G. Evers, 1882, 12.
13. E.W. Hofstee, 1981, 140; & H. ter Heide, 1965, 466-67.
14. E.W. Hofstee, 1981, 97.
15. H. van Dijk, 1976, 202-03.

16. Ibid., pp. 208-11.
17. Ibid., pp. 241-43.
18. K. Reyne, 1904, 567-69, & passim.
19. J.C.G. Evers, 1882, 41.
20. E.W. Hofstee, 1978, 208-09.
21. E.W. Hofstee, 1981, 122-23; & J.C.G. Evers, 1882, 18.
22. E.W. Hofstee, 1978, 200; & J.C.G. Evers, 1882, 8.
23. See T. van Tijn in AGN, 1975-83, vol. XII, p. 141; & E.W. Hofstee, 1981, 57.
24. J. Schuurbeque Boeye, 1941, 7; & A.C. de Vooy, 1941, 883-84.
25. E.W. Hofstee, 1981, 122-23, & 132.
26. See J.C. de Man, 1850, 17-20; A.C. de Vooy, 1951; & C. Vandenbroecke, 1981.
27. T. van Tijn in AGN, 1975-83, vol. XII, p. 141. He is citing A.C. de Vooy, 1951.
28. See especially A. Caland, 1857, on Middelburg; & K. Broes van Dort, 1861, on Goes.
29. E.W. Hofstee, 1981, 66-67 & 73-74.
30. J. van Hertum, 1836, 211.
31. E.W. Hofstee, 1981, 66-67 & 69-72; & N.H. Swellengrebel, 1938, 6-35.
32. A.C. de Vooy, 1951, 256 & passim.
33. I. Vogelzang, 1956, 47-56, & 222.
34. A.A. Beekman, 1932, 279-81.
35. Jaarlijfers (1883), 136. Interestingly, Friesland was not very advanced either.
36. Ibid. (1895), pp. 113-14. Zeeland was much further advanced in the provision of steam engines in agriculture.

37. A.A. Beekman, 1932, 281.
38. E.W. Hofstee, 1981, 77-83.
39. E.W. Hofstee, 1954, 76-91.
40. Ibid., p. 92.
41. Ibid., p. 93; & E.W. Hofstee, 1968, 50.
42. See E.W. Hofstee, 1958, 503-510, & passim.
43. J.A. Verdoorn, 1965, 10-16. Verdoorn uses the terms 'production' and 'consumption' of medical services (p. 10).
44. See the excellent sketch of this affair by A.F. van Ommen, 1981, 33-35. Van Ommen bases his account on a pamphlet very important for Zeeland's economic history: J.C. van den Broecke, 1858.
45. P.J. Bouman, 1943, 280; & P.J. Bouman, 1964, 304.
46. See G.S. van Holthe tot Echten, 1980; and also M.J. Wintle, 1984(B).
47. G.B. Schoenmakers, 1965, 9; & J.P. de Voort, 1981, 91-98. See also W.H. Berghuis, 1967, 75.
48. P.C. Emmer, 1974, V & 128.
49. W.L.D. van den Brink, 1916, 81-82.
50. M.C. Verburg, 1950, 18-20.
51. R.A. Burgers, 1954, 69-83.
52. M.C. Verburg, 1950, 20-22; & J.C.A. Everwijn, 1912, 92-95.
53. For a list of these ferries see G.F. Sandberg, 1970, 212-15.
54. For lists of these works see W. Polman Kruseman, 1914, 65-66; & M. van Empel, 1935-59, vol. I, pp. 287-90.
55. See, e.g., L.W. de Bree, 1956, 106.
56. The complex back-up to the Amsterdam money market is admirably explained by J.C. Riley, 1980, 42-55.

57. J.P. de Voort, 1981, 98 & 101.
58. J.P. van den Broecke, 1970, 116-17; & see also Verslag zeevisscherijen (1860, 1870, 1880).
59. P.J. Bouman, 1946.
60. Grootte, 1875, 200.
61. Verslag van den landbouw (1899), vol. I. The 1833 figure was 27.28% (ibid. (1873), p. 15).
62. Jan de Vries, 1974, 171-73.
63. J.A. van Houtte, 1964, 198-99.
64. Jaarcijfers (1883), 97.
65. See, e.g., J. van Hertum, 1836, 214-17; & J.C. de Man, 1893, 18.
66. SSJB, 1(1849),214.
67. Figures on the size of farm throughout the century can be found in P.J. Bouman, 1946, on pp. 58, 138, 191, 236, & 282.
68. See e.g. H.G.W. van der Wielen, 1943.
69. On the subject of land ownership in Zeeland, see M.J. Wintle, 1984(A).
70. See M.J. Wintle, 1982.
71. P.J. Bouman, 1946, 192.
72. See above, note 45.
73. Joh. de Vries, 1959, 44-45. See also G.B. Schoenmakers, 1965.
74. R.W.J.M. Bos, 1977, 83-90.
75. See the optimism expressed in C. de Coster, 1970, 20; and reported at E.A. Kautz, 1933, 25.
76. P.W. Klein, 1975, 125-26.
77. Joel Mokyr's dissertation (J. Mokyr, 1976) gives pre-eminence to high Dutch wages compared to Belgian ones as a factor

explaining the divergent economic performances of the two countries. Bos and Griffiths have taken issue with this (R.W.J.M. Bos, 1977, 76-80; & R.T. Griffiths, 1980, 55-65).

78. See R.T. Griffiths, 1980, 56-58.
79. Ibid., p. 59.
80. G. Myrdal, 1957, 28.
81. Joh. de Vries, 1959, 81.
82. See, e.g., the demands expressed in: *Welke zijn de vereischten*, 1849.
83. See M.J. Boerendonk, 1935, 357-58.
84. See, e.g., *Gedenkschrift*, 1924.
85. See a 'Memorie' signed by G.J. van den Bosch (director of the Wilhemina-polder), et al., at RAZ, Commissie van Landbouw, no. 13 (ref. Verbaal 10d, 2e serie no. 3, 26 augustus 1824).
86. *Beschouwingen*, 1863, 1-8.
87. P.W. Klein, 1975, 59.
88. J.P. van den Broecke, 1970, 117.
89. See e.g. the list of shareholders in the bark 'Maria', which traded out of Middelburg between 1853 and 1868 (RAZ, *Handschriften*, no. 218); and J. Radermacher Schorer's share in the 'Asia', which plied the route from Middelburg to Java in the 1830s (RAZ, Schorer, no. 1084).
90. See M.J. Wintle, 1982, 236 & note 65.
91. Ibid., 236-37.
92. M.J. Wintle, 1984(A).
93. '*Deze zwarte nevel van duisternis*'. J.E. Wagenaer, 1832, 2.
94. A.F. van Ommen, 1981, 26.
95. See H.J. Royaards, 1853, 11-12; & M.J. Wintle, 1984(B).

96. T. van Tijn, 1971. The name of the province of Zeeland is conspicuous in its absence from the text of this article.
97. A.F. van Ommen, 1981, 76.
98. Ibid.
99. See the collection of papers left by Van Vredenburg concerning the affair, at RAZ, Handschriften, no. 131. On the dossier cover is written, in Van Vredenburg's hand, "Despotisme van den heer Thorbecke". Van Vredenburg's was not the only head to roll under Thorbecke's axe. The Commissarissen des Konings in Utrecht, Groningen, Gelderland, and Zeeland were all relieved of their posts between 1850 and 1853. See G.J. Hooykaas, 1976.
100. A.F. van Ommen, 1981, 27-28; & J.J.I. van Damme, 1979.
101. See, e.g., the pamphlet H.L. Spoorman, 1875, which is a bitter attack on the Zeeland liberals G.A. Fokker and J.P.R. Tak van Poortvliet for their anti-Catholic utterances, and their opposition to confessional education.
102. A.F. van Ommen, 1981.
103. Eenige verhandelingen, 1879, 3-6, & passim.
104. F. Nagtglas, 1977, 139; & introduction to the same work (by M.P. de Bruin), p. 30.
105. E. Shorter, 1984, xiii.

Chapter IV: Quantitative Aspects of Religious Development and Secularization

This chapter is an attempt to quantify religious change in Zeeland in the last century. The exercise is undertaken primarily to provide an accurate picture of the growth or decline of the various denominations in the province throughout the century. The dynamics of religious affiliation - and secularization - over an extended period of time are important in themselves. The drive towards recruitment in many denominations indicates that they themselves consider the size of their following to be important: in many cases, numbers can represent power.¹

The principal data bases for this exercise are contained in the Appendices 1 and 2. Appendix 1 provides extensive material on the population and denominational composition of each municipality in Zeeland, at nine dates between 1815 and 1899; Appendix 2 is an annual data series for the province as a whole, again giving total population and a denominational breakdown, from 1826 to 1876.

There are certain implications of using this kind of data, and they should be clarified at the start. There are of course

considerations of accuracy, or of the question of how meticulous the enumerators were in their collection of information. But more than that, assuming that the data are usable, what do they actually tell us? The size of the group professing 'No Religion' is a special problem here, and will be dealt with separately when we come to consider secularization^t (section IV.D). But the approach about to be taken is one based on a statistical analysis of census data on religious affiliation for each gemeente or municipality as a unit. Supplementary evidence will of course be added here and there; but generally speaking, our unit of examination is the gemeente - a community of anything from a couple of hundred to tens of thousands of souls. As a rule we shall not be dealing with individuals, whose personal psyches can be extracted from diaries, letters, or what have you: our quarry is a large group of communities and their collective characteristics; that fact is reflected in our choice of data. This decision assumes that the communities under investigation each formed some kind of integrated whole - a whole which itself could have collective characteristics, and even attitudes on various issues. This notion may be hard to defend when talking of the larger towns: in nineteenth century rural Zeeland, however, most of the 109 gemeenten fitted the bill. Our point of departure, our central question, is this: are the various attitudes and 'mentalities', which have traditionally been attached to certain religious 'labels', correct and justified? A statistical analysis of gemeente-based aggregate data is well suited to this end: villages dominated by a certain religious affiliation can be examined for their performance on various other issues, and simple statistical

tests can provide results which will enable one set of villages to be compared with another. But the ever-present assumption is that we are dealing with a group of communities, and not with any single community, and not with individuals. We shall be seeking out the behaviour of communities arranged by their affiliation - at whatever intensity - to a certain denomination.

Other approaches are of course possible. One can tackle individuals or households of a given religion, and analyse their behaviour. One can identify a particular religious group within a community, and observe the group's behaviour with the help of data on professions, housing, income, spending patterns and the like. For large urban areas this is probably the best approach. But in using ^{various} ~~various~~ data based on the civil gemeente as the standard unit, we are choosing - in full knowledge - an approach that is better suited to nineteenth century rural society, and is calculated to tell us how a Gereformeerde or Roman Catholic community behaved in the face of secularizing influences. This is an objective, if unpersonal approach: it deals with how communities acted rather than with how people thought they would act. And that objectivity should lend some reliability to our conclusions. But first, before the tests can be applied, the data must be processed: in itself this is an essential part of the task set, in order to provide a clear picture of the growth and decline of the various churches in the province in the nineteenth century.

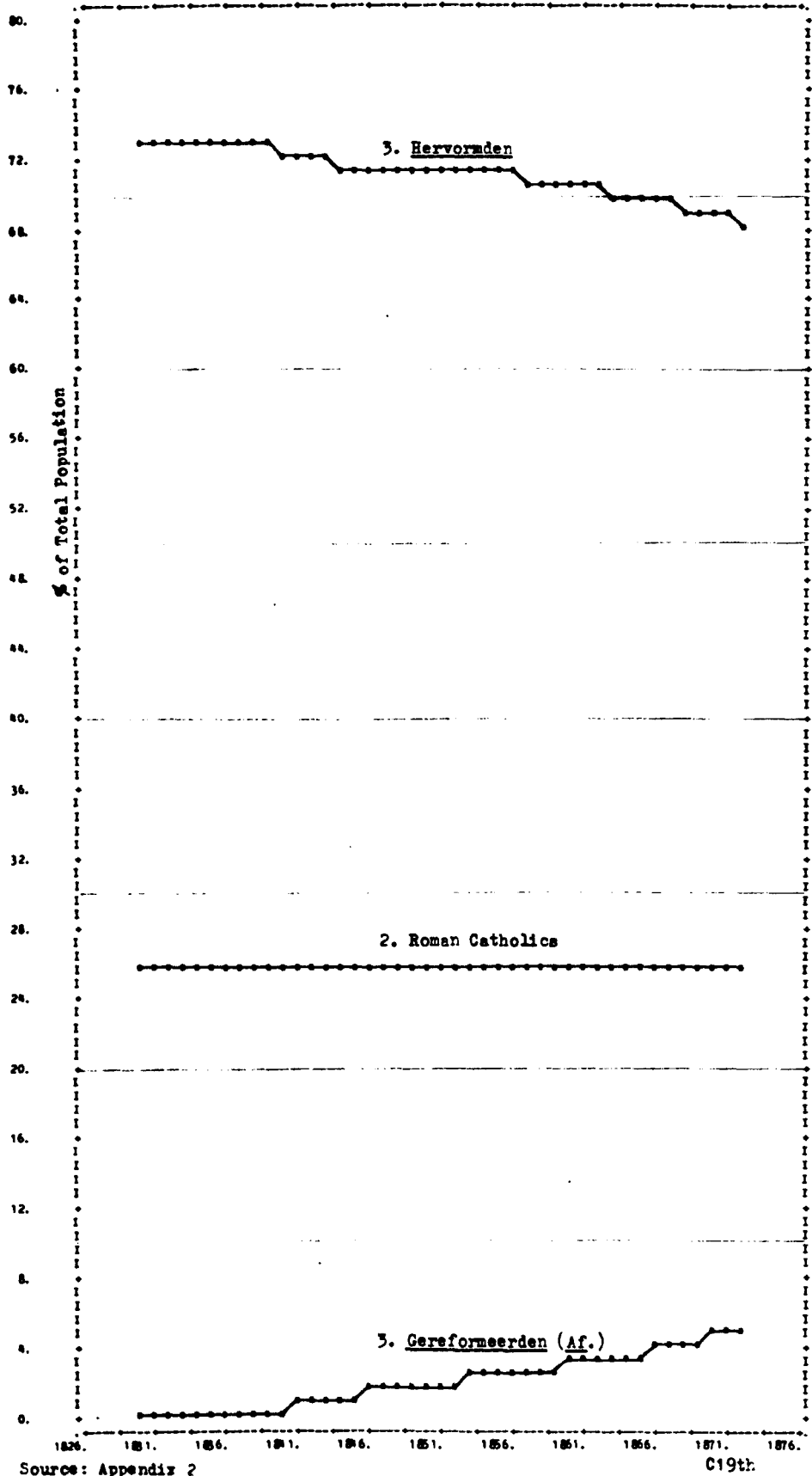
After a sketch of the development of each denomination in the province, the analysis will turn to other quantifiable variables, like the concentration of clergymen, and emigration, before moving on to the extent and pace of secularization in the province. This

section aims primarily at the provision of systematic information; nonetheless it should be clear from the statistical investigation which churches were most dynamic at which stages, where their strengths lay, and whether or not there was a regional pattern in the spectrum of denominations.

IV.A. Religious Change in the Netherlands and in Zeeland in the Nineteenth Century

The largest of the denominations throughout the century, both in the province and in the country, was the Nederlandsche Hervormde Kerk (NHK), which had grown out of the old Calvinist state church of the Dutch Republic. The next largest group was that of the Roman Catholics. Other groups grew slowly throughout the century, but the first point to be established is that the situation remained, in broad terms, reasonably stable. The major change was the growth of the orthodox Calvinist denominations at the expense of the Hervormden (members of the NHK).

Figure IV.1
Major Denominations as Percentages of the Total Population
of Zeeland, 1826-76 (9-year moving averages)



Source: Appendix 2

C19th

The graph in Figure IV.1 shows the Catholic part of the population remaining reasonably steady at around twenty-five percent, while the NHK percentage (line 3) declined gradually from the low seventies to the high sixties. With this picture of relative stability in mind, let us progress to a more detailed examination.

Two types of graphs provide the core of an insight into the denominations' structure, based on the annual data series in Appendix 2, which is derived from the yearly reports of the provincial government.² Each of the principal 'religions' is plotted in two series of moving averages, firstly as a percentage of the total population of the province, and secondly in absolute numbers. These graphs are supplemented by tables from Appendix 1, the data series covering each gemeente in Zeeland at nine census points throughout the nineteenth century. Where helpful, distribution maps are provided to indicate regional concentration. The denominations are as follows: Roman Catholics, Hervormden, Gereformeerden (Afgescheidenen), Lutherans, Baptists, Remonstrants, Jews, those of 'no religion', and 'others'. The details of the laborious process of assembling and correcting these series are laid out in the notes to the appendices; here only a few remarks are necessary. The data come from one form or another of census. Zeeland did not form part of the département of Holland when D'Alphonse was writing his detailed Aperçu in 1811.³ It is therefore not possible to duplicate Slicher van Bath's technique, in his study of Overijssel, of comparing the 1811 figures with those for the 1849 census;⁴ nonetheless, the 1815 data provided here instead form a very accurate and detailed substitute. The figures for 1829, 1839, 1849, 1859, 1869, 1889,

and 1899 are from national census publications; the 1877 figures are from a local assessment in Zeeland. Some of these data series are more reliable than others; however, they all provide us with a good picture of the balance between the sects in both the province and the individual gemeenten.⁵ The data have been entered onto computer files, and processed with the help of the software package SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). This has not been effected in order to achieve sophisticated statistical manipulations, but rather to enable the internal accuracy of the data to be thoroughly checked, to facilitate accurate and reliable reproduction of the figures in the Appendix, and to assist in grouping the cases, or gemeenten, in clusters which display similar characteristics.

The most fundamental of those characteristics is of course the size of the gemeente. The level of urbanization in the province as a whole was examined in Chapter III; now it is appropriate to look more closely at the individual gemeenten. Taking the final level of population in 1899 as a base-line, there were only two towns of any size in the province: the industrial harbour of Vlissingen, and the administrative capital and services centre of Middelburg, both nearing 19,000 inhabitants.

Table IV.2
Gemeenten in which Population Total exceeds
 2,000 in 1899

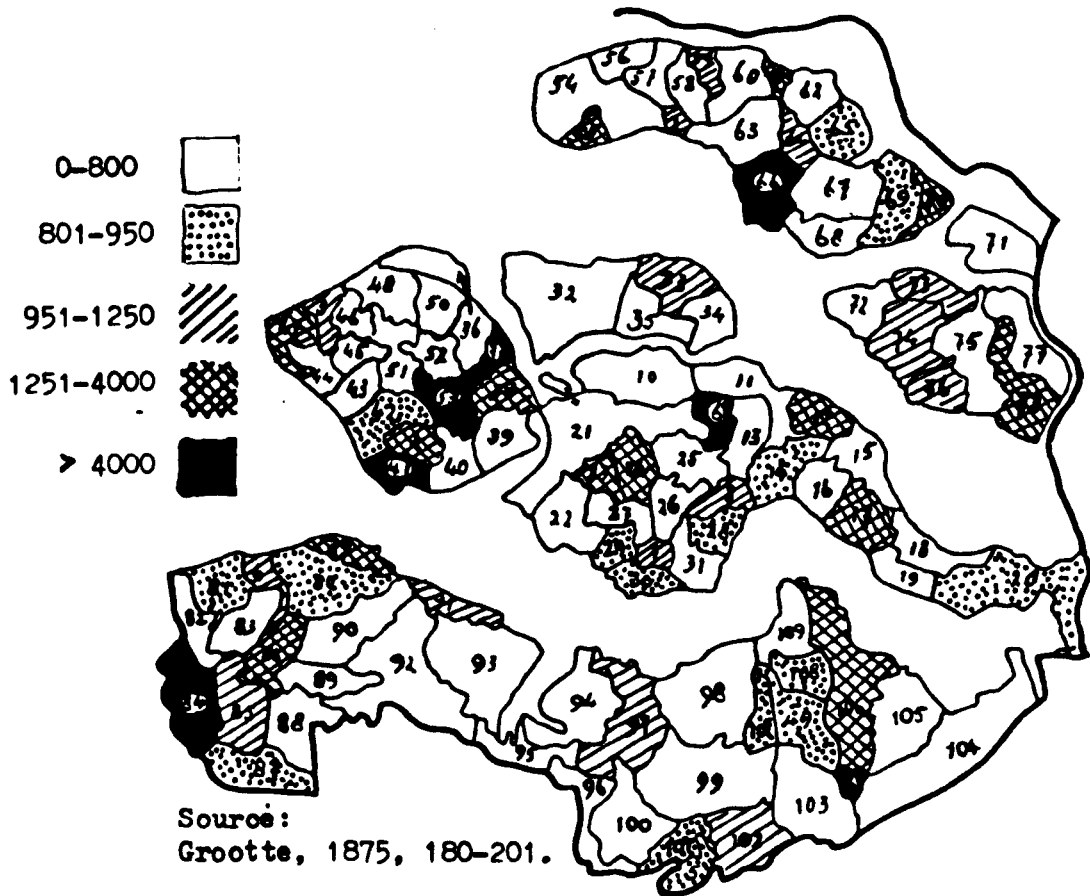
No.	<u>Gemeente</u>	Population in 1899	District
38.	ARNEMUIDEN	2133	Walch.
42.	KOUDEKERKE	2269	
53.	MIDDELBURG	18837	
2.	SOUBURG	2295	
41.	VLISSINGEN	18893	
66.	ZIERIKZEE	6818	S-Duiv.
70.	BRUNISSE	2611	
73.	SINT-ANNA LAND	2405	
74.	SINT-MAARTENS DIJK	2791	
78.	THOLEN	3076	
61.	GOES	6923	Bevel.
21.	HEER-ARENDSKERKE, 'S-	3049	
18.	KRABBENDIJK	2002	
17.	KRUININGEN	3249	
10.	WOLPHAARTSDIJK	2101	
15.	YERSEKE	4333	
32.	WISSEKERKE	3186	
93.	BIERVLIET	2267	WZV
80.	GROEDE	2400	
92.	IJZENDIJK	2775	
84.	SLUIS	2385	
99.	AXEL	4341	OZV
94.	HOEK	2238	
102.	KOEWACHT	2354	
97.	TERNEUZEN	8174	
98.	ZAAMSLAG	3220	
104.	CLINGE	3032	
105.	GRAAUW	2072	
106.	HONTENISSE	5035	
6.	HULST	2804	
103.	SINT-JANSSTEEN	2632	

Source: Appendix 1.

Only four others rose above the five thousand mark at the end of the century: three traditional market centres for the regional economy (Goes, Zierikzee, and Hontenisse), and one rising industrial settlement: Terneuzen, at the mouth of the canal linking industrial Ghent with the Schelde estuary. The towns, though, are the exception. Table IV.2, showing gemeenten of more than 2,000 in 1899, lists only thirty-one communities out of the possible 109.⁶ Walcheren, with Middelburg and Vlissingen, had the only real urban centres; Schouwen-Duiveland had particularly few towns. The table shows that a large proportion of the gemeenten with a population of more than 2,000 in 1899 were located in

Zeeuws-Vlaanderen; however, this is because the gemeenten themselves were larger in terms of surface area.

Figure IV.3
Population Concentration: Number of Inhabitants per km²
in the Gemeenten of Zeeland in 1869



A better indication of the distribution of Zeeland's population is given by the map in Figure IV.3, showing the number of inhabitants per square kilometer in each gemeente in 1869. Zeeuws-Vlaanderen's preponderance is reduced by this type of presentation, and the

population is shown to be more evenly distributed than Table IV.2 might suggest. Each district had its market centre, and the most densely populated areas were a belt across Walcheren from Veere to Vlissingen, Het Land van Cadzand in western Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, and the area north of Hulst. Despite these concentrations, however, Zeeland was a province of villages and small towns. And with the possible exception of Vlissingen, Terneuzen, and Middelburg, and then only right at the end of the century, the towns complemented rather than contradicted the rural nature of the province.⁷

IV.A.1. The Major Religions: Calvinists and Catholics

Turning to the denominations, the largest of them, the Nederlandsche Hervormde Kerk, included several different shades of Calvinism. The old state church (staatskerk) of the Republic had been divested of its privileged status in 1795 when French revolutionary ideals swept over the Netherlands. After the restoration, the Calvinists were provided in 1816 with a new church structure in the form of the NHK, largely the work of the civil servant J.D. Janssen. At first sight, the new church order seems to have represented a setback for modern and progressive ideas. Willem I's administrators intended the church to be an

instrument of social control, and placed it under the careful supervision of the Ministers of Justice and of Reformed Worship. A hierarchical structure of descending authority was organized to replace the old relative autonomy of local congregations. The new church was to be run by 'Synodal Committee', with precious little consultation of ordinary church members envisaged. The imposition of these somewhat Hegelian administrative changes was nonetheless accepted with hardly a whimper, and it is worth examining the issue of why such a seemingly large splash occasioned so few ripples.

The concept of good order and rationality seems to have been the key. The new NHK was, for most Calvinists, a system, an order, well thought out by enlightened and fair-minded men to minimize administrative inefficiency. The external forms of Calvinism had been put into good order; the doctrinal quintessence and content of the religion was - in theory - entirely unaffected by these lay reforms. To some, the new hierarchical system may have presented exciting possibilities for out-manoeuvering their opponents, especially those of the old-fashioned, unworldly type. The very fact that the reforms were 'modern', springing from rationalism, recommended them to many. And of course there was the horror of chaos which the Napoleonic period had instilled in the clergy: the government man Janssen was able to extend the enticing carrot of regular state stipends for the clergy as the lever with which to prise the Calvinists into the new Church order he had created.

There was, naturally, a theological side to the easy acceptance of the NHK. Amongst the more well-to-do, better educated and generally progressive members of the Calvinist

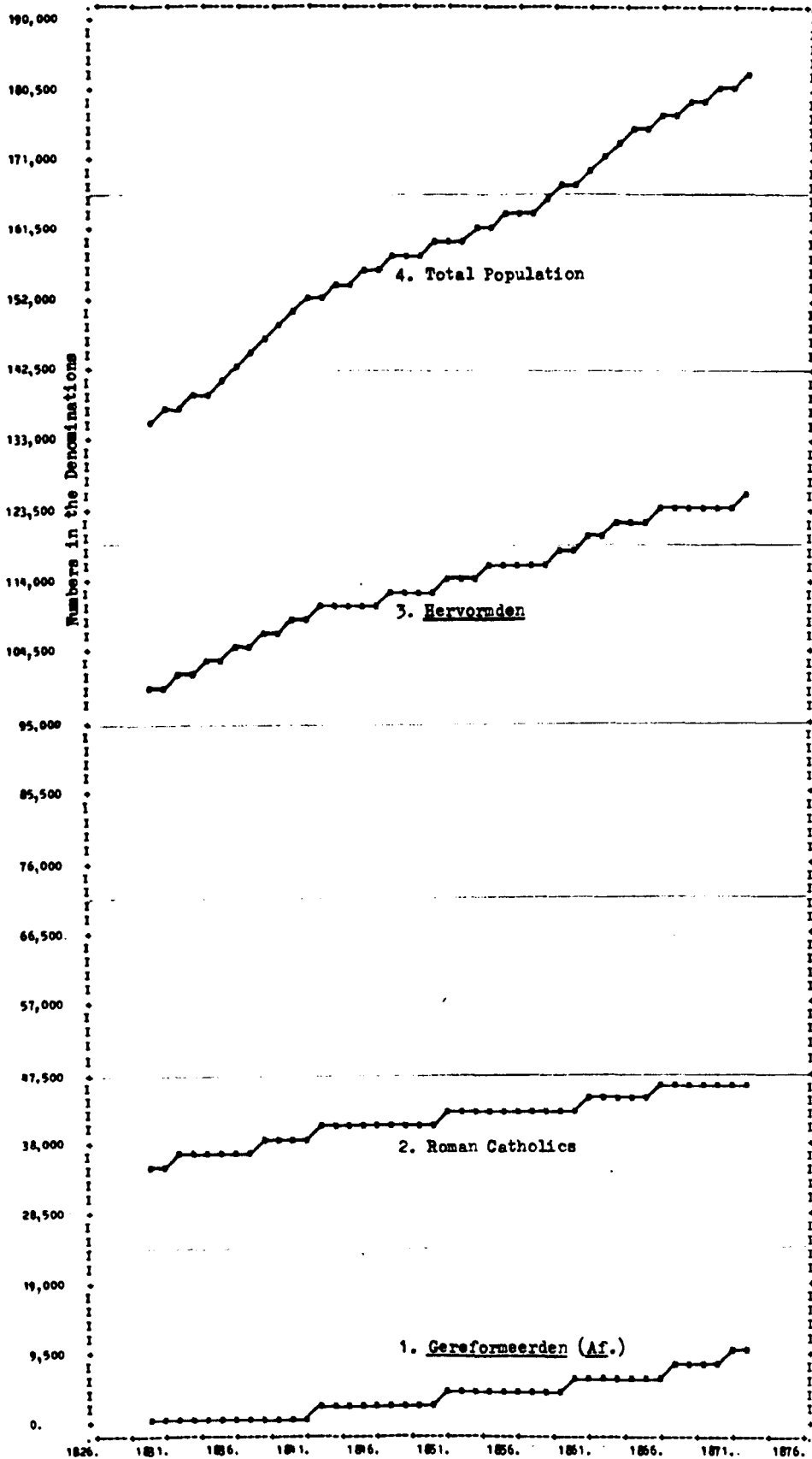
church, the keynote in theology was a move towards more tolerant and more Humanist ideals, away from the severe Old Testament-inspired orthodox Calvinism of the 1618-19 Synod of Dordt. One of the greatest affronts to most of the intelligentsia in the early nineteenth century was the orthodox Calvinist idea that man was absolutely unworthy, abject, entirely sinful, and totally powerless to assist in his own salvation. Such traditional doctrines did not suit the optimistic Humanism and rationalism of the Enlightenment: the influential group among Calvinists was glad to see the introduction of measures designed to bring its church out of the late Middle Ages and into the nineteenth century.⁸

The modernizing and progressive trend in the NHK continued throughout the century. Its synods and classes (district church boards) were for the most part staffed with men of more or less progressive sympathies; later in the century the growth of Modernist theology based on German rationalism began to change the Calvinist church beyond recognition.⁹ These developments were met by most Calvinists with ignorance or indifference, by a few with enthusiasm, but by many with distrust. A small minority amongst the intellectuals, and many amongst the congregations, felt a strong affinity with the unequivocal doctrines of orthodox Calvinism, propagated by the canons of the Synod of Dordt. These conservatives amongst the Calvinists, those who disagreed with the innovations brought forward by the Enlightenment and the Geest der Eeuw (Spirit of the Age), were called 'orthodox' because of their wish, more or less, to return to the purity of the Calvinism of the early Republic. In the nineteenth century, unrest at the modernizing tendencies in the NHK was manifested in three

principal movements: the continual efforts towards reform from within by the orthodox wing of the NHK, and the two schisms of 1834 and 1886, the Afscheiding and the Doleantie.¹⁰ Orthodoxy had strong support in many quarters of Zeeland, and its supporters' various movements will figure large in this chapter and the next.

The orthodox Calvinists went under many nomenclatures and labels, not a few of them derogatory. Perhaps a word on vocabulary is appropriate here. Both the Dutch words hervormd and gereformeerd mean 'reformed'. However, in religious matters Gereformeerd generally refers to the more or less orthodox Calvinists who had associated themselves with the idea of the established Gereformeerde Kerk of the Republic, and who continued to protest against the liberal reforms after 1795. Hervormd refers to the Calvinists who acquiesced in, or actively supported, the changes in the structure of the NHK during the nineteenth century. On occasion the word Afgescheidenen is used to refer to the orthodox prior to the 1880s: the word means 'the seceded ones', and derives from the Afscheiding schism of 1834. After the Doleantie secession of 1886, all the orthodox were usually loosely grouped together as gereformeerden. Most Calvinists who left the NHK at any stage in the century because of their orthodoxy have been grouped together as Gereformeerden (Afgescheidenen) for the purposes of the data in the appendices. In reality the Gereformeerden in Zeeland were anything but a united group (certainly before the 1890s), and the data tables suggest a homogeneity which the bickering and isolated factions never possessed. The characteristics of these orthodox sects will be dealt with in more detail below.¹¹

Figure IV.4
Major Denominations and Population Totals in Zeeland,
1826-76 (absolute numbers, 9-year moving averages)



Source: Appendix 2

C19th

In numerical terms, these developments among and between Calvinists are shown on Figure IV.4, and can be characterized as follows. The steady rise in the total population of the province (line 4 on the graph) was mirrored in the increase in NHK affiliation (line 3). However, as we saw in Figure IV.1, when seen as a percentage of the province's population, the mainstream Calvinists presented a steadily declining picture. In broad terms, the slight decline by the NHK was compensated for by the orthodox Calvinists, or Gereformeerden (Afgescheidenen), whose increase both in terms of absolute numbers and as a percentage (line 1 in Figures IV.1 and IV.4 respectively) was impressive. However, the decline of the NHK was gentle, with even the major orthodox secession of 1834 (the Afscheiding) producing no unusual deflection of the graph profile. The volkskerk, then, only gradually lost adherents, and in absolute terms continued to grow at only a little under the rate of general population increase.

Within this general framework of stability, the Gereformeerden - the bulk of the orthodox Calvinists who had made the break of secession from the NHK - did form quite the most dynamic growth area in the spectrum of denominations in Zeeland (line 1 on Figures IV.1 and IV.4). The first recorded presence was in 1839: this was strictly speaking a matter of late recognition by the Zeeland bureaucracy, for secessions from the NHK began in Zeeland in 1836.¹² Their increases were steady thereafter, and an analysis of the figures in Appendix 2 shows that they were accelerating particularly fast in the late forties, the late sixties, and the early seventies. These seceding orthodox Calvinists amounted to only 5.5% of the provincial population in

1876, but their rise formed the largest shift in the province's religious structure in the century.

About a quarter of Zeeland's population belonged to the Roman Catholic Church (see line 2 on Figures IV.1 and IV.4). On the islands, the spread of Calvinism at the time of the Reformation had been thorough, but the Counter-Reformation enlarged and organized the Catholic minority, especially on Zuid-Beveland. The French period saw the formation of several Catholic congregations, both on the islands and in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, and these continued to spring up during the nineteenth century, often to the alarm of the Calvinists.¹³ The hierarchical structure of the Roman Church in Zeeland was often bewildering. In the first place, the province was split along the Schelde river, with the islands receiving spiritual guidance from northern centres, while Zeeuws-Vlaanderen looked to the south and east. Prior to the re-introduction of the episcopal hierarchy in 1653, the Netherlands was divided into four main areas, namely the three provinces of the vicars apostolic of Den Bosch, Breda, and Limburg, and the Hollandse Zending.¹⁴ The Zeeland islands came under the 'archpriestdom' of Holland and Zeeland within the Hollandse Zending, which, based on the old diocese of Utrecht, was an extremely loose structure with only a very weak central direction. It comprised, as it were, 'the rest', including virtually all the areas outside the almost exclusively Roman Catholic Noord-Brabant and Limburg.

The situation in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen was, to say the least, tortuous. Due to early annexation by France in the Revolutionary Wars, Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, and later the town of Vlissingen, formed part of the (Belgian) diocese of Ghent, which was administered

under the terms of the Concordat of 1801, and of subsequent Napoleonic decrees. In 1815 when the Belgian and Dutch provinces were joined in the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, this arrangement remained in force. The rather embarrassing result of all this was that, after the Belgian revolution in 1830 until the partial resolution of these matters in 1841, the Catholic population in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen and Vlissingen fell under the spiritual and pastoral jurisdiction of the bishop of Ghent, a primate in a country with which the Netherlands was on a war footing! The way in which a compromise was reached by appointing the papal nuntius in The Hague, Antonio Antonucci, as the bishop's delegate and commissioner in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, is described by W. Brand in his study of the 'Zeeland portion' (Zeeuwse deel) of the Ghent bishopric in the 1830s. In 1841, after the settlement of the armed peace between Belgium and the Netherlands, Zeeuws-Vlaanderen passed over to the care of the vicar apostolic of Breda, subdivided into the deaconries of Aardenburg and Hulst.¹⁵

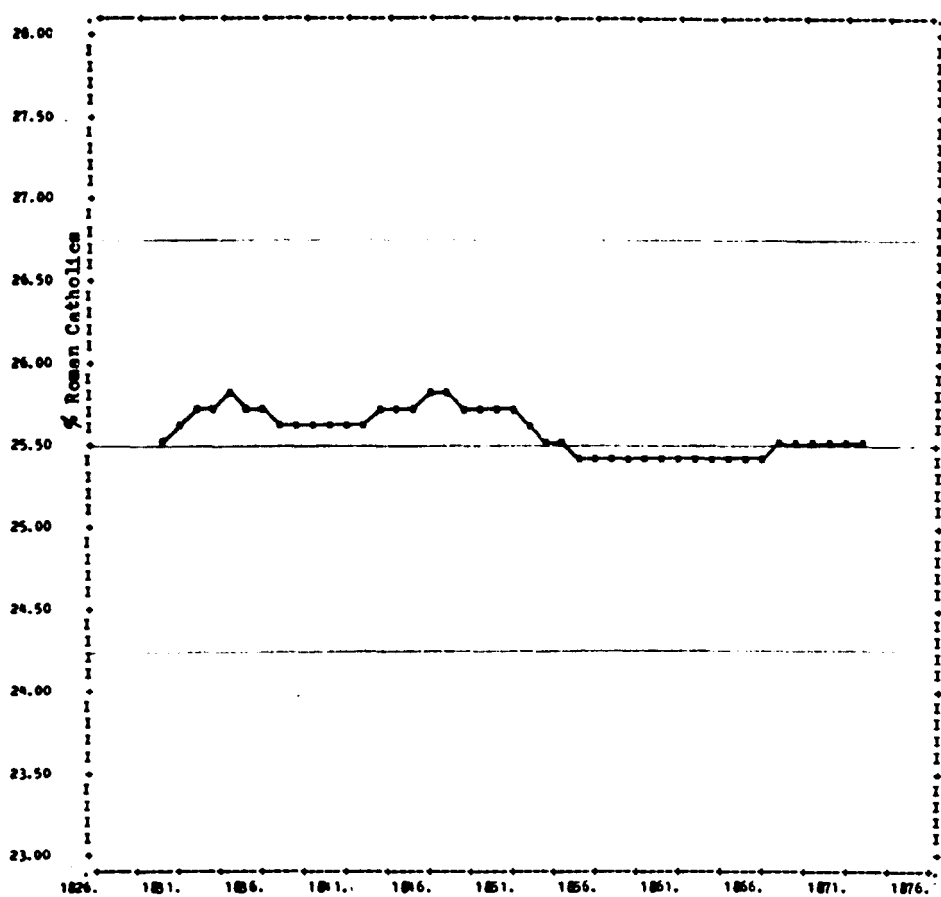
This division of the province was maintained after the restoration of the hierarchy in 1853: the islands came under Mgr Zwijsen, the new bishop of Haarlem, while the left bank of the Schelde (and Vlissingen, initially) was assigned to Mgr Hooydonk, bishop of Breda. This administrative division of Zeeland's Catholics was always complicated, and sometimes difficult, especially between 1830 and 1853. In the 1830s the Dutch government was, understandably, reluctant to undertake financial obligations on behalf of Catholics in a Zeeuws-Vlaanderen still under the the spiritual charge of the Belgian bishop of Ghent. Even after the 1841 settlement, about 5,000 Catholics continued to

go to church in Belgium, and to be administered to by Belgian priests.¹⁶

Old Catholics, members of the Old Episcopal Hierarchy (Oud-Bisschoppelijke Cleresie), stemming from the Jansenist controversy of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, formed a significant denomination in the Netherlands, with twenty-five congregations in 1855:¹⁷ none of these, however, was in Zeeland, and very few individual Old Catholics were to be found there either.¹⁸ For these reasons the Old Catholics have been included with the Roman Catholics in the data.

In quantitative terms, the Catholics formed a steady quarter of the population, fluctuating gently between twenty-five and twenty-six percent. This was in marked contrast to their main rival, the NHK, which did not manage to maintain stability after the mid-century. Although the increase in Catholic numbers was constant (line 2 on Figure IV.4), the rate of increase was very slightly lower than the rise in population. This can be seen in Figure IV.5, showing (on a greatly expanded scale) a small drop of about half a percent over fifty years in the percentage of Zeeland's population formed by Roman Catholics.

Figure IV.5
 Roman Catholics as a Percentage of the Total Population
 of Zeeland, 1826-76 (9-year moving averages)



Source: Appendix 2

C19th

Compared to the rest of the country, though, Zeeland's Roman Catholics held their own reasonably well.¹⁹

The three denominations of Hervormden, Gereformeerden, and Roman Catholics dominated the religious life of the province. Table IV.6 lists the predominantly and consistently Roman Catholic gemeenten.

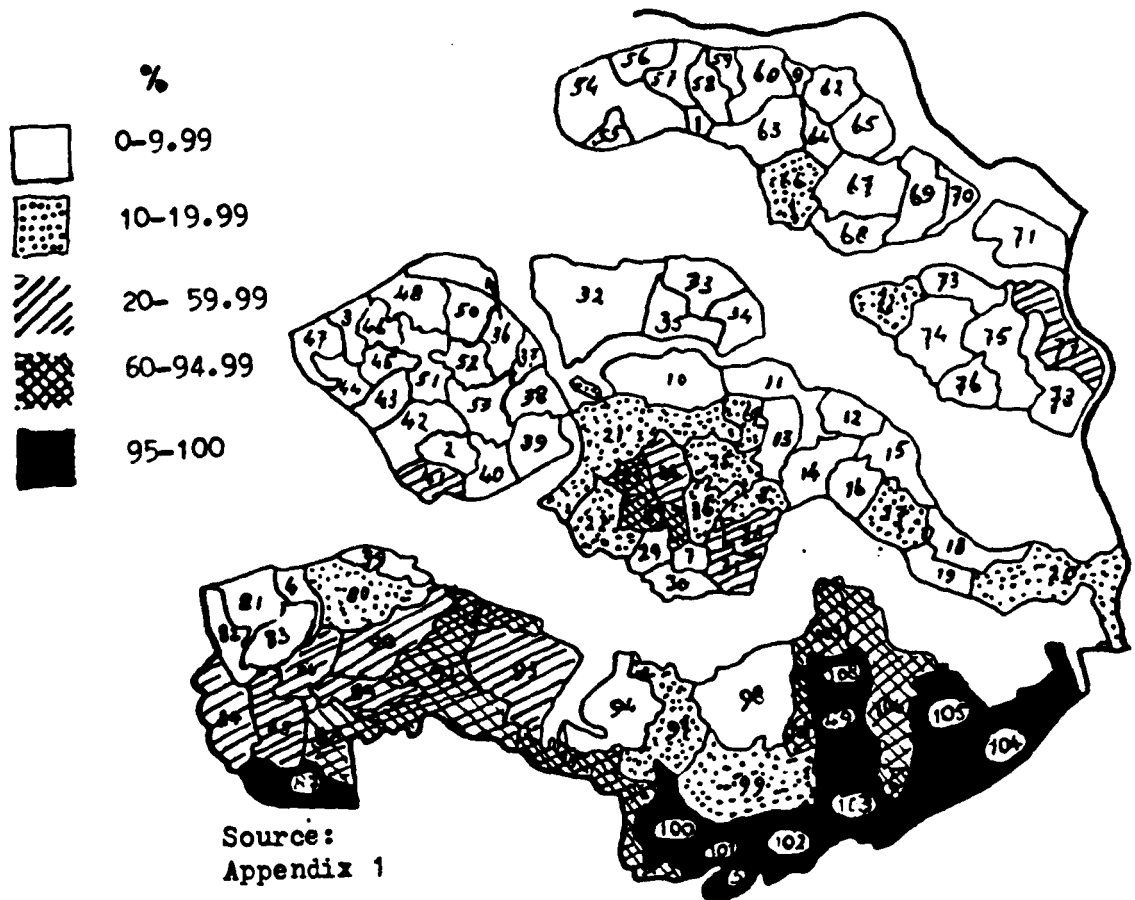
Table IV.6
Gemeenten in which the Level of Roman Catholics exceeds
 Ninety Percent, throughout 1815-99

No.	<u>Gemeente</u>	Percentage of Roman Catholics in				District
		1815	1839	1869	1899	
87.	EDE	98.65	98.11	97.26	98.59	WZV
102.	DEWACHT	99.77	98.41	98.38	98.94	OZV
5.	OVERSLAG	100.00	99.51	97.04	96.27	
100.	WESTDORPE	100.00	96.21	97.47	97.47	
101.	ZUIDDORPE	99.48	98.94	99.89	100.00	
107.	BOSCHKAPELLE	98.71	98.47	95.18	94.41	
104.	CLINGE	100.00	99.46	99.58	98.68	
105.	GRAAUV	95.20	97.20	97.90	96.57	
108.	HENGSTDIJK	94.58	94.97	92.81	96.48	
106.	HONTENISSE	92.89	95.69	94.16	93.63	
109.	OSSENISSE	97.52	97.37	96.18	93.54	
103.	SINT-JANSSTEEN	100.00	99.01	99.34	99.54	
49.	STOPPELDIJK	97.43	98.85	98.63	97.59	

Source: Appendix 1.

There were thirteen that retained a Catholic level of above ninety percent at each count between 1815 and 1899: not surprisingly they were all to be found in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, eight of them falling in the Hulst area. The concentration is shown better in the map in Figure 1V.7, which shows the distribution of Zeeland's Roman Catholics in 1899.

Figure IV.7
Percentages of Roman Catholics in the Gemeenten
of Zeeland in 1899



Besides a very strong presence in eastern Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, the main areas of Catholic strength were in the rest of Zeeuws-Vlaanderen excepting the Cadzand area, and in Zuid-Beveland. Walcheren and Schouwen-Duiveland had very low percentages.

The other side of the coin - the non-Catholic areas - can be depicted in several ways. Half of the gemeenten (54/109)

maintained Catholic percentages of less than ten percent throughout the century, mostly on Walcheren, Schouwen, and Zuid-Beveland. Relatively few communities (17) retained more than a ninety percent Hervormden level throughout (see Table IV.8), the only areas of concentration being on Schouwen-Duiveland and Tholen.

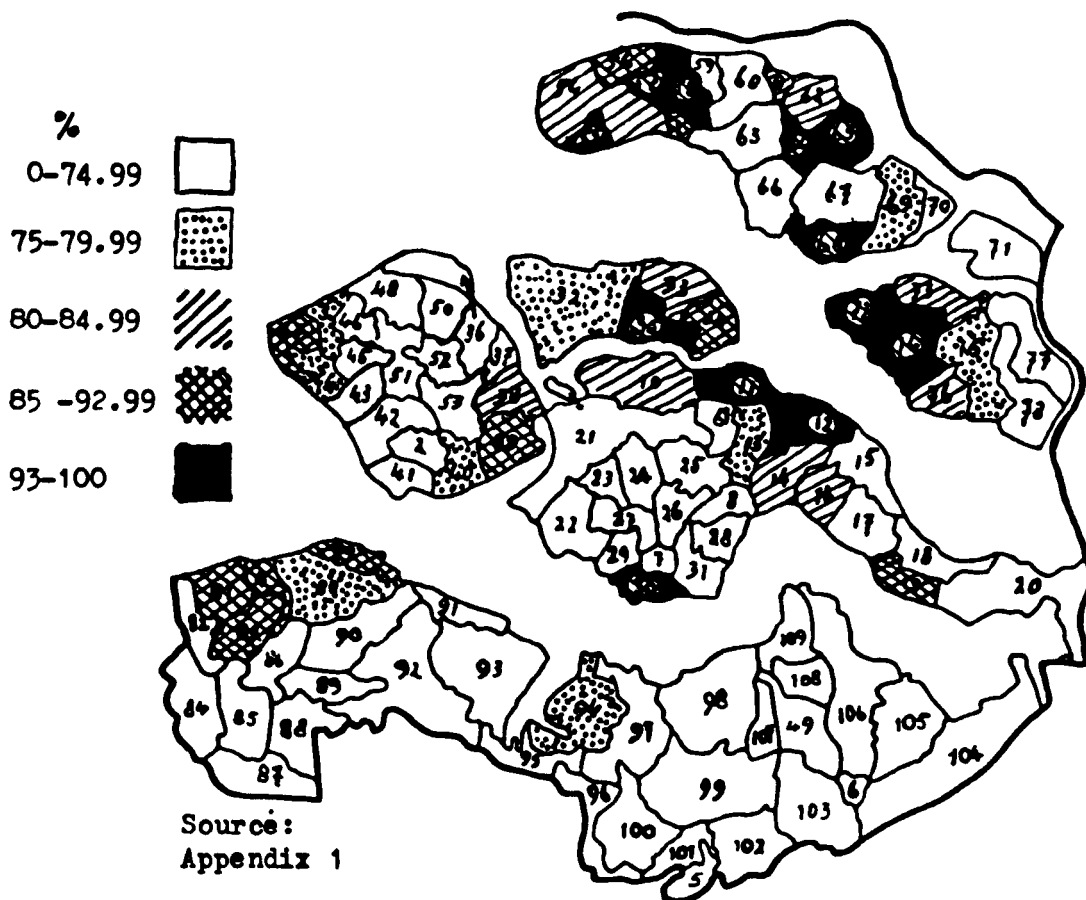
Table IV.8
Gemeenten in which the Level of Hervormden exceeds
 Ninety Percent, throughout 1815-99

No.	<u>Gemeente</u>	Percentage of <u>Hervormden</u> in				District
		1815	1849	1877	1899	
47.	WESTKAPELLE	99.76	99.69	99.40	92.09	Walch.
55.	BURGH	100.00	98.73	95.29	94.35	S-Duiv.
65.	DREISCHOR	99.31	99.40	100.00	100.00	
58.	ELLEMEET	100.00	99.56	98.88	97.30	
57.	NOORDWELLE	99.32	99.56	97.41	97.16	
56.	REESSE	100.00	98.81	98.41	91.19	
1.	SEROOSKERKE (SCH.)	96.41	99.65	97.58	92.84	
68.	OUIWERKERK	99.16	97.37	99.08	93.53	
74.	SINT-MAARTENS DIJK	99.11	98.42	97.06	94.48	
72.	STAVENISSE	99.88	99.68	100.00	97.69	
30.	ELLEWOUTS DIJK	100.00	93.27	92.32	95.40	Bevel.
11.	KATTENDIJK	90.88	95.36	97.31	94.59	
12.	MEMELDINGE	98.82	96.68	96.13	93.79	
34.	KATS	100.00	97.88	96.43	91.43	
35.	KORTGENE	99.70	99.34	99.52	96.60	
81.	CADZAND	95.63	97.69	96.31	91.86	WZV
4.	NIEUWLIJET	97.55	99.33	94.07	91.42	

Source: Appendix 1.

The map in Figure IV.9, showing the distribution of the NHK in 1899, which was after most of the more orthodox Calvinists had left the main church, shows the concentration areas to have been on the northern islands, with a presence in the northern part of Zuid-Beveland, and in the extreme northwest of Zeeuws-Vlaanderen.

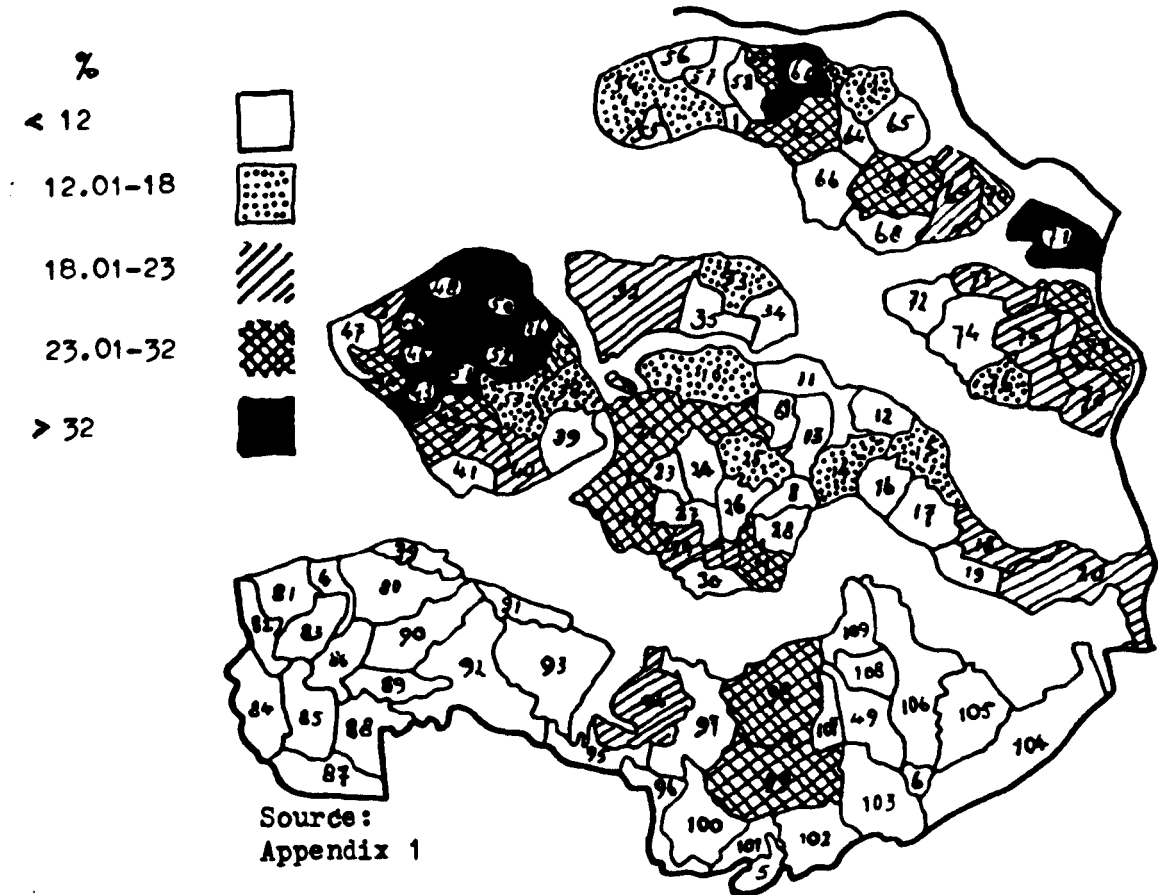
Figure IV.9
 Percentages of Hervormden in the Gemeenten of
 Zeeland in 1899



This apparent numerical weakness of the Hervormden when compared to the Catholics was of course due to the rise of the Gereformeerden. Nearly half (53/109) of the communities in Zeeland had reached a level of more than ten percent Gereformeerden by 1899, the main strengths being found on the islands, and not in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen. The map of the distribution of the

Gereformeerden in 1899 (Figure IV.10) highlights this concentration, showing Walcheren as a stronghold, with a strong presence in Tholen and Zuid-Beveland, and just Zaamslag and Axel in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen.

Figure IV.10
Percentages of Gereformeerden in the Gemeenten of Zeeland in 1899



A combination of the Hervormden and Gereformeerden data gives something approaching an equivalent to Table IV.6 for Catholics:

Table IV.11 lists gemeenten with a consistent ninety percent or more of either Hervormden, or Hervormden plus Gereformeerden.

Table IV.11
Gemeenten in which the Combined Level of Hervormden and Gereformeerden exceeds Ninety Percent, throughout 1815-99

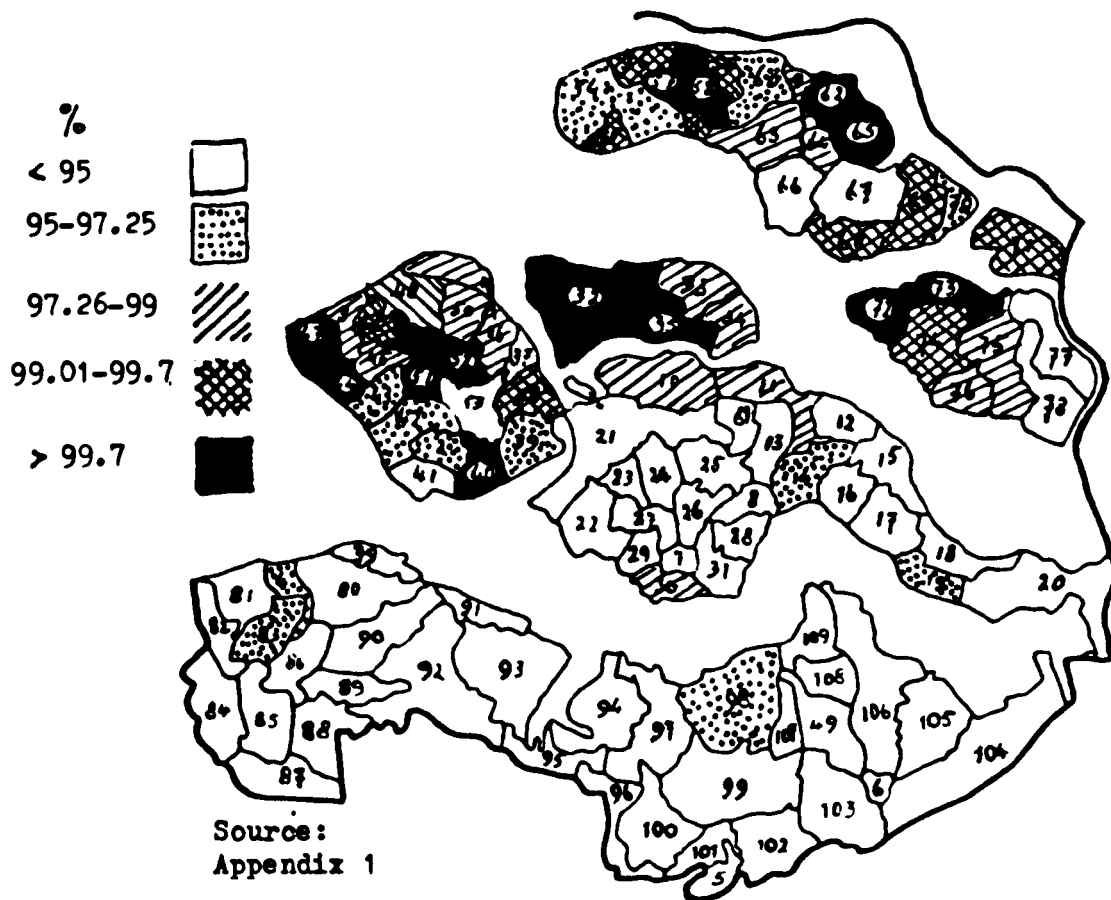
No.	<u>Gemeente</u>	Percentage of			District
		<u>Herv.</u> in 1815	<u>Herv.</u> in 1899	<u>Geref.</u> in 1899	
46.	AAGTEKERKE	100.00	56.34	43.34	Walch.
38.	ARNEMUIDEN	98.71	83.64	15.89	
3.	DOMBURG	99.83	75.00	22.85	
42.	NOUDEKERKE	97.83	64.52	31.78	
45.	MELISKERKE	100.00	45.79	52.95	
39.	NIEUW- EN ST. J.-LAND	100.00	90.85	6.35	
48.	OOSTKAPELLE	99.24	57.20	42.13	
40.	RITTHEM	100.00	79.50	20.35	
50.	SEROOSKERKE (WALCH.)	100.00	30.72	68.22	
52.	SINT-LAURENS	99.51	46.89	53.11	
36.	VROUWEPOLDER	100.00	44.44	54.46	S-Duiv.
47.	WESTKAPELLE	99.76	92.09	7.69	
44.	ZOUTELANDE	100.00	75.93	23.92	
9.	BROUERSHAVEN	98.41	84.54	13.25	
55.	BURGH	100.00	94.35	4.98	
65.	DREISCHOR	99.31	100.00	0.00	
60.	DUIVENDIJK	99.46	60.95	36.22	
59.	ELKERZEE	99.43	73.98	25.24	
58.	ELLEMEET	100.00	97.30	2.49	
54.	HAAMSTEDE	99.80	80.02	16.56	
57.	NOORDWELLE	99.32	97.16	2.64	Bevel.
56.	RENSSE	100.00	91.19	8.47	
1.	SEROOSKERKE (SCH.)	96.41	92.84	6.85	
62.	ZONNEMARE	99.85	84.97	14.74	
70.	BRUNNISSE	97.73	70.74	25.47	
67.	NIEUWERKERK	91.46	61.63	30.81	
69.	OOSTERLAND	100.00	79.63	19.95	
68.	OUWERKERK	99.16	93.53	5.96	
76.	SCHERPENISSE	98.34	81.05	17.94	
73.	SINT-ANNA LAND	99.53	81.12	18.63	
74.	SINT-MAARTENSDIJK	99.11	94.48	4.91	WZV
71.	SINT-PHILIPSLAND	100.00	35.26	64.33	
72.	STAVENISSE	99.88	97.69	2.06	
30.	ELLEWOUTSDIJK	100.00	95.40	2.09	
14.	KAPELLE	95.18	81.04	15.27	
11.	KATTENDIJK	90.88	94.59	4.11	
19.	WAARDE	99.74	85.04	10.52	
12.	WEMELDINGE	98.82	93.79	0.97	
10.	WOLPHAARTSDIJK	99.65	81.81	16.23	
33.	COLIJNSPLAAT	100.00	84.22	14.13	
34.	KATS	100.00	91.43	5.83	
35.	WORTGENE	99.70	96.60	3.13	
32.	WISSEKERKE	99.80	79.73	20.18	
81.	CADZAND	95.63	91.86	0.09	
4.	NIEUWVLIET	97.55	91.42	4.29	
83.	ZUIDZANDE	97.81	92.53	3.37	
94.	HOEK	99.00	76.36	18.45	
98.	ZAAMSLAG	95.92	64.60	31.30	

Source: Appendix 1.

There are forty-eight communities listed, mostly on Walcheren and

the northern islands. The map in Figure IV.12 gives a more refined picture of these villages dominated by Calvinists of one kind or another.

Figure IV.12
Percentages of Hervormden and Gereformeerden
combined in the Gemeenten of Zeeland in 1899



It is clear from these tables and maps that the Calvinist strongholds were on Walcheren and on the northernmost islands of Schouwen, Duiveland, Tholen and Noord-Beveland. Zuid-Beveland and

Zeeuws-Vlaanderen contained important mainstream and orthodox Calvinist communities, but the presence of Catholics denied the Calvinists overall local dominance.

Having seen the areas of Calvinist and Catholic strength, Table IV.13 lists some of the most interesting communities in the province, in that they all had levels of at least ten percent Roman Catholics as well as ten percent Hervormden throughout the century.

Table IV.13

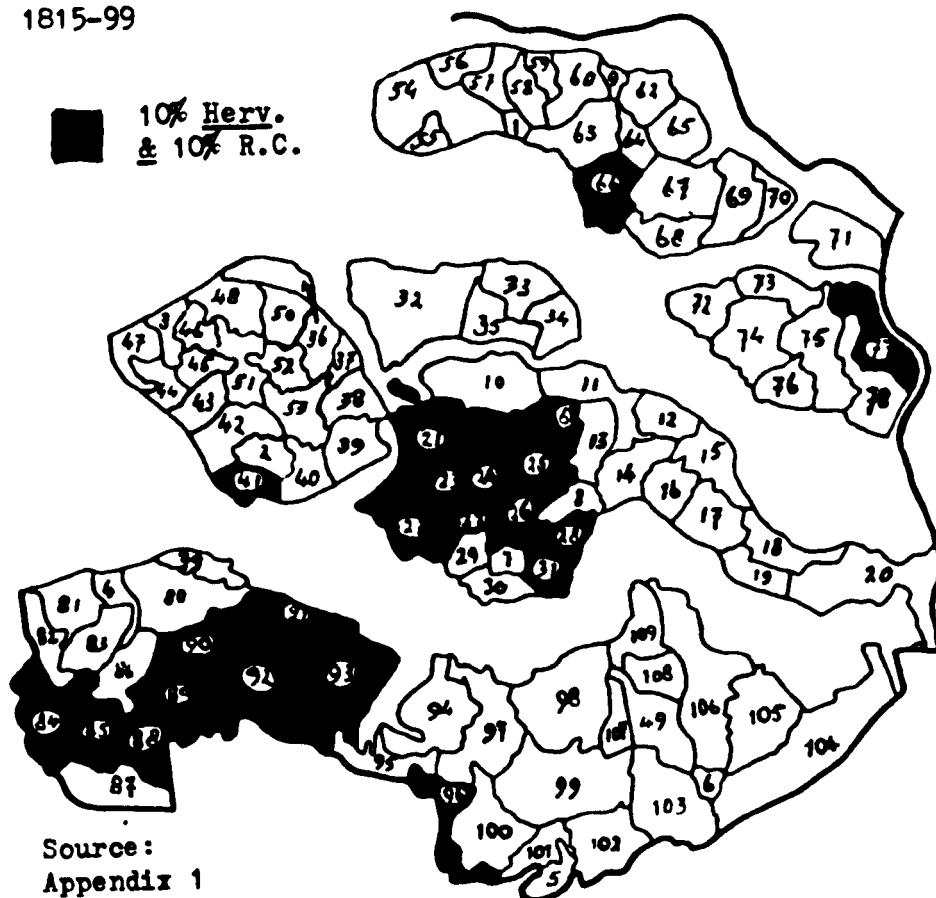
Gemeenten in which the Level of both Hervormden and Roman Catholics each exceeds Ten Percent throughout 1815-99

No.	<u>Gemeente</u>	Percentage in 1899		District
		<u>Herv.</u>	R.C.	
41.	VLISSINGEN	60.96	25.62	Walch. S-Duiv.
66.	ZIERIKZEE	70.12	14.86	
77.	ODU-VOSSEMEER	50.46	23.48	Bevel.
31.	BAARLAND	46.38	21.13	
22.	BORSSELE	57.13	12.46	
61.	GOES	62.37	19.24	
25.	HEER-ABTSKERKE, 'S-	74.48	12.46	
21.	HEER-ARENDSKERKE, 'S-	55.00	17.65	
23.	HEERENHOEK, 'S-	14.65	83.60	
24.	HEINKENSZAND	37.72	48.37	
28.	HOEDEKENSKERKE	35.26	47.25	
26.	NISSE	56.44	18.15	
27.	OVEZANDE	22.60	76.34	WZV
85.	AARDENBURG	41.76	51.84	
93.	BIERVLIET	59.11	39.48	
91.	HOOFDPLAAT	24.37	74.05	
92.	IJZENDIJKKE	30.74	68.04	
90.	SCHOONDIJKKE	70.57	20.36	
88.	SINT-KRUIS	30.87	68.54	
84.	SLUIS	39.58	59.29	OZV
89.	WATERLANDKERKJE	45.59	52.94	
96.	SAS VAN GENT	12.14	87.48	

Source: Appendix 1.

There were only twenty-two (one fifth of the total), and, as the map in Figure IV.14 shows, they were overwhelmingly concentrated on Zuid-Beveland (10), and in western Zeeuws-Vlaanderen (8).

Figure IV.14
Gemeenten in which the Level of both Hervormden and Roman Catholics each exceeds Ten Percent throughout 1815-99



These villages were, then, the likely battlegrounds for any confrontation, peaceful or otherwise, between Protestants and Catholics: these two regions will figure prominently when the question of Catholic-Calvinist relations is dealt with subsequently.²⁰

A few Calvinists did not, strictly speaking, belong to either the main body of the Hervormden, nor to the Gereformeerden (Afgescheidenen). There were the members of the Engels-hervormden (English), the Waaals-hervormden (Walloon or French), and the Schots-hervormden (Scots) reformed Calvinist sects.²¹ These

congregations existed only in urban centres and had catered originally for the foreign Calvinist population, holding services in English and French. The Waalse kerk was fashionable amongst some of the old Huguenot families in Zeeland, and it has been likened to the church of the English Independents in the seventeenth century; however, it was part of Willem I's policy to phase it out in the interests of administrative efficiency. In 1817 six of the nine Zeeland Waalse congregations were abolished; Vlissingen and Zierikzee followed in 1823 and 1828, leaving only the congregation at Middelburg, which was healthy enough to appoint a second minister in 1860.²² There were English Calvinist congregations at Middelburg and Vlissingen, which were merged by a decree of 25 June 1815.²³ By the nineteenth century these concessions to the foreign sector of Zeeland's population in her halcyon days of trading glory had become obsolete, and were confined to the urban centres of Walcheren, totalling no more than 250 at most in any one year. The theology of these congregations was liberal Calvinist, and they contained - particularly the Waaals-hervormden - some influential figures in society. These hybrids of the mother church have been included with the NHK figures in the appendices and tables.

Secondly there were the Remonstrants, members of the Remonstrantsche Broederschap. The movement had originated in the years prior to the Synod of Dordrecht (1618-1619), and it was centred around the work of Jacobus Arminius, who sought - among other things - to soften the severity of Calvinist soteriology. The Dordrecht synod conclusively rejected the organized attempt of the Remonstrant faction to establish itself. The Broederschap

survived as a small select group of liberal Humanist intellectuals, unprepared to accept the uncomplimentary view of mankind held by strict Calvinist theology. In the nineteenth century, the Remonstrants were moving away from their eighteenth century character of rationalist Calvinists, towards Modernism, involving a philosophical approach to religion which answered the needs of the changing world, symbolized by the Industrial Revolution.²⁴ At this time also, the NHK's liberal development brought its more progressive wing very close indeed to the Remonstrant position, and there was in fact a considerable flow of movement between the Remonstrants and the NHK in the second half of the century.²⁵

Both in Zeeland and in the Netherlands the Remonstrants were a very small group, and have only been included as a separate category because of the meticulous reliability with which they were recorded in the official statistics. This provides us with a clue to their performance: the group was comprised of substantial, influential and respected citizens, who had close links with the liberal bourgeois element in the volkskerk. An estimate of the social make-up of the Remonstrantsche Broederschap in 1845 reckoned that the members came in roughly equal thirds from the upper, middle and lower classes.²⁶ Given the enormous majority in nineteenth century society of 'the lower classes', this gives a clear indication of the élite composition of the sect. Defections from the progressive wing of the NHK account for the increase of the sect in both absolute and relative terms, particularly from the late 1850s onwards. This increase is shown on the graph in Figure IV.15. The numbers are tiny, but the local increase is very

marked. It reflects the national one, and is indicative of the increasing popularity of progressive Protestant sects among the élite.

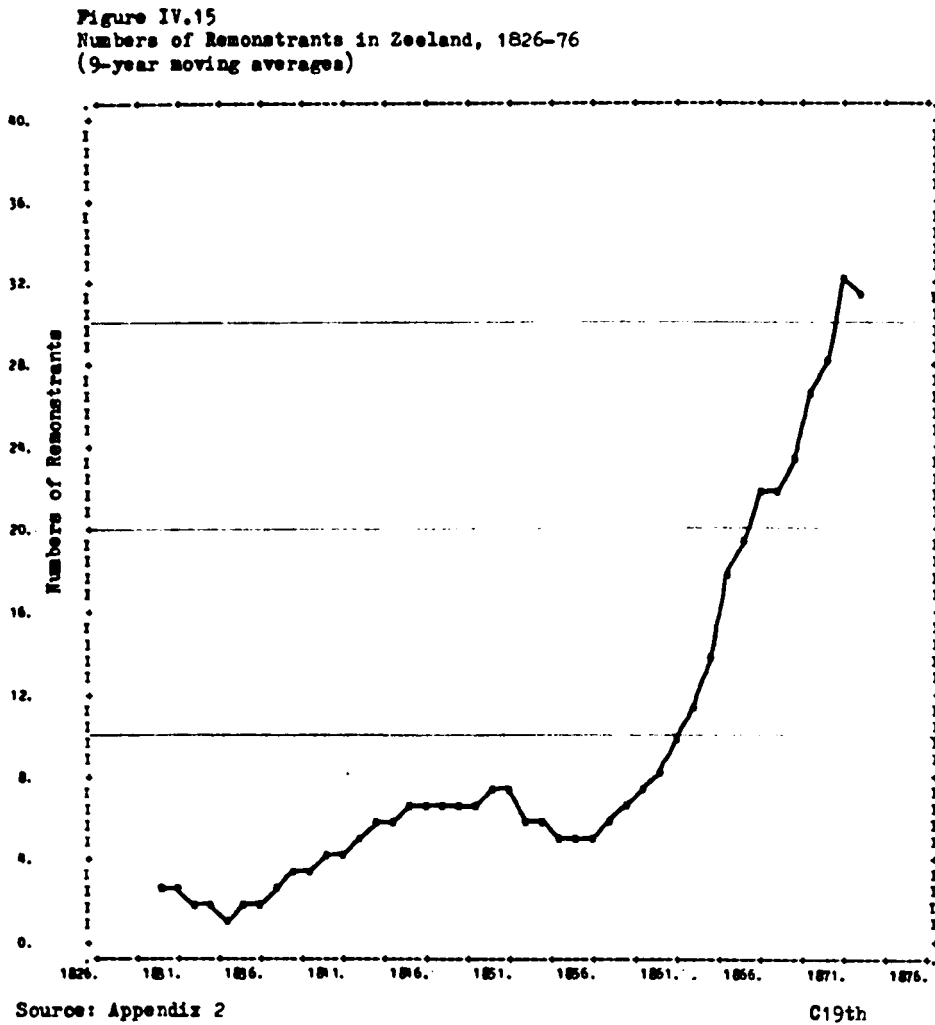


Table IV.16
Location of the Remonstrants in the
Gemeenten of Zeeland in 1899

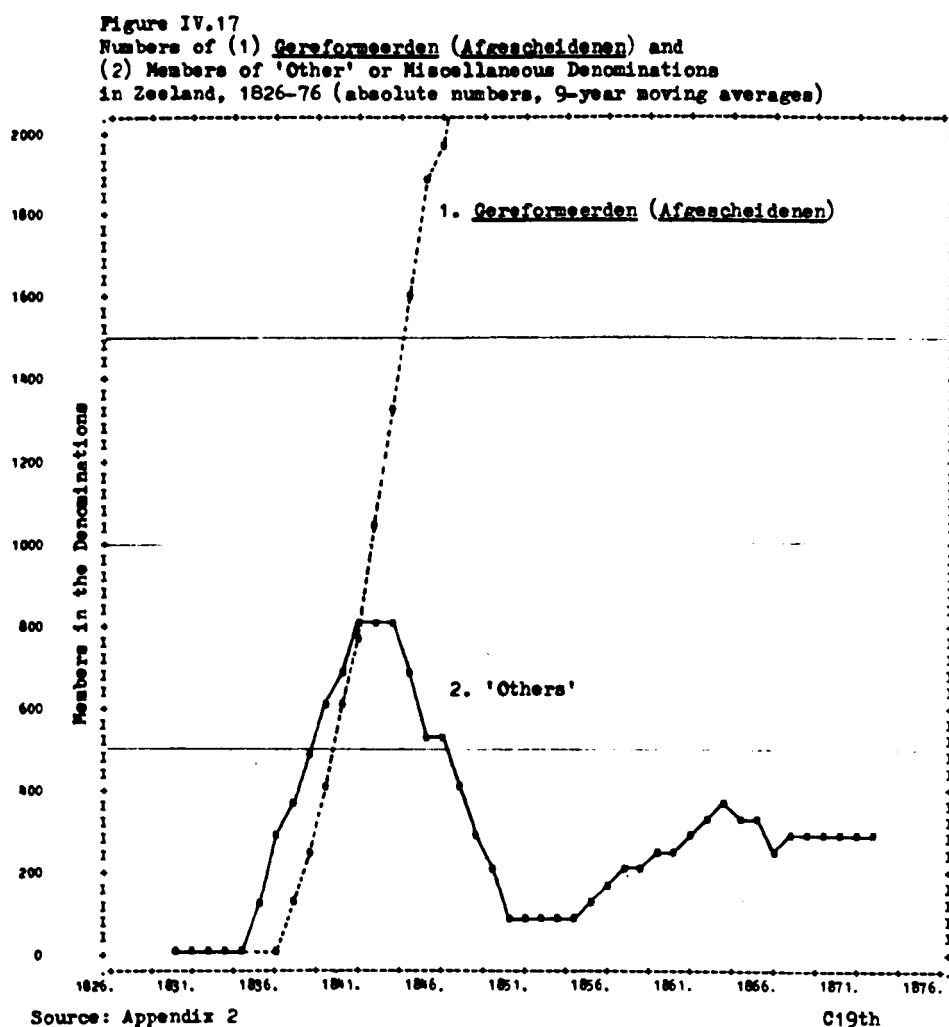
No.	<u>Gemeente</u>	Remonstrants	District
53.	MIDDELBURG	23	Walch.
37.	VEERE	1	
41.	VLISSINGEN	8	
36.	VRUWEPOLDER	1	
9.	BROUERSHAVEN	1	S-Duiv.
55.	BURGH	1	
66.	ZIERIKZEE	8	
78.	THOLEN	1	
61.	GOES	4	Bevel.
8.	GRAVENPOLDER, 'S-	1	
24.	HEINKENSZAND	1	
20.	RILLAND-BATH	2	
12.	WEMELDINGE	5	
15.	YERSEKE	2	
80.	GROEDE	1	WZV
92.	IJZENDIJK	3	
86.	OOSTBURG	2	
97.	TERNEUZEN	1	OZV

Source: Appendix 1.

Table IV.16 shows where the Remonstrants were to be found in 1899. The regional position is that they were almost exclusively confined to the large urban centres of Middelburg, Vlissingen, and Zierikzee.

The third group of Calvinists not included in the figures for the Hervormden or for the Gereformeerden are the ultra-orthodox, or zwaren ('the weighty', 'the grave ones'). These were Calvinists so strict as to reject affiliation even with the Gereformeerden (Afgescheidnen) group. These extreme orthodox are involved with one of the most enigmatic groups in the data in Appendices 1 and 2: the category of the 'others', of 'otherwise not mentioned', of 'miscellaneous' religion. This sometimes included a few self-confessed atheists and agnostics, although in the data series for the individual villages (Appendix 1), there is a separate category for those of 'no religion'. Within the 'others' groups were cases in which it was genuinely impossible to know which denomination

was involved, but misleadingly it also found use as a catch-all for religions or sects which were not otherwise catered for in the census format. This could mean anything, according to local circumstance. What we definitely can say is that it is very unlikely that members of the Roman Catholic Church or of the NHK found their way into the 'others' category. It almost certainly did include most of the more unusual orthodox Calvinist congregations. In the annual data series (Appendix 2), this category



contained virtually no one until 1835; then suddenly seventeen, thirty-eight (1836), and 1161 (1839) people were prepared to deny

adhesion to any of the old established denominations. Despite the vagarities of data collection in the early nineteenth century, the implication is clear: many of these 'others' were orthodox Calvinists who had seceded from the NHK after the Afscheiding of 1834, before the seceders were officially recognized by the bureaucrats. This is borne out by the sudden reduction in numbers (from 1356 to 801) in 1841, when the Afgescheidenen were first registered as a separate group in the data, under the auspices of government recognition, with 1014 'souls'.²⁷ The relationship between the 'others' category and the Gereformeerden (Afgescheidenen) category in the 1830s and 1840s is shown clearly in Figure IV.17. The 'others' take off first, in 1835, followed by the Afgescheidenen in 1836. The two profiles on the graph rise in parallel until 1841, when the numbers of 'others' fall, leaving the Afgescheidenen to continue in a meteoric rise.

The gemeenten involved in this mid-century bulge of non-conformists are shown in Table IV.18.

Table IV.18

Gemeenten in which the Level of those of 'Other' or Miscellaneous Denomination exceeds One Percent at any Stage, 1815-99

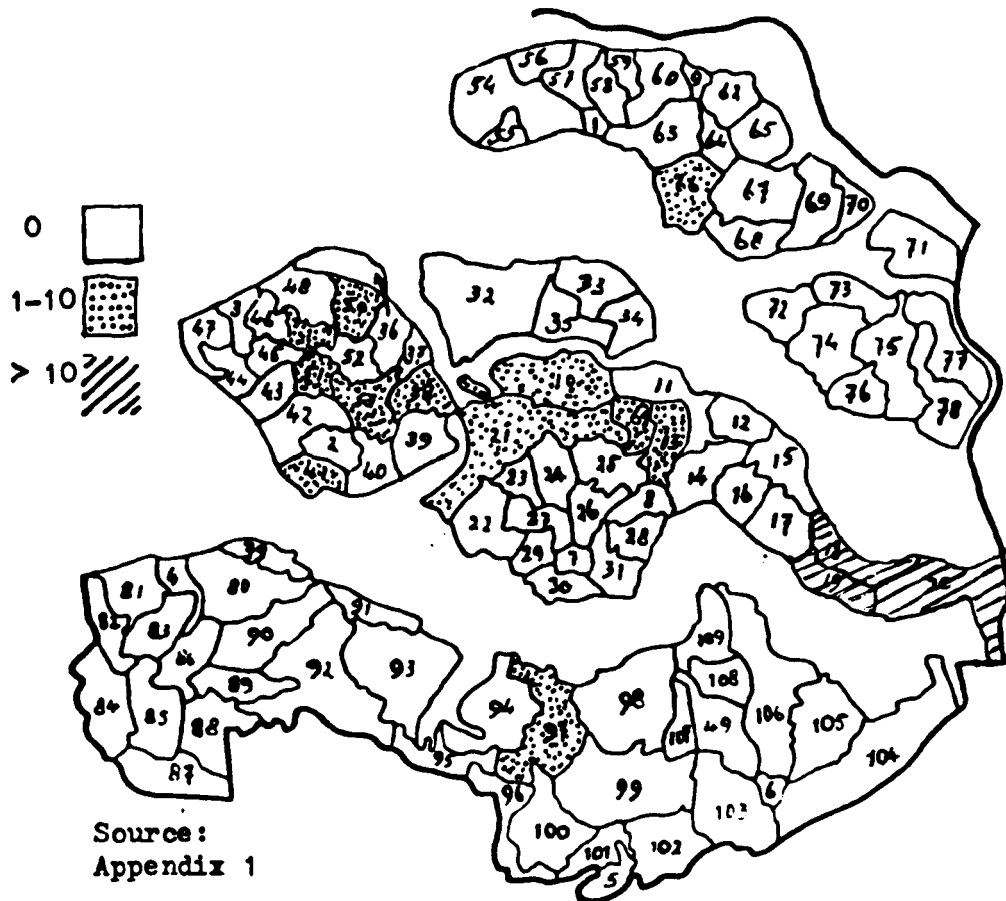
No.	<u>Gemeente</u>	Percentage with 'Other' Religion in				District
		1815	1849	1877	1899	
43.	BIOGKERKE	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.30	Walch.
3.	DOMBURG	0.17	0.00	3.50	0.00	
51.	GRIJPSKERKE	0.00	0.44	0.00	0.00	
42.	NOUDEKERKE	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.03	
45.	MELISKERKE	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	
39.	NIEUW- EN ST. J.-LAND	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	
48.	OOSTKAPELLE	0.15	0.00	0.00	0.00	
40.	RITTHEM	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.15	
50.	SEROOSKERKE (WALCH.)	0.00	0.11	0.00	0.08	
52.	SINT-LAURENS	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	
37.	WEERE	0.00	0.00	0.26	0.11	
36.	WROUWEPOLDER	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	
44.	ZOUTELANDE	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	
9.	BROUWERSHAVEN	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.14	S-Duiv.
63.	DE RKWERVE	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	
70.	BRUJNISSE	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.95	
67.	NIEUWERKERK	0.00	0.00	4.68	7.10	
69.	OOSTERLAND	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	
77.	OUD-VOSSEMEER	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	
75.	POORTVLIET	0.11	0.00	0.00	1.93	
73.	SINT-ANNA LAND	0.31	0.00	0.00	0.00	
22.	BORSSELE	0.00	0.00	11.50	0.00	Bevel.
29.	DRIBMEGEN	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	
61.	GOES	0.00	0.11	1.53	3.03	
8.	GRAVENPOLDER, 'S-	0.00	0.00	0.00	19.93	
21.	HEER-ARENDSKERKE, 'S-	0.00	0.19	0.10	1.67	
24.	HEINKENSZAND	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.66	
28.	HOEDEKENSKERKE	17.87	0.00	0.00	3.88	
14.	KAPELLE	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.97	
11.	KATTENDIJK	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.93	
13.	KLOETINGE	0.00	0.11	0.00	5.32	
18.	KRABBENDIJK	0.00	7.78	0.00	25.82	
17.	KRUIJNINGEN	0.00	0.00	0.29	0.00	
26.	NISSE	0.00	0.00	0.00	16.50	
7.	OUDELANDE	0.00	0.00	0.14	0.00	
20.	RILLAND-BATH	0.00	3.54	0.29	5.27	
19.	WAARDE	0.00	5.11	0.00	0.00	
12.	WEMELDINGE	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.10	
10.	WOLPHAARTSDIJK	0.00	0.43	0.00	0.00	
15.	YERSEKE	0.00	0.00	0.35	11.59	WZV
79.	BRESKENS	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.36	
81.	CADZAND	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.93	
80.	GROEDE	0.00	0.00	0.18	0.00	
4.	NIEUWVLIET	0.00	0.00	3.59	0.00	
82.	RETRANCHMENT	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.38	
99.	AXEL	0.00	0.00	0.89	0.32	OZV
94.	HOEK	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.70	
98.	ZAAMSLAG	0.00	0.00	2.37	0.99	

Source: Appendix 1.

Apart from the urban centres of Middleburg, Vlissingen, Zierikzee, Goes and Terneuzen, the concentration at this early stage (1849), as shown in Figure IV.19, is on Walcheren and Zuid-Beveland, especially in the gemeenten Krabbendijke, Waarde, and Rilland-Bath. After 1845 the category dwindled very quickly: only in the late fifties and afterwards was there once more a significant number of Zeeuwen insistent that they not be counted with the

recognized Gereformeerden (Afgescheidenen), for their Calvinism was more orthodox by far.

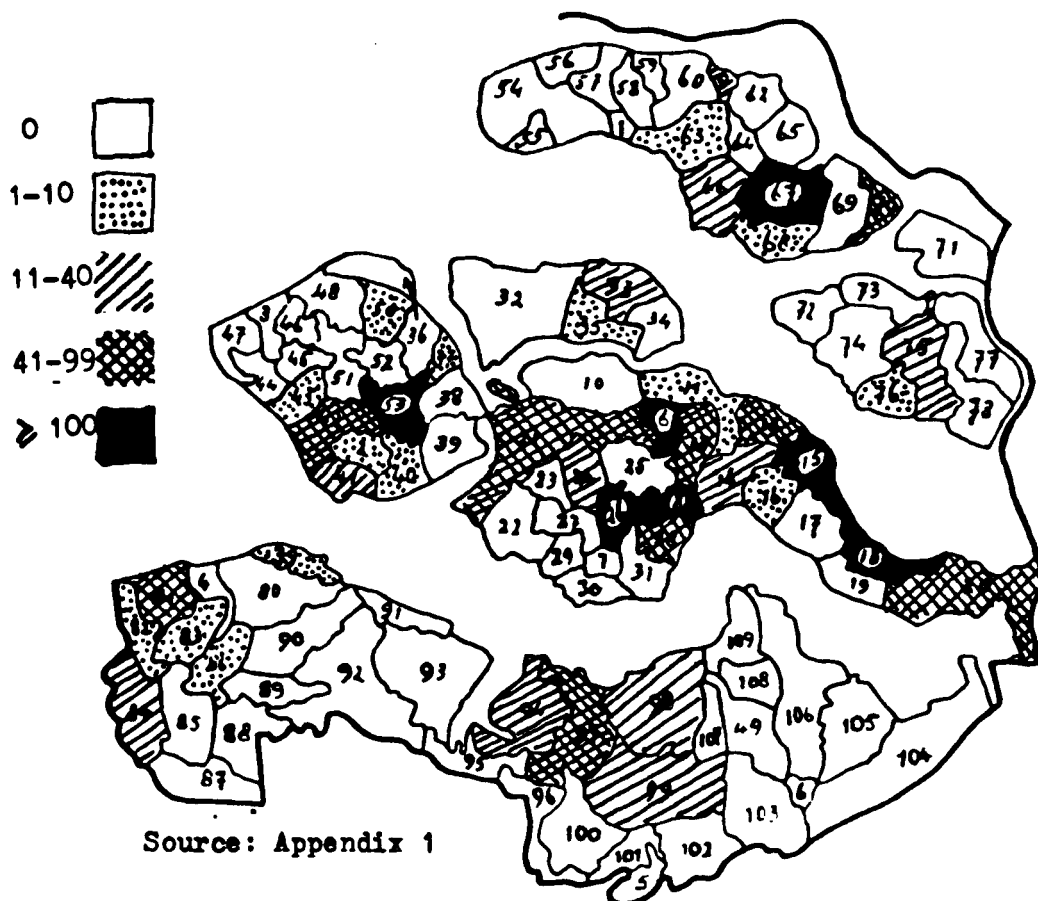
Figure IV.19
Distribution of those of 'Other' or Miscellaneous Denomination in the Gemeenten of Zeeland in 1849



By 1899, the situation had expanded, and had changed slightly. More than two fifths (48/109) of Zeeland's gemeenten had known levels of more than one percent in this category at one stage between 1615 and 1899 (Table IV.18), and the regional

concentration in 1899 is very revealing. Zuid-Beveland continued to dominate the scene (19 villages), still with strong support from Walcheren, as in 1849.

Figure IV.20
Distribution of those of 'Other' or Miscellaneous Denomination in the Gemeenten of Zeeland in 1899



But by 1899 (see Figure IV.20) there was also a non-conformist orthodox Calvinist presence outside the recognized Gereformeerden (Afgescheidenen) in Schouwen-Duiveland, on Tholen, and in the

Protestant areas of Zeeuws-Vlaanderen around Cadzand and Axel. Considerable attention will be focussed later on this group and its socio-economic characteristics.²⁸

IV.A.2. Minor Denominations

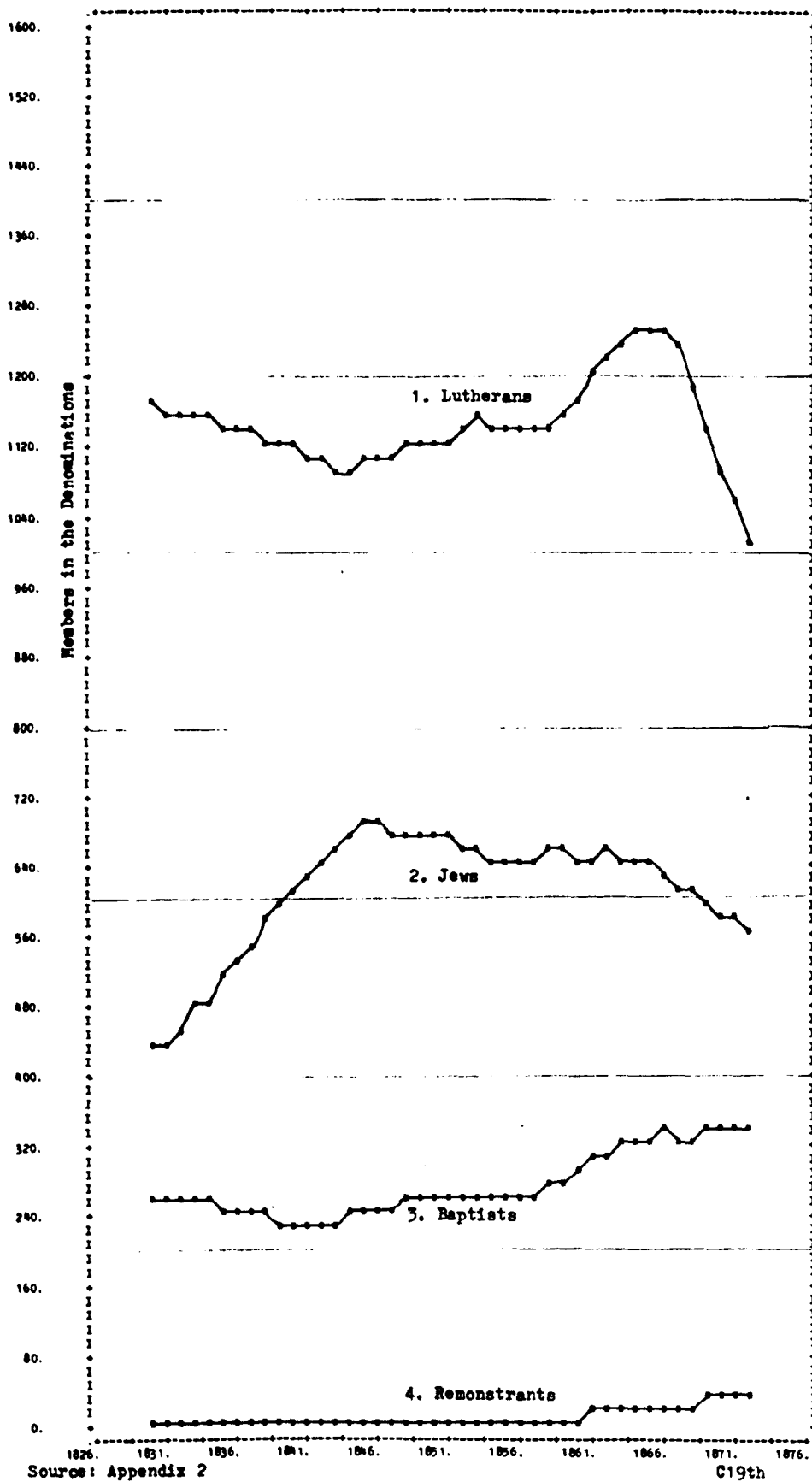
Lutherans

In 1820, the Lutherans had congregations in Zeeland at Middelburg, Vlissingen, Zierikzee and Groede.²⁹ The communities at Goes and Veere had been amalgamated with those at Middelburg and Vlissingen in 1816 and 1818.³⁰ The large Groede community had originated in the flight from persecution of a group in Salzburg in 1733.³¹ The usual discrepancy within churches between orthodox and progressive, as a result of the infiltration of the values of the Enlightenment, caused a schism in 1791, which split the Hersteld Evangelisch-Luthersche Gemeenten away from the old Evangelisch-Luthersche Kerk.³² The schism of 1791 itself hardly affected Zeeland (there was only one member of the secessionary group in the province in 1815)³³ and therefore all Lutherans have been grouped together for the purposes of the statistical data. This does not, however, imply that there was no friction as a result of the rise of German rationalism in the Lutheran religion. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century the Zeeland Lutherans fought long and hard amongst themselves over the

introduction of a new, reformed psalter.³⁴

The graph in Figure IV.21 shows the development in the numbers of four small denominations in Zeeland between 1826 and 1876: the Lutherans, the Jews, the Baptists and the Remonstrants. Figure IV.22 shows the same data expressed as percentages of the total population of the province. Their divergent performances show how erroneous it would be to collect these denominations into a 'small sects' group.

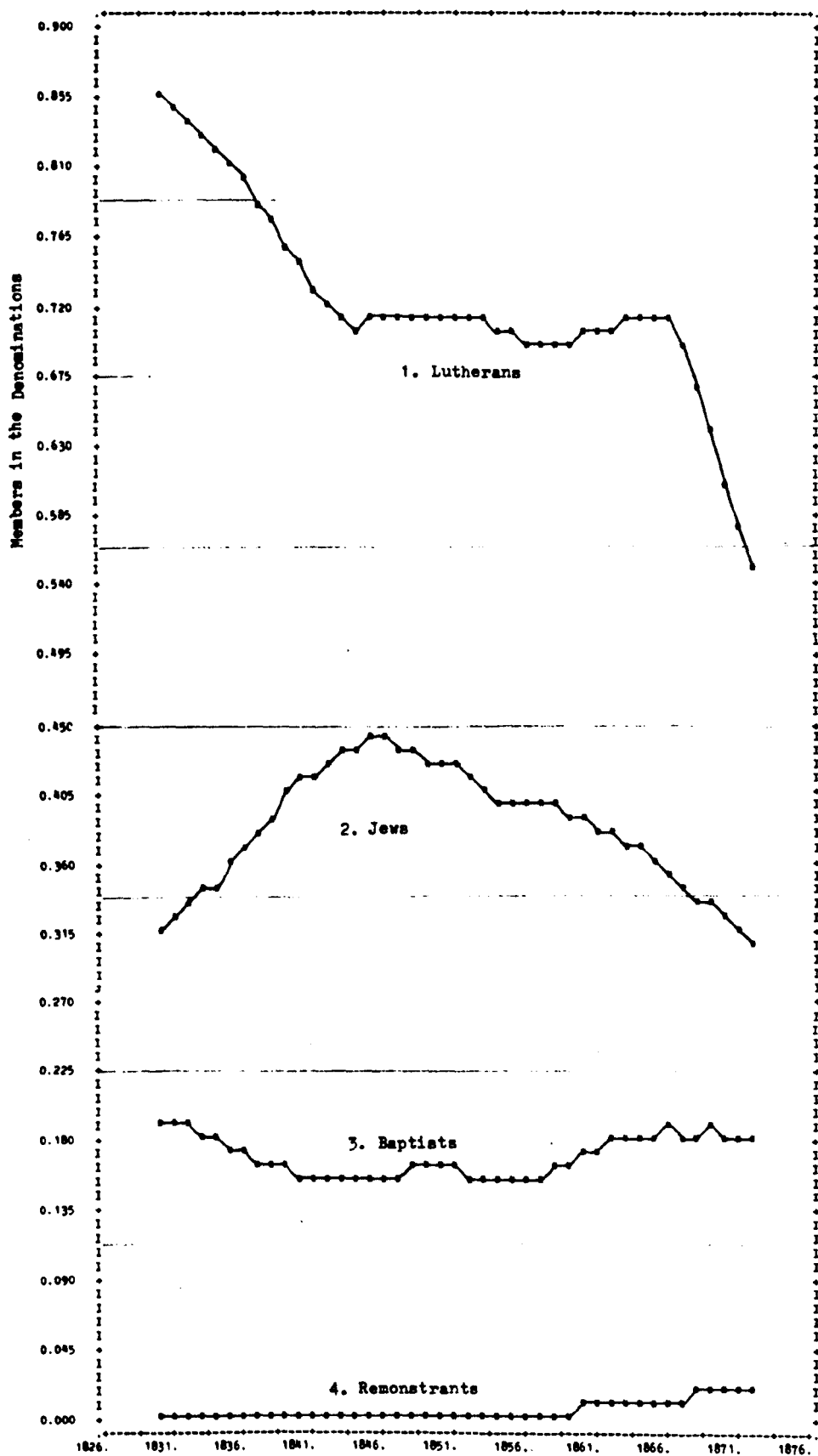
Figure IV.21
 Minor Denominations in Zeeland in Absolute Numbers,
 1826-76 (9-year moving averages)



Source: Appendix 2

C19th

Figure IV.22
 Minor Denominations as Percentages of the Total Population
 in Zealand, 1826-76 (9-year moving averages)



Source: Appendix 2

C19th

The Lutherans saw a decline, both in numbers and in their share of the provincial population, until the late forties (line 1 on Figures IV.21 and IV.22), whereupon their membership began to increase until the end of the sixties, after which a steep decline set in. As a fraction of the province, though, the apparent increases between 1845 and 1867 were in fact only just keeping pace with the rising population (Figure IV.22). The picture was one of decline (1826-45), stability (1845-67), and then further decline. Table IV.23 shows the regional perspective: the Lutherans were confined to the towns of Vlissingen, Middelburg, and Zierikzee, and to Groede (with the adjacent Breskens). There was no real Lutheran stronghold on Zuid-Beveland. The picture, then, through the period, was one of overall decline.

Table IV.23
Gemeenten in which the Level of Lutherans exceeds
 One Percent at any Stage, 1815-99

No.	Gemeente	Percentage of Lutherans in				District
		1815	1849	1877	1899	
53.	MIDDELBURG	3.46	2.29	1.67	1.68	Walch.
37.	VEERE	5.33	1.44	0.52	0.34	
41.	VLISSINGEN	6.24	5.05	2.49	2.20	
63.	KERKWERVE	2.08	0.40	0.00	0.00	S-Duiv.
1.	SEROOSKERKE (SCH.)	2.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	
66.	ZIERIKZEE	3.07	2.30	1.60	1.61	
20.	RILLAND-BATH	0.20	0.88	0.00	0.00	Bevel.
79.	BRESKENS	0.17	1.84	1.56	2.45	WZV
80.	GROEDE	5.83	4.17	2.65	1.87	
4.	NIEUWLIET	0.19	0.54	0.69	0.69	
96.	SAS VAN GENT	1.35	0.84	0.00	0.00	OZV

Source: Appendix 1.

Baptists

The term 'Baptists' is, strictly speaking, a misnomer. Dutch Baptists, or Baptisten, are a very small sect of quite recent origin, while the much larger group of Doopsgezinden (Anabaptists), have their roots in the early part of the Reformation, and should technically be referred to in English as Mennonites, after their leader Menno Simons, who reorganized and consolidated the group after the early persecutions. Dutch Baptisten owe their origins to a Hervormde Calvinist minister, Dr Johannes E. Feisser, who left the NHK in 1843 because of his objections to infant baptism. After some time in Hamburg, in 1845 he founded a 'Congregation of Baptized Christians' in Gasselter-Nijeveen, and thereafter in many other Dutch communities. In 1881 there was a Unie van Gemeenten van Gedoopte Christenen (Baptisten), which is now known as the Unie van Baptiste Gemeenten (UBG).³⁵

The Mennonites (Doopsgezinden) first founded a central organ in 1811, in the form of the Algemene Doopsgezinde Societeit (ADS). They had strong connections with the Dutch cultural movement, the Réveil, and in 1951 had about 70,000 members in the Netherlands.³⁶

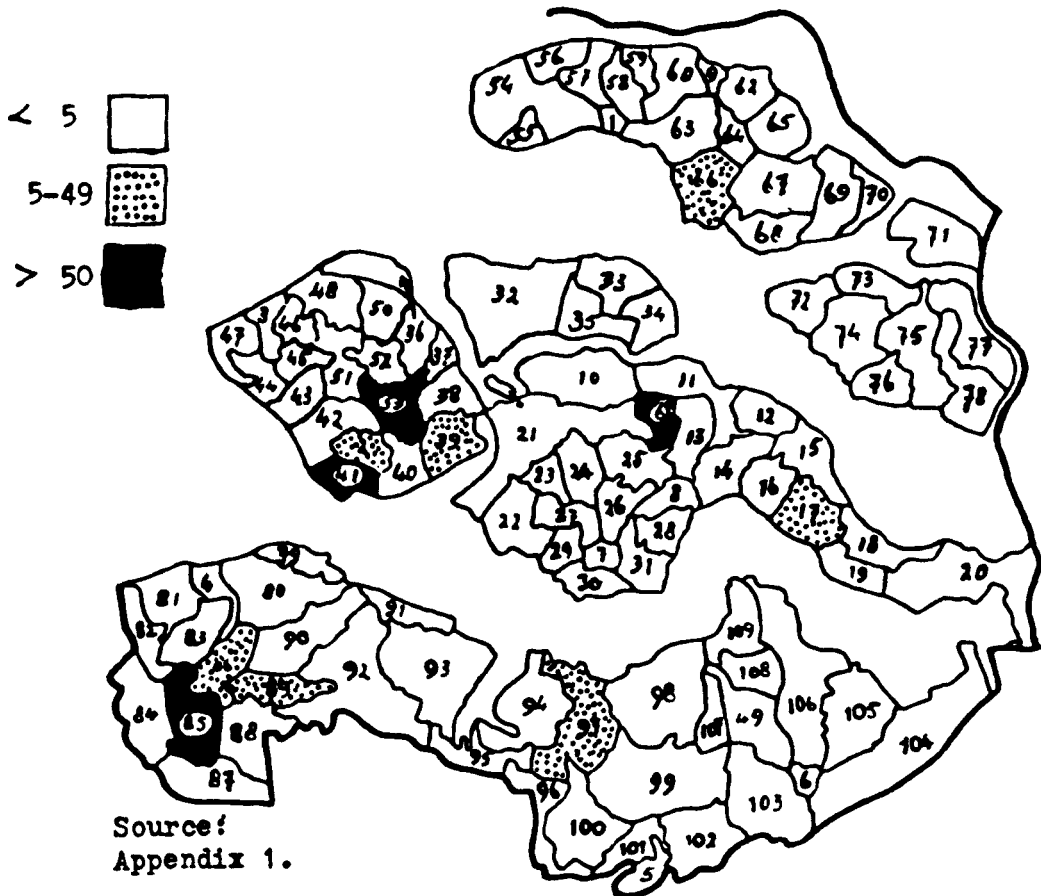
The two sects have a great deal in common, and indeed share some of their history: English (and later American) 'Baptism' is an Anglicized form of Anabaptism or Mennonitism, while Dutch Baptisme is a nineteenth century re-import of the same product, tinged with Calvinist orthodoxy.³⁷ Both groups insist on adult baptism, which is another way of insisting that membership of the community of God should not be a mere formality, but a conscious and weighed decision on the part of a consenting adult. Neither

group is very interested in dogma, both are dedicated to practical Christianity, and both abhor almost any kind of church order or organization outside the congregation. The ADS and the UBG are very weak bodies, and can in no way be equated with synods in other churches. For these reasons, any stray Baptisten in Zeeland - and there were very few of them³⁸ - have been counted with the Doopsgezinden, and are referred to by the general term of Baptists.

Baptists were concentrated in the north of the country,³⁹ and in Zeeland their traditions were neither long-established nor deep. Aardenburg, Goes, Vlissingen and Middelburg (Zierikzee was abandoned in 1821)⁴⁰ were served in the 1870s by three ministers,⁴¹ and were affiliated to the Zuidhollandse-Zeeuwse Ring van Doopsgezinde Gemeenten.⁴² With some exceptions, the Zeeland Baptists can be seen as another sect available to the élite,⁴³ populated by the educated classes in urban areas, and thus with influence well beyond that which its numbers might have justified. Numerically, they knew only losses until 1843, both in terms of totals (line 2 on Figure IV.21) and of percentages (Figure IV.22). This decline was common to Baptists all over the country, and the reasons for it are likely to be connected with the Geest der Eeuw (Spirit of the Age) in the first half of the century. As we have seen, this was marked by increasing toleration (not to say indifference) in religion, which cut the ground away from under the feet of the Baptists, who had always been renowned for their avoidance of a strict doctrinal credo.⁴⁴ From the fifties on, the sect began to expand, though never attaining its earlier share of the population, in any case very small. The rise

in numbers from the mid-century onwards is almost certainly to be explained by defections from elsewhere, rather than by a demographic increase of their own making: the general exodus of urban-based middle and upper class sects from Zeeland (Jews, some Lutherans, and Baptists) as the opportunity for entrepreneurial activity failed to improve there, was arrested in the case of the Baptists by accruements from the volkskerk. The emphasis on practical Christianity rather than dogma continued to attract recruits, while the importance of the congregation, rather than the synod or district organization, appealed to the extreme orthodox Calvinists, especially those from groups like the Gereformeerde Gemeenten onder 't Kruis, who rejected the religious authority of any organization outside the parish. Figure IV.24 implies the urban nature of the sect: the concentration was in Middelburg, Vlissingen, Goes, Zierikzee and Terneuzen, with the sub-urban groups of Souburg and Nieuw- en Sint Joosland. By the end of the century the shellfish industry was beginning to pull Kruiningen into this bracket (population 3249 in 1899). The concentration of Baptists in Aardenburg and surrounds - in total 115 in 1899 - is explained by the flight there of dopers or anabaptists from Flanders proper (in present-day Belgium) in 1607. In 1614 they founded the Aardenburg congregation, which still thrives today.⁴⁵ Earlier in the nineteenth century there had been small enclaves of Baptists in Koudekerke (13 in 1815) and Noordgouwe (9 in 1815): these can be seen as sub-urban groups, later assimilated into the town groups of Middelburg and Zierikzee.

Figure IV.24
Distribution of Baptists in the Gemeenten of
Zeeland in 1899



Jews

Jewish fortunes took a different course. Both in numbers (line 2 on Figure IV.21) and as a percentage of the provincial population (Figure IV.22), Jews enjoyed an increase until the mid-

century (1847). The growth in Jewish numbers at national level reached its zenith in the seventies and eighties, and was due to immigration; the increase in Zeeland's Jews up to 1847 is probably to be accounted for in the same way. The decline in the Netherlands as a whole after the 1880s was because of factors associated with the relatively early demographic modernization of the group, marked by such characteristics as a decline in marriage fertility and in the marriage age.⁴⁶ The reasons for the onset of decline a generation earlier in Zeeland are not altogether clear, but it is tempting to offer an economic explanation, in that the crisis years of the mid- and late forties coincided with the advent of political liberalism offering opportunities to enterprising people in thriving towns: these factors might have led to a minor exodus of Zeeland's Jews after the mid-century. In any case, the promising rise of this small section of the population was not continued after the mid-century.

Throughout the nineteenth century, Zeeland had fewer Jews than any other province.⁴⁷ This was probably due to Jews being the most urbanized of denominations,⁴⁸ for Zeeland knew only a very low degree of urbanization. Nearly all Zeeland's Jews were Askenasim rather than Sephardim,⁴⁹ and both have been treated as the same religion in the tables. Throughout the nineteenth century there were Jewish congregations at Goes, Vlissingen and Zierikzee; at Middelburg there was a chief synagogue from 1814 onwards.⁵⁰

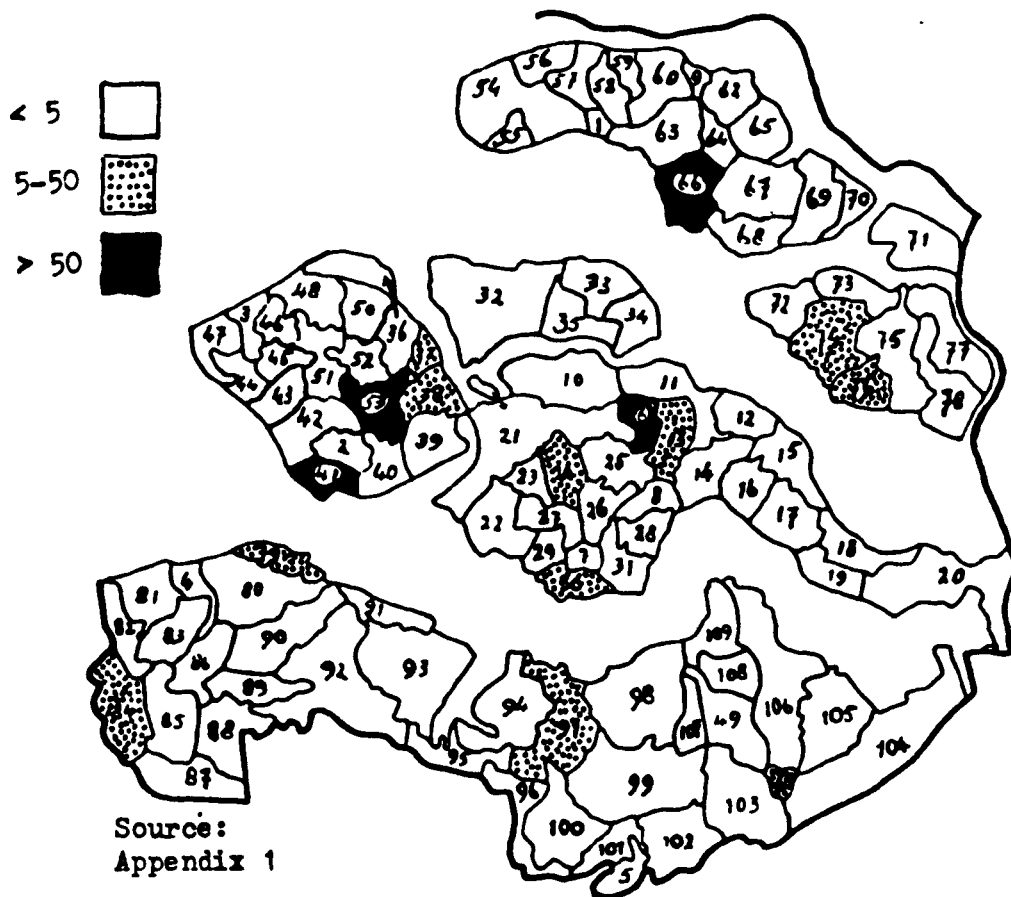
Table IV.25
Gemeenten in which the Level of Jews exceeds
 One Percent at any Stage, 1815-99

No.	<u>Gemeente</u>	Percentage of Jews in				District
		1815	1849	1877	1899	
53.	MIDDELBURG	1.88	2.22	1.55	1.13	Walch.
41.	WISSINGEN	0.02	0.76	1.11	0.66	
66.	ZIERIKZEE	0.32	0.96	0.54	0.41	S-Duiv.
30.	ELLEWOUTSDIJK	0.00	1.48	0.67	0.70	Bevel.
61.	GOES	0.05	1.00	0.92	0.23	
13.	KLOETINGE	0.00	1.30	0.00	0.00	
79.	BRESKENS	0.00	1.32	0.39	0.00	WZV
96.	SAS VAN GENT	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	OZV
97.	TERNEUZEN	0.00	1.36	0.56	0.29	

Source: Appendix 1.

Again the urban emphasis is strengthened by Table IV.25 showing communities which at any census date had a Jewish population of more than one percent. The provincial capital Middelburg was the only gemeente with a soundly established Jewish community, and even that saw a steep decline in numbers during the second half of the century (from 353 to 213).⁵¹ The map in Figure IV.26 shows the distribution of Jews in 1849, before the decline had set in.

Figure IV.26
 Distribution of Jews in the Gemeenten of
 Zeeland in 1849



At that time the Jews were more widely spread, but still showed themselves as an urban sect.

Those of "No" Religion

The final category - that of self-confessed atheists or agnostics - is empty in the annual data series (Appendix 2), probably because the data gatherers classed such people as 'miscellaneous', and put them in the 'Others' category. We are therefore dependent upon the decennial census data in Appendix 1.

Table IV.27
Gemeenten in which the Level of Population
 'Of No Religion' exceeds One Percent at any stage, 1815-99

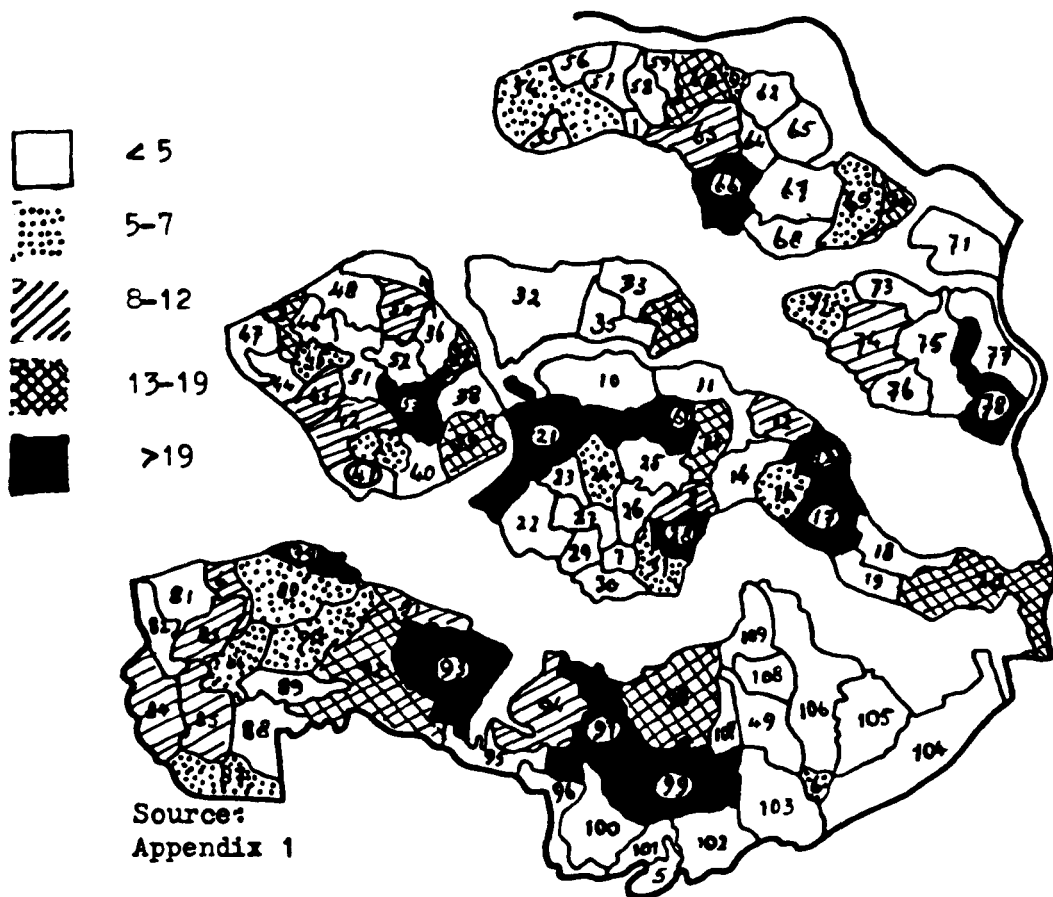
No.	<u>Gemeente</u>	Percentage		District
		1899	with 'No Religion'	
46.	AAGTEKERKE		0.32	Walch.
43.	BIOGKERKE		1.48	
3.	DOMBURG		1.61	
45.	MELISKERKE		1.26	
53.	MIDDELBURG		3.29	
39.	NIEUW- EN ST. J.-LAND		1.77	
50.	SEROOSKERKE (WALCH.)		0.82	
37.	VEERE		1.60	
41.	VLISSINGEN		3.45	
65.	DREISCHOR		0.00	S-Duiv.
60.	DUIVENDIJKKE		2.83	
63.	KERKWERVE		1.11	
66.	ZIERIKZEE		1.50	
67.	NIEUWERKERK		0.13	
78.	THOLEN		1.01	
31.	BAARLAND		1.00	Bevel.
61.	GOES		4.33	
28.	HOEDEKENSKERKE		1.89	
13.	KLOETINGE		1.16	
17.	KRUININGEN		5.08	
15.	YERSEKE		1.27	
34.	KATS		2.74	
85.	AARDENBURG		0.60	WZV
79.	BRESKENS		2.40	
81.	CADZAND		0.00	
4.	NIEUWVL IET		2.06	
83.	ZUIDZANDE		0.73	

Source: Appendix 1.

The censuses of 1889 and 1899 were the only ones to provide really comprehensive data on agnosticism: doubtless it was not taken seriously until then. Table IV.27 shows that twenty-seven gemeenten in Zeeland had known levels of more than one percent in

this category: only on Walcheren and Zuid-Beveland was there any real strength. Some villages, like Meliskerke and Biggekerke, probably derived their levels of secularization from their proximity to a large town (Middelburg).

Figure IV.28
Distribution of those of 'No Religion' in the
Gemeenten of Zeeland, 1899



The map in Figure IV.28 of the 1899 situation shows the number of atheists or agnostics in the gemeenten: because of the size of the

gemeenten in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, the agnosticism is perhaps over-emphasized on the map. But nonetheless it is clear that a drift away from the churches by the end of the nineteenth century was by no means confined to the towns. On Schouwen, Walcheren and Zuid-Beveland, and in western Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, there was an increase in rural agnosticism, or at least an increase in its registration in official data. We shall return to this first statistical indication of secularization in a following section (IV.D).

IV.A.3. Summary

In summary of this description and numerical evaluation of the fortunes of the denominations, the two major groups (Hervormden and Roman Catholics) could be seen keeping approximate pace with population increases, but with mainstream Calvinists gently losing ground to the orthodox denominations, whose rise from nil to five and a half percent of the province by 1876 was the most dramatic development in the period. As for the smaller groups, all seemed to undergo changes around the mid-century, but by no means in the same way. The years around the mid-forties saw a peak in Jewish numbers, a nadir for the Lutherans, and a very low point for the Baptists. The Remonstrants' turning point was a little later, in the late fifties (see Figures IV.21 and IV.22). It is clear that something was affecting the religious life of the province around the mid-century: the most obvious factor is the changeover centred on 1848, the accession to power by the Thorbeckian liberals with their subsequent reforms on local

politics, national electoral laws, church-state relations, and economic policy.

Is there a regional pattern emerging here? The two major issues arising out of the discussion so far are the divisions between Protestants and Catholics, and the splits within Calvinism. In this respect, apart from the urbanized nature of many of the smaller sects (Remonstrants, Jews, Baptists), three areas seem to dominate the analysis. Walcheren was a centre of orthodox Calvinism, and because of the location there of the province's largest towns the island attracted high levels of the smaller sects. Western Zeeuws-Vlaanderen and Zuid-Beveland were characterized by a clear statistical antagonism between Protestants and Roman Catholics. Zuid-Beveland doubled as a centre for orthodox Calvinism. It is on these districts in particular, therefore, that the subsequent analysis of friction between religious groups will be concentrated.

IV.B. The Concentration of Ecclesiastical Personnel

Another numerical aspect of religious change which is reasonably easy to chart is the fluctuation in the number of people who had to share one cleric, or ecclesiastic, among themselves. The ratio of ecclesiastics to parishioners was particularly important in situations which we encounter in Zeeland in the nineteenth century: firstly, where a conflict for dominance was in evidence (usually between Protestants and Catholics); and secondly where a church or denomination was losing members, either to other sects, or to secularization. In these situations, the clergy operated firstly as full-time and usually wholly dedicated partisan combatants against the 'enemy', whether it was another religion, or no religion at all. Secondly their pastoral administrations were likely to be a brake on defections. With these issues in mind, Table IV.29 is presented, showing numbers of clergy in each major denomination for the years around the mid-century.

Table IV.29

Numbers of Ecclesiastics, Parishes, and the Ratio between Ecclesiastics and Parishioners in the Major Denominations of Zeeland, 1850-1871

Year	1. NKK	[2. Waals	[4. Engels	5. EVANG. Luth.	7. Bapt.	9. Chr. Geruf.	10. R.C.	12. Jew
1) <u>Number of Parishes/Congregations</u>								
1850	104	[1]	[1]	4	2	12	32	4
1866	105	[1]	[2]	4	3	18	35	4
1871	105	[1]	[2]	4	3	21	37	4
2) <u>Number of Ecclesiastics</u>								
1850	115	[1]	[1]	4	3	5	42	0
1866	117	[2]	[1]	4	3	15	54	0
1871	116	[2]	[1]	4	3	20	58	0
3) <u>Ratio of one Ecclesiastic to Parishioners</u>								
1850	1: 969			306	91	473	967	-
1866	1: 1052			317	113	393	829	-
1871	1: 1072			314	116	439	793	-

Sources: Verslag van Gedeputeerde Staten (1850), 55; (1866), 278; & (1871), chapter VII, p. 2; and data in Appendix 2 from the years 1849, 1865, 1870.

Many features command attention. It is noticeable that there were no Jewish rabbis registered in Zeeland (Jews were ministered to by an opperrabbiin in Gelderland).⁵² The smaller but long-established denominations had lower rates of clerics to parishioners. Baptists were well off, with a ratio of around 1:100, and the Lutherans did well. Together with the Waals-hervormden and the Engels-hervormden, these were small, exclusive denominations, receiving more than usual attention from their ministers. The Remonstrants are omitted from the table because of the absence of an official congregation or minister in Zeeland.⁵³ Again, the general pattern of stability between 1850 and 1871 was broken of course by the Gereformeerden (Afgescheidenen) - Christelijke Afgescheidenen and Christelijke Gereformeerden - who

form category 9 in Table IV.29. These were members of the orthodox Calvinist groups, recognized seceders from the mainstream NHK from 1834 onwards. The ultra-orthodox groups are not included, but the growth of Calvinist orthodoxy in general is clear from the table. The small numbers of their ministers in early years is explained by the time it took to train and qualify clerics after secession.

The real crux of Table IV.29 lies in columns 1 and 10, representing data for the NHK and for the Roman Catholics. The number of Hervormde clerics in Zeeland in these two decades remained almost exactly steady (115, 117, 116), the shifts resulting from changes in urban congregations served by several ministers, like Middelburg, with its six or seven predikanten.⁵⁴ It was a situation of one minister for each parish (gemeente) with extra personnel for the large urban areas. While this convention endured throughout the century, the population increase - despite defections - dictated that the number of nominal Hervormden was rising, resulting in a relative rise in the ratio of ecclesiastics to parishioners from 1:969 to 1:1072 - a qualitative deterioration of 10.63% in twenty-one years. Meanwhile Catholics were moving in quite a different direction. In 1850, the number of people catered for by one cleric was almost exactly the same in the Calvinist as in the Catholic church (1:969 and 1:967). Twenty years later, though, despite a rise in Catholic numbers, the priest-to-persons ratio had improved by 17.99% (from 1:967 to 1:793). The Catholic population of Zeeland was expanding, just as was that of other denominations, but in this case an even greater proportion of ecclesiastics was being fed into the province with the result that the Roman Catholics had better pastoral attention and leadership

in religious matters as time went on.

This does not seem to be a feature only of the two decades dealt with in Table IV.29. Hervormde gemeenten changed very little over the century, and the concentration of the ministers remained basically the same. Catholic parishes slightly increased in number: in 1820 there were thirty-two Roman parishes in the province,⁵⁵ and by 1873 the total had risen to thirty-six.⁵⁶ The number of priests, however, rose very much more dramatically from thirty-three in about 1820⁵⁷ to fifty-eight in the 1870s.⁵⁸ It would seem that the Roman church rose to the task of defence in a situation of friction with Protestants, and in one of secularization, and increased its personnel.

It is quite true that not all Catholic ecclesiastics were full parish priests: about one third was comprised of one form or another of junior clergy, and this ratio of two parish priests to one auxiliary cleric remained fairly constant.⁵⁹ But it seems quite clear that in this sense anyway, of providing pastoral care and leadership, the Catholic church was relatively successful in combatting the forces eroding its membership; moreover this action was taken in contrast to the NHK's circumstances of deteriorating minister-to-flock ratios. In an unofficial sense, Zeeland - most particularly Zuid-Beveland and Zeeuws-Vlaanderen - had once more been declared a 'missionary area' (missieterrein). As in the seventeenth century, secular priests were poured into the sensitive areas to strengthen Catholic resistance to the old Protestant rival, and by the time of the nineteenth century, to secularizing influences as well.⁶⁰

The training of both regular and secular priests enjoyed a

period of expansion in the middle years of the nineteenth century, after the restraints of the French period and of Willem I's repressive policies; the whole of the Roman Catholic organizational machine, from the Congregation of Propaganda downwards, played an active role.⁶¹ The annual numbers of ordinations of secular Catholic priests per 1000 Catholics in the Netherlands was at its height in the second half of the century.⁶² So Zeeland Catholics were perhaps fortunate in having the extra manpower available, but the policies followed by the church leaders were certainly of assistance in taking advantage of the opportunities.

Finally there is the issue of the social background of the ministers in question. There are no data readily available for the nineteenth century. Twentieth century figures suggest that a higher percentage of Catholic clergy come from agricultural and working class backgrounds than is the case with NHK ministers,⁶³ which may possibly lead to a closer bond between clergy and the bulk of the people. Research in Germany at the end of the nineteenth century has indicated that there was indeed a wider social gap between Protestant clerics and their flocks than was the case with the Catholics.⁶⁴ For the Netherlands, however, this must remain in the realm of speculation for the moment. Whatever the quality of pastoral care, the Catholics certainly held an advantage in terms of its quantity, and their numerical increase in many Zeeland parishes is in this respect not surprising.

IV.C. Emigration

Emigration from the Netherlands to North America has attracted considerable attention from researchers over the years, partly because of the convenient availability of source material for the nineteenth century,⁶⁵ and also because of the interest on the part of genealogists in international migration. Besides anecdotal accounts, emigration has been the subject of several systematic studies,⁶⁶ and a great deal of data has been meticulously compiled. Professor Robert Swierenga of Kent State University has assembled exhaustive lists on computer files of the emigrating heads of household from the Netherlands to North America between 1835 and 1880.⁶⁷ Swierenga judges that these lists account for about two thirds of the actual number of emigrants bound for North America, while another estimate puts the figure at 87%.⁶⁸ Professor Swierenga has been kind enough to make his data on Zeeland available to me, and Table IV.30 below is computed from them.⁶⁹

The central issue as far as this thesis is concerned is to what extent the causes of emigration were religious, and what that in turn can tell us about the position of various churches and sects in the province. The first point has been the subject of much discussion: the relative merits of religious and economic motives. Some of the earlier writers were under no doubt whatsoever that a desire for religious freedom was the major and cardinal reason.⁷⁰ In the data collected by Dutch officials, emigrants were asked to state the reason for their departure, but the one-word answers to this extremely complex question must be

assumed to be quite inadequate for aggregate analysis.

In his study of the city of Rotterdam in the nineteenth century Professor van Dijk paid attention to some of the motivational issues involved in large-scale migration. He pointed to the importance of the 'social distance' between the 'sending area' and the 'reception area' of migrants, and to the often important role of religious faith in reducing that 'social distance' to an acceptable level. The migration process is considerably facilitated when there is some point of ideological or religious contact between the migrants and at least a proportion of the the population of the target area.⁷¹ Thus Van Dijk was able to link together three phenomena: the over-representation of NHK Calvinists amongst the immigrants to Rotterdam; the strongly orthodox Hervormde character of nineteenth century Rotterdam to begin with; and the tendency in the areas which supplied immigrants to Rotterdam to adhere strongly to the NHK.⁷²

This is not, of course, to deny the importance of many other variables in the (e)migration process. Swierenga has outlined the broad features of emigration from the Netherlands to North America in the last century. Most of the emigrants came from rural areas, most were of labourer or farmer status, and 'farmland was the obvious objective of these largely rural blue-collar emigrants.'⁷³ On the other hand, Swierenga's figures also provide evidence of the importance of a reduced 'social distance' between the sending and receiving areas. The typical emigrating unit was the small, young, but growing family, and the target area in the States, to the east of Lake Michigan, was very concentrated indeed.

It was clearly a migration of transplanted communities and family chains: parents and children, siblings, grandparents, in-laws, and friends moving ... from particularly localities in the fatherland to particular localities in the States.⁷⁴

The importance of letters from early emigrants urging their friends and relatives to follow them points to the accuracy of these conclusions.⁷⁵

One of the major supply areas for Dutch Americans was the province of Zeeland. The Achterhoek, the coastal areas of Friesland and Groningen, and the Brabantse Peel were also important 'suppliers', but by far the most concentrated area in the Netherlands was Zeeland, together with the adjacent islands of Goeree and Overflakkee.⁷⁶

Table IV.30

Emigrants (heads of household & individuals) from
Zeeland to N. America 1835-80, by Religious
Denomination

Denomination	Number	%	1858 % of Zeeland total population
<u>NHK</u>	3568	81.26	70.70
Lutherans	14	0.32	0.68
Baptists	6	0.14	0.15
Remonstrants	1	0.02	0.00
<u>Afgescheidenen</u>	380	8.65	2.67
Roman Catholic	413	9.41	25.31
Jewish	2	0.05	0.39
No religion	2	0.05	0.00
Others	5	0.11	0.10
Zeeland	4391	100	100

Source: R.P. Swierenga, 1977; & data provided on
computer tape by Professor Swierenga of Kent State University.

The religious composition of Zeeland's emigrants bound for North America is displayed in Table IV.30. The table offers three salient points. Firstly, that rather more NHK Calvinists left than one might have expected if the distribution of emigrants among the denominations had been completely even. Secondly many more Gereformeerden, or orthodox Calvinists, left than one would expect from their proportion in Zeeland's population. Thirdly, relatively few Catholics left. (The other denominations' figures are not out of the ordinary, and in any case the numbers are too small to allow meaningful calculations.)

It is not possible here to enter into the depths of the emigration motivation issue, but some points of importance to this thesis can be made. Nationally, the proportion of orthodox

Calvinists amongst emigrants was high, so in this respect their prominence in the exodus from Zeeland is not unexpected.⁷⁷ The reasons for this over-representation were probably both economic and religious. Most recent scholars give the upper hand to economic rather than religious motives; however, Swierenga is prepared to admit the dominant ideological reasons for departure of 'several thousand Seceders (Afgescheidenen) from the Netherlands Reformed (Hervormde) Church in the 1840s'.⁷⁸ The religious 'push-factor', acting on these victims of persecution in the post-Afscheiding (1834) period, established the initial concentrated presence in Michigan, which, for the rest of the century, was to provide for other orthodox Calvinists that reduction in the 'social distance' between the supply and target areas which was essential in order to let the economic attractions of America (other 'pull-factors') shine through. This was true for orthodox Calvinists in general, whether or not they had seceded from the NHK: many orthodox Calvinist congregations in Zeeland decided to stay within the mother-church. This combination of economic and ideological motivation is expressed by Stokvis as follows:

Demographic pressure on the means of existence aggravated by the agricultural crisis confronted petty bourgeois and working class people with imminent economic and social decline. America seemed a way out, especially for (dissident) seceders, whose attachment to their social setting was loosened by repression, discrimination, and internal strife.⁷⁹

Amongst the orthodox Calvinists, then, there was reason for emigration, initially to do with secession and persecution, and later to do with the contacts established between the early emigrants in the States, and the orthodox Calvinists in Zeeland's rural congregations. What remains at large is the reason for the low level of emigration by Catholics from Zeeland (9.41%), in comparison with their share in the population as a whole (25.31%; see Table IV.30). True, the persecution of the 1830s and 1840s had not been directed against the Catholics, and so there had been less chance for the early establishment of a Catholic colony in the States. On the other hand, the Dutch Catholics had undergone a severely testing time under the policies of Willem I and his ministers from 1815 to 1830,⁸⁰ but had not then felt the need to resort to trans-oceanic flight. Three possible tentative theories might be put forward here: firstly, that Catholics did not need to migrate across the ocean, but could cross into Noord-Brabant or Belgium in order to be with their co-religionists. Secondly, an attractive hypothesis is that Roman Catholic poor-relief was more effective than that of the Calvinists. It is certainly true, as we shall see in a later section, that the Catholics were generous, perhaps to a fault, in their legacies and bequests to the Church.⁸¹ But the preponderance of Calvinists amongst emigrants might also be partially explained by a more effective pastoral role on the part of the Catholic clergy: this would be supported by our conclusions in the previous section on the concentration of ecclesiastical personnel. In any case it is true that, in both absolute and relative terms, the Roman Catholics lost far fewer members to emigration than did the Calvinists.

It would be ideal to reach beyond the bare numbers, to the level of actual commitment to a given religion.⁸² One way of gauging this - albeit only at one level - would be to collate figures for church attendance for the different denominations. Unfortunately, however, there are no figures at present available. Meertens pointed out that the preoccupation with the doctrine of election and the humble doubt that they were 'of the elect' made for a low incidence of communication among the orthodox Calvinists.⁸³ Kruijt remarked that, apart from areas of Schouwen, western Zeeuws-Vlaanderen and urban Walcheren, Zeeland was generally both a religious (kerkelijk) and a church-going (kerks) province.⁸⁴ In Catholic Zeeuws-Vlaanderen in the 1830s, W. Brand gives the impression of very high levels both of religiosity and of church attendance.⁸⁵ We can only conclude that there is as yet no evidence of any major differences between the denominations with regard to their church attendance.

IV.D. Secularization

Until now the word 'religion' has been used to refer to organized or institutionalized religion, and indeed that is the subject of this study. The 'received opinion' on Zeeland's history concerns the organized churches; the data series on which the present investigation are based are to do with (nominal) allegiance to various institutionalized religions or denominations. Nonetheless, before entering into a discussion of secularization, which here will be taken to mean an increase of the share of society's members and activities which are not directed or affected by the churches, it is appropriate to give cognizance to the much wider possible meanings of the words 'religion' and 'secularization'.

Religion can be defined in very broad terms, to include, as Lenski would have it, ideologies like socialism,⁸⁶ or to include, as Obelkevich and many sociologists of religion do, almost any belief in any form of supernatural or moving force, which means that 'religion' is something universal in human society.⁸⁷ This brings into the field of enquiry the very broad and fascinating subject of popular superstition, magic, and witchcraft; a field which has attracted several excellent studies in recent decades. Although this thesis deals almost exclusively with religion institutionalized in the churches and denominations, it is as well to be aware that religious belief and behaviour can be studied in a much broader context. Despite reliable assertions that the

people of Zeeland were characterized by a high degree of religiosity in the sense of their loyalty and devotion to their churches, there was undeniably a high level of folklorist superstition in the province, particularly with regard to the vagaries of the agricultural economy. The likelihood that the emphasis on the doctrine of election, and on Divine Providence, in Dutch orthodox Calvinism may have reduced the more 'popular' superstition in parts of Zeeland does not alter the fact that religion can be interpreted in a sense much wider than that encompassed by the nine categories in the Appendices. Several historians concerned with religion in rural areas have formed the opinion that, in most of Europe, Christianity was never really thoroughly established at all.⁸⁸

This wide-angle view of religion carries with it a concomitant, equally broad definition of secularization. According to H. McLeod, then, religious decline could and did operate in any of the three fields of magic and superstition, of Christianity, and of institutionalized religion. It is by no means a foregone conclusion that all three possible kinds of secularization occurred together, or even in phase.⁸⁹ On the other hand, R.J. Evans' bifocal view of the complex phenomenon of secularization is also plausible: at one level, it was a result of the 'conversion' of an educated intellectual élite to Enlightenment rationalist thinking. Through education, the press, and liberal legislation, this form of 'secularization' filtered down to the ordinary people of the countryside in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The other side of the coin was, though, a long and strong tradition of secularism already in existence at grass roots

level, a fact reflected in the widespread flaunting of institutionalized religious authority.⁹⁰

The other conceptual problem involved with secularization is that of measurement. Accurate estimation of the influence of the churches on the socio-economic life of the community is fraught with difficulty, but is nonetheless central to the subject of this study. Secularization, defined as the reduction of the proportion of society's members and activities which are directed or affected by institutionalized religion, is the mirror image of that influence. Therefore it will be necessary to examine as many sources of data on secularization as possible, whatever the methodological difficulties.

It is often the case that, in a modernizing society, high levels of secularization go together with more progressive socio-economic situations. We need not at present enter into the debate over whether one condition causes the other. The purposes of the following exercise are to examine the levels in Zeeland of secularization in as many forms as possible, and to establish to what degree secularization, or the lack of it, can be associated with economic modernization. No 'blame' or 'credit' need or should be apportioned at this stage.⁹¹

IV.D.1. Sources

In the years after the introduction of universal suffrage (1917-21), levels of secularization as indicative of religious influence on temporal matters can be measured by political voting patterns. This is true especially in a country like the Netherlands, where (unlike Great Britain) so many of the parties have direct associations with the denominations. In the nineteenth century, however, the small proportion of the population with the suffrage means that voting patterns give us no reliable indication of secularization amongst the vast majority of the populace. So the statistical data possibilities are reduced to religious census figures, and the number of people who actually claimed to be atheists or agnostics.⁹² Indeed, the censuses of 1879 and later have already provided the foundation for several now classic studies of secularization, by Kruijt, Staverman, and Faber.⁹³

The dangers of using figures purporting to show the level of persons 'of no denomination' are legion. The most obvious is that many people, while assumed to be attached to a certain church, in fact had no contact with it whatsoever. Although the mid-century census figures show only tiny numbers of people prepared to insist that they be registered in the census books as 'without religion', complaints at the parish level of a sad deficiency in religious practice are by no means rare. In the mid-nineteenth century, a Middelburg minister was concerned about those of his flock who went through the motions of religion, purely from force of

habit:⁹⁴ this 'lip service religion' was to increase considerably before 1900. Similarly, there are the problems of classifying children of mixed marriages: they were very often labelled as being 'without religion'.⁹⁵ The most sensible conclusion would seem to be Kruijt's, which was that although the census lists of those 'without religion' suffer from many faults, the figures do have a significance, and can - with caution - be used.⁹⁶ By using additional material as well, like the extent and duration of the grip of the churches on various 'moral' issues in Zeeland's social affairs, it should be possible to derive a reasonably clear picture of secularization in the province, and of the degree to which it was associated with socio-economic changes.

IV.D.2. Census Data

The figures in Table IV.31 show that during the nineteenth century Zeeland was one of the least secularized provinces in the Netherlands. In the early twentieth century, together with Gelderland, she emerged as one of the least affected provinces of all, with the exceptions of Roman Catholic Noord-Brabant and Limburg.⁹⁷ Zeeland, then, shared the generally low levels of secularization common during the last century.

Table IV.31
Persons of "No Religion" per Province in the
Netherlands as Percentages of the Total
Population of Each Province in the Census Years 1879-1947

Provinces	1879	1889	1899	1909	1920	1930	1947
Noord-Brabant	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.4	1.1	1.5
Gelderland	0.1	0.5	0.9	1.8	2.7	6.1	7.4
Zuid-Holland	0.3	0.8	1.7	5.3	8.4	16.5	21.1
Noord-Holland	0.4	1.8	4.5	9.2	17.0	28.5	34.2
Zeeland	0.2	0.8	1.2	2.2	2.7	6.3	6.7
Utrecht	0.2	0.4	0.8	2.4	5.5	11.6	13.9
Friesland	1.0	7.0	6.9	11.8	13.0	23.1	23.5
Overijssel	0.2	0.8	1.1	3.3	4.8	11.7	13.4
Groningen	0.6	3.3	4.2	8.7	11.2	21.5	27.0
Drente	0.4	1.3	1.3	3.6	4.6	11.3	13.0
Limburg	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.6	1.0	1.3
Netherlands	0.3	1.5	2.3	5.0	7.8	14.4	17.0

Source: R.J. Staverman, 1954, 29.

Only Friesland, Groningen, and Noord-Holland really started to become secularized before 1900, at least in terms of the census data.

In his thesis on secularization, J.P. Kruijt provided a detailed description of Zeeland in about 1920, by which time the situation had not changed beyond recognition from that current at the end of the nineteenth century.⁹⁸ Zeeland as a whole was, we are told, not only religious (kerkelijk), but church-going (kerks) as well. The only areas which by 1920 had begun to escape from the tutelage of the churches were western Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, Schouwen, and the urban districts on Walcheren; before 1900, only Walcheren had shown its colours.⁹⁹ With the exception of the Vlissingen urban area, then, Zeeland seems to have displayed little of the secularization which elsewhere went together with economic change.

Within Zeeland itself, Table IV.27 above listed the gemeenten in which there were, at any stage in the nineteenth century, levels of agnosticism or atheism exceeding one percent. Further analysis of that table reveals the following. These twenty-seven

communities (of the 109 in the province) tended to be in the more urbanized areas, as one might expect: religious decline is often more frequent in the anonymity of the large town.¹⁰⁰ Nine of the gemeenten were situated on the relatively urban Walcheren, the others tending to be local centres, or at least near to them. Interestingly, not one of these gemeenten appears on the list of consistently Catholic villages (Table IV.6), while twelve of the twenty-seven (45%) are included among the consistently Calvinist (Hervormde plus Gereformeerde) gemeenten (Table IV.11). It would seem that the national trend, which showed the Catholic provinces better in defence against increasing secularization (Table IV.31) was at least partly reflected at the provincial level within Zeeland. Predominantly Roman Catholic villages tended to lose less of their numbers to secularization than did Calvinist villages.

One other way in which census data might clarify our picture of secularization is through employment, or occupational statistics. The relationship between the denominations and various professions and economic sectors is, strictly speaking, unfathomable until the census of 1930, which was the first one to provide adequate information about both topics.¹⁰¹ However, J. Faber's observations in the twentieth century to the effect that agnostics and atheists find relatively small representation amongst agricultural employees and amongst industrial and agricultural employers¹⁰² will not conflict with our expectations of Zeeland in the nineteenth century. The fact that the province's population was engaged predominantly in agriculture would accord with a low level of secularization, and would support the notion of increased agnosticism in the towns.

IV.D.3. The Churches and 'Moral' Issues

There are other indicators to which we can turn to achieve a more detailed, if less direct, picture of the progress of secularization in the province. They have to do with the moral control of churches over a society, as reflected in such issues as sexuality, Sunday piety, and alcohol consumption. These issues are necessarily selected where information is available, and our explanation of this relatively unbroken territory will concentrate upon such sexuality-related topics as mixed marriage, and early and illegitimate births.

With regard to sexual morality, the premise is that the churches - all churches - will do their best to limit sexual activity which occurs outside their field of control, for example outside the marriage, or inside the brothel. The reason for this rationing of sexuality is the danger of over-population, and the consequent limiting of procreative activity in the days before efficient contraceptives were generally available. The church, as both the reflection and justification of necessary anomalies and injustices in society, and the executive officer of the collective will, arrogates to itself the task of enforcing sexual 'morality' as a defence against the spectre of over-population.¹⁰³ As Edward Shorter has it: 'Sexual freedom threatens the maintenance of [traditional] community life because of the radical privatism and "egoism" it instils in individuals.'¹⁰⁴ The demanded consecration of marriage by the churches, the moral interdict on sexual intercourse outside marriage, the association of sexuality with religious guilt feelings, and the sexual austerity of clerics in

general (and even celibacy in priests) all reflect this arrangement.¹⁰⁵ As a result, increases in 'illicit' sexual activity over a long period of time would be likely to indicate a declining level of religious control over the community in question. For although contraceptives and increased production of food have reduced the dangers of over-population implicit in sexuality, few of the churches have willingly relinquished their role of arbiter over the reproduction of the species and its 'morally' allied trades.

IV.D.3.a. Mixed Marriages

Mixed marriages can represent a flaunting of the authority of the church in this rather sensitive area.¹⁰⁶ Many of those who have worked on the Dutch data up until now have been interested in the matter from the Roman Catholic viewpoint, which has led them to deal in diocesan rather than provincial units.¹⁰⁷ As a result it is difficult to draw conclusions for Zeeland from their work, and in any case, most of the statistical data refer to the twentieth century. Nonetheless, a few points of interest can be made.

Most of Zeeland's Catholic communities were in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, and were therefore part of the diocese of Breda for most of the century, a diocese which displayed much lower rates of mixed marriages among Catholics than either Haarlem or Utrecht.¹⁰⁸ This is to be expected in the light of the relative density of the

Catholic population in those areas, but it may also indicate a reasonable control of matters in the two Flanders districts of Zeeland. This is significant, in view of Van Leeuwen's reasoned assertion that mixed marriages are encouraged by secularization, and also tend to give rise to it.¹⁰⁹ Most of Zeeland, however, fell under the Middelburg dekanaat of the Haarlem bishopric, which showed rather higher than average levels of mixed marriages in the last century. Furthermore, between 1870 and 1905, the annual number of mixed marriages (with a Catholic as one of the partners) had risen from 431 to 552. This was a rise of twenty-eight percent in forty-five years, exactly the same as the rise in the Zeeland population over the same period.¹¹⁰ But the main point to be taken is that the 28% rise in mixed marriages in the Middelburg dekanaat was, once again, high compared to other areas.¹¹¹

G. Dekker conducted a study of mixed marriages in all denominations, but unfortunately for our purposes, made exclusive use of data from the period after 1945. For the record, his figures regarding Zeeland show that her position vis-à-vis the other provinces was unexceptional. The only mildly unusual feature in Zeeland was that the number of Hervormden who chose to marry with members of other denominations was rather lower than the national average. Dekker's data do not permit an analysis of any imbalances between the regions within any given province.¹¹²

Our conclusions can only be of a general nature. The Roman Catholic Church undoubtedly saw mixed marriage as a threat, and attempted to limit it. In Zeeuws-Vlaanderen in the 1830s, priests constantly campaigned against intermarriage between denominations, and were even prepared to withhold the sacrament from those who

refused to bring up the offspring of mixed marriages in the Catholic faith.¹¹³ For the Gereformeerden, mixed marriage is seen as a great spiritual danger'.¹¹⁴ From Van Leeuwen's work it seems clear that mixed Catholic marriages are more common in urban areas.¹¹⁵ As far as Zeeland is concerned the levels of mixed Catholic marriage in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen seem to have been under effective control for the nineteenth century, but on the islands it would appear that the church was less successful in restraining its flock from fraternizing with Protestants than was the case in other parts of the bishopric of Haarlem. Vlissingen, for instance, was seen as a disgrace to Roman Catholicism, because of (among other things) its high level of mixed marriages.¹¹⁶ This indicates that parishes with significant Roman Catholic populations on the islands would be more likely to show evidence of increasing secularization - and perhaps Protestantization - than those in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen.

IV.D.3.b. Sex and Contraception

More direct contravention of the teachings of the churches on sexuality is identifiable in attitudes to contraception, to forced marriages, to illegitimacy, and to prostitution. The technology of modern contraceptive devices was not available to most Zeelanders in the nineteenth century. On the other hand, contraception of one form or another had perennially been practised, by means of delayed marriage, the 'mixed' or 'three-generation' household, abstention from intercourse within marriage, and coitus interruptus.¹¹⁷ In the last quarter of the century, furthermore, groups like the Neo-Malthusian League were actively promoting, in the teeth of Roman Catholic and orthodox Calvinist opposition, more regular and rationalized contraception as an answer to pressing social problems.¹¹⁸

The attitude of the churches towards sex seems to have been one that was principally concerned with control. According to various circumstances - theological, evangelical or demographic - the churches may have varied their pronouncements on the most appropriate rate and method of reproducing the species. Lawrence Stone posits that the cyclical changes in sexuality over the centuries are indeed best explained by religious factors.¹¹⁹ But the constant concern of the churches at all times had been to be

integrally involved, and to oversee the rates of reproduction, and their motor, sexuality. The great fear has been that '...the church loses its influence at the threshold of the bedroom'.¹²⁰

IV.D.3.c. Forced Marriages

This ecclesiastical attitude to sexuality is suggested by church pronouncements^e on early or forced marriages ('moetjes' or 'moetertjes' in Zeeland), defined as live births occurring within seven months of the marriage ceremony.¹²¹ These were generally known in most of northern Europe, and often resulted from the practice of 'window-wooing' ('venster-vrijen'), which amounted to semi-institutionalized pre-marital sexual relations, partly to establish the fertility of the intended partner.¹²² Petersen remarks that as long as the social control of the village was recognized and maintained, by means of a marriage ceremony following conception, the practice was tolerated by the churches.¹²³ Where the church was the executive of village social cohesion, although the severity of the bark might vary according to denomination, the bite remained the same: repent in acknowledgement of the church's hegemony in these matters, get married, and clemency will be exercised. In the 1870s on Walcheren, the NHK prescribed a man-to-man talk with the dominee (parson); the orthodox Calvinists insisted upon a public confession of guilt. In both cases, eventual toleration was a

certainty.¹²⁴

So the mere existence of forced marriages, for which there is considerable evidence in Zeeland in the nineteenth century,¹²⁵ is not necessarily a sign of any weakness or slackening of control on the part of the churches. However, not all the churches seem to have had an equal degree of control in this matter. We are fortunate in that some of the most recent work on this subject has been based largely on material collected from two Zeeuws-Vlaanderen villages: one Roman Catholic (Boschkapelle) and one Protestant (Zaamslag).¹²⁶ After showing how widespread the phenomenon of forced marriage has been,¹²⁷ the authors of this study, Engelen and Meyer, go on to indicate that Zeeuws-Vlaanderen had the highest rates of enforced marriage of all their sample across the nation from 1811 to 1862, but that the figures from Protestant Zaamslag were primarily responsible for this high average.¹²⁸ They make two other observations which are of interest here: that in the first half of the nineteenth century the enforced marriage rate receded as one ventured further inland; and that illiteracy was high among forced marriage partners.¹²⁹ This new work casts doubt upon Van den Berg's assertion that religion and sect are quite irrelevant to the topic of enforced marriages;¹³⁰ on the other hand, Professor Hofstee's 'diffusion' theory would seem to have defended its place in the analysis.¹³¹ For the purposes of this chapter, however, Engelen and Meyer's work means that in their sample of Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, if a high rate of enforced marriage was representative of any sort of loosening of religious control of society, then the Calvinist church was weaker in this respect than the Catholic.

IV.D.3.d. Illegitimacy

Where actual illegitimacy was concerned, there were no churches prepared to acquiesce in this form of flaunting the religious hegemony over sexuality. As part of the Establishment, ecclesiastical authorities invariably condemned the breakdown in morality, the demographic danger, and the threat to the succession of the property-owning classes inherent in bastardy. Peter Laslett concluded that although an increase in illegitimacy does not necessarily represent the erosion of either social cohesion, or the power of the élite, in most cases it does.¹³² In the 1830s, for example, the Catholic authorities considered Vlissingen a disgrace on the grounds of its numerous illegitimate births among Catholics.¹³³ Illegitimates, or bastards (as opposed to children born 'early'), are born entirely out of wedlock. Reasonably accurate statistics of illegitimate births were kept in the nineteenth century, and a convenient series exists for total numbers of live and dead illegitimate births in each gemeente of Zeeland for the middle decades of the last century.¹³⁴ If high levels of illegitimacy indicate a relative lack of influence on the part of the churches, then the object of this analysis is to pinpoint differentiation between the denominations. For in this matter, to quote H. McLeod, 'however attached to their churches the rural population appeared to be, the church was only one among several influences on their code of behaviour.'¹³⁵

Table IV.32
Roman Catholics and Illegitimacy, 1840-64

<u>Gemeenten</u> with R.C. population of (% 1899)	Average illegitimacy rate* per class of <u>gemeente</u>	<u>Gemeenten</u> in each class
0-9.99	37.47	64
10-19.99	48.77	13
20-59.99	50.00	11
60-94.99	39.18	11
95-100	38.10	10
Mean of <u>all</u> <u>gemeenten</u>	40.3119	109

Source: Data in Appendices 1 & 3.

[*Illegitimacy rate: Live and dead illegitimate births per 1000 total births 1840-64]¹⁸⁶

Table IV.33
Hervormden and Illegitimacy, 1840-64

<u>Gemeenten</u> with <u>NHK</u> population of (% 1899)	Average illegitimacy rate* per class of <u>gemeente</u>	<u>Gemeenten</u> in each class
0-74.99	38.94	67
75-79.99	34.33	9
80-84.99	38.60	10
85-92.99	49.92	12
93-100	44.64	11
Mean of <u>all</u> <u>gemeenten</u>	40.3119	109

Source: Data in Appendices 1 & 3.

Table IV.34
Gerreformeerden and Illegitimacy, 1840-64

<u>Gemeenten</u> with <u>Gerref.</u> population of (% 1899)	Average illegitimacy rate* per class of <u>gemeente</u>	<u>Gemeenten</u> in each class
0-12	45.71	62
12.01-18	42.36	11
18.01-23	35.54	13
23.01-32	33.77	13
32-100	19.30	10
Mean of <u>all</u> <u>gemeenten</u>	40.3119	109

Source: Data in Appendices 1 & 3.

From an examination of the figures, no convenient associations between illegitimacy and either of the two main denominations (Catholics and Hervormden) emerge. Tables IV.32 and IV.33 suggest a rather higher level of illegitimacy in villages with 10-60% of Catholics, and those with 85-93% Hervormden. But neither of these increased levels was maintained in the groups of gemeenten where the Catholics or NHK members were really at their

strongest, suggesting that factors other than the religious one were rather more important as far as these two major denominations were concerned.

The figures for the Gereformeerden, however, permit no doubts: the sharp decline in the illegitimacy levels in Table IV.34 as the percentage of Gereformeerden increased is incontrovertible. The scattergrams bring home the same point. Figures IV.35 and IV.36 display no special relationship between levels of Catholics or Hervormden, and illegitimacy. Figure IV.37, on the other hand, shows clearly that the more Gereformeerden there were in a community, the less likely it was that there would be a high incidence of bastards.

Figure IV.35
Scattergram of (down) Illegitimacy Rate 1840-64, and (across)
Percentage of Roman Catholics in Each Gemeente in 1899

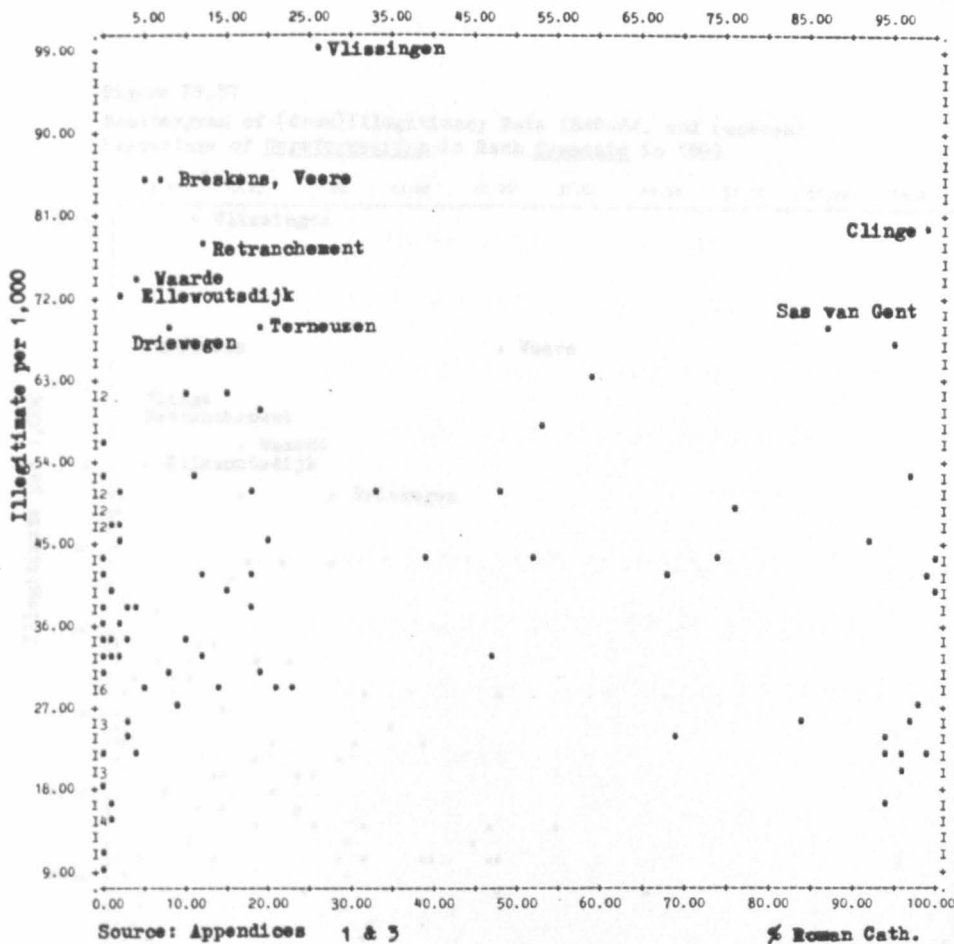


Figure IV.36
Scattergram of (down) Illegitimacy Rate 1840-64, and (across)
Percentage of Nederlandse Hervormden in Each Gemeente in 1899

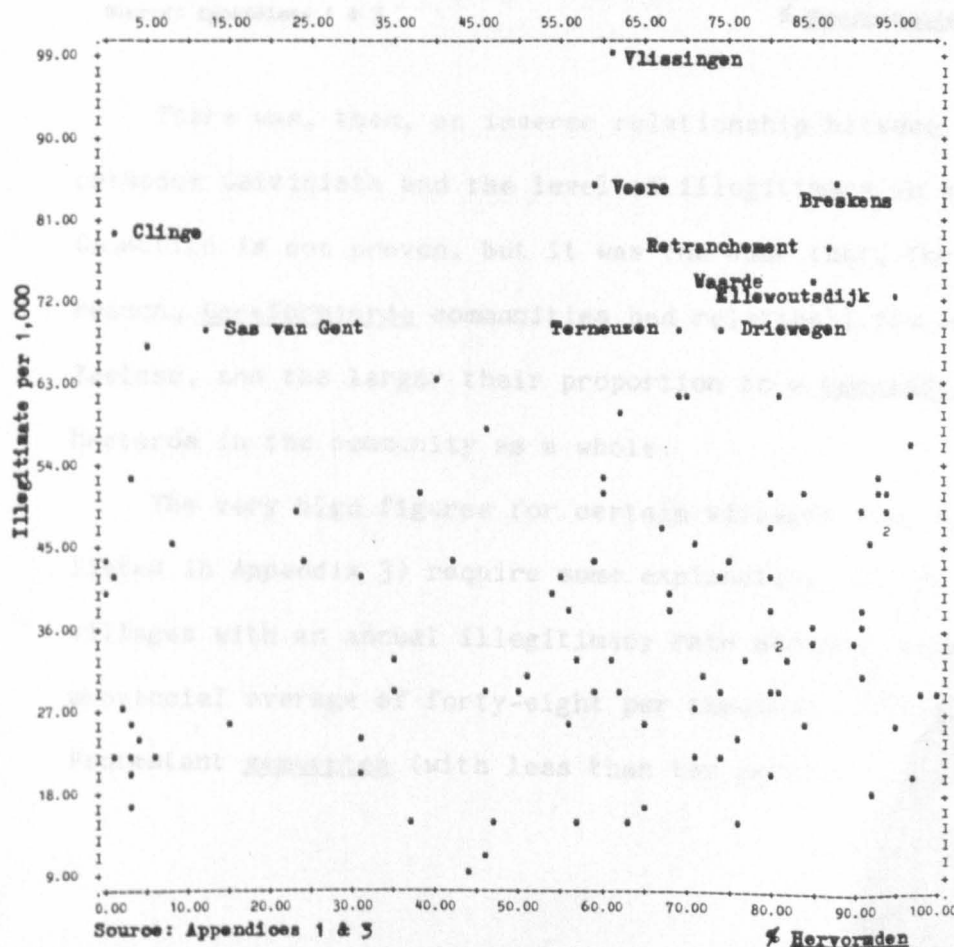
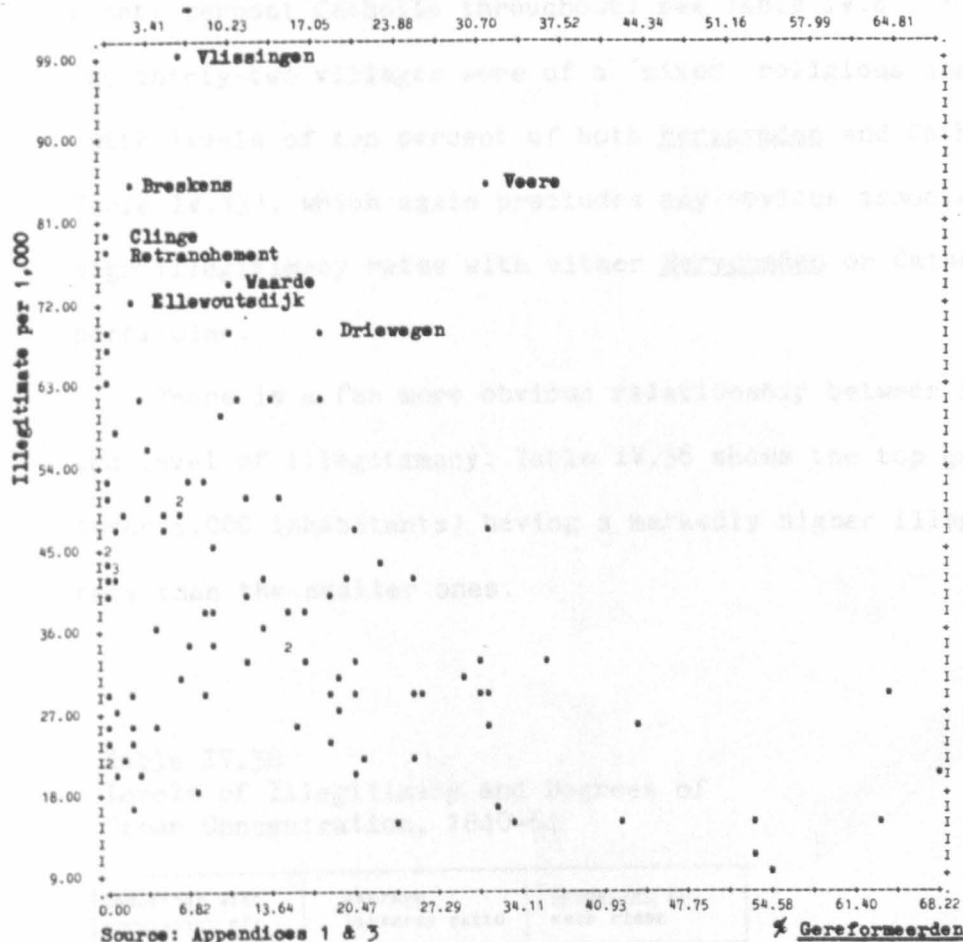


Figure IV.37
Scattergram of (down) Illegitimacy Rate 1840-64, and (across)
Percentage of Gereformeerden in Each Gemeente in 1899



There was, then, an inverse relationship between the level of orthodox Calvinists and the level of illegitimacy in a village. Causation is not proven, but it was the case that, for whichever reason, Gereformeerde communities had relatively few bastards in Zeeland, and the larger their proportion in a gemeente, the fewer bastards in the community as a whole.

The very high figures for certain villages (the data are listed in Appendix 3) require some explanation. Of the thirty-two villages with an annual illegitimacy rate above or equal to the provincial average of forty-eight per thousand, eleven were Protestant gemeenten (with less than ten percent Roman Catholics

throughout) and only two were predominantly Catholic (more than ninety percent Catholic throughout: see Table IV.6). Fourteen of the thirty-two villages were of a 'mixed' religious character (with levels of ten percent of both Hervormden and Catholics: Table IV.13), which again precludes any obvious association of high illegitimacy rates with either Hervormden or Catholics in particular.

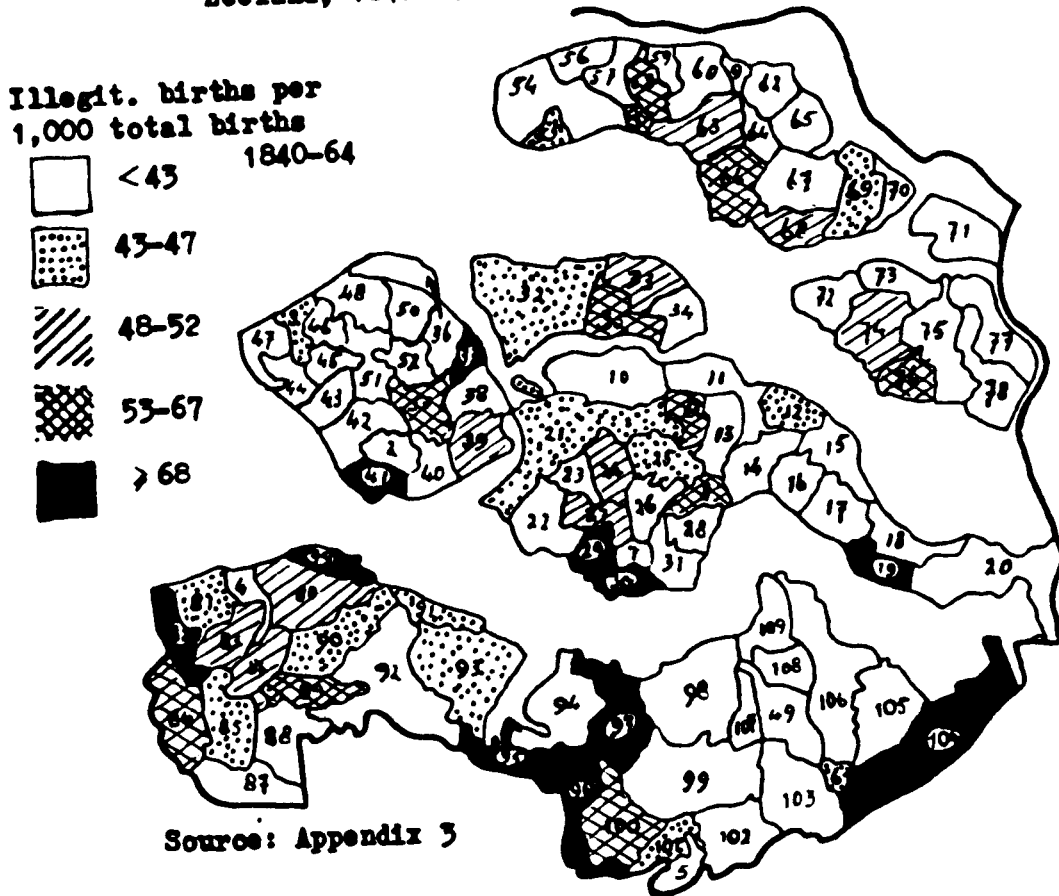
There is a far more obvious relationship between size of town and level of illegitimacy: Table IV.38 shows the top grade of town (over 5,000 inhabitants) having a markedly higher illegitimacy rate than the smaller ones.

Table IV.38
Levels of Illegitimacy and Degrees of
Urban Concentration, 1840-64

<u>Gemeenten</u> with population of: (1899)	Average bastardy ratio	<u>Gemeenten</u> in each class
0-499	40.600	5
500-1999	39.151	73
2000-4999	38.240	25
5-000	61.833	6
<u>Mean of all gemeenten</u>	40.312	109

Nonetheless, there were small gemeenten with high ratios: the crux would seem to have been the transience of the population, rather than the town size alone, and the map in Figure IV.39, showing the regional distribution of bastardy, makes this clear.

Figure IV.39
Levels of Illegitimacy in the Gemeenten of
Zeeland, 1840-64



The harbour towns of Vlissingen, Breskens, Veere, and Terneuzen, which together with Waarde (Fort Bath) and Sas van Gent also had garrisons stationed in them,¹³⁷ all had a rapid turnover of male population and the highest illegitimacy rates. The interesting exceptions would appear to have been Clinge, Driewegen, and Ellewoutsdijk.¹³⁸

Zeeland province as a whole did not display any very unusual characteristics compared to the other provinces. Illegitimacy rates shown in Table IV.40

Table IV.40
Illegitimate Births per 1,000 Total Births,
Per Province, 1848 and 1873-83

Province	1848	1873-83 [annual average of 11 years]	Swing from 1848 to 1873-83
N-Brabant	35	19	16
Gelderland	41	29	-12
Z-Holland	66	40	-26
N-Holland	55	40	-15
<u>Zeeland</u>	39	33	-6
Utrecht	56	41	-15
Friesland	22	23	+ 1
Overijssel	29	20	-9
Groningen	46	43	-3
Drente	24	28	+ 4
Limburg	33	21	-12
Netherlands	49	30	-19

Sources: Statistisch jaarboek (1851), 25; & Jaarcijfers (1883), 6.

for 1848 and 1873-83 put Zeeland in an unremarkable position: sixth highest in 1848, and fifth in 1873-83. Zeeland took part in the general fall in illegitimacy during the third quarter of the century, but rather less fully than other provinces except Groningen, Friesland and Drente (the last two of which actually saw their illegitimacy rates rise). Again, the only possible conclusion is that in this respect Zeeland - with the significant exception of her Gereformeerden - was unremarkable.

IV.D.3.e. Prostitution

Estimates of general morality in the province were so subjective and hidebound by the social background of the commentator that they are rendered virtually useless, except of course as nominal indications of views on matters of morality in the social environs from which the estimate comes. For instance, the local author's matter-of-fact references to a high level of adultery and general debauchery in Wemeldinge around the turn of the century¹³⁹ compare interestingly with the alleged 'horror' of a liberal Schouwen clergyman in the 1920s, shocked that his parishioners not only indulged in pre-marital sex, but furthermore did not even find it sinful!¹⁴⁰ Because of the subjectivity of the non-statistical sources on these matters, it is hard to make valid estimates on the general state of 'morals'. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that, to the great merriment of the radical satirist Alex Crafford of Middelburg, in 1857 the council of that town found it necessary to tighten considerably the regulations governing prostitutes and brothels in the gemeente.¹⁴¹ The fact that Crafford, as well as the town council, approved in principle of the stricter measures introduced to replace the previous ones¹⁴² can indicate either that prostitution was on the increase, or that the citizens were more concernedⁿ about it. If

this was a view shared by the churches, and there is every reason to suppose that it was, then the alleged or actual increase in underhand sexual activities represented once more an increased flaunting of religious authority.

IV.D.3.f. Festivity: Sunday Observance

One of the contributory issues under consideration is the effect of a reduction in the role of the churches in society. Apart from straightforward increases in agnosticism, the broader social function of religion was being taken over by specialist laymen - teachers, social workers, doctors, nurses, psychiatrists, journalists.¹⁴³ This did not go unnoticed by contemporaries, for example W.L. Dykhuis, who looked back on the first half of the nineteenth century with the words:

Churchgoing [he remarks] has failed to increase: on the contrary, visits to the towns and to urban fairs have gradually experienced considerable growth. Newspapers, previously unknown, have become widely read, while here and there reading societies have been set up with some success. The simple sobriety of table and kitchen has made way for the entrance of enhanced prosperity. We witness progress: an almost incredible progress in the business and in the social and domestic life of the agricultural class. Progress in the spheres of finance,

scholarship and leisure. Progress in almost all areas, except in good faith and Christian charity.¹⁴⁴

Amongst Zeeland's intellectual classes this general secularization was noticed with some misgivings. Nagtglas wondered if amongst the prosperous in society there was any future at all for the sermon and religion,¹⁴⁵ while the considerable activities of Otto Verhaegen (a Goes man) in the Amsterdam Freethinkers Society of progressives, atheists and 'free religionists' show that there was at least some support in Zeeland for this metropolitan disregard for established religion.¹⁴⁶ This raises the spectre of the causal relationship between religion and socio-economic factors from a rather different vantage point. Contemporaries concerned about a decline in the function of religion laid the blame squarely on 'progress' and 'moderni^{zation}'. As in our century though, modernization and progress have often been blamed for the loss of an idealized world of high morals and social respectability which, upon close inspection, probably never existed. In the case of Zeeland in the last century, the issues of Sunday observance and of alcohol consumption will serve to illustrate this point.

The civil architect of Dutch government policy on religious matters in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, J.D. Janssen, found it just as necessary to attempt to enforce the sobriety of the Sabbath as had the spiritual authorities of the Republic in previous centuries. Neither Willem I nor Janssen, by the furthest stretch of the imagination, could be called a religious puritan, but they felt moved (presumably by reports of levity, or even licentiousness) to forbid by law any lay celebrations or jollity on Sundays.¹⁴⁷ The idea that in some

areas Sabbath piety may never have been all that many Calvinists may have wished is further strengthened by reports of Sunday observance on Walcheren in the nineteenth century. The Lord's day, we are told, was indivisibly associated with gatherings in the village public house, or lively and inebriated beach parties at Domburg or Rammekens. The 1834 Afscheiding had little effect on this interpretation of the Sabbath, but the crusading Doleantie of the 1880s tried to puritanize some of these more licentious folk usages. However, despite indefatigable efforts on the part of Abraham Kuyper's followers, little was effected. For example, when the neo-Calvinists finally succeeded in having the Westkapelle fair officially closed in 1888, the ordinary folk simply carried on the fair as if nothing were changed.¹⁴⁸

It was not only Calvinists who were keen to control festivity. In Zeeuws-Vlaanderen in the thirties and forties all sorts of recreational activities, from village games to full-blown carnival, came in for criticism from the Catholic clergy. Particular attention was paid to mixed dancing, as an activity which, although not sinful in itself, was more than likely to lead to sin. Despite occasional local successes, the Catholic campaign did not achieve a decisive reduction in these folk activities.¹⁴⁹ Regarding the observance of the Sabbath, the Catholic clergy concentrated their efforts more on getting their parishioners to mass than on stopping their recreation afterward. In order to accommodate farmers with work to do on Sundays, the priests laid on special second services, so that attendance of mass could be staggered. In Zeeuws-Vlaanderen in the early part of the century most rural Catholics seemed to have followed instructions quite

satisfactorily and attended mass on a regular basis.¹⁵⁰

IV.D.3.g. Festivity: Alcohol Consumption

On the question of drinking, the link with general morality, and the proximity of alcoholism to zedeloosheid (depravity) made it a question in which the churches were most interested. In commenting on the reasons for the nineteenth century Protestant persecution of alcohol in a European context, H. McLeod pointed to its tangibility as a foe or rather focus for the crusading churches, and to the rivalry the café could provide as a social focus for the community.¹⁵¹ Many clergymen tried at one time or another to limit or moderate levels of alcohol consumption, and indeed according to the traveller Charles de Coster the Calvinists had succeeded in closing many inns in rural areas away from the main highways by the 1870s.¹⁵²

Excessive use of alcohol was certainly a severe social problem in the Netherlands.¹⁵³ Zeeland knew its excesses, no doubt, but it would appear that the province had somewhat less acute a problem than its neighbours. Bouman remarked that there was no real drink problem by the end of the nineteenth century (with the possible exception of Zeeuws-Vlaanderen),¹⁵⁴ and in confirmation of this there are statistical data. In 1852 the

annual per capita consumption of domestically produced spirits put Zeeland well down the provincial list, with a figure of 5.17 litres as against a national average of 7.25.¹⁵⁵ Writing in 1855, Dr Coronel remarked on the very low level of alcoholism amongst the Middelburg working classes,¹⁵⁶ and in 1873, the provincial level, together with that of Friesland and Limburg, was still well below the national average.¹⁵⁷ In the 1880s Zeeland's spirit consumption rate was still relatively moderate.¹⁵⁸

In 1944, S. Oedin drew together the evidence indicating a strong rise in the Dutch consumption of spirits from 1870 to the end of the century.¹⁵⁹ Oedin's 'theory' was that the rise was caused by the supply factor of American grain from the 1870s onwards, which seems to ignore or deny the effects of government taxation policy,¹⁶⁰ the economic depression from 1873 onwards,¹⁶¹ and the technological changes in the brewing and distilling industries.¹⁶² The fact remains that although Zeeland's consumption was lower than that of most other provinces, there was nonetheless an increasing social problem related to alcohol in the second half of the century. What was the attitude of the churches to this situation, and what did they endeavor to do about it?

The evidence is scarce. Probably the prevailing attitude to alcohol consumption in the Netherlands in the nineteenth century was that it was a prime cause of poverty and unemployment. A few enlightened voices were to be heard, suggesting that structural unemployment might actually drive a man to enforced lethargy and even alcoholism;¹⁶³ there were a few echoes of these sentiments in Zeeland, in the radical newspaper the Zierikzeesche Nieuwsbode.¹⁶⁴ Far more common were the philanthropic attempts of

substantial citizens to cure the symptoms rather than the cause of the disease, by promoting the consumption of coffee and small beer,¹⁶⁵ or even by the publication of 'do-or-die' cures for chronic alcoholics.¹⁶⁶ There is no evidence to hand to suggest that the churches diverged from the mainstream view that alcoholism was a curse brought upon the user by his own turpitude, and that it was a root cause of social evil.

A statistical check on alcohol consumption in Zeeland around the mid-century can be found in a report of 1851 published by a committee of the Dutch Society for the Promotion of Medical Science,¹⁶⁷ which listed estimates of consumption of various kinds of beverage for each Zeeland municipality for one year:¹⁶⁸ those concerning gin (jenever) and beer are reproduced in Appendix 4. The breakdown of the data into the five Zeeland districts is presented in Table IV.41. It is immediately apparent that Walcheren, with its large towns, is the centre of spirit consumption, and that Zeeuws-Vlaanderen - particularly the eastern district - is unmistakably the home of beer drinking.

Table IV.41¹⁶⁹

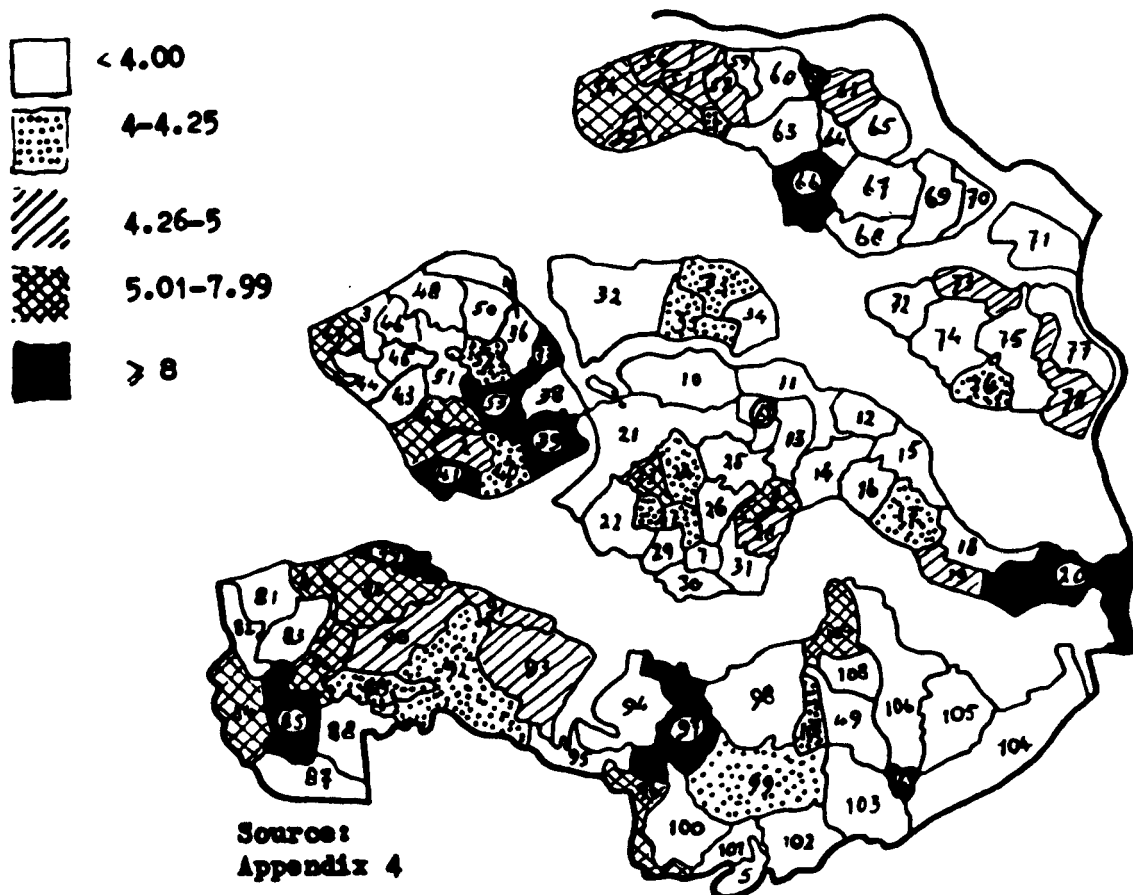
District Summary of Annual Consumption of Gin (Jenever) & Beer in Zeeland, c. 1850

District	<u>Jenever</u> : litres per cap.	Beer: litres per cap.
I: Walcheren	9.355	9.948
II: S-Duiveland, Tho.	5.423	4.395
III: Bevelanden	4.697	7.705
IV: W-Z-Vl.	5.736	12.349
V: O-Z-Vl.	3.973	39.637
Province	6.030	13.473

Source: *Rooveelheid*, 1851, 10.

Figure IV.42

Consumption of Gin in the Gemeenten of Zeeland, c. 1850, litres per head p.a.

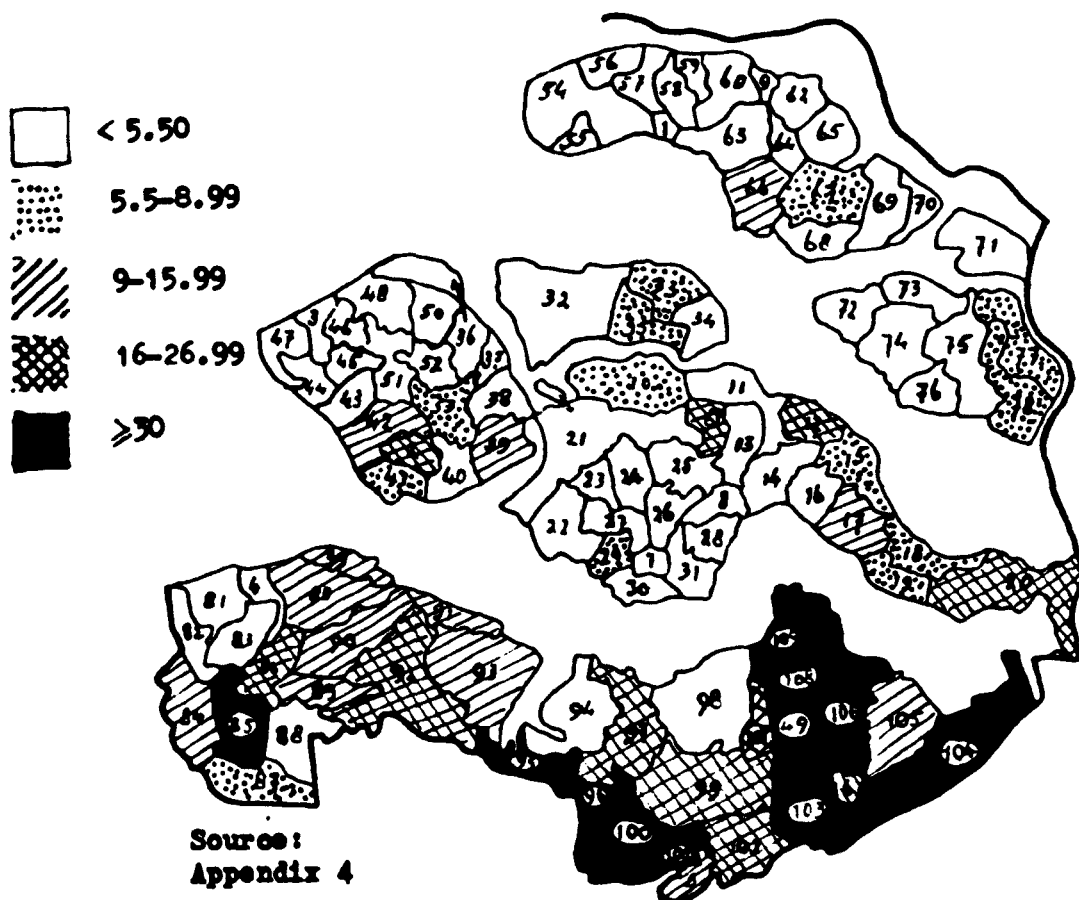


Generally, Catholics in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen seemed to show a taste for beer. Brewing was a significant local industry, and the level of consumption may well have been influenced by the occurrence of carnival, as in Belgium and in Dutch Brabant and Limburg. The distribution maps (Figures IV.42 and IV.43) show what the table omits: that western Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, with the exception of the

Cadzand area, had quite high consumption levels of both the grain and the hop.

Figure IV.43

Consumption of Beer in the Gemeenten of Zeeland, c. 1850, litres per head p.a.



Data from the same source have been taken for each village, and compared with other variables such as urbanization, proximity to harbours and to garrison towns, and religious affiliation. Alcohol consumption was apparently an aspect of tourism, in that

market centres (Middelburg, Goes, etc.), garrisons (Vlissingen, Veere, Bath, Sluis, Breskens, Terneuzen, Philippine) and ferry service locations (Vlissingen, Nieuw- en Sint Joosland, Hoedekenskerke, etc.) tended towards escalated consumption.¹⁷⁰ Proximity to a large town or fortress pushed the rates up (Rilland-Bath, Koudekerke, Sint Laurens, Souburg).¹⁷¹

Moving on to religious factors, the scattergram in Figure IV.44 shows no relation between high Roman Catholic percentages and consumption of jenever.

Figure IV.44
Scattergram of (down) Annual per Capita Consumption of Jenever (Gin) c. 1850, and (across) Percentage of Roman Catholics in Each Gemeente in 1899

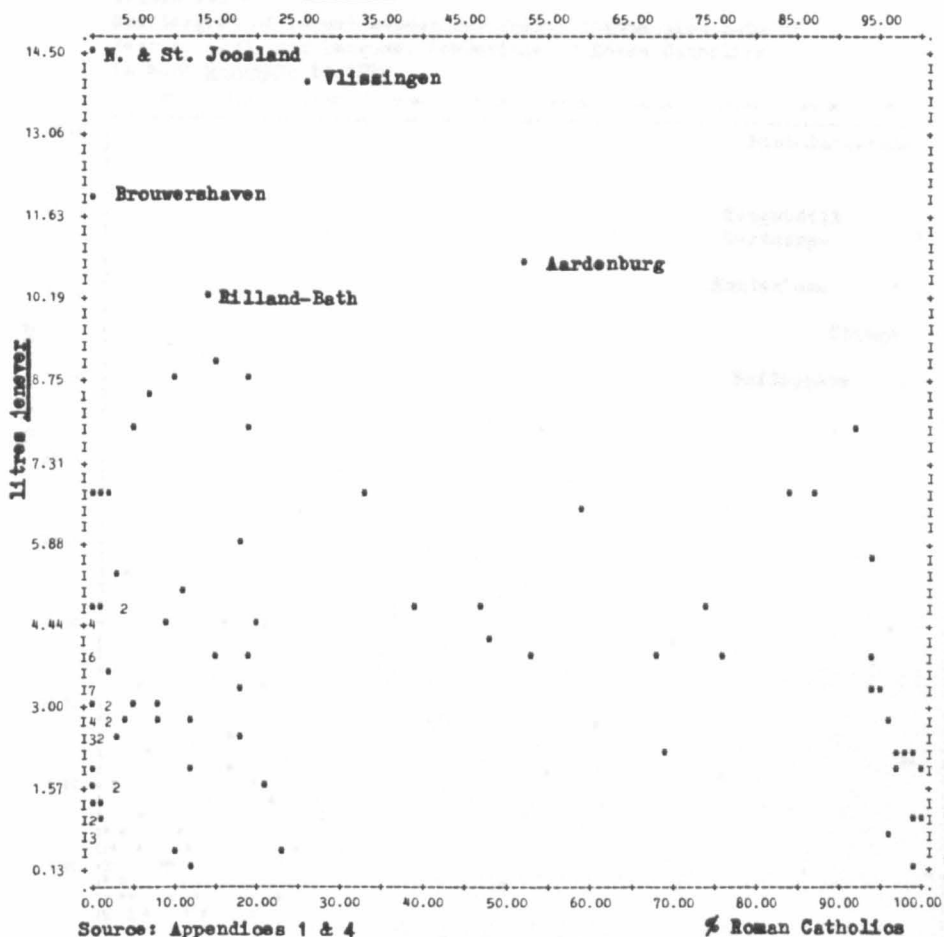


Table IV.45
Roman Catholic Consumption of Jenever & Beer, c.1850

Gemeenten with RC population of: % (1899)	Gemeente's per cap. consumption of (litres):		Gemeenten in each class
	<u>Jenever</u>	Beer	
0-9.99	3.81	3.69	64
10-19.99	5.15	9.49	13
20-59.99	5.77	11.14	11
60-94.99	4.89	20.14	11
95-100	1.71	28.85	10
Mean of <u>all</u> gemeenten	4.0835	9.1023	109

Source: Appendices 1 & 4.

Figure IV.46
Scattergram of (down) Annual per Capita Consumption Rate of Beer c. 1850, and (across) Percentage of Roman Catholics in Each Gemeente in 1899

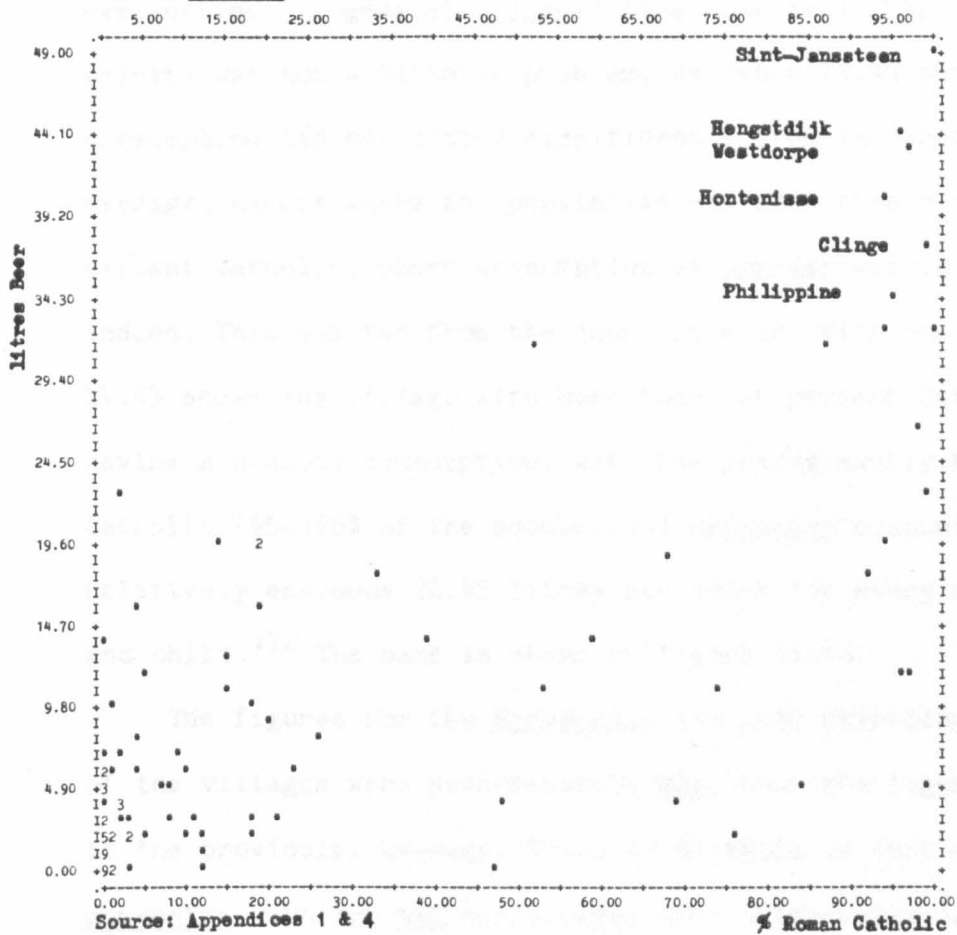


Table IV.47
Hervormde Consumption of Jenever & Beer, c.1850

Gemeenten with RK population of: % (1899)	Gemeente's per cap. consumption of (litres):		Gemeenten in each class
	Jenever	Beer	
0-74.99	4.07	12.45	67
75-79.99	2.81	2.50	9
80-84.99	4.23	2.85	10
85-92.99	5.29	4.70	12
93-100	3.75	4.60	11
Mean of <u>all</u> <u>gemeenten</u>	4.0835	9.1023	109

Source: Appendices 1 & 4.

Only one town with a Catholic majority had a noticeably high consumption: Aardenburg. The soldiers garrisoned there provide the explanation. In general, jenever (the most available and popular spirit) was not a Catholic problem, as Table IV.45 shows. Consumption did not differ significantly from the provincial average, except where the population was more than ninety-five percent Catholic, where consumption of jenever was very low indeed. This was far from the case, however, with beer. Table IV.45 shows any village with more than ten percent Catholics as having a healthy consumption, with the predominantly Roman Catholic (95-100% of the population) gemeenten consuming a relatively enormous 28.85 litres per annum for every man, woman and child.¹⁷² The same is shown by Figure IV.46.

The figures for the Hervormden are less revealing: since most of the villages were predominantly NHK, then the figures are close to the provincial average. Table IV.47 tells us that only gemeenten with low NHK percentages were substantial consumers of beer. Scattergrams of these data reveal little more, and so they have not been included.

The most conclusive figures are those for the Gereformeerden.¹⁷³

Table IV.48
Gereformeerde Consumption of Jenever & Beer, c.1850

Gemeenten with Ceref. population of (% 1899):	Gemeente's per cap. consumption of (litres):		Gemeenten in each class
	Jenever	Beer	
0-12	4.59	13.07	62
12.01-18	4.50	5.32	11
18.01-23	3.69	5.35	15
23.01-32	3.33	4.60	15
32-100	1.98	1.60	10
Mean of <u>all</u> <u>gemeenten</u>	4.0835	9.1023	109

Source: Appendices 1 & 4.

Table IV.48 and Figures IV.49 and IV.50 show indisputably that a strong presence of orthodox Calvinists in a village went together with a low alcohol consumption there. Again, this might have been expected, and as such need not surprise us very much: the salient point is that not only did the Gereformeerden not drink much themselves, but they were able to impose their standards on the communities in which they were quite small minorities.

Figure IV.49

Scattergram of (down) Annual per Capita Consumption of Jenever (in) c. 1850, and (across) Percentage of Gereformeerden in Each Gemeente in 1899

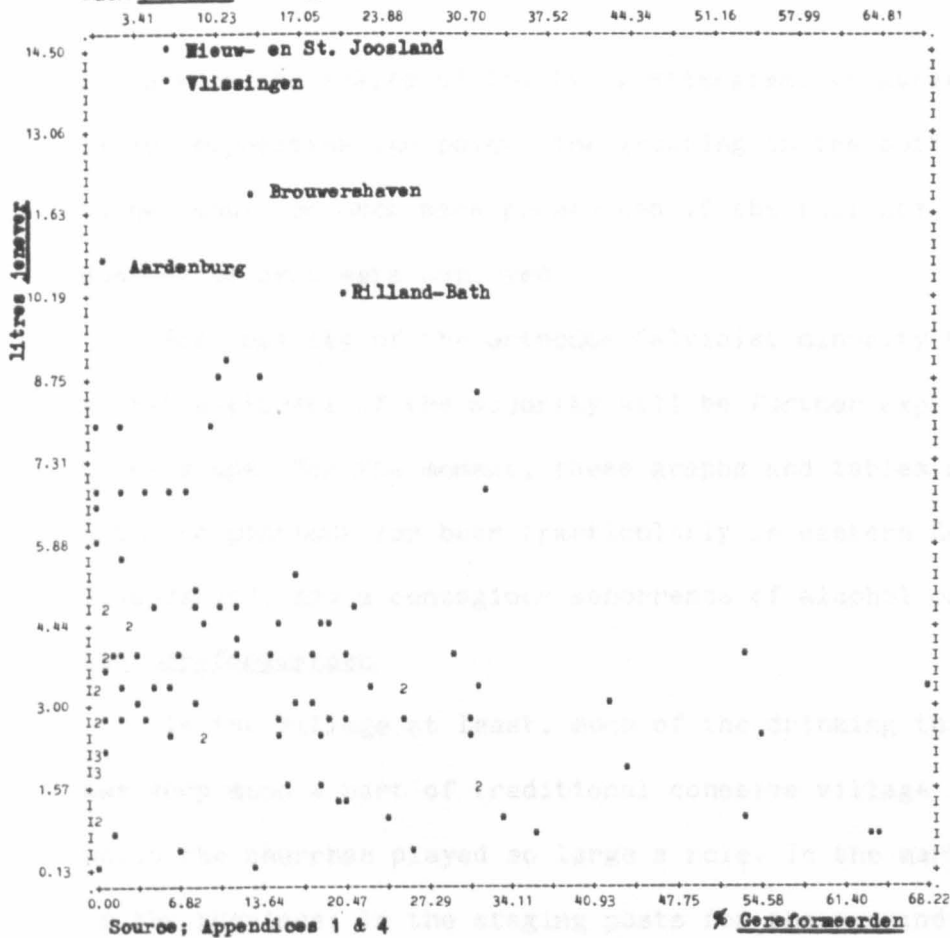
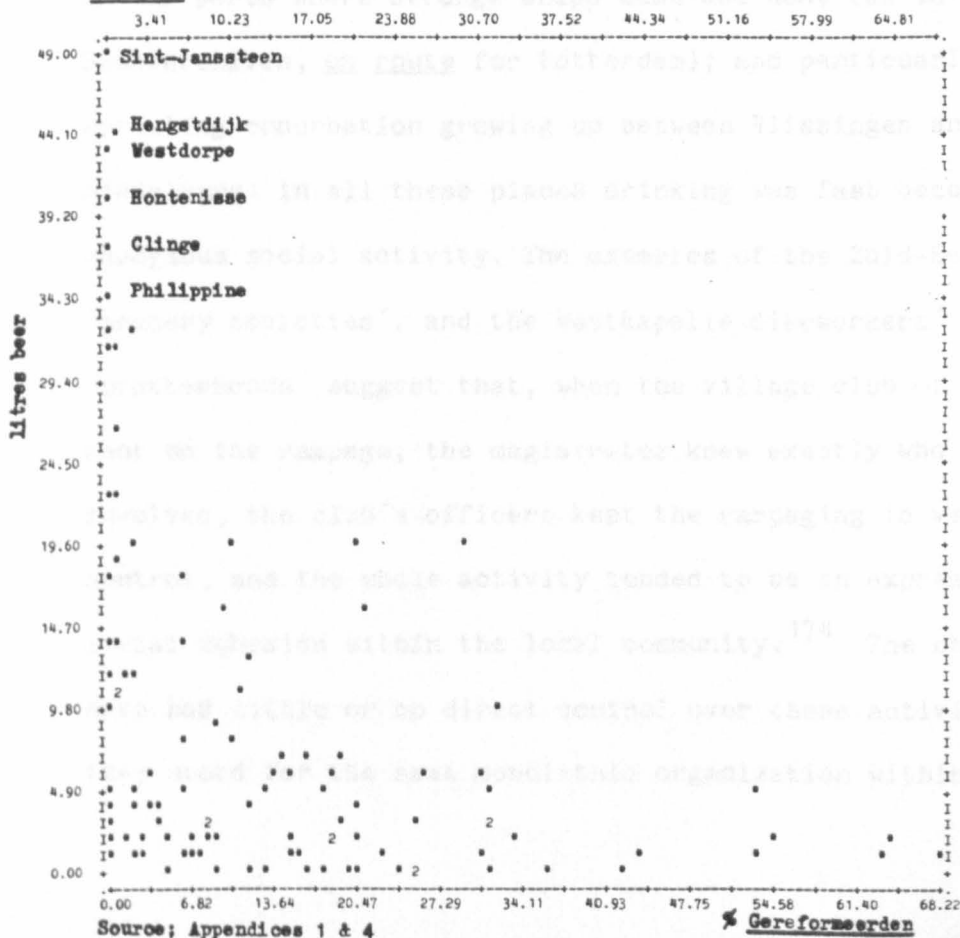


Figure IV.50

Scattergram of (down) Annual per Capita Consumption of Beer c. 1850, and (across) Percentage of Gereformeerden in Each Gemeente in 1899



A check on the scales of the two scattergrams (Figures IV.49 and IV.50) emphasizes the point: the grouping in the bottom left-hand corner would be even more pronounced if the full scale of one hundred percent were employed.

This ability of the orthodox Calvinist minority to affect the social attitudes of the majority will be further explored at a later stage. For the moment, these graphs and tables show a Roman Catholic penchant for beer (particularly in eastern Zeeuws-Vlaanderen), and a contagious abhorrence of alcohol on the part of the Gereformeerden.

In the village at least, much of the drinking that was done was very much a part of traditional cohesive village life, in which the churches played so large a role. In the market centres of the province; in the staging posts for the province's infrastructure where one waited for a ferry, a coach or a train; in the ports where strange ships came and went (as in Brouwershaven, en route for Rotterdam); and particularly in the sprawling conurbation growing up between Vlissingen and Middelburg: in all these places drinking was fast becoming an anonymous social activity. The examples of the Zuid-Beveland 'archery societies', and the Westkapelle dikeworkers' 'brotherhoods' suggest that, when the village club of young bloods went on the rampage, the magistrates knew exactly who was involved, the club's officers kept the rampaging in very tight control, and the whole activity tended to be an expression of social cohesion within the local community.¹⁷⁴ The churches may have had little or no direct control over these activities, but they stood for the same monolithic organization within society

which was manifested in the village tavern, where everyone was known to each other. In the urban public house, however, anonymity was virtually guaranteed; the drinker was responsible to no-one but the landlord, who was naturally more concerned with his receipts than with the upholding of a social fabric. In this sense, it was not alcohol itself upon which the churches tended to frown, but the uncontrolled licentiousness and social irresponsibility they feared in the new kind of urban consumption. Alcohol under control was tolerable to the larger denominations, and even useful on occasion for dissipating excess energy. Alcohol without social supervision could present a most alarming prospect to the representatives of traditional society.

IV.E. Conclusion

This section has been on the subject of measurable secularization of nineteenth century society in Zeeland, and the reactions of organized religion to it. The answers have not always separated one sect from another, as did some of the results of the analysis of the numerical growth of the various denominations at municipal level. In the face of secularization, in its broad sense as an increase in the proportion of men's lives not accountable to the churches, the problems faced by religion were shared by many of the dominating forces of the old rural order. Changes occasioned by improving education, mobility, economic

diversification - forces which we usually group under the term 'modernization' - began to erode the local domination which religion had so long enjoyed. The action taken by the churches in the face of these developments varied: the liberal progressive Calvinists relinquished their claims to social control in any tangible sense; the Gereformeerden under Abraham Kuyper, and sections of the Catholics under Herman Schaepman, turned towards a concept of religion as a way of life, with a strictly enforced religious control not only over social areas, but political and economic ones as well. This development was eventually to result in the twentieth century verzuiling, or 'pillarization', of Dutch society into vertical socio-ideological groups. In discussing this subject in relation to the Flemish Catholic Church in the nineteenth century, Jan Art goes on to admit that to measure 'religiosity', or the degree or intensity of religious affiliation, is effectively impossible: its nature differs in time and place, partly dependent upon external factors acting on areas in which the churches operate, such as poor-relief, education, and even politics.¹⁷⁵ As G. Golde pointed out, in his study of religion in two German villages,

The differences in religiosity between the local Catholics and Protestants are not so much an expression of the degree to which they accept or reject tenets of Christian faith, but rather of the way in which they relate to and identify with their respective churches.¹⁷⁶

That is to say, religion covers more than just going through the motions of formal conformity. Comprehensive measurement of

religious reaction to modernization is, indeed, impossible, but the topics dealt with in this section, like urbanization, various procreational and sexual issues, and alcohol consumption, have been able to indicate general religious concern at the pace of change, and at the shift away, out of the domain of religious authority, of so many aspects of man's life. With that impression in mind, it is now possible to move on to consider situations where religious-based action arguably had a direct effect on socio-economic change, to seek out the crux of that interaction, and to assess the relative importance of the various denominations in exercising an influence on the socio-economic life of the province.

Notes to Chapter IV

1. See J.Art, 1974, 4. This clearly applies more strongly to a denomination like Roman Catholicism than to those which do not seek out converts, like Judaism and extreme orthodox Calvinism.
2. Notulen van de Provinciale Staten & Verslag van Gedeputeerde Staten. See note on the sources of Appendix 2.
3. M. d'Alphonse, 1900.
4. B.H. Slicher van Bath, 1957, 104-05.
5. For 1829 only figures for total population and for Catholics are given.
6. In the table, and the others that follow in this section, the gemeenten are arranged first by district, and then (within that grouping) in alphabetical order. The districts are the old administration districts of Zeeland, namely
 - I: Walcheren
 - II: Schouwen-Duiveland, Tholen & Sint Philipsland
 - III: Noord- & Zuid-Beveland
 - IV: Western Zeeuws-Vlaanderen
 - V: Eastern Zeeuws-Vlaanderen
7. The terminology is borrowed from a study of rural Lincolnshire: J. Obelkevich, 1976, 4.
8. A.J. Rasker, 1974, 25-44; & J.A. Bornewasser, 1981, 168-171. A sketch of the developments at national level referred to in the next few pages is available in M.J. Wintle, 1978.

9. See A.J. Rasker, 1974, 113-52 & 213-51.
10. On orthodox Calvinist reaction in the nineteenth century see M.J. Wintle, 1978, 21-41 & 54-65; more detail is available in A.J. Rasker, 1974.
11. See below, section V.B.
12. See below, section V.B.3.b.
13. M. van Empel, 1935-59, 585-86; & W.J.P.M. Brand, 1981, 28.
14. Roomsch-Katholijk kerkbestuur, 1844, 385-86; & A.H.L. Hensen, 1926, 6-7.
15. W.J.P.M. Brand, 1981, 30-50. For the provincial government's account, see Verslag van Gedeputeerde Staten (1838), 14; & (1841), 18-19 (papal brief of 17 March 1841).
16. W.J.P.M. Brand, 1981, 85 & 148. See RAZ, Provinciaal bestuur 1851-1910, 1855 Minuten, vol. 471, doc. 4387, re payments to Belgian clerics for (regular) services rendered to the congregations of Overslag, Philippine and Clinge.
17. SSJB (1856), 41. This had risen to thirty by th 1970s (L.J. Rogier, 1968, 221).
18. In 1849 there were 34 in the province, 32 of them resident in the provincial capital (J.A. de Kok, 1964, 350-62).
19. The Catholic share of the national population fell from 38.99% in 1830 to 35.07% in 1899: a four point loss (J.P. Kruijt, 1947, 9).
20. See below, section IV.A.
21. The Scottish church community in Veere ceased to exist in 1795, when the Scots themselves left the town (Z. Paspoort, 1820, 147). There was one person claiming to be a member of this sect on Walcheren in 1841: Verslag van Gedeputeerde

- Staten (1871), 110-19.
22. Notulen van de Provinciale Staten (1818), 8; (1823), 15; (1828), 11; Verslag van Gedeputeerde Staten (1861), 160; & M. van Empel, 1935-59, 585 (which dates the closure of the Vlissingen and Zierikzee congregations as occurring in 1821 and 1826).
 23. RAZ, Classis Walcheren, no. 37, doc. 171. N.b. this category does not include Anglicans (Episcopalians), who, not being Calvinists at all, are included in the category of 'Other/Miscellaneous' denominations.
 24. On the Remonstrants, see B. Tideman, 1897; L.K.N.J. van Aken, 1947; & G.J. Hoenderdaal, 1982.
 25. G.J. Hoenderdaal, 1982, 114.
 26. Ibid., p. 104.
 27. This matter of how the orthodox sects were categorized has no easy answers: only around 1850 do even Afgescheidenen start to be recognized in the population registers (bevolkingsregisters). Before that they were often classified as either NHK or 'Other' (D.J. Oggel, 1976, Appendix, p. 1).
 28. See below, section V.B.
 29. Z. Paspoort, 1820, 147.
 30. J.C. de Hooze, 1971, 121-24.
 31. See *ibid.*, pp. 51-59; & J. ab U. Dresselhuis, 1819, 147.
 32. M.J. Wintle, 1978, 36-37; A.J. Rasker, 1974, 101; & J.A. Bornewasser, 1974, 148-49. The two Lutheran wings reunited in 1952.
 33. In Oostburg, in western Zeeuws-Vlaanderen (RAZ, Aanwinsten 1960, no. 17, sub. 60).

34. M. van Empel, 1935-59, 582.
35. W.F. Golterman, 1951, 13; C.N. Impeta, 1961, 162-64; & G.A. Wumkes, 1912, *passim*.
36. W.F. Golterman, 1951, 103-05; C.N. Impeta, 1961, 157-60; & F. Boerwinkel, 1956, 29 & 149. See also N. van der Zijpp, 1952; & S. Groenveld, 1981.
37. W.F. Golterman, 1951, 106-110. Golterman draws a parallel between Dutch Doopsgezinden and Baptisten on the one hand, and English General and Particular Baptists on the other.
38. In the censuses for 1849 onwards, 1889 is the only one that mentions a separate category of Baptisten, and in the case of Zeeland that category is empty. (Uitkomsten, 1891, 397.)
39. S. Groenveld, 1981, 196-99. According to one sociologist, their tolerance and pacifism meant that Mennonites could only really maintain themselves in the north of the country, where the militarism of feudalism had not penetrated (A.J. Wichers, 1965, 276). Their stronghold was in Friesland (B. Glasius, 1844, 361-71).
40. M. van Empel, 1935-59, 580.
41. Doopsgezinde bijdragen (1876), 127.
42. This was only a talking-shop: see *Gebundelde inventarissen* II, 1976, 53; & H. Koekebakker, 1876, 64-70.
43. The exception is the Aardenburg community, with its church in Heille.
44. F. Boerwinkel, 1956, 32; & B. Glasius, 1844, 365-70.
45. *Encyclopedie*, 1982-84, vol. I, pp. 25 & 348.
46. C. Reijnder, 1969, 59-61.
47. E. Boekman, 1936, 24.

48. See *ibid.*, p. 32.
49. Only two of the 311 Zeeland Jews in 1815 were of Portuguese origin - one in Vlissingen and one in Oost-Souburg (RAZ, *Aanwinsten* 1960, no. 17, sub. 60).
50. M. van Empel, 1935-59, 587.
51. E. Boekman, 1936, 17 & 24-25. N.b. the extensive notes on the Jews of Zierikzee in the De Vos archive: RAZ, De Vos, no. 80.
52. Verslag van Gedeputeerde Staten (1871), ch. VII
53. They often worshipped with the more progressive members of the urban congregation of the NHK. In 1872 the Remonstrants changed their regulations to allow NHK dominees to become their ministers when necessary. (B. Tideman, 1897, 91-93).
54. Verslag van Gedeputeerde Staten (1871), ch. VII, p. 3.
55. RAZ, *Aanwinsten* 1960, no. 17, sub. 154. The dating of the document is not certain, but is attributed by the inventory - probably correctly - to 'c. 1820'. 33 churches or kerkhoven are listed, but two of them were in Middelburg.
56. SSJB, 25(1873), 114-15.
57. RAZ, *Aanwinsten* 1960, no. 17, sub. 154.
58. Table IV.29; & SSJB, 25(1873), 114-15.
59. In c. 1820 it was 22 pastoren to 11 capelanen (RAZ, *Aanwinsten* 1960, no. 17, sub. 154); in 1871 it was 37 pastoor/desservanten to 21 kapellaan/vicarissen (Verslag van Gedeputeerde Staten (1871), ch. VII., p. 2).
60. The lack of clergy, particularly in remote areas of Zuid-Beveland, was solved by the foundation of the Capuchin monastery at Rilland-Bath in 1902-03 (P.J. Aarssen 1977, 189).

61. J.J. Dellepoort, 1955, 26-32.
62. See *ibid.*, p. 52. The regular clergy (monastic orders, etc.) continued to grow well into the twentieth century; the secular clergy suffered a set-back in the eighties and nineties. The increase in Catholic clerics from 1856 onwards, especially in the regular clergy involved in pastoral work, is documented at T.A.J. Jansen, 1976, 119. Unfortunately Jansen's data permit comparison only between dioceses, and not between provinces.
63. F. Boerwinkel, 1956, 113. The figures are for 1953. W.J.P.M. Brand, 1981, 98, agrees that Catholic priests in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen in the 1630s were probably from 'the simple farming classes'.
64. R.J. Evans, 1982, 275.
65. Lists of Dutch emigrants (from the Dutch Ministry of Home Affairs), and lists of Dutch arrivals in American harbours.
66. The best examples are: W. Petersen, 1955; P.R.D. Stokvis, 1977(A); and the work of Prof. Swierenga, e.g. R.P. Swierenga, 1982.
67. For Zeeland see R.P. Swierenga, 1977, which is a line-printed computer listing of the emigrant families, deposited in the RAZ at Middelburg (there are also copies in the ARA at The Hague).
68. H. van Stekelenberg, 1981, 69.
69. Although Table IV.30 is calculated direct from the data on computer tape, the calculation was very simple indeed, and the same results would have been achieved by a manual analysis of R.P. Swierenga, 1977. I would like here to

express my gratitude to Professor Swierenga for allowing me access to his data.

70. E.g. H.S. Lucas, 1960, vol. I, p. 2.
71. H. van Dijk, 1976, 240-41.
72. Ibid., pp. 241-43.
73. R.P. Swierenga, 1982, 527.
74. Ibid., pp. 523-27.
75. For examples of the 'bacon letters' in print, see H.S. Lucas, 1955; & H.J. Brinks, 1978.
76. R.P. Swierenga, 1982, 523. In 1847, the emigration boom year, the percentage of Zeeland's population which left the country for North America (6%) was the highest of all provincial averages. Over the period 1831-47, Zeeland provided 18.8% of Dutch Atlantic emigrants, second only to Gelderland's 40.8%. It is interesting that R.C. Noord-Brabant contributed only 2% (P.R.D. Stokvis, 1977(A), 5 & 28).
77. P.R.D. Stokvis, 1977(B), 206.
78. R.P. Swierenga, 1981, 518.
79. P.R.D. Stokvis, 1977(A), 205.
80. See the analysis of these policies in J.A. Bornewasser, 1981.
81. See below, section V.C.2.e.
82. J.D. Buissinck, 1971, 375.
83. P.J. Meertens, 1938, 251-52.
84. J.P. Kruijt, 1933, 130. See also W. Banning, 1953, published as a sort of guide for NHK ministers appointed to parishes with which they were unfamiliar.
85. W.J.P.M. Brand, 1981, 117 & 126-27.
86. G. Lenski, 1961, 298.

87. J. Obelkevich, 1976, 260.
88. Ibid., 330; & H. McLeod, 1981, 55 & 58. See also R.J. Evans, 1982.
89. H. McLeod, 1981, 71-72.
90. R.J. Evans, 1982, 271-74.
91. This, once more, is general agreement with earlier studies: Staverman supports Kruijt in a refusal to oversimplify the causal relationship between secularization and 'social factors' (R.J. Staverman, 1954, 50-53).
92. J. Art, 1974, 2.
93. J.P. Kruijt, 1933; R.J. Staverman, 1954; & H. Faber, 1970.
94. 'You,... in your indifference, occasionally do go to church as a matter of routine and habit' (A.P.A. du Cloux, 1857, 85). For examples from Germany of this apparently early grass roots secularism, see R.J. Evans, 1982, 272.
95. H. Faber, 1970, 57-58.
96. Kruijt's conclusion (J.P. Kruijt, 1933, 28 ff.) is approved at H. Faber, 1970, 25.
97. A graph drawn at *ibid.*, p. 38, makes this point admirably clear.
98. J.P. Kruijt, 1933, 130-39.
99. Since the eighties, the increasing industrial activity in Vlissingen (and Souburg) had led it to be an outpost of the socialist Sociaal-Democratische Arbeiders Partij (*ibid.*, p. 135).
100. The link between urbanized areas and high levels of secularization has been noticed by many scholars. Jan Art points out that a move to the town need only be 'harmful' if

it involves a dislocation of the migrant from his accustomed social atmosphere. In the nineteenth century, however, this was often the case (J. Art, 1974, 22-25 & 53).

101. On religion and occupation in the 1930 and 1947 censuses, see G. Kuiper, 1953. An example of a local Zeeland study of the subject in the 1940s is B. Breek, 1949, on Kattendijke.
102. H. Faber, 1970, 67.
103. This notion is used by anthropologists and sociologists in particular: A.J. Wichers, 1965, 269; & E. Shorter, 1976, 220.
104. E. Shorter, 1973, 59.
105. One author refers to Dutch Catholic 'puritanism' in this respect: A. Chorus, 1942, 75; another talks of the Catholic clergy in Zeeland as 'servants of tradition, guardians of spiritual morals' (W.J.P.M. Brand, 1981, 152).
106. J.P. Kruijt, 1957, 17-18. Kruijt speaks of 'this fear of mixed marriages', and 'a symptom of a weakened link with the churches'.
107. See B. van Leeuwen, 1959; & C.P. van Andel, 1971.
108. B. van Leeuwen, 1959, 160-61. N.b. in 1900 the absolute figures for the dekanaten of Hulst and Aardenburg were rather above average, while the dekanaat Hontenisse was very low (ibid., p. 168).
109. See ibid., pp. 361-61.
110. Jaarcijfers (1906), 2.
111. See B. van Leeuwen, 1959, 167 & 178.
112. G. Dekker, 1965, 100-06.
113. See W.J.P.M. Brand, 1981, 133; & B. van Leeuwen, 1959, 368-69.

114. C. van der Woude, 1937, 39. This pamphlet has two messages for Gereformeerden: that mixed marriage is dangerous and undesirable, but that when it does occur, the Church should show understanding.
115. See B. van Leeuwen, 1959, 360.
116. See W.J.P.M. Brand, 1981, 118.
117. See W. Petersen, 1955, 198; & W. Petersen, 1960, 344. The marriage age was not, however, particularly low in Zeeland around the middle of the 19th century: A.C. de Vooy, 1951, 246-47. Evidence has been presented supporting the idea of active birth control among the élite of Europe as early as the 17th century (H. van Dijk, 1971, 313-14); Buissinck opined that active birth control was being practised in all the Dutch provinces in the decade 1850-59, with the exceptions of Utrecht, Zuid-Holland, Zeeland and Noord-Brabant (J.D. Buissinck, 1971, 364-64).
118. S. van Houten, 1918, vii-xi, 55, 232-45, & passim.
119. L. Stone, 1979, 339.
120. J. Sanders, 1931, 121. Sanders was referring to the decline of the birth rate in the first decades of this century.
121. T.L.M. Engelen, 1979, 190.
122. L. Stone, 1979, 384-84; & W. Petersen, 1960, 345. In Zeeland one of the folk-names for this 'courting' process was bakkeeten, deriving from the lengthy meetings in the farmhouse bak-keet (baking shed) which took place on Friday or Saturday nights (J. Vader, 1960, 8). Another euphemism for pre-marital sex, this time from Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, was "window-whispering" (vensterfluisteren) (W.J.P.M. Brand,

- 1981, 143).
123. W. Petersen, 1960, 345; and for Zeeland (Westkapelle), see K. Baart, 1889, 61-62.
124. J. Vader, 1964(B), 157. The same was true in Staphorst: see S. Groenman, 1948, 160. On the orthodox Calvinist sects and forced marriages, see A. van der Meiden, 1968, 177.
125. Apart from the sources already mentioned, see F. Nagtglas, 1870, 10; P. Lindenbergh, 1933, article II in no. 5; W.H. Weeda, 1924, 865; J.W. Robertson Scott, 1912, 173-74; Uitkomsten, 1890, vol. III, verslag 68, p. 13, & verslag 70, p. 23. This last reference, on moetertjes in Poortvliet in the 1880s, shows that Kruijt's assertion that Tholen island knew no forced marriages (J.P. Kruijt, 1933, 133) does not apply fully to the 19th century.
126. T.L.M. Engelen, 1979. Zaamslag was overwhelmingly NHK until the mid-century, when the number of Calvinist secessions began to grow. The Catholic percentage never rose above 7%. Boschkapelle was almost monolithically Catholic throughout the century (see Appendix 1).
127. T.L.M. Engelen, 1979, 191-93.
128. See *ibid.*, pp. 196-97.
129. See *ibid.*, pp. 201 & 207.
130. P.W.J. van den Berg, 1949, 98.
131. See E.W. Hofstee, 1974, 51-55.
132. P. Laslett, 1980, 60-63.
133. W.J.P.M. Brand, 1981, 117-18.
134. The table is 'Aantal der onechte geboorten in Zeeland in verhouding tot de geboorten over 25 jaren 1840-64', and is

- found at RAZ, Provinciaal bestuur 1851-1910, no. 4383n. The operative column in the source is that showing the number of illegitimate births (live and dead) per thousand legitimate births (live and dead) in each village. These data have been assembled on computer file, examined with the help of simple programs in SPSS, and reproduced in Appendix 3.
135. H. McLeod, 1918, 58.
136. There are, of course, various methods of calculating an illegitimacy 'rate' or 'ratio', e.g. the lh formula used for the Princeton studies. The method used here is adequate for the comparison of different locations at a single period in time: the problems of simple ratios only arise with long time series. For a discussion of the issues, see P. Laslett, 1977, 120-23; & P. Laslett, 1980, 11-15.
137. The 1869 census reported substantial military installations at Breskens (44 men), Middelburg (317), Terneuzen (111), Veere (56), and Vlissingen (437), with smaller presences at Ritthem (16), and Ellewoutsdijk (2). Marechaussées (military police) were to be found in many towns and villages, especially in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen. (Uitkomsten, 1873-75, vol. III, pp. 9-16.) The garrisons and installations were constantly appearing in the correspondence of the provincial government in the sixties (RAZ, Provinciaal bestuur, 1851-1910); for instance Vlissingen (ibid., 1860, doc. 3214); Philippine (1860, doc. 11082: only 3 men); Veere (1862, doc. 341, etc.); Kapelle (1862, doc. 10572); Sluis (1868, doc. 714); & Terneuzen (1868, doc 6717, etc.).
138. To some extent this remains a mystery. Ellewoutsdijk, it is

true, did have a small military presence. The Zeeland historian, M.P. de Bruin, pointed out to me that Clinge was a relatively active industrial centre (clogs and textiles), and as a border town was also well placed for smuggling: these factors may have reduced the traditional restraints. De Bruin also observed that Waarde had, strangely, a particularly high level of Dutch Nazis (NSB'ers) in World War Two: an interesting juxtaposition with a high illegitimacy rate in the 19th century!

139. P. Lindenbergh, 1933, article II in no. 5.
140. W.H. Weeda, 1924, 865.
141. Verordening, 1857. Alex A. Crafford also edited the Ekster (Magpie), a magazine of political satire, and took every opportunity of railing against the ruling élite of Middelburg, using his inventive and often sharply barbed wit. On this occasion he chose to edit the new town regulations on prostitution because of the potential of the image of half the élite of the provincial capital walking about with venereal disease (ibid., p. 3).
142. See, e.g., an earlier, fairly easy-going by-law on prostitution in Middelburg: Reglement, 1836. These by-laws were quite common in Dutch towns before the mid-century. As the anti-prostitution and anti-V.D. movements gathered momentum, and with the strengthening of the town council's powers in the 1851 Gemeentewet (articles 188 & 205), Middelburg was one of thirty-six gemeenten to introduce and more comprehensive set of regulations for brothels between 1851 and 1877 (F.A. Stemvers, 1983, 319-21).

143. J.P. Kruijt, 1933, 292-97, & 306-08.
144. Taken from W.L. Dykhuis, Redevoering, uitgesproken in de vergadering van de afdeling Leens van het Genootschap ter bevordering van nijverheid en landbouw, gevestigd te Ouderdam (printed in the society's Handelingen of 1857-58, p. 167 ff.), quoted at H.J. Koenen, 1858, 125. Koenen's principal point here is the reduction of the role of the churches in the relief of poverty.
145. F. Nagtglas, 1894, 164.
146. See Verslag, 1869, 9 & passim.
147. See Janssen's letter of 1 September 1837 to the classis of Goes, being a covering note to the K.B. of 1 March 1815, no. 18 (Staatsblad 21) on the question of Sabbath observance, to be enforced by police, with fines of up to fl 25 (RAZ, Classis Zuid-Beveland, no. 185, year 1837, doc. 9).
148. J. Vader, 1960, 7-8.
149. W.J.P.M. Brand, 1981, 140-44.
150. Ibid., pp. 126-27.
151. H. McLeod, 1981, 40-41.
152. C. de Coster, 1970, 48. This did not, however, preclude an almost orgiastic public house scene in rural Vrouwepolder being witnessed by the same author: *ibid.*, p. 74.
153. H.G.W. van der Wielen, 1943, 449.
154. P.J. Bouman, 1946, 300. There seems to be little justification for Bouman's attribution of alcoholic tendencies to Zeeland people in general (*ibid.*, p. 73).
155. SSJB (1854), 407. Lower than Zeeland were Gelderland (5.13), Utrecht (5.00), Noord-Brabant (4.63), Drente (4.50), and

- Limburg (4.00). The highest were the two Holland provinces. (N.b. these figures are usually given in kannen per hoofd, which may in general be taken as litres per capita, with a sometimes generous margin for local variation: J. de Kanter, 1852, 80-81.)
156. S. Coronel, 1859, 230-31.
157. SSJB (1873), 278-79. In the urban centres of Middelburg, Vlissingen and Zierikzee the rate was gradually rising.
158. L. Burema, 244. Burema remarks that traditions of beer-drinking in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen may have held down the provincial rate of spirit consumption. In numbers of licenses issued to drinking houses (where strong liquor might be sold in small measures), Zeeland was again low on the scale: in 1883 she had 1629 licensees, less only than Utrecht and Drente (Jaarcijfers (1883), 100).
159. S. Oedin, 1944. See also P.W.J. van den Berg, 1949, 114, who dates the rise from 1850 to 1890.
160. From 1853 the policy of free trade was paid for by increased excise duties, centred on alcohol, with jenever functioning as the government's 'milk-cow': Opbrengst, 1942, 750.
161. Oedin refers to the depression (S. Oedin, 1944, 197), but dismisses its influence by asserting that in 1870, when the alcohol boom began, the economic situation was still at its most fortunate. This assertion rests on the misapprehension that the hausse of c. 1850-73 materially affected the working (or drinking) classes.
162. On improvements in the brewing industry, see I.J. Brugmans, 1969, 317, and for documentation on breweries: J.C.A.

- Everwijn, 1912, vol. II, p. 598.
163. Misbruik, 1841, 60.
164. 'And what causes this intemperate use of strong liquor? ... meagre wages.' From the issue of 29 June 1846, quoted in J. van Damme, 1979, 28.
165. See e.g. the Vereeniging om het misbruik van sterken drank tegen te gaan which, under the auspices of patrician Middelburg (n.b. the participation of the Schorer and Snouck-Hurgronje families), set up a coffee house in Middelburg in 1854 (RAZ, Schorer, no. 494).
166. See Goede raad, 1849, which suggested a six-day exclusive diet of die duivelsche jenever to wean the tippler.
167. Nederlandsche maatschappij tot bevordering der geneeskunde.
168. Hoeveelheid, 1851. The figures are based on taxation data of one year only, and therefore must be viewed as approximations.
169. The figures have been recalculated from the data in the source: several necessary corrections of accuracy indicate a poor mathematical standard in the good doctors. Figures for wine consumption are also given, indicating that it was consumed in small quantities only, and mostly by the large towns on Walcheren (about 3 litres per cap. p.a.).
170. See the alcohol consumption figures in Appendix 4.
171. The enormous boost to alcohol consumption in a village when soldiers were present is documented for eastern Zeeuws-Vlaanderen in the 1830s, in J. van Damme, 1983, 88.
172. These figures must be kept in perspective: the figure nowadays for the Dutch is over seventy litres.

173. The other denominations have not been computed, because of the small numbers involved.
174. The schuttersverenigingen were apparently descended from medieval guilds, but by the 19th century were concerned only with social roles, the principal of which were: enforcing conformity within the village (charivari), prank playing, and drinking to excess. See J. van Nieuwenhuisen, 1931, 13-40; & J. Bijlo, 1923, 85. In Westkapelle the gangs of dikeworkers (virtual clans) assembled, received instructions, and were paid out in one of the local taverns: see K. Baart, 1889, 54-58.
175. J. Art, 1974, 45 & 57-59; also J. Art, 1975, vol. II, pp. 586-90.
176. G. Golde, 1975, 175-76.

Chapter V: Possible Retardation of the Local Economy by
Religious Factors

In Chapter II it was put forward that a connection between the religious and economic characteristics of Zeeland in the nineteenth century was - and still is - a major component in the general view of the province's history. Furthermore, that connection is often seen as a causal one: religious conservatism is held actually to have caused economic backwardness. It is now time to put this 'received opinion' to the test.

The following examination is necessarily confined to fields in which there is evidence available: it will be apparent, in some of the areas of possible interaction one would like to investigate, that no definite conclusions are possible because of the unsystematic nature of the data. Nonetheless, there are enough well documented study areas to permit a reasonable degree of confidence in the analysis. Broadly, the areas selected for discussion are as follows: conflict between Protestants and Roman Catholics; orthodox Calvinism and its attitudes to various matters; the extent and nature of the effect of church finances on the local economy; and finally, the direct involvement of the churches in the province's public affairs.

V.A. Interaction and Conflict between Roman Catholics and Protestants

The differences between Protestants (in particular Calvinists) and Roman Catholics have long been at the centre of the controversy over the extent to which religion governs economic change. Some commentators have seen the division of society between the two camps as crucial in all ways, suggesting that to be of a given religion is to possess certain innate economic characteristics. These views stem from the work of Max Weber, and a good example, already cited, is Lenski's study of religion in Detroit in the 1950s, which concluded unequivocally that Protestants were far more likely to be economically successful.¹ Many other scholars, though, have viewed the distinction between Protestant and Catholic as a variable of only minor importance.²

Apart from the hypothesis that each religion has its own 'mentality' which may condition its socio-economic circumstances, several commentators have remarked upon the possible detrimental economic effects of antagonism between groups of Protestants and Catholics. Such strife distracted people from rational economic activity, and the market was rendered less competitive by such confessionalism. The main objections were the exclusive use by Catholics of Catholic-produced goods and services (or the same by Protestants), and the policy of some entrepreneurs of employing only people of their own sect.³

In order to come to more practical conclusions about Protestants and Catholics in Zeeland, it will be useful to look at incidents of antagonism between the two groups, and then to

examine closely the results of such conflicts on a local scale, at village level.

Professor Bornewasser has indicated the considerable extent of anti-Catholic feeling in the Netherlands in the last century;⁴ particularly cogent examples can be quoted from the pamphletary of the period,⁵ and from the attacks of Dr Kuyper on his Catholic political allies.⁶ This general antagonism reached its most dynamic climax in the April Movement (April Beweging) of 1853, in reaction to the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the Netherlands. Setting up the Dutch episcopate formed part of an ultramontane movement right across Europe in the nineteenth century, and was in many ways a re-run of the operation engineered to install Cardinal Wiseman and his bishops in England in 1850. The anti-Catholic feeling seems to have taken its lead from Germany, as did so many Dutch religious developments in the nineteenth century.⁷ Locally, the April Movement itself seems to have been a relatively minor affair in Zeeland,⁸ although this by no means implies that there was no friction between the sects in the province.

V.A.1. Confrontation in Zeeland

On the face of it, relations between Catholics and Protestants in Zeeland were calm and good. In its public pronouncements, the provincial government certainly never tired of reiterating how loyal to the king Zeeland's citizens were.⁹ The provincial executive even went so far as to suggest that religion might be seen as oil on the troubled waters of

Zeeuws-Vlaanderen during the crisis period with Belgium after 1830.¹⁰ But the private opinions of the Governor, Van Vredenburg, expressed in his reports to the king, were another matter altogether, as were the confidential reports of his district commissioners and burgemeesters in the various localities. In 1833 he warned against the lack of patriotism in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, especially in the border areas.¹¹ There was indeed no shortage of incidents involving antagonism between the two groups, some of which are illustrated in the material set out in the next paragraphs.

There had been a history and tradition of outbreaks of anti-Catholicism in Zeeland under the Republic,¹² coming to a head in the violent anti-Catholic outburst in Vlissingen and surrounding areas around 1780.¹³ Despite official assertions, there were undoubtedly religious aspects to the strife in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen surrounding the Belgian secession;¹⁴ and in the thirties we find the Maatschappij tot bevordering van welstand, the Brabant-based, highly organized society for the furtherance of Protestant minorities, receiving the full support of the NHK in neighbouring Zeeland.¹⁵ In 1838 a strong objection was voiced from legal quarters to the discrimination allegedly shown against Zeeland's Roman Catholics in official appointments;¹⁶ in 1841 there was united Protestant agitation in Oud-Vossemeer on Tholen at the building of a new Catholic church;¹⁷ and we have a succession of incidents in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, monitored closely by the authorities, indicative of a situation by no means calm.

There were several special problems in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, one of which was the presence of foreign Catholic clergy. At the beginning of the 1830s there were still several (Belgian) Flemish priests left in (Dutch) Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, and it was reported that the soldiers stationed in the area were generally hostile to them, sometimes to the point of persecution.¹⁸ There was also the question of the church buildings. In 1834 the Protestant civil government of the town of Ijzendijke near the border with Belgium refused to contribute towards the building of a new Roman Catholic church, and the Catholics appealed to the Minister of Internal Affairs. A similar situation was taking place in nearby Aardenburg. It appears that the Roman Catholic church buildings in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, due to their annexation to the French empire earlier (1795) than most of the rest of the Netherlands (1810), were still governed by the provisions of an imperial decree dated 30 December 1809. This specified that the local civil government must contribute funds for the upkeep of church buildings where the church was unable to provide for itself. After much embittered discussion, the king finally decided in 1837 (K.B. 14.11.37, no. 72) that the 1809 decree was still valid for Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, and therefore that the situation there was quite different to that pertaining in the rest of the country. The whole controversy chafed at old wounds, and even opened new ones, for the sword had a double edge. Apart from the Protestant ill-feeling aroused at being required to subsidize Catholic churches when no other denomination enjoyed the privilege, the

Catholics themselves rapidly became alarmed at the prying of the Protestants into their financial affairs, to which they were obliged to submit before any award could be made. This highly unsatisfactory situation was only set right when the 1809 decree was revoked by an Act of 26 June 1876.¹⁹

Another matter which caused a great deal of friction between Catholic and Protestant was the performance in public of certain allegedly ostentatious ceremonies by the Catholics, such as processions and funerals. During the tension-filled thirties, disputes arose over these public ceremonies in Ijzendijke, Oostburg, and Hoofdplaat.²⁰ In 1839, the Catholic curate of Aardenburg, a town with a substantial Calvinist majority at least in the first half of the century, began holding religious ceremonies in public with an ostentation designed (it was alleged) to shatter the discretion which governed spiritual matters in the province. This deservant H. Zwijsen continued in a similar vein throughout 1840 and 1841, much to the annoyance of the Protestant population and the concern of the civil authorities. There were fisticuffs between the burgemeester and the deservant, and the matter was finally resolved in the course of 1843 by no less a person than king Willem II, who tactfully intervened with Zwijsen's superiors in Breda.²¹ However, in the same year bad feeling was reported in Sluis, resulting from mixed marriages between Catholics and Protestants.²²

Another issue which irritated Protestant-Catholic relations in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen was the Belgian secession itself, and the armed peace which followed during the thirties, turning

Zeeuws-Vlaanderen into a theatre of war. Nicole van Neste and Jan van Damme conducted a study of eastern Zeeuws-Vlaanderen in this troubled period,²³ and the following is drawn from their painstaking researches based mainly on the correspondence between the district officer (District Commissaris) for eastern Zeeuws-Vlaanderen and the Provincial Governor.

In the late twenties, when the troubles between the government of Willem I and the Belgian provinces of the United Kingdom were coming to a head in the Petition Movements, the Governor kept a close watch on the Catholic border areas of his province, paying the utmost attention to who actually signed the petitions for the redress of Catholic grievances.²⁴ In western Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, the district officer was forced to admit that, in reaction to the Catholic petitions, the Protestants of Oostburg were 'possessed of a zeal which exceeds the bounds of good sense', and were guilty of a 'religious hate' towards the Catholics.²⁵ When in 1834 a Catholic was appointed as burgemeester of Hontenisse, the local Protestants began to bluster about being 'overrun', and being forced into a position of 'total dependence on the Romans'.²⁶ In the same year there were complaints from Hulst that the Catholics were using their alms collections to beautify the church, with the result that the Protestants had to foot the bill for the Catholic poor.²⁷

These disputes in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen were not confined to the tense years surrounding the Belgian secession. In the fifties there were disputes between Protestant-dominated civil authorities who objected to paying the stipends of troublesome

Catholic priests. The gemeente Aardenburg made its complaint official in 1854,²⁸ as one year later did Clinge, where there was horror at subsidizing not only a Catholic priest, but a Belgian at that.²⁹ These incidents were, no doubt, brought into relief by the April Movement of 1853. Middelburg was not without its anti-Catholic press, focusing its venom on the ultramontanism surrounding Pius IX,³⁰ as did a petition movement in Goes in the fifties against the installation of a Vatican representative at court.³¹ The evangelical wing of anti-Catholicism was less effective: an organization led by the NHK ministers J. van Toorenenbergen (Vlissingen) and B.J.H. Taats (Middelburg) had to report a rather unsatisfactory state of affairs after its first year of trying to convert Catholics to Calvinism;³² and although the highly successful Brabant Maatschappij tot bevordering van welstand received financial support from Zeeland, its actual activities (in the nineteenth century) did not extend over the provincial border.³³

It is wise to be cautious in drawing conclusions from these sometimes isolated occurrences of animosity between Protestants and Catholics: most appear to have been anti-Catholic rather than anti-Protestant, but this may well be because our sources are predominantly Protestant. What can be extracted from this fragmented evidence is that there are strong indications that animosity existed from time to time, and that it occasionally erupted into verbal or even physical protest. Particularly in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, there existed an anomalous legal situation regarding the position of the Catholic Church. Together with

tensions surrounding the Belgian Revolution, this made for confused circumstances in which rows between Catholic and Protestant could easily flare up, especially where financial matters were concerned.³⁴ The question which will concern us now is whether this religious dispute was any more than a doctrinal scuffle, and whether it had any effect on the socio-economic life of the province of Zeeland.

Catholic strength as a percentage of the Dutch population suffered a slight decline in the course of the nineteenth century although this was true to a much smaller extent in Zeeland.³⁵ However, on a more local scale in certain villages, there were significant shifts in the dominance of the various denominations over the decades. Where high birth rates were involved, the spiritual conflict might easily become an economic one: an expanding section of the population would be bound to try and appropriate any units of the means of production which became available.³⁶ These power struggles at municipal level were by no means unique to Zeeland: in the Medemblik area (Noord-Holland) we hear of how the Catholics were 'taking over' with their relentlessly expanding birthrates, gaining power in local politics and education.³⁷ Similarly, in nineteenth century Rotterdam it was noticed that well over half of mixed marriage families brought their children up as Catholics, while Catholics formed only 29.5 % of the city's population.³⁸

Tables V.1 and V.2 list municipalities where the difference between the percentage levels of (respectively) Catholics and Hervormden/Gereformeerden in 1815 and 1899 was

Table V.1
Geneenten with more than a Five Point Change in
the Percentage of Roman Catholics between 1815 and 1899

No.	<u>Geneente</u>	Percentage of Roman Catholics in			Swing 1815- 1899	District
		1815	1859	1899		
63.	KERKWERVE	10.42	4.06	0.12	-10.30	S-Indiv.
64.	NOORDGOUWE	15.30	6.42	0.74	-14.56	
66.	ZIERIKZEE	22.41	22.16	14.86	-7.55	
67.	NIEUWERKERK	7.70	1.09	0.26	-7.44	
78.	THOLEN	16.60	14.74	8.97	-7.63	Bevel.
8.	GRAVENPOLDER, 'S-	26.43	16.05	11.28	-15.15	
25.	HEER-ABTSKERKE, 'S-	17.74	18.03	12.46	-5.28	
21.	HEER-ARENSKERKE, 'S-	30.53	24.12	17.65	-12.88	
23.	HEERENHOEK, 'S-	45.58	72.34	83.60	38.02	
28.	HOEDEKENSKERKE	34.14	46.91	47.25	13.11	
11.	KATTENDIJKE	9.12	0.59	0.09	-9.03	
17.	KRUININGEN	0.00	6.23	15.17	15.17	
26.	NISSE	11.17	15.53	18.15	6.98	
27.	OVEZANDE	68.43	73.95	76.34	7.91	
20.	RILLAND-BATH	1.02	10.91	13.72	12.70	WZV
16.	SCHORE	3.86	4.00	9.76	5.90	
85.	AARDENBURG	21.17	40.18	51.84	30.67	
93.	BIERVLIET	16.65	27.51	39.46	22.83	
79.	BRESKENS	11.74	11.58	5.01	-6.73	
80.	GROEDE	4.26	19.53	17.58	13.32	
91.	HOOFDPLAAT	42.37	59.99	74.05	31.68	
92.	IJZENDIJKE	49.34	61.13	68.04	18.70	
86.	OOSTBURG	8.18	22.46	32.64	24.46	
88.	SINT-KRUIS	42.15	57.12	68.54	26.39	
84.	SLUIS	28.15	51.80	59.29	31.14	OZV
89.	WATERLANDKERKJE	38.35	53.53	52.94	14.59	
99.	AXEL	5.66	9.61	18.73	13.07	
95.	PHILIPPINE	70.67	87.14	94.69	24.02	
96.	SAS VAN GENT	69.58	79.50	87.48	17.90	
97.	TERNEUZEN	5.05	20.40	19.22	14.17	
6.	HULST	75.52	88.43	91.97	16.45	

Source: Appendix 1

larger than five points. The column in each table entitled 'Swing 1815-99' shows the alteration in percentage, preceded by a minus sign if it indicates a decline. The tables are very revealing. Firstly it is clear that the centres of action were in western Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, and in Zuid-Beveland, with a limited amount of activity in the Axel area of eastern Zeeuws-Vlaanderen. Secondly, the two lists are almost identical (twenty-eight out of thirty-one villages are shared), so that the Hervormden/Gereformeerden changes were taking place in the same areas in which the Catholic ones did.³⁹ Thirdly, of the Catholic

Table V.2
Communities with more than a Five Point Change in the
Combined Percentage of Hervormden & Gereformeerden between 1815 and 1899

No.	Communities	Percentage of			Swing 1815- 1899	District
		<u>Hervormden</u> 1815	<u>Hervormden</u> 1899	<u>Gereformeerden</u> 1899		
63.	KERKWERVE	87.50	66.63	31.68	11.01	Zuidv.
64.	NOORDGOUWE	82.19	89.64	8.86	16.33	
66.	ZIERIKZEE	74.01	70.12	11.03	7.14	Bevel.
78.	THOLEN	82.77	70.61	19.16	7.02	
61.	GOES	78.51	62.37	9.78	-6.36	
6.	GRAVENPOLDER, 'S-	73.57	60.02	8.22	-5.33	
25.	HEER-ABTSKERKE, 'S-	82.26	74.48	13.06	5.28	
21.	HEER-ARENDSKERKE, 'S-	69.47	55.00	24.96	10.49	
23.	HEERENHOEK, 'S-	54.22	14.65	1.75	-37.82	
11.	KATTENDIJKKE	90.86	94.59	4.11	7.82	
18.	KRABBENDIJKKE	100.00	54.00	18.73	-27.27	
17.	KRUININGEN	100.00	67.78	11.60	-20.62	
26.	NISSE	86.83	56.44	8.91	-23.48	WCV
27.	OVEZANDE	31.57	22.60	1.06	-7.91	
20.	RILLAND-BATH	96.77	59.44	20.58	-16.75	
16.	SCHORE	96.14	81.35	7.14	-7.65	
15.	YERSEKE	100.00	68.27	14.86	-16.87	
85.	AARDENBURG	74.11	41.76	0.86	-31.49	
93.	BIERVLIET	83.35	59.11	0.44	-23.80	
80.	GROEDE	89.91	79.88	0.29	-9.74	
91.	MOOFDPLAAT	57.63	24.37	0.72	-32.54	
92.	IJZENDIJKKE	50.36	30.74	0.54	-19.06	
86.	OOSTBURG	91.59	59.96	6.12	-25.51	OZV
88.	SINT-KRUIS	57.85	30.87	0.15	-26.83	
84.	SLUIS	71.03	39.58	0.00	-31.45	
89.	WATERLANDKERKJE	61.41	45.59	0.49	-15.33	
99.	AXEL	93.87	50.63	29.49	-13.75	
95.	PHILIPPINE	29.33	5.31	0.00	-24.02	
96.	SAS VAN GENT	29.06	12.14	0.26	-16.66	
97.	TERNEUZEN	94.80	66.60	10.03	-16.17	
6.	HULST	23.96	7.56	0.25	-16.15	

Source: Appendix 1

changes, only ten of the thirty-one were losses, while twenty-four of the thirty-one Calvinist changes were defeats: the Catholics were winning, on aggregate at least. On Schouwen and on Tholen the Protestants gained, but far larger losses were suffered in the main arenas of Zuid-Beveland and western Zeeuws-Vlaanderen. Fourthly, only four of the villages on the Catholic list (Table V.1) had Roman Catholic majorities in 1815. It was not the case, therefore, that Roman-Catholic-dominated areas squeezed out the last remaining Protestants: Catholic minorities with their backs to the wall fought hard, in this demographic

sense, in the critical areas and, in most cases, gained ground. This is further borne out by the fact that about half (15/31) of the villages with Catholic changes also appear on the list of 'mixed' communities in which neither Roman Catholic nor Protestant constituted less than ten percent of the population (Table IV.13 above).

Some of the changes were of considerable size: in three villages on Schouwen-Duiveland, and in Kattendijke on Zuid-Beveland, the Catholics were virtually eliminated from the substantial positions they had held in 1815. On the other hand, Kruiningen and Rilland-Bath represented considerable Catholic gains from a negligible starting point, and the number of villages with gains of over ten points was legion. Seven of them rose by over twenty points during the century. These Catholic gains were not merely shifts of emphasis, but major changes; in general terms the same can be said for Hervormden/Gereformeerden losses.⁴⁰

Zeeuws-Vlaanderen's religious divisions are to a large extent determined by the drainage of the land. That is to say that when the location of the islands (separated by broad channels and rivers) is considered, the religious situation becomes simpler.⁴¹ The border area with Belgium is one populated more or less by Catholics, where migration from Belgian Flanders has often played a role, particularly so because of the large programme of land drainage and reclamation constantly requiring new colonists.⁴² The Land van Cadzand in the west is of strong

Protestant tradition from the times when it was an international haven for Lutherans, Huguenots, and persecuted Protestants in general - this was possible under the Republic, for the area had been virtually depopulated during the independence struggles with Spain. The eastern half of western Zeeuws-Vlaanderen between Schoondijke and the Braakman is a mixed area, where colonizing populations have moved in. In the east, the Land van Axel is very definitely Protestant, and the Land van Hulst equivalently Catholic.⁴³

Much of the Catholic influx into Zeeuws-Vlaanderen occurred during, and shortly after, the French period (1795-1814), when Catholicism was placed, for the first time, on an equal footing with Calvinism.⁴⁴ In the border areas, and in the Vrije van Sluis, the Protestant wails of anguish went up at the Catholic 'invasion', and its economic consequences. The literary Calvinist minister Dresselhuis remarked in 1819 that although seventy years earlier there had been only two Catholic congregations in the Sluis area, there were now more than four thousand of the papists, with six churches and eight large congregations.⁴⁵ Nearby, and close to the border, Waterlandkerkje was allegedly being ruined by the Catholic onslaught, as Catholic labourers were brought in to work on Belgian-owned farms, Catholic flaxworkers overburdened the Calvinist poorbox, and desperate Protestants were 'forced' to leave for other areas inland and abroad.⁴⁶ Aardenburg was the subject of a thoughtful 'religiographic' study by C.D. Saal, which dealt with the phenomenon of a heavily increasing Catholic population (21 % to

52 % 1815-99) and a correspondingly decreasing Hervormd/
Gereformeerd one (74 % to 42 %). Saal considered the factors
involved to be the land owned by Belgian Catholics which favoured
Catholic tenants and labourers, the larger Catholic families,
the superior education of Protestants which actually enabled
them to migrate to better jobs elsewhere, and the higher degree
of satisfaction with which the area was viewed by Catholics
(relatively recent immigrants) compared to the Protestants (who
looked, for instance, to America).⁴⁷

In Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, then, the Protestant-Catholic
issue was inflamed by the Belgian secession and by the anomalous
legal situation covering the Roman Catholic parishes there, but
seemed to have its source in border migration, and the Catholic
influx (mainly from Belgium) into the Protestant Sluis area in
the west. An interesting note is that one of the principal means
of Catholic advance in demographic, economic and political terms
was the purchase of land by wealthy Catholic patrons, usually
absentee, and often Belgian. The U.S. immigrant James Moerdyke
recalled that his father had, for financial reasons, been forced
to sell his Biervliet farm, but that '...saddest of all is the
fact that a Catholic from Ghent purchased the property.'⁴⁸ The
burgemeester of Sluis (a Protestant) wrote to the Commissaris
des konings in 1857 demanding protection against Belgian
capitalists buying up Dutch land; they were set, he claimed,
on retaking the left bank of the Schelde, and eliminating the
Protestant population.⁴⁹ The Maatschappij tot bevordering van
welstand centred its efforts in Brabant on buying land for use

by Protestant farmers, showing its awareness of the spearhead role played by Catholic landowners, and in this century the Maatschappij launched a major land-purchasing project in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen for the benefit of Calvinist tenants.⁵⁰

On the islands, as we have seen, the focus of attention was on Zuid-Beveland, where the battle was less one-sided than in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen. Although the mainstream Calvinists continued to lose ground, it was not always to the Catholics: the orthodox Calvinists shared the victories. But in 's-Heer Abtskerke, 's-Heer Arendskerke, and in Kattendijke, the Protestants succeeded in enlarging their majority. The whole island was one of Catholic evangelical activity, and had been since the Counter-Reformation.⁵¹ Again, migration patterns were important, with Catholics moving out of certain towns and into others nearby; the loss of so many Catholics from Zierikzee and Noordgouwe on Schouwen-Duiveland may be partially explained by moves within Zeeland.

So in certain areas, there was some form of intermittent battle fought between Protestants and Catholics, with the Catholics usually achieving the increases. On the other hand, mainstream Calvinists were always the dominant group in the province and in the country as a whole, and perhaps could afford to sustain losses. Nonetheless, in some gemeenten in west Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, the Catholic gains represented an achievement of a local absolute majority, which eventually resulted in material transfer of political and economic power.⁵² The way we have chosen to measure the results of the conflict - population totals - is a

reflection of the one of the most important issues at stake: the demographic one. It is clear that in some areas the Catholics scored demographic victories: that demographic developments were caused by religious factors does not necessarily follow. Only very tentative conclusions are possible: more often than not in the nineteenth century Catholics can be associated with high birthrates, rising fertility rates and large families.⁵³ Without attributing direct causation, it is evident that there is an affinity between factors leading to demographic expansion, and Roman Catholicism: this affinity resulted in certain - locally - important changes in the socio-economic life of Zeeland in the last century. Again it would appear that, despite the dominant position of the Calvinists, the Roman Catholic church was in tighter control of its destiny.

However, the amount of friction between groups was limited. The fears of the Provincial Governor and district officer that the Catholics of Zeeuws-Vlaanderen would go over to the Belgians in the 1830s turned out to be groundless: only four rural gemeenten in Catholic eastern Zeeuws-Vlaanderen greeted the invading Belgian troops with any enthusiasm, and the general mood of the Catholics there was one of indifference to the Revolution.⁵⁴ To smooth things over in that part of his province, the Governor actually pursued a policy of positive discrimination in the 1830s by appointing Catholics to public office wherever it was feasible.⁵⁵ Friction did occur between the two groups, and it may even have been enough to be counterproductive to local economic progress on occasion. But it was hardly enough to retard

seriously the regional economy. Except in the 1830s in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, incidents were relatively few, and did not appear to have been linked, masterminded, or orchestrated. The fact that there was a localized demographic-economic conflict, which the Catholics usually won, does not in itself mean that the (Catholic) victors were likely to be less 'modern' than the (Protestant) vanquished.

V.B. Orthodox Calvinism

The second area of interaction between religion and economic change concerns the orthodox Calvinists, and their long-term struggle with the more progressive elements in the mainstream NHK. The principal stumbling block is one of information: the statistical data on the various orthodox Calvinist groups are simply not complete enough for definitive conclusions. But with existing figures, some important indications may be made.

V.B.1. The 'Neo-Calvinists' and the 'Ultra-Orthodox'

The first thing to acknowledge is the existence of a deep dichotomy within orthodox Calvinism, between the neo-

Calvinists' and the 'ultra-orthodox'. L. Brunt described this split most eloquently in an article of 1972:⁵⁶ this duality within orthodoxy has been remarked upon by many scholars, and is generally accepted.⁵⁷ In twentieth century terms, the neo-Calvinists are for the most part members of the Gereformeerde Kerken which arose from the Doleantie or secession of 1886, led by Dr Abraham Kuyper. In the nineteenth century, however, many members of the NHK with orthodox sympathies could be classed together with this group, as could large numbers of the orthodox who had left the NHK in the Afscheiding (secession) of 1834. This is the group, active in politics and in economic life, which is generally referred to as the Gereformeerden in the Netherlands today: in the late nineteenth century and well into this century it bore the hallmark of Kuyper's leadership, and was at the centre of the emancipation movements so closely analysed by Dutch social scientists in the last two decades.⁵⁸ From the eighties onwards, this group is represented in the column Gereformeerden in Appendix 1, representing about 12.5 % of the population of Zeeland in 1899, and about 8.2 % of the population of the Netherlands. We have noticed above that villages with high proportions of these Gereformeerden had low alcohol consumption levels and low illegitimacy rates; however it is not necessarily this group which rejected the use of vaccination, insurance, loans, artificial fertilizer and the like. These attributes belong in the first place to a much smaller group, the 'ultra-orthodox' or the zwaren ('the grave ones').

Brunt describes⁵⁹ these 'ultras' as belonging to a

variety of small sects, some of them still actually within the NHK, like the Gereformeerde Bond.⁶⁰ In the later nineteenth century the principal representatives of this group would have been the Gereformeerde Gemeenten and the Oud-Gereformeerde Gemeenten. The spiritual emphasis in these groups was very much on the doctrine of election, and Kuyper's doctrine of the Gemeene gratie (universal grace)⁶¹ would not have been particularly attractive to them. Van der Meiden's popularized portrait of these 'black-stocking church people' movingly describes their preoccupation with doubt of their election, their humility, their aversion to involvement in modern consumer society, their belief in divine providence, and their general traditional conservatism.⁶² This group - if it can be so called, for it was anything but united - was uninterested in the emancipation movement of Kuyper's kleine luyden, being far too concerned with the business of personal piety to become involved in any mass movement.

V.B.2. Numbers of Orthodox Calvinists

It would of course be ideal to establish the socio-economic characteristics of the 'neo-Calvinists' and the 'ultras' in Zeeland in the nineteenth century, and then to gauge the exact effect of those characteristics on the local economy. This might be effected by comparing some sort of index of religious orthodoxy with an index of economic performance for each village, although this would be no test of causality. Unfortunately, neither index is possible to produce. As far as religious

denomination is concerned, the constant flux between groupings in the orthodox movement, particularly between the various splinter groups amongst the ultra-orthodox, means that the data-gathering authorities understandably classed nearly all these orthodox either as Gereformeerden (Afgescheidenen) or as 'Other/Miscellaneous'. The census data of 1889 only distinguish between Vrij-Evangelischen and Evangelischen amongst the extreme orthodox sects:⁶³ this is not sufficient to base any form of calculation or even estimate upon. The orthodox Calvinists were constantly splitting and regrouping: even now in the twentieth century the experts can only make rough estimates of numbers.⁶⁴ It is true that a large number of local histories of both municipalities and various denominations⁶⁵ contain apparently precise figures, but to co-ordinate all these, and to fill the gaps left by them, is a labour which falls outside the scope of this work. Some data have been extracted from provincial counts in the 1860s, and from the 1899 census, and are presented below;⁶⁶ they must however remain indicative rather than definitive.

The concomitant problem is that there are difficulties in providing anything but the most subjective estimates of the all-round economic performance of a given group, like the Gereformeerden. The socio-economic rank of the orthodox - in class terms - will be dealt with below (section V.B.3.a.), but to estimate their 'performance' within certain social categories presents problems. At the level of the entire gemeente or village, there are indicators of economic performance which might be used, like for instance a time series of the tithe

money payments in a given village. However, there are so many possible operational variables, besides religious mentality, acting upon tithe payments that conclusions would be difficult to draw.⁶⁷ It is probably better to make a virtue of expedience, and to concentrate on certain aspects (rather than the totality) of economic life in the gemeenten.

What we are left with, then, is an attempt to estimate in any way possible the strength of orthodoxy in Zeeland, to relate it to the country as a whole and to other provinces, and to establish some of the socio-economic characteristics of these various orthodox groups at various points in time in Zeeland during the last century. In order to do so, we shall examine in detail certain issues concerning the economy upon which some of the orthodox held strong views.

Zeeland had long known controversies between the more orthodox and more progressive among Calvinists, and indeed by the turn of the nineteenth century, something amounting to a tradition of dispute was in existence.⁶⁸ The restoration in 1813 and the subsequent Algemene Reglement of 1816 had firmly established the liberal-progressive ideas prevalent among the Calvinist bourgeoisie as dominant in the NHK. That the tradition of dispute with the orthodox continued is evident from the many incidents recorded in the minutes of the classes (district administrative bodies of the NHK) in Zeeland at the beginning of the century. For example, the classis Middelburg had to reprimand Jan Verstraten, a popular orthodox unofficial minister, for preaching repeatedly and illegally in Arnemuiden; and there were

endless disputes and complaints from the orthodox about the use of the new hymnbook (Evangelische gezangen), introduced in 1807, which the classis Goes had to deal with.⁶⁹ The controversy between progressive and conservative has lived on into this century: the Vereeniging Evangelische Vooruitgang was founded in Middelburg in 1871 by prominent and modernist liberals to try to continue the 'enlightenment' of religion in the face of orthodoxy,⁷⁰ and J.W.Dippel spoke of the situation in the Zeeland villages in 1940s where '...relations between Hervormden and Gereformeerden are often strained.'⁷¹ As has been described above the Afscheiding began to gain ground in Zeeland from the 1830s onwards,⁷² and in the eighties the Doleantie of Kuyper's 'neo-Calvinists' helped to swell the numbers in the Gereformeerden (Afgescheidenen) category of official returns. It is clear from an examination of the data in Appendices 1 and 2, however, that many of the more extreme orthodox Calvinists were concealed in catch-all categories like 'Others/Miscellaneous'.

Zeeland is an important area for zwaren, or 'ultras', and it is firmly placed in the broad band of twentieth century ultra-orthodox gemeenten which runs across western Gelderland, Utrecht, Zuid-Holland and Zeeland.⁷³ It is as well to remember, though, that the 'ultras' are a very small group: of the (roughly) one million Gereformeerden in the Netherlands in 1960, only some 200,000 or so are likely to have been ultra-orthodox.⁷⁴ It has, however, been pointed out that these small numbers are perhaps the tip of the iceberg: in Zeeland '...the Hervormden are in general exceptionally orthodox.'⁷⁵ What of Zeeland's

'ultras' in the nineteenth century?

Despite a general lack of reliable sources, the 1899 census provided some figures in a breakdown of the group 'Others' in the religious denomination returns, and the results are reproduced in Table 3. It is clear that the major concentration of gemeenten with these ultra-orthodox members was in Zuid-Beveland. The figures are no more than an indication, for several

Table V.3
The 'Ultra-Orthodox in Selected Gemeenten in Zeeland, 1899

Gemeente	Total population 1899	Total 'Ultras'	Evangel- ischen	Vrij- Evangel- ischen	Gerfoor- gerde Gemeente	Oud- Gerform- erden	Christelijke Evangel- ischen	District
BIGGEKERKE	677	2	0	0	0	2	0	Walch.
KOUDEKERKE	2269	46	0	0	0	0	46	
MIDDELBURG	18837	129	0	2	0	127	0	
SEROOSKERKE (WALCH)	1224	1	0	1	0	0	0	
SOUBURG	2295	7	0	7	0	0	0	S-Duiv.
VLISSINGEN	16893	17	0	0	0	17	0	
BROUWERSHAVEN	1313	15	0	1	0	14	0	
ZIERIKZEE	6818	5	1	4	0	0	0	
BRUINISSE	2611	61	1	35	0	25	0	
NIEUWERKERK	1535	55	0	0	0	55	0	
OUWERKERK	789	4	0	4	0	0	0	Bevel.
POORTVLIET	1557	30	0	0	0	30	0	
SCHERPENISSE	1388	6	0	0	6	0	0	
GOES	6923	200	158	0	0	27	15	
GRAVENPOLDER, 'S-	915	182	0	0	0	182	0	
HEER-ARENSKERKE, 'S-	3049	51	0	51	0	0	0	
HEINKENSZAND	1625	27	0	0	0	27	0	
HOEDEKENSKERKE	1109	43	0	16	0	27	0	
KAPELLE	1952	19	0	16	0	5	0	
KATTENDIJKE	1070	10	0	10	0	0	0	
KLOETINGE	1297	69	0	1	0	68	0	
KRABBENDIJKE	2002	517	0	1	1516	0	0	
NISSE	606	100	0	0	0	98	2	
RILLAND-BATH	1822	94	0	94	0	0	0	
SCHORE	799	6	0	6	0	0	0	
WEMELDINGE	1966	61	5	13	0	3	40	
YERSEKE	4333	502	0	210	0	291	1	
COLIJNSPLAAT	1882	18	0	0	0	18	0	WZV
BRESKENS	1957	6	0	0	0	1	5	
CADZAND	1130	67	67	0	0	0	0	
OOSTBURG	1878	2	0	2	0	0	0	
RETRANCHEMENT	784	2	0	2	0	0	0	OZV
SLUIS	2385	10	10	0	0	0	0	
ZUIDZANDE	1098	10	9	1	0	0	0	
AXEL	4341	14	0	11	0	3	0	
HOEK	2238	38	0	2	0	36	0	
TERNEUZEN	8174	44	1	0	0	43	0	
ZAAMSLAG	3220	32	14	1	0	17	0	
ZEELAND		2502	266	491	522	1116	109	

SOURCE: UITKOMSTEN, 1901, 178.

'ultras' would have been included in the other categories, like the Gereformeerden or possibly even the NHK. There are some data from earlier in the century which may allow us to corroborate the 1899 figures. In the 'Remarks' column of the forms returned by the individual gemeenten to the provincial authority for the 1877 Zeeland census it appears that in several communities there was a distinction to be drawn between the Christelijke Afgescheidenen and the even more orthodox, and sometimes quite numerous, Christelijke Gereformeerden.⁷⁶ In the sources for Appendix 2 for 1862-76, the gemeenten with noticeable numbers of 'Others' in their religious breakdowns have been collated in Table V.4; again the figures are not entirely satisfactory

Table V.4

Numbers of those 'Not belonging to any of the Named Denominations' in Zeeland, and in Selected Gemeenten, 1862-76.

Gemeente	1862	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76
Axel								29	29		29	28		26	28
Borsele						104 ¹	103								21
Breskens										32					
Bruinisse										8					
Domburg	14	24	22	22		23	26	12	12		112	19	20		25 ²
Goes									11	118	27	31	26	28	93 ²
's-Gravenpolder	157	156	154	172		178	184							9	
Groede								10	9	8	9	9	7	6	6
Heinkenszand										14					
Kerkwerpe										18					
Kruiningen								7	6	21	6	6	11	6	6
Middelburg								21	29		26	35	32	33	43 ³
Nieuwerkerk															56 ³
Nieuwvliet	11	11	11	10		11						19	21	21	20
Oostkapelle										10				26	
Oud-Vossemeer															15
Poortvliet	47	40	45	0 ⁴											
Rilland-Bath										13					
Schoondijke												7	7	7	7
Sint-Laurens							16								
Terneusen										32	14	16		22	22
Tholen										15					
Wemeldinge										22					
Wissekerke									4	4	56	124	5 ⁵	7	6
Yerseke														5	5 ⁶
Zaamslag											3			69	67 ⁶
Zeeland	254	256	265	219		344	358	110	113	455	195	309	253	275	432

Source: Verlag van Gedeputeerde Staten (1863-77).

Notes: [1] Recruited equally from the NHK, Afgescheidenen, & outside the gemeente; [2] Includes 71 Evangelische Christelijken; [3] Consists of Apostolische Gemeente; [4] 'Others' have joined the Afgescheidenen; [5] About 100 'others' have joined NHK, the rest to the Afgescheidenen; [6] Oud-Gereformeerden.

because of classification difficulties. But what does emerge is that from the sixties onwards at least, particularly in certain municipalities, there was a tradition of ultra-orthodoxy among some Calvinists which was reflected in the official data-collection processes. The impossibility of ascertaining the exact nuance of orthodoxy on a local scale - some Christelijke Afgescheidenen were, for instance, more 'ultra' than others - prevents us from being more precise than this.

Some unverified work done by the local church historian A. de Smit can help to provide an idea of the number of actual congregations of 'ultras'.⁷⁷ Gereformeerde Gemeenten were present in the nineteenth century in Borssele, Goes, Krabbendijke, 's-Gravenpolder, Hoedekenskerke, Kruiningen, Nieuwdorp, Rilland and Wolphaartsdijk; the Bond van Vrij-Evangelische Gemeenten had congregations in Bath, Goes, Yerseke, Biezeling (Kapelle), and Wemeldinge: again the preponderance of Zuid-Beveland is telling.

V.B.3. Social Background and Economic Characteristics of the Orthodox

Having established the presence of a significant number of ultra-orthodox in Zeeland, and that one eighth of the province belonged to the 'neo-Calvinist' Gereformeerden in 1899, it is now possible to move on to depicting the impact of this on the socio-economic life of the province. Once again, it is vital to stress the difference between orthodox and ultra-orthodox, or in present day terms the difference between the Gereformeerde Kerken and,

say, the Gereformeerde Gemeenten. In the nineteenth century there was a very rough parallel between ultra-orthodox and Afscheiding, and between orthodox and Doleantie. Kruijt emphasizes this in the following way:⁷⁸ The Afgescheidenen of 1834 may be characterized as being without a rational economic driving force, as unchanging conservatives, as opponents of such innovations as artificial fertilizer, insurance, and vaccination. The Doleerenden, however, following Kuyper in the eighties, were similarly hardworking, but in no way economically backward, and were more than prepared to move with the times. It is interesting that Kruijt picks two areas as archetypal for the former kind of orthodox: the Betuwe and Zeeland.⁷⁹ It is certainly an oversimplification to state the subtle nuances of the differences between more or less orthodox simply in terms of the Afscheiding and the Doleantie, but it is upon the economic characteristics of the first of Kruijt's groups that we will focus.

V.B.3.a. Socio-Economic Class

The subject of the social background of the Afgescheidenen, the Doleerenden, and other orthodox groups amongst Dutch Calvinists is one that has attracted considerable research from Dutch historians, sociologists and anthropologists. No study of Zeeland by a professional historian exists, but there is an abundance of material from elsewhere in the country. The concept behind the research is that orthodox Calvinists, in

their various groups and secessions, were not only united by common religious views, but also by a shared socio-economic status. The subject is one often chosen for studies which embody a straightforward marxist approach: were, for instance, the Afgescheidenen in village X members of an emerging (lower) class in that community? This question has been posed so often in the Netherlands because of the importance of sociological 'emancipation' theory, which is focussed on the development of orthodox Calvinists and Roman Catholics in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (see above, Section II.3.E), and it is very much a theory of social emancipation. Scholars seem fascinated, as it were, by the possibility that the apparently vertical divisions in Dutch society, based on ideology or religion, are actually - in certain areas anyway - horizontal ones. The implicit hypothesis seems irresistibly challenging: that the celebrated verzuiling or vertical pillarization of Dutch society is really just common-or-garden class division in fancy dress. (Up to now no-one has tackled the problem from the other end, and tried to prove that most members of, say, the working class in Gelderland were Catholics.)

Regarding the Afscheiding, most commentators agree on the general socio-economic rank of seceders, albeit within the general umbrella term of the 'lower classes'. The marxist theorist Frank van der Goes was of the opinion that 'in the Afscheiding, for the first time in the nineteenth century, the lower middle class came into opposition against the dominance of the upper classes'. This 'lowest-but-one class in the society of

that time' was comprised of 'small farmers, artisans and small contractors, shopkeepers...and the better elements of the actual proletariat.'⁸⁰ The communist Cees Bakker joined Van der Goes in portraying them as petit bourgeois.⁸¹ In Friesland the Afgescheidenen were found to be generally of the lower classes,⁸² a view shared by Roessingh in his research in the Veluwe area.⁸³ This none too precise association of the seceders of the thirties with the lower classes is accepted by most historians, from contemporaries like B. Glasius, who referred to them as '...the lesser and unskilled class of people',⁸⁴ to many post-war scholars.⁸⁵ In Zeeland there is little evidence to contradict all this: after all, most of the population belonged to 'the lower classes'. The provincial government in the thirties was certainly at pains to make clear that there was no-one of the least social significance amongst the seceders, '...for amongst the supporters of the new sect, there are no persons to be found, so far as we are aware, whose example or influence could inspire others to follow them.'⁸⁶

Similarly the Doleerenden, or the kleine luyden, have generally been seen as a socio-economic group as well as a religious one, most usually as a lower middle class or petit bourgeois one. Their christening as the 'kleine luyden' was the work of their leader, Abraham Kuyper, admittedly some thirty years after the event,⁸⁷ but the Doleerenden have also been portrayed as a petit bourgeois group by a whole string of modern scholars. Staverman in Friesland, Van Leeuwen in the town of Utrecht, and Van Putten and Hendriks for the country as a whole:⁸⁸

these are just some of the possible examples. By the 1880s, then, we are led to believe that the orthodox seceders were dominated by members of the lower middle classes, rather than of the 'lower classes' as a whole, as in the 1830s. But there are some dissident voices concerning the Doleantie: research in the Alblasserwaard by two different anthropologists, Brunt and Verrips, has associated the 1886 secession in this rural area of Zuid-Holland not with small farmers, but with the substantial, relatively wealthy ones.⁸⁹

Turning to Zeeland, there is support for the general view that the Doleerenden were simple folk: for instance, a Zuid-Beveland pamphlet of 1886 laid emphasis on the class aspects of the Doleantie by contrasting 'the simple man' (d'eenvoudige man') with 'the very learned Dr. [Kuyper]' ('d'n hooggeleerde Dr.').⁹⁰ Similarly, there is evidence from Schouwen-Duiveland which suggests this coincidence of social and religious divisions.⁹¹ But there are also incidents which fall into line with the views of the Alblasserwaard anthropologists. Saal describes the antipathy between the wealthy Cadzand farmers, who controlled the local orthodox church, and discontented agricultural workers in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen.⁹² The friction between the orthodox farmers controlling the kerkvoogdij (churchwardens' committee) and the more liberal and progressive kerkeraad (parish council) which Verrips depicts in Ottoland,⁹³ and the consequent difficulties over the questionable use of the NHK buildings for sermons preached by non-NHK orthodox ministers,⁹⁴ find parallels in Zeeland, for instance in Meliskerke in the 1850s. The village

medical man Evertse wrote to the authorities complaining that the Afgescheidenen orthodox preacher Van Dijk had been invited by the burgemeester Roose to preach in the NHK church.⁹⁵ A similar case, this time in Arnemuiden, had come to the notice of the authorities in the late forties.⁹⁶ It seemed a clear case of orthodox churchwardens versus a more liberal kerkeraad (controlled by the local minister). These incidents in Zeeland by no means prove a general case, but they do raise the interesting issue of whether or not a particular socio-economic group controlled the kervogdij; if so, was their social position in any way linked to their orthodoxy?

A systematic implementation of this kind of class-oriented approach has not been applied in the analysis which follows. There is undoubtedly interesting work to be done in this field, particularly at village community level. But most of the data in Appendices 1 & 2 concern denominational divisions in the gemeenten, and do not lend themselves to ranking the members of a religious group in a single community in terms of class. Nor are they primarily intended to do so. In the statistical analysis, the emphasis has fallen and will continue to fall on how communities of a particular religious leaning acted in certain circumstances, rather than on the actions of small parts of these communities. Class attributes of the denominations within a village receive less attention than the behaviour of the communities as units.

V.B.3.b. Persecution of the Orthodox

The consequences of (ultra-)orthodoxy will be examined under four headings: persecution, vaccination, artificial fertilizer, and insurance. The first - persecution - differs somewhat from the other topics, in that it was inflicted by human agents rather than by nature, or by the 'nature' of market forces. The persecution of the Afgescheidenen in the thirties has excited high feelings, beginning with Groen's Maatregelen tegen de Afgescheidenen (The Action taken against the Seceders) of 1837.⁹⁷ The economic effects, and the social ones, of persecution were presumably anything but favourable, and a certain amount of active socio-economic discrimination was carried on against the seceders in Zeeland, as elsewhere. The reports of the provincial executive paint the picture. The breaking-up of Afgescheidenen meetings of more than twenty persons was first mentioned in the province in 1835,⁹⁸ and was still continuing with the forcible extraction of fines from the offenders in 1837.⁹⁹ By 1841 some of the seceding groups had applied for official recognition under the provisions of the royal decrees of 5 July 1836 and 9 January 1841,¹⁰⁰ but the purists, or 'ultras', who would have nothing to do with recognition by the temporal authorities, were still being harrassed in 1842.¹⁰¹ The whole persecution was orchestrated and closely watched by officials in the Department of Justice, which continued to keep a very tight grip on all matters concerning the seceders even in the 1840s and 1850s.¹⁰²

The spiritual authorities as well, under the close (lay) supervision of J.D. Janssen, secretaris-adviseur to the Director General of the Ministry of Reformed Worship, were concerned and active in this area; in the course of the mid-1830s the classes in Zeeland received all the official ministerial documents pertaining to monitoring and disciplining the seceders, and responded accordingly, with the provision of lists of names, and the like.¹⁰³ H.J. Buddingh was almost certainly the most persecuted man in Zeeland, and was rightly seen by the authorities as the leader of the Afgescheidenen in the province. From the moment in December 1835 that this Biggekerke NHK minister swore that he would no longer suffer the new hymnbook (evangelische gezangen) to be used in his church,¹⁰⁴ he was to be a thorn in the side of the NHK establishment in Zeeland. His last entry in the minute book of the church council on 8 January 1836¹⁰⁵ signalled his becoming an itinerant preacher, founding a congregation of Afgescheidenen at Goes in 1838. The effect of his courage and organizational talents on the secession in many Zeeland communities was profound.¹⁰⁶ The provincial authorities often broke up his meetings when they included more than twenty people, imposed fines upon Buddingh and his lieutenants, and actually imprisoned the renegade minister in 1838 (and again in 1843),¹⁰⁷ from which unfortunate situation Buddingh wrote disconsolate letters asking for support, for instance to Groen van Prinsterer.¹⁰⁸

But putting things into their true perspective, persecution in Zeeland never amounted to very much. Even Buddingh

himself sometimes escaped lightly: many civil and military officers were apparently loath to persecute with violence what appeared to be peaceful meetings of ordinary humble people.¹⁰⁹ The feeling was not so much one of sympathy, as one of disdain at using violence against the Afscheiding in a province where it was relatively well ordered, and not subversive, as it was feared to be in some government quarters.¹¹⁰ The provincial governor, Baron E. van Vredenburg, was constantly at pains to show in his reports to the king how loyal the Zeeuwen were, and what a minor problem the Afscheiding was in Zeeland, and at one point even denied that serious persecution had ever taken place in his province.¹¹¹ Only the provinces of Utrecht, Noord-Holland, Overijssel and Friesland were specifically ordered to break up seceders' meetings,¹¹² and the unofficial persecution of villager by villager was probably more characteristic of the saxon areas than the sea-clay ones like Zeeland.¹¹³

So it would appear that the persecution in Zeeland was limited; certainly less intense than in some other areas where, on a large scale, houses and homes were smashed, rampaging troops were billeted, seceders were imprisoned, fined and ostracized.¹¹⁴ Persecution did occur in Zeeland, but only sporadically, and on no large scale. It cannot be taken as a really serious socio-economic setback affecting the fortunes of either the orthodox group, or of the whole province.

V.B.3.c. Vaccination

There are some traits which the ultra-orthodox are rumoured to display, which might well have had adverse economic consequences. Examples would be prohibitive aversions to artificial fertilizers, vaccination, artificial insemination, insurance, contraception, money loans, and other forms of protection against 'Fate' or 'Providence'.¹¹⁵ Work is respected and honoured by orthodox Calvinists in general; and, in line with the Weber thesis, this may be an economic advantage. With the 'ultras', however, it is a possibility - and we will examine it here - that ideas about the omnipotence of God's will actually detracted from the efficiency of the agricultural economy in Zeeland in the last century.

The idea behind this behaviour is that the will of God shall be done, and that nothing at all can obviate it. According to this line of thinking, then, it is not only futile to try and take precautions against possible untoward events. It is also a vain attempt to interfere with natural laws, which are ordained by God: they are in effect divine laws. Such interference therefore can be seen as constituting an affront to God, and as indicating a lack of faith in his providence. This notion is encapsulated in the idea of the 'slaande Hand Gods', or the avenging hand of God, whereby every disaster was to be explained as a direct punishment by a vengeful Jehovah for specific misconducts, and for the generally fallen state of mankind. This attitude was noticed on the part of Zeeland's orthodox in

response to the floods of 1953, when for example a Stavenisse minister preached of 'the punishing hand of God'.¹¹⁶ The nineteenth century saw its share of this kind of ultra-orthodox feeling of futility and even of justice in the face of overwhelming disaster: the floods of 1825, and the potato blights of the mid-forties evoked this response from some quarters.¹¹⁷

One matter with possible direct economic consequences as a result of this fatalistic frame of mind was vaccination, of people in the first place, but also of livestock. It is true that, in terms of actual deaths inflicted, epidemics were most vicious in their attacks on young children and the aged. This would have had a minimal immediate effect on the availability of labour. But the epidemics also attacked adults of working age, weakening them, without often actually killing them. In an agricultural province with a very heavy soil, before the age of farm mechanization, and a province with generally poor health to boot, physical strength and fitness were of great importance. Thus the effects of an epidemic could have severe economic consequences.¹¹⁸ The debate in the nineteenth century centred around the disease smallpox, and the man who made his name fighting the introduction of the vaccine (discovered in England in the eighteenth century)¹¹⁹ was Abraham Capadose, a medical man intimately involved with the Réveil movement in the Netherlands.¹²⁰ There were medical arguments presented against inoculation and vaccination, which diminished as they could be empirically dismissed; far more significant were the theological

ones, based primarily on the futility and indeed impudence of trying to obviate providence, or God's will. Willem Bilderdijk, the patriarch of the Réveil in the Netherlands, was the fountain of thought on this subject from which Capadose, De Clerq, D. van Hogendorp, Wormser and Da Costa drew their inspiration.¹²¹ The issue is made at once more interesting and more complex by the assertion that religion thrives in times of epidemic sickness - particularly during cholera outbreaks.¹²² On the other hand, though, there is evidence that the very largest cities in Europe were witnessing a reversal of this tendency, and that people actually turned against the churches during epidemics.¹²³

Smallpox was an endemic disease in the Netherlands at least until 1850, with occasional epidemic outbursts;¹²⁴ cholera was confined to vicious outbreaks in 1832-33, 1847-48, 1866-67, and 1871-72.¹²⁵ Figures presented by Schuurbeque Boeye suggest that at least until the mid-seventies Zeeland suffered far more from these epidemics than did the country as a whole;¹²⁶ however, his data are for total deaths (and Zeeland's overall death rate was indeed one of the highest) rather than for deaths caused by the epidemics. In fact, the reverse seems to have been the case. On the subject of the great epidemics of 1832 and 1848 Van der Zee makes three major points: firstly that cholera was a poor man's disease, secondly that the actual number of deaths probably did not warrant the horror evoked by the cry of 'Cholera', and finally that there were enormous regional variations in the severity of the attacks.¹²⁷ In Zeeland in 1832-33 only 107 people caught the disease (of whom 74 died):¹²⁸ this represents less

than 0.8 per 1000 population as opposed to a national figure (excluding Noord-Brabant and Limburg) of 2.2 - 2.3 per 1000.¹²⁹ In 1848-49, together with Noord-Brabant and Limburg, Zeeland again escaped virtually unscathed,¹³⁰ and the smallpox epidemic of 1871, which gave rise to the introduction of state legislation on vaccination,¹³¹ left Zeeland, Friesland and Limburg almost untroubled.¹³² So while it is quite true that Zeeland suffered a very high death rate for most of the century, and that much of the mortality was due to serious illnesses like fevers, dysentery and ulcers (rather than 'natural causes'), this serious state of affairs was not due to epidemics,¹³³ nor to the lack of protection by vaccination.

The same appears to be true of cattle plague epidemics, which struck regularly in the Netherlands, often with devastating effects. There was a fairly bad outbreak in 1816-17,¹³⁴ but Zeeland virtually escaped the tuberculosis epidemic of 1835-42.¹³⁵ In 1858 the cattle plague outbreak was kept confined to two farms¹³⁶ and again in 1865-67 Zeeland escaped almost completely the plague which decimated the cattle of neighbouring provinces.¹³⁷ Many times threats of approaching attacks from outside failed to cross Zeeland's borders.¹³⁸

There was clearly a movement in Zeeland to promote vaccination against smallpox in the first half of the nineteenth century.¹³⁹ Some of it was aimed very low, sugar-coated in transparent sentimentality, like the pamphlets published by the Society for the General Good (Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen),¹⁴⁰ and the imaginary discussion of the issue by two

Zeeuwse farmers' wives, 'Het nut der koepokinenting' (The Usefulness of Vaccination) of 1826, which advised disregard for orthodox religious caution against vaccination.¹⁴¹ On the other hand, men like the renowned veterinary doctor Jan van Hertum and others connected with the government agency for health standards in the province¹⁴² were evidently involved in a sophisticated programme of research on and promotion of immunization.¹⁴³ Medallions were awarded to medical men who had been particularly energetic in this field,¹⁴⁴ and the doctors in the provincial capital Middelburg published requests for the collection of information on the effects of vaccination, and pleas for the importance of regular (decennial) boosters.¹⁴⁵ Religious objections, however, kept pace with this campaign. It was reflected in the tone of writing by the pro-vaccination campaigners, who seemed to be acutely aware that opposition to the vaccines would come from general conservative inertia, strongly buttressed by Calvinist orthodox sentiment about interfering with the Lord's will. In answer to an early government survey in 1800 on agriculture, the correspondent on orthodox Tholen reported that no immunization of cattle had ever been attempted.¹⁴⁶ A vaccination partisan of 1826 claimed in mock surprise that a few dominees (Calvinist ministers) were actually promoting the cause.¹⁴⁷ The Middelburg doctor J.C. van den Broecke expressed it in these words:

I wish it were not necessary to remark upon...the the religious principles of some of us, which see the use of vaccine as an offence against Divine

Providence.¹⁴⁸

In the twenties of this century, it was remarked that the orthodox of Zuid-Beveland were inimical towards vaccination as well as insurance,¹⁴⁹ and the drama surrounding polio vaccine in the 1960s was to a considerable extent played out in Zeeland.¹⁵⁰

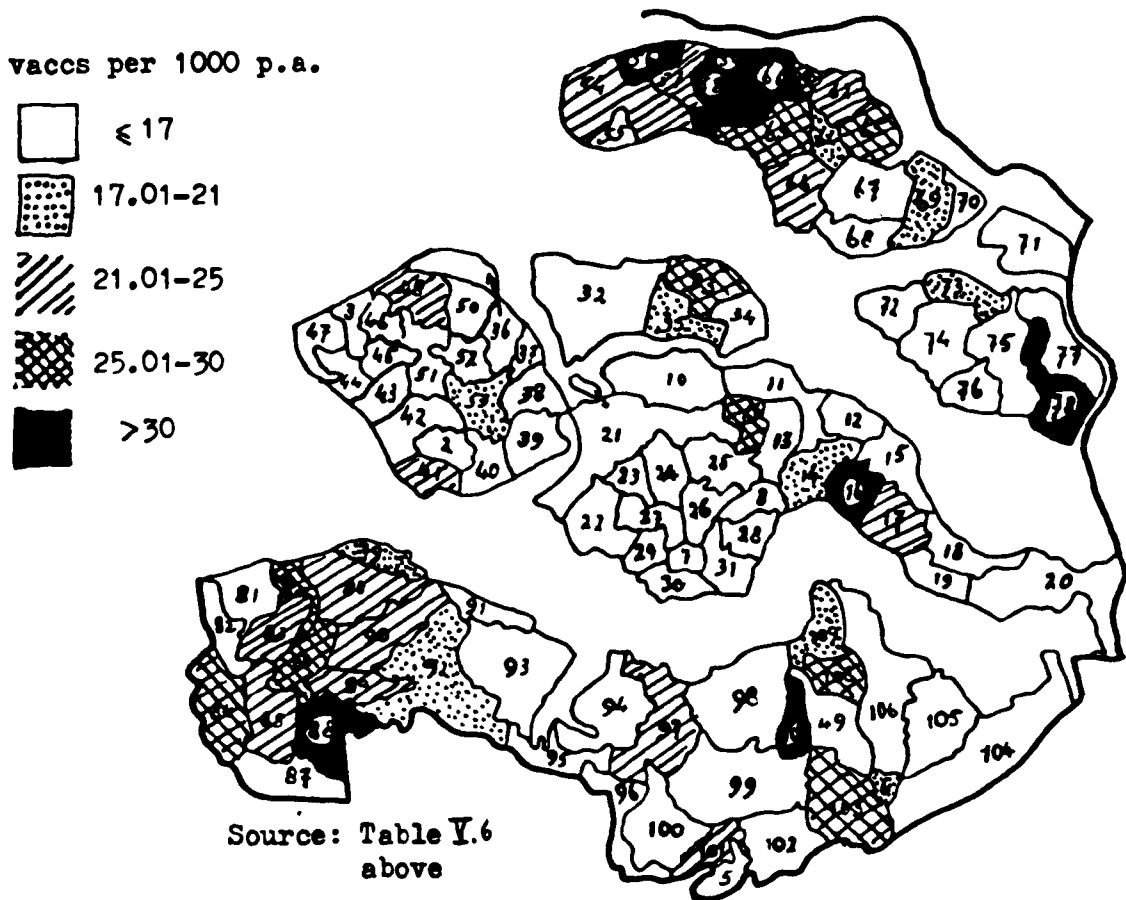
Figures from which we can draw some conclusions are presented in Table 5, which is based on numbers of vaccinations administered in the various gemeenten from 1867 to 1870 inclusive.¹⁵¹ A longer series might have been more desirable, but the spread over four years provides a sufficient degree of reliability. The total numbers of immunizations over four years are listed, and a 'vaccination rate', calculated as the number performed in a given gemeente p.a. per 1,000 inhabitants, is also provided. The overall mean rate for the province was 15.93 vaccinations per 1,000 population per annum - and there was considerable divergence around that average. Sixteen gemeenten had a vaccination rate of nil, while, as the map in Figure V.6 shows, some rates (ten of them) were well up into the thirties (e.g. Boschkapelle, Elkerzee, Ellemeet, Renesse and Sint-Kruis).

Table V.5

Vaccinations performed in the Gemeenten of Zeeland, 1867-70

<u>Gemeente</u>	Popu- lation in 1869	Total vacca 1867-70	Vacc. rate (per 1,000 p.a.)	<u>Gemeente</u>	Popu- lation in 1869	Vacca total 1867-70	Vacc. rate (per 1,000 p.a.)
46. AAGTEKERKE	444.	0.	0.00	4. NIEUWVLIET	640.	69.	26.95
85. AARDENBURG	1732.	152.	21.94	26. NISSE	631.	3.	1.19
38. ARNEMUIDEN	1658.	0.	0.00	64. NOORDGOUWE	777.	59.	18.98
99. AXEL	2673.	61.	5.71	57. NOORDWELLE	456.	44.	24.12
31. BAARLAND	714.	6.	2.10	86. OOSTBURG	1745.	198.	28.37
93. BIERVLIET	1925.	129.	16.75	69. OOSTERLAND	1393.	110.	19.74
43. BIGGEKERKE	635.	0.	0.00	48. OOSTKAPELLE	1001.	97.	24.23
22. BORSSELE	995.	0.	0.00	109. OSSENISSE	865.	61.	17.63
107. BOSCHKAPELLE	1141.	154.	33.74	77. OUD-VOSSEMEER	1741.	29.	4.16
79. BRESKENS	1497.	106.	17.70	7. OUDELANDE	585.	18.	7.69
9. BROUWERSHAVEN	1749.	201.	28.73	68. OUWERKERK	781.	51.	16.33
70. BRUINISSE	1740.	32.	4.60	5. OVERSLAG	506.	0.	0.00
55. BURGH	704.	39.	13.85	27. OVEZANDE	842.	49.	14.55
81. CADZAND	1183.	33.	6.97	95. PHILIPPINE	635.	9.	3.54
104. CLINGE	1899.	74.	9.74	75. POORTVLIET	1505.	83.	13.79
33. COLIJNSPLAAT	1951.	214.	27.42	56. RENESSE	585.	75.	32.05
3. DOMBURG	859.	19.	5.53	82. RETRANCHEMENT	798.	22.	6.89
65. DREISCHOR	1095.	110.	25.11	20. RILLAND-BATH	1335.	0.	0.00
29. DRIEWEGEN	533.	25.	11.73	40. RITTHEM	574.	0.	0.00
60. DUIVENDIJKKE	556.	69.	31.03	96. SAS VAN GENT	1063.	69.	16.23
87. EEDE	1243.	31.	6.23	76. SCHERPENISSE	1236.	8.	1.62
59. ELKERZEE	620.	96.	38.71	90. SCHOONDIJKE	1771.	172.	24.28
58. ELLEMEET	496.	73.	36.79	16. SCHORE	633.	106.	41.86
30. ELLEWOUTSDIJK	714.	43.	15.06	1. SEROOSKERKE (SCH.)	331.	40.	30.21
61. GOES	6202.	643.	25.92	50. SEROOSKERKE (WALCH.)	1026.	0.	0.00
105. GRAAUW	1764.	63.	8.93	73. SINT-ANNALAND	2118.	146.	17.23
8. GRAVENPOLDER, 'S-	781.	8.	2.56	103. SINT-JANSSTEEN	1827.	206.	28.19
51. GRIJPSKERKE	736.	2.	0.68	88. SINT-KRUIS	657.	110.	41.86
80. GROEDE	2506.	220.	21.95	52. SINT-LAURENS	453.	0.	0.00
54. HAAMSTEDE	983.	85.	21.62	74. SINT-MAARTENSDIJK	2408.	18.	1.87
25. HEER-ABTSKERKE, 'S-	286.	0.	0.00	71. SINT-PHILIPSLAND	1360.	3.	0.55
21. HEER-ARENSKERKE, 'S-	2528.	118.	11.67	84. SLUIS	2340.	269.	28.74
23. HEERENHOEK, 'S-	968.	24.	6.20	2. SOUBURG	1647.	0.	0.00
24. HEINKENSZAND	1632.	106.	16.24	72. STAVENISSE	1455.	55.	9.45
108. HENGSTDIJK	709.	76.	26.80	49. STOPPELDIJK	1674.	74.	11.05
28. HOEDEKENSKERKE	970.	59.	15.21	97. TERNEUZEN	3724.	347.	23.29
94. HOEK	1578.	76.	12.04	78. THOLEN	2632.	352.	33.43
106. HONTENISSE	4794.	314.	16.37	37. VEERE	1354.	29.	5.35
91. HOOFDPLAAT	1373.	65.	11.84	41. VLISSINGEN	9489.	802.	21.13
6. HULST	2265.	187.	20.64	36. VROUWEPOLDER	1172.	8.	1.71
92. IJZENDIJKKE	2671.	221.	20.69	19. WAARDE	700.	15.	5.36
14. KAPELLE	1596.	124.	19.42	89. WATERLANDKERKJE	580.	53.	22.84
34. KATS	568.	31.	13.64	12. WEMELDINGE	1395.	29.	5.20
11. KATTENDIJKKE	933.	61.	16.35	100. WESTDORPE	1424.	71.	12.46
63. KERKWERVE	611.	70.	28.64	47. WESTKAPELLE	2085.	126.	15.11
13. KLOETINGE	1059.	54.	12.75	32. WISSEKERKE	3428.	192.	14.00
102. KOEWACHT	1981.	39.	4.92	10. WOLPHAARTSDIJK	1794.	0.	0.00
35. KORTGENE	1017.	83.	20.40	15. YERSEKE	1009.	3.	0.74
42. KOUDEKERKE	1657.	0.	0.00	98. ZAANSLAG	2717.	72.	6.62
18. KRABBENDIJKKE	1123.	9.	2.00	66. ZIERIKZEE	7834.	746.	23.81
17. KRUININGEN	2107.	194.	23.02	62. ZONNEMAIRE	997.	95.	23.82
45. MELISKERKE	546.	0.	0.00	44. ZOUTELANDE	607.	0.	0.00
53. MIDDELBURG	16422.	1154.	17.57	101. ZUIDDORPE	909.	78.	21.45
39. NIEUW- EN ST. J.-LAND	807.	0.	0.00	83. ZUIDZANDE	1089.	97.	22.27
67. NIEUWERKERK	1236.	19.	3.84				

Figure V.6
 Vaccinations performed per 1,000 Population p.a. in
 the Gemeenten of Zeeland, 1867-70



The principal factor in this variance would appear to have been the religious one. Tables 7 and 8 show (respectively)

Table V.7
 Roman Catholic Use of Vaccination, 1867-70

<u>Gemeenten</u> with RC population of: % (1899)	No. of vaccs in each <u>gem.</u> p.a. per 1000 pop (1869)	<u>Gemeenten</u> in each class
0-9.99	13.32	64
10-19.99	11.23	13
20-59.99	18.34	11
60-94.99	18.48	11
95-100	12.98	10
Mean of <u>all</u> <u>gemeente</u> rates	14.0671	109

Source: RAZ, Geneeskundig statistoosicht, no. 356.

Table V.8

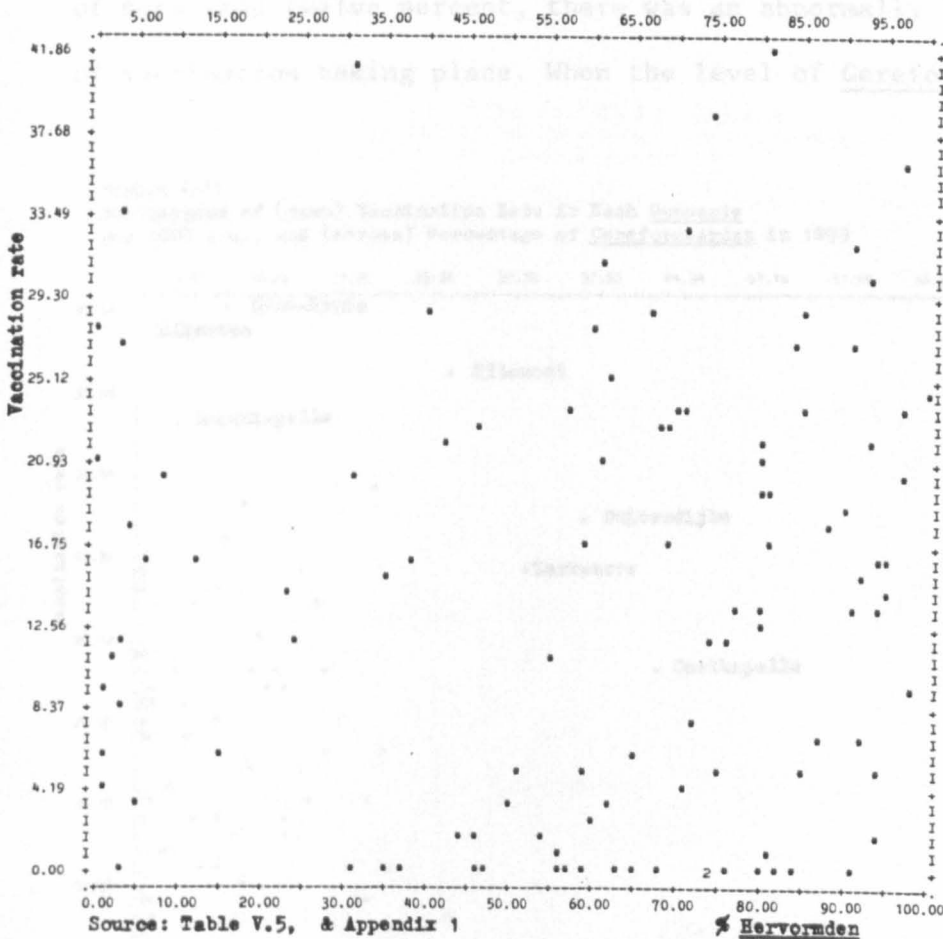
Hervormde Use of Vaccination, 1867-70

Gemeenten with NKK population of: % (1899)	No. of vaccs in each <u>gem.</u> p.a. per 1000 pop (1869)	Gemeenten in each class
0-74.99	13.00	67
75-79.99	11.09	9
80-84.99	18.17	10
85-92.99	16.35	12
93-100	16.78	11
Mean of <u>all</u> <u>gemeente</u> rates	14.0671	109

Source: RAZ, Geneeskundig staatstoezicht, no. 356.

Figure V.9

Scattergram of (down) Vaccination Rate in each Gemeente per 1,000 p.a., and (across) Percentage of Hervormden in 1899



Source: Table V.5, & Appendix 1

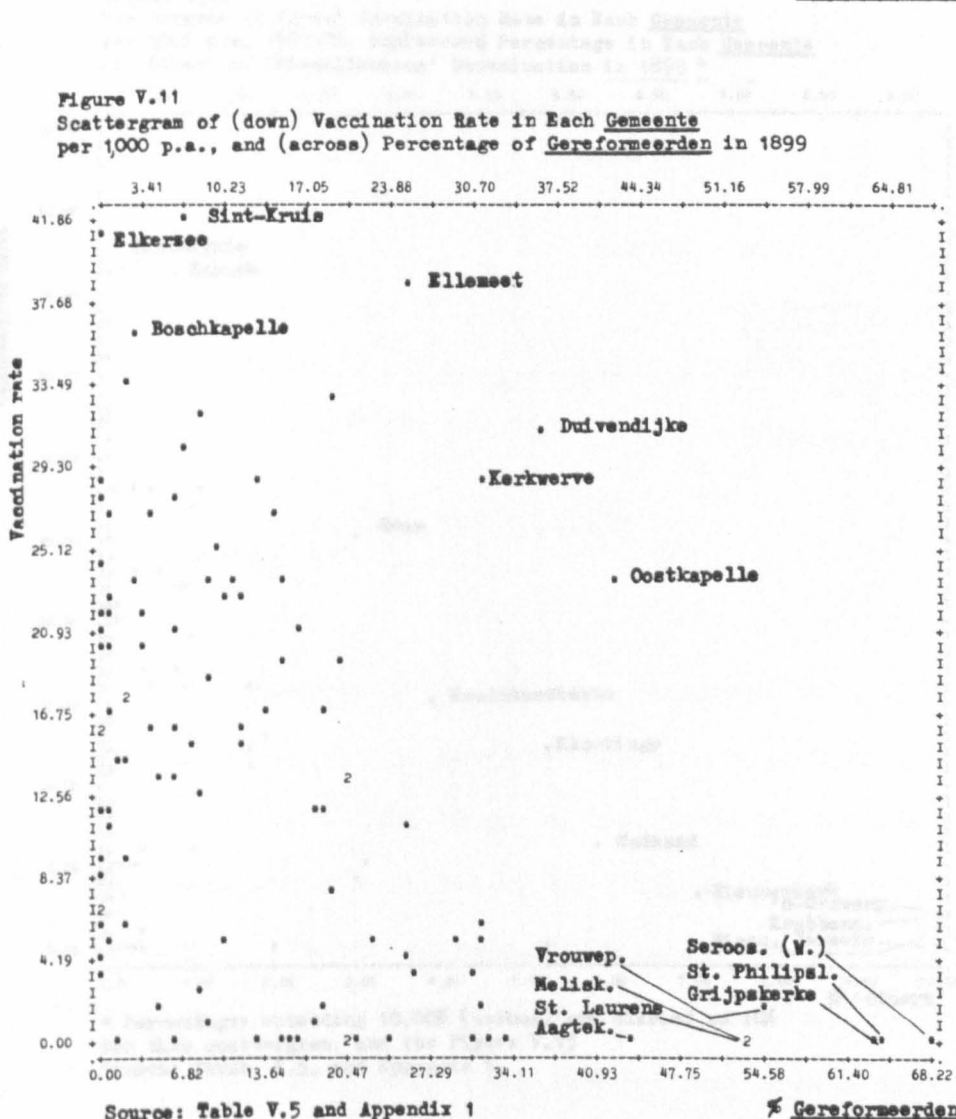
Table V.10

Gereformeerde Use of Vaccination, 1867-70

Gemeenten with Gereformeerde population of (% 1899):	No. of vaccs in each <u>gem.</u> p.a. per 1000 pop (1869)	Gemeenten in each class
0-12	17.51	62
12.01-18	12.81	11
18.01-23	9.66	13
23.01-32	11.77	13
32-100	11.62	10
Mean of <u>all</u> <u>gemeente</u> rates	14.0671	109

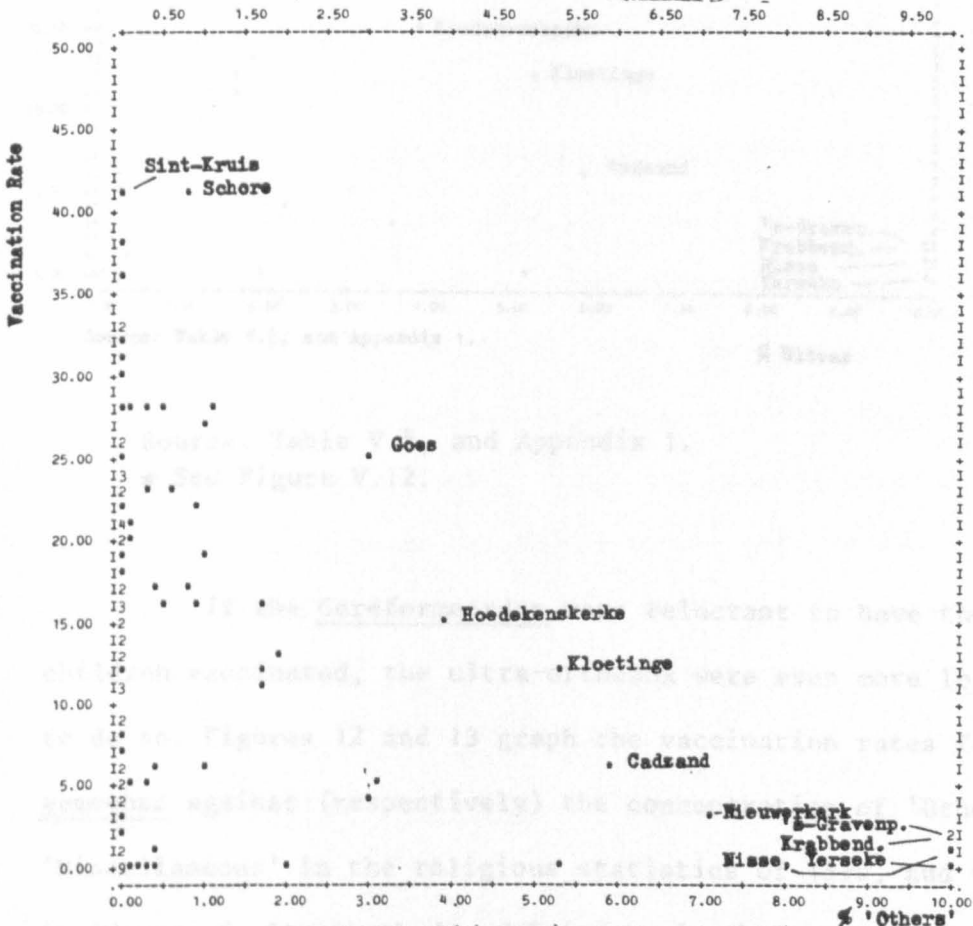
Source: RAZ, Geneeskundig staatstoezicht, no. 356.

the Roman Catholic and Hervormde involvement with vaccination in the late sixties: the outcome of the calculations is not very remarkable. A scattergram showing the relationship between the level of Hervormden and the vaccination rate has been included to show the absence of any significant link (Figure V.9). But in Table V.10, we see quite unmistakably that in the villages which were by 1899 to show a level of Gereformeerden (neo-Calvinists) of more than twelve percent, there was an abnormally low level of vaccination taking place. When the level of Gereformeerden



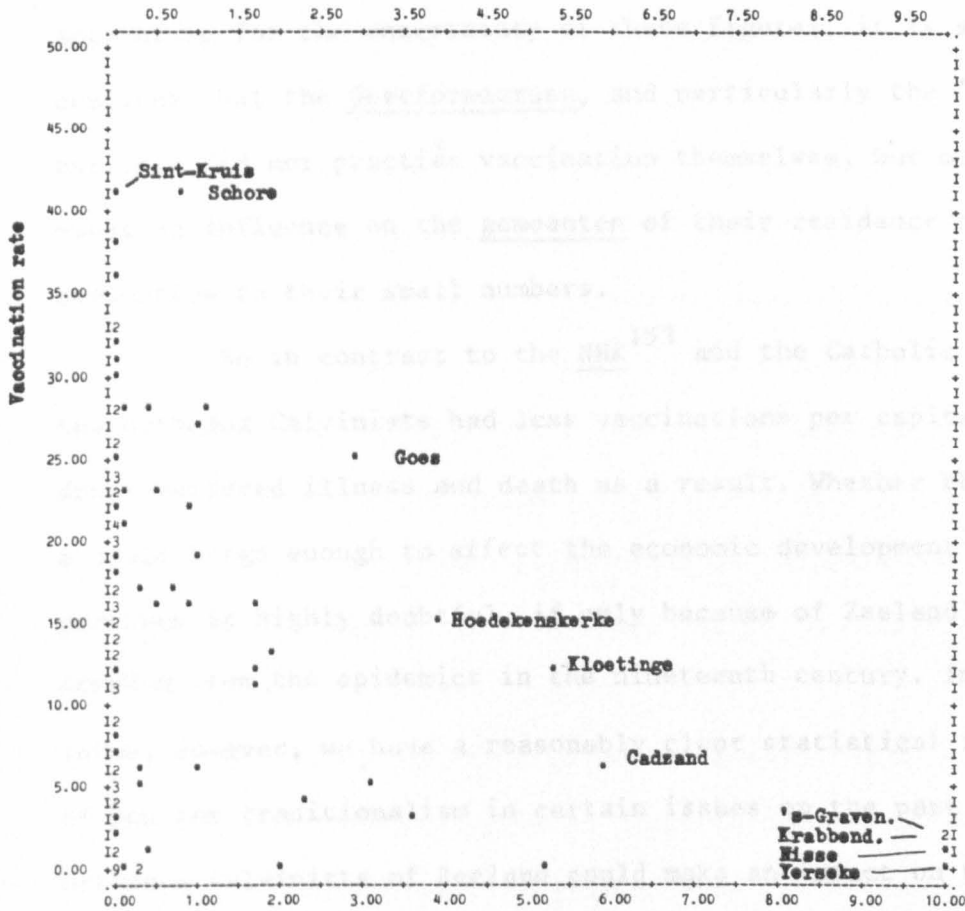
was 40-60 % the vaccination rate dropped to around five per thousand population per annum, and when the orthodox were to account for more than sixty percent of a community (just three villages), the rate was down to only 0.5 per 1,000 p.a. It would seem, therefore, that Kuyper's followers in Zeeland and their predecessors felt strongly about this issue, and this is clearly reinforced by the scattergram Figure V.11.

Figure V.12
Scattergram of (down) Vaccination Rate in Each Gemeente per 1000 p.a. 1867-70, and (across) Percentage in Each Gemeente of 'Other' or 'Miscellaneous' Denomination in 1899 *



* Percentages exceeding 10.00% (across) are classed as 10% for this scattergram, and for Figure V.15
Source: Table V.5, and Appendix 1.

Figure V.13
 Scattergram of (down)Vaccination Rate in Each Gemeente
 per 1000 p.a. 1867-70, and (across) Percentage of
 Ultra-Orthodox Calvinists in 1899*



Source: Table V.5, and Appendix 1.

Source: Table V.5, and Appendix 1.
 * See Figure V.12.

If the Gereformeerden were reluctant to have their children vaccinated, the ultra-orthodox were even more loath to do so. Figures 12 and 13 graph the vaccination rates for each gemeente against (respectively) the concentration of 'Others' or 'Miscellaneous' in the religious statistics of 1899, and the incidence of ultra-orthodox Calvinists in that year (using the data from Table V.3). Both show clearly that in the villages where there was a high percentage of 'Others' or of 'ultras', it

was relatively unlikely that vaccinations would take place. Even accounting for the uncertainty of these figures, it is safe to conclude that the Gereformeerden, and particularly the 'ultras', not only did not practice vaccination themselves, but managed to exert an influence on the gemeenten of their residence out of proportion to their small numbers.

So in contrast to the NHK¹⁵³ and the Catholic church, the orthodox Calvinists had less vaccinations per capita, and no doubt suffered illness and death as a result. Whether this was on a scale large enough to affect the economic development of the province is highly doubtful, if only because of Zeeland's relative freedom from the epidemics in the nineteenth century. In social terms, however, we have a reasonably clear statistical indication of how the traditionalism in certain issues on the part of the orthodox Calvinists of Zeeland could make an impact on the conduct of large areas of the province. The sophisticated arguments of Capadose and his associates may have been lost on the orthodox in the villages,¹⁵⁴ but the general idea of this kind of precaution being an affront to the will of God was undoubtedly current in nineteenth century rural Zeeland.

V.B.3.d. Artificial Fertilizer

Similar to the vaccination issue is the question of artificial or chemical fertilizers. The argument from the orthodox Calvinist side was identical: the use of artificials

is an attempt to nudge providence along by a man-made means, and apart from being ineffectual if God has ordained that the harvest will be small, it is an affront to him to try and contravene his will. From the economic viewpoint, the use of artificials was one of the most dynamic changes in agriculture in the nineteenth century. Fertilizer is the fulcrum of farming, and provides the only way in which the vicious circle of declining soil fertility can be broken;¹⁵⁵ artificials increase the ability of the farmer to expand yields and feed a rising (urban) population. Therefore those farmers who do not make use of chemical fertilizers on principle are likely to become less competitive.

But it was not just in economic terms that the rejection of artificials could be disadvantageous. In the modernization process, social attitudes to new technology are of crucial importance. The psychological acceptance of productivity-increasing devices is central to any emergence into a modern dynamic economy,¹⁵⁶ and in this way the mental attitudes of orthodox Calvinists could have had repercussions far beyond the effects in the limited examples we are now exploring.

In the last century, the general attitude of Zeeland's farmers towards the new fertilizers left something to be desired, and the 1886 Commission expressed its misgivings over this state of affairs.¹⁵⁷ Some of the Afgescheidenen after 1834 were reluctant to use the newly introduced Peru guano,¹⁵⁸ and some ultra-orthodox still today refuse to use the artificials.¹⁵⁹ In the Kempenland in Noord-Brabant the 'revolutionary' effect

of artificials was probably slowed by the hostile attitude of the local Catholic clergy.¹⁶⁰ In Zeeland it has been impossible to find hard evidence on the effect of religious thinking on the adoption of fertilizers, although general reluctance was acknowledged.¹⁶¹ The effect of artificials was in any case far greater on the inland sandy soils than on the sea-clays;¹⁶² apart from a generally conservative attitude it cannot be concluded from the available evidence that Zeeland's agricultural economy was retarded by a religious aversion to artificial fertilizer. Indeed, some of the early agricultural purchasing co-operatives in the province, run on the lines of denominational clubs, probably actually assisted in the spread of this piece of new technology.¹⁶³

V.B.3.e. Insurance

Capadose was also opposed to the practice of taking out insurance, again for the reason that it was an affront to God's will;¹⁶⁴ other orthodox Calvinists in the nineteenth century seem to have gone some way towards sharing his views, and indeed even in the twentieth century there is, amongst some Calvinists, a marked reluctance to insure against anything at all.¹⁶⁵

Although marine insurance was long established in the Netherlands, industrial and agricultural insurance was much later in starting. The major growth period was after 1850, but there were attempts to start businesses in this field from 1820 onwards.

Farmers had used fire insurance for some time; insurance against the weather and against cattle sickness was a new concept in the 1820s and 1830s.¹⁶⁶ Cover against burglary and other non-fire damage to real estate was uncommon, and unemployment insurance was virtually unknown;¹⁶⁷ life assurance, however, was increasingly available.¹⁶⁸

In the agricultural world of Zeeland, there were certainly dangers to insure against. In looking at vaccination, we have noted the attacks of cattle plague; the effects of the weather - drought, hail, frost, rain - could also be devastating. The storms of 1823 on Walcheren allegedly smashed 18,000 windows, besides ruining crops;¹⁶⁹ 1852 and 1853 were apparently terrible years for rain and wind;¹⁷⁰ and Nagtglas commented on the havoc wrought by storms in 1880.¹⁷¹

Bouman, in his study of Zeeland's agriculture, covered insurance fairly thoroughly:¹⁷² from his and other accounts it would seem that Zeeland was in fact surprisingly well protected. Before 1850, fire insurance was quite widespread amongst Zeeland's farmers, especially in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen. The Zeeuwse Brandworgmaatschappij, founded in 1824, handled much of this business: growth was continuous throughout the nineteenth century, with the possible exception of the 1840s.¹⁷³ The first Dutch limited company to insure cattle was the Middelburg firm Nederlandsche Maatschappij van Veeverzekering founded in 1836: its directors were prominent citizens of Zeeland interested in agricultural matters and they insured for a refund of seventy-five percent of the value of cattle.¹⁷⁴ The directors found

themselves paying out quite heavily only two years later, in 1838, when a T.B. epidemic radiated from a farm in Renesse: 304 animals died and the company paid out fl 12,455.¹⁷⁵ In Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, also in the thirties, insurance of horses on farms began to grow.¹⁷⁶ By the last quarter of the century things had expanded considerably. Fire cover was general, although on Walcheren Bouman tells us that the Oud-Gereformeerden did not insure.¹⁷⁷ Mutual or co-operative insurance against hailstorms or cattle epidemics was increasing.¹⁷⁸ In 1903, the figures provided in the official agricultural annual report showed Zeeland as a leader of the field in agricultural insurance.¹⁷⁹ The feelings of orthodox and ultra-orthodox Calvinists would seem to have had relatively little effect in this area.

Nonetheless there do remain some incidents of orthodox religion apparently thwarting the progress of precautionary insurance against natural calamity. Of Kloetinge on Zuid-Beveland in the late eighties we are told that '...the cause of this lack of insurance must be sought in this case in principles which arise out of particular religious concepts.'¹⁸⁰ Also in Zuid-Beveland, Kruijt reported among the orthodox a strong feeling against any form of insurance.¹⁸¹ How can these points be reconciled with the generally good level of agricultural insurance in the last century?

First of all, it was certainly not the case that the institutions of the NHK, and later on of the Gereformeerde Kerken, were specifically opposed to insurance. NHK church councils themselves in Zeeland took out insurance policies: in 1840 the NHK church building in Nieuw- en Sint Joosland was insured against fire with the Zeeuwsche Brandworgmaatschappij for the sum of fl 12,000;¹⁸² and in Domburg when lightning struck and destroyed the NHK building it was

covered by the Thielse Maatschappij.¹⁸³ The Anti-Revolutionaire Partij, political arm of the Gereformeerden, sanctioned the introduction of compulsory social insurance.¹⁸⁴ The ARP's soul-searching on this issue was to do with the role of the state, and the compulsion involved. The ultra-orthodox concern with insurance itself as symptomatic of 'weakened principles, lack of faith in God's providence,...and what have you' had nothing at all to do with the ARP, nor by implication with the bulk of orthodox Calvinists.¹⁸⁵ Any institutional opposition to insurance was therefore only from the very small ultra-orthodox denominations.

The effect of this sporadic opposition was minimal for two reasons. Firstly, Zeeland was spared the ravages of many of the epidemics, among men and cattle, which troubled other provinces: as a result insurance was less necessary. Secondly, it appears that although commercial insurance was disapproved of by the orthodox farmers of Walcheren, there was in fact an unofficial mutual insurance system in effect whereby in cases of fire, for example, one's fellow parishioners would pass the hat around and make good a large proportion of the damage without recourse to commercial insurance companies.¹⁸⁶

To conclude on the subject of insurance, the feelings of certain 'ultras' against commercial insurance did not affect the general level of agricultural insurance in Zeeland, which was relatively well advanced. The few who refused to insure were spared disaster by the relative absence of epidemics from Zeeland, and by the generous solidarity of their religious congregations.

V.B.4. Conclusion

The attitudes we have been discussing on the part of the orthodox Calvinists, and of the 'ultras' in particular, had other manifestations as well, such as an aversion to the use of lightning conductors, and a reluctance to take out mortgages and other loans.¹⁸⁷ These issues all centre around the extent to which the orthodox Calvinist actually lived by his religious conviction that to take man-made precautions amounted to attempting to thwart the will of God. In hard economic terms it has not been possible to prove that the socio-economic characteristics of the orthodox - their tendency to be persecuted, their aversion to vaccination, to artificial fertilizers, and to insurance - had any effect on a scale large enough to have retarded the economy of the province as a whole. Even where orthodox ideas had a definite influence, as against vaccination, there was little real effect because of Zeeland's relative safety from epidemics. The orthodox, then, cannot be blamed for the sluggish performance of the agricultural economy of Zeeland in the nineteenth century. On the other hand, they most certainly propagated a social mentality which might under certain circumstances have had disadvantageous economic effects; this, however, did not occur in Zeeland. The most that can be said is that the modernization process was probably not assisted or accelerated by certain ideas the orthodox held about the will of God and about divine providence.

V.C. The Churches as a Sector in the Economy

Having absolved the orthodox Calvinists from the charge of retarding Zeeland's economy, we now move to an examination of the role of institutionalized religion as a whole in the economic life of the province. All the churches put together formed a mass of considerable economic significance. There follows a tentative attempt to gauge the effect on the provincial economy of religion as an economic institution, for instance in matters of church finance (property, bequests, buildings maintenance, poor-relief, etc.), and cases where the churches actually tried to guide or modify the provincial economy by pursuing specific policies in public affairs.

Two things strike the economic historian as he combs through the sources on Zeeland's religious institutions of the last century: that the churches in the first place cost a great deal; and secondly that they owned a great deal. A very large sum of money and amount of property was involved with the churches of Zeeland. And during the course of the century these sums did anything but decline. For instance, the annual expenditure of the government department for Reformed Worship (Hervormde Eeredienst) was fl 1.2 million in 1816, fl 1.6 m. in 1848, and fl 1.8 m. in 1868.¹⁸⁸ In 1859 churches and charities in the Netherlands owned over 80,000 hectares of land (valued at over fl 40 m.) and government stock to the tune of nearly fl 100 m.: these are significant sums.¹⁸⁹ Reading the section on religious matters in the provincial reports¹⁹⁰ gives an impression of a large number of

financial transactions being undertaken by or on behalf of religious bodies: investments, sales, contracts, salaries, repairs, and so forth. If this sector of the provincial economy - the churches - was ailing or cumbersome, then it may have had a hand in retarding Zeeland's progress.

V.C.I. Church and State

The financial or temporal side of religion was a subject of controversy and eventually of considerable change in the nineteenth century: it was at the centre of the discussion on the roles of church and state. Many churchwardens' accounts were in a pitiful state after the end of the French occupation in 1814-15,¹⁹¹ and the matter was taken in hand by the government of Willem I. The Algemeene Reglement of 1816 reorganizing the NHK promised action in the administration of temporal goods; measures were taken in the various provinces between 1819 and 1823.¹⁹² Zeeland was governed by the royal decree of 13 February 1819, no. 8, which instituted a Regulation on the Administration of Church Finances (Reglement op de administratie der kerkelijke fondsen). This measure stipulated that each parish in Zeeland should elect leading citizens (notabelen) who should in turn appoint churchwardens (kerkvoogden) to administer the temporal goods of the parish. The scheme was to be supervised by a provincial committee (Provinciaal college van toezicht), which was a secular body,

appointed in effect by the provincial governor from the members of his executive.¹⁹³ That body in Zeeland (Gedeputeerde staten) had reported in 1818 that it would only want to utilize any powers to take over the supervision of a parish's temporal affairs when the situation had become unmanageable;¹⁹⁴ that was in fact to be how the system worked. The temporal authorities were glad to see the various parishes surrender their final control over temporal goods to the provincial executive, but this was only insisted upon when bankruptcy loomed. By 1826 the 'Regulation of 13.2.1819', as it was known, was in force in seventy-six of the Hervormde parishes in the province; by the next year the total had risen to seventy-eight.¹⁹⁵ In 1835 an important parish, Goes, asked to be taken under the tutelage of the provincial college, and the province noted with perhaps a certain smugness that the financial disarray of the parish was all that could be expected if responsible civil authorities (such as themselves) were to have no supervisory role.¹⁹⁶ The same 'clean-up operation' was effected in the Arnemuiden NHK in 1847.¹⁹⁷ The archives of the Provinciaal college van toezicht¹⁹⁸ are scanty for the period prior to 1870, but the level and diligence of activity are clear. Subsidies to twenty-five gemeenten between 1832 and 1854, the collection of church taxes, the contributions of fifty gemeenten from 1840 to 1864 to the Fund for Needy Churches of the Hervormden in Zeeland (Fonds der noodlijdende kerken der hervormden in Zeeland), and payments from that fund are all meticulously recorded.¹⁹⁹

The Provinciaal college, of course, dealt only with the NHK. The affairs of the Catholics were also supervised by the provincial executive, but not nearly as closely: they complained of the inefficiency of the administration of Roman Catholic temporal goods in 1831.²⁰⁰ In 1854 new regulations governing the Catholics were issued by the bishops, and confirmed by royal decree (31 December 1854), but by 1857 they had not yet taken effect.²⁰¹ A law of 26 June 1876 finally repealed the old arrangements of 1809 governing Roman Catholic church buildings in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen.²⁰²

The controversy between Church and State in the NHK, and in particular over the supervision of temporal goods, continued to be an issue until 1870. The progress of events in Zeeland is best followed in the reports of the provincial executive. The royal decree of 13 February 1819 (and a second of 3 February 1820) placed the churchwardens under the absolute control of the lay and secular Provinciaal college van toezicht,²⁰³ and from 1825 the administration costs of the committee or college (fl 500 p.a.) were met by the province rather than by the NHK classes.²⁰⁴ This control of church by state was officially accepted until the mid-century, when in 1849, following the victory of the Thorbeckian liberals, the Minister for Justice informed the NHK synod that he wished to see the links between church and state drastically reduced. This initiative resulted in the revised Algemeene Reglement of 1852, which left the situation of the church's temporal goods practically unchanged until the late sixties,

despite many protests.²⁰⁵ For although the vetting of church ministers and of poor-relief accounts by the lay authorities was relinquished in the late fifties,²⁰⁶ the supervision of church wardens remained firmly in the hands of the crown and its agents, the provincial executives.²⁰⁷ Although the executive no longer had any control over the establishment and disbanding of congregations (beyond a right to be informed),²⁰⁸ the Provinciaal college was still very much in force. This seemed, however, to be against the intentions of the liberal Ministers in The Hague: in 1864 the colleges were told to wind up their affairs as soon as possible in order to complete the separation of church and state. The Zeeland government was clearly guilty of dragging its feet here in response to direct orders from The Hague: it was felt that the toezicht (supervision) system worked well, and should not be hastily abandoned.²⁰⁹ Nonetheless the government was pledged to its course of action,²¹⁰ and by 1868 the secular Provinciaal college was committed to handing over to an ecclesiastical body.²¹¹ The reform in Zeeland was enacted as follows. A new organizational structure was planned, very similar to the old one, and by 1869 ninety of the 105 NHK congregations in Zeeland had accepted it on a provisional basis. The major change was that the supervising body, the Provinciaal college, was no longer to be secular, but an organ of the NHK itself.²¹² Confirmed by royal decrees in 1870, the new system came into being covering ninety gemeenten.²¹³ The provincial college was to be elected by the churchwardens themselves; furthermore each gemeente had an

open choice as to whether it wanted to join the scheme, or to remain 'free'.²¹⁴ The new system seemed to work as well as the old: after all, the system itself was hardly altered - rather only the personnel at the highest level in the province. The records of the administration of the Fund for Imppecunious Congregations (Fonds voor minvermogende gemeenten), and of the expenses of the college itself, were carefully kept and audited. Eighty-six gemeenten were contributing regularly in 1876, and were still doing so in 1899.²¹⁵

V.C.2. The Financing of the Churches

So throughout the nineteenth century the machinery existed, for the NHK at least - for the reasonably efficient administration of the financial affairs of the churches in Zeeland. The possibility exists that this financial administration may have represented a costly diversion of funds from other economic enterprise. When the scope of church financial activity is considered - stipends, buildings, poor-relief, property, legacies, collections - it is clear that the activities of the churches as a financial sector within the economy of Zeeland were not negligible. On the one side there were the costs incurred by the churches; on the other there were the sources and funds upon which the churches could draw to finance these costs. It is necessary to try and establish the level of costs incurred, and secondly to determine whether the provision of funds to cover the costs was in any way detrimental

to the provincial economy. Taken as a single 'enterprise', all church business displaced a large sum of money each year; indeed it was itself a sector of Zeeland's economy, and an important one. It remains to be seen whether it was large and undynamic enough a sector to have stifled other sectors by its inertia.

The churches are best viewed in this context as a service industry, even if its gross annual product is virtually impossible to calculate. The 'church sector' acted as an agency to provide poor-relief to the needy, and various cultural-spiritual services. In the course of administering this activity, it employed large numbers of personnel (clergy, builders, administrators, clerks) for whom it provided a livelihood, and it channelled funds from various sources into both the provision of direct services, and the maintenance of its own momentum as administrative complex. A prominent example of one of the units in the complex was the Provinciaal college van toezicht, supervising the management of temporal goods in the NHK. It performed a circulating or siphoning function, drawing together funds from many sources, and expending them on the many branches of activity of the NHK service industry in the province, including of course itself. At the next level down, the classes (district ecclesiastical committees) supervised the temporal as well as spiritual affairs of the gemeenten under their control which involved keeping a close eye on the acquisition of legacies, the purchase and sale of interest-bearing bonds (usually government stock), and the use of income to pay for maintenance, upkeep, expenses and the like.²¹⁶

Six of the principal areas of activity in these temporal affairs of the Zeeland churches will be discussed: stipends, church buildings, poor-relief, the administration of church-owned property, bequests and legacies, and the raising of local church taxes.

V.C.2.a. Clerical Stipends

First of all, there were the stipends of the clergy to be paid. The French period had seen very irregular payments, and arrears had to be made good by the new government in 1815, considerably increasing the already enormous national debt.²¹⁷ In Zeeland the situation was as bad as it was anywhere, and the province was quick to voice its concern and then its gratitude for a settlement in 1815-16.²¹⁸ In 1858 the state was paying fl 1,607,196 for 3,071 clergy of all denominations across the country: this amount might even be doubled to achieve a total including all sources of stipend supplement, like the local collection.²¹⁹ The 1873 figures as far as the central government was concerned are produced in Table V.14. It shows Zeeland doing rather well out of the central fund (7.31%),

Table V.14

Clerical Stipends paid out of Central Government Funds
in the Netherlands and in Zeeland Province in 1873

	Number of clergy	Sum paid for stipends	Population in 1869
The Netherlands	3935	f1 1739035	3579529
Zeeland	182	127063	179436
Zeeland's share	4.63%	7.31%	5.01%

Sources: SSJB (1873), 114-15; Jaarcijfers (1901), 7;
& Appendix 2.

in comparison to the number of clergy she had (4.63% of the total in the Netherlands); however she does not appear to have suffered very much more of a burden in these respects than was warranted by her share of the population (5.01%). Clerical salaries continued to be a concern of the provincial government throughout the century, and rises in accordance with living costs were a recurrent issue. The state offered to match gilder for gilder any increase a congregation could collect for its minister, up to a salary of f1 800 per annum.²²⁰ The lion's share of stipends was undoubtedly paid by the state out of the national budget, and the burden fell on local communities only insofar as they wished - voluntarily - to increase their minister's income. There is a suggestion to be made here: the payment of stipends was a potent weapon of social control which in the first half of the century the government had no hesitation whatsoever in wielding. The prompt settlement of the stipends question in 1815 was largely responsible for the lack

of opposition to Janssen's rather Napoleonic Algemeene Reglement reorganizing the NHK into a virtual government department of social control;²²¹ and in the twenties it was made quite clear how unruly congregations - particularly Roman Catholic ones - could be strangled into subservience by a little pressure on the purse strings. The benefits to incumbent and congregation of a regular state stipend, together with the timely threat of its withdrawal, were usually enough to still any disquiet.²²² The local inhabitants, after the scare of the French period, were very willing to pass on to the state the privilege of paying their ministers; for its part the state was quite content to purchase this effective system of control. It would seem, then, that although stipends were an expensive concern the great majority of the burden was borne by the state, and clerical salaries cannot be accused of slowing down economic development in Zeeland by diverting investment capital any more than in the other provinces.

V.C.2.b. Maintenance of Church Buildings

The cost of maintaining and sometimes renewing the church buildings in the 109 municipalities of Zeeland were considerable: in 1871 there were 174 parishes of various denominations officially recorded, all presumably with at least one church, vicarage, and in some cases almshouses and the like.²²³ The provincial government reports contained sections on church matters full of authorizations

for work on church buildings, and there can be no doubt this 'church sector' was a significant employer to the building trade in the province. The total costs over a number of years would be virtually impossible to estimate, for only major building work came to the attention of the provincial authorities, and by no means all of the funds raised can have been recorded and declared. For major works, however, very few parishes were in a position to shoulder the entire burden of costs, and there was of necessity much reliance upon subsidies from the appropriate branches of the lay and ecclesiastical governments. The main sources were funds controlled by the Ministries of Worship (until abolished in 1850, when some of their functions were taken over by other ministries), and the national synod of the NHK. The civil government provided funds for all denominations, the synod only for the NHK. A way of gauging the expense of maintaining the fabric of the church buildings of Zeeland is to aggregate the subsidies paid out: details of these are provided in the provincial government's reports up to 1876, when the separation of church and state no longer permitted such bureaucratic intrusion. Table 15 presents the figures for

Table V.15²²⁴

Subsidies for Church Buildings in Zeeland awarded by the Civil and Religious Authorities 1820-76

	From civil government (central & provincial) fl	From the national Synod of the <u>NHK</u> fl	Totals fl
Total over 1820-1876	354632	87539	442171
Average p.a. over 57 yrs	6221.61	1535.77	7757.38

Sources: Notulen van de Provinciale Staten (1820-33); & Verlag van Gedeputeerde Staten (1834-76).

these subsidies from 1820 to 1876: the data appear to be reasonably complete for those years. They exclude, however, the very large amounts of money raised by private subscription, donation, and by poll-tax, all of which made important contributions to the costs of maintaining or even renewing churches and vicarages. A guess might be that subsidies footed the bill for about half the costs of maintaining Zeeland's church buildings, which brings us to a figure of fl 15,500 for the annual turnover of the buildings department of the Zeeland 'church sector'. Even if we were to redouble this figure to fl 31,000, it is not an amount which would make a significant impression on the provincial economy as a whole. Moreover it was money well spent in the sense that it provided employment for many in the building trade. Finally, since a sizeable proportion of the costs (we have guessed one half) was met by agencies from outside the province, the maintenance of church buildings cannot be said to have been, in any significant degree, detrimental to the economy of the province.

V.C.2.c. Poor-Relief

Poor-relief was a function shared at various times between the civil and religious authorities. The Dutch harbour an enduring passion for poor-relief, and the high level of relief compared to other countries may have had a serious effect on the industrial competitiveness of the Netherlands. The argument runs as follows: high poor-relief costs resulted in high indirect taxes, which pushed the wage rates up, making Dutch industry expensive.²²⁵ This was a national rather than a local problem, and a general malaise in the economy rather than one associated with the churches in particular: but the fact that until 1848 anything up to fifteen percent of the population was in receipt of relief was a factor of considerable economic importance.²²⁶ Let us examine the role the churches played here.

For one thing, Zeeland's poverty bill was relatively high. The costs of poor-relief in the disastrous decade of the 1840s were of great concern to contemporaries, and it is clear that the costs per inhabitant of helping the poor and needy were very much higher in Zeeland than anywhere else. In 1845 in Zeeland the annual cost to each inhabitant was fl 3.88; the nearest province to that was Friesland, with fl 2.26, while the national mean was only fl 1.47.²²⁷

The poor formed another battleground in the struggle between church and state. The churches felt the poor to be their right, while the strong centralized governments of the beginning

of the nineteenth century tried to impose a uniform national poor-relief system under civil hegemony. Towards the mid-century the churches offered considerable resistance to this policy, and the compromise was an Act of 1854, which

gave primacy to non-state agencies.

Nevertheless, many local civil poor-relief boards were in existence, and remained in function, so that despite fairly definitive policy changes at the top, at local level there was an uneasy situation with the civil and religious poor-boards yoked together in anything but harmony.²²⁸ Repeatedly cases came up in the courts disputing the no-man's land between the church and the civil poor-boards, very often involving the ownership of real estate like the churchyard or the clergyman's residence.²²⁹

The sources of the considerable funds involved were manifold: income from church properties, from legacies, from taxes and from voluntary collections.²³⁰ It is interesting to note that a well-to-do Jewish family of Middelburg around 1820 spent a quarter (23.6%) of its housekeeping budget on poor-relief and charities:²³¹ this may not have been representative of all budgets, but among the bourgeoisie would not have been unusual.

Zeeland's poor-relief budget was, then, relatively punitive: it remains to be seen to what extent the churches were involved, and whether or not their administration of the moneys entrusted to them was in any way culpable. These matters concern the sources of church finance: church property, bequests, and collections.

V.C.2.d. Church Property

The very large amount of property, both in real estate and in government stock, owned by the churches in the Netherlands has already been remarked upon. There are no provincial breakdowns of this data readily available,²³² but although Napoleon's tiërçering (the reduction of the interest paid on the national debt to one third of its original value) wrought havoc amongst the churchwardens and poor-relief deacons,²³³ the province's churches owned extensive and indeed lucrative property throughout the nineteenth century.

The classes kept careful records of NHK church goods and poor-relief administration,²³⁴ as did the parishes themselves. In many of the local church archives, more or less well kept records indicate the value of a parish's property, its yearly income, transactions performed, and the like. The NHK in Oostburg, for instance, was quite wealthy: in 1812-15 the churchwardens administered fl 100,000 worth of national debt, realizing around fl 1,000 p.a.,²³⁵ and also large amounts of real estate.²³⁶ It would be an enormous task even to attempt to aggregate all the real estate and paper owned by the various denominations in Zeeland; other methods must be sought of indicating the scope and importance of these goods.

V.C.2.e. Bequests and Legacies

The provincial government's reports bristle with authorizations for, and later on merely notices of, legacies and bequests to religious institutions, sometimes of considerable size. Gifts to charity were a weekly or monthly commonplace with the middle and upper classes; larger sums were made over through testaments and deeds. Charity was expensive, and perhaps slightly exaggerated in the Netherlands; it is possible that the significant amounts left to religious charities in Zeeland may have deprived other economic enterprise of investment and working capital.

Table V.16

Bequests made to Local Churches in Zeeland 1846-1900, and to Religious and Civil Charities in Zeeland 1877-1900, as registered in the Verslag van Gedeputeerde Staten in Zeeland

Churches & Institutions	Number of bequests	Total value fl	Mean value of bequest fl	Extra unvalued bequests	Number of bequests >fl 10,000	Corrected average value of bequest fl	Number of bequests 1846-1900 per 1000 population in 1876
Roman Catholic	263	542111	2061.26	34	6	1170.04	6.36
<u>Nederlands Hervormde Kerk</u>	172	329096	1913.35	6	6	1172.27	1.40
<u>Afgescheidenen, Gereformeerden, 'Ultras'</u>	23	195512	8500.52	1	1	705.09	2.26
Others *	18	21450	1191.67	0	0	1191.67	10.43
Civil Instituta (1880-1900)	47	50270	1069.57	0	0	1069.57	[0.25]
Totals	523	1136439	2176.75	41	13	—	—

* Others: in this case, Jews, Baptists, Valen & Lutherans.

Source: Verslag van Gedeputeerde Staten (1846-1900).

Table 16 is a condensed version of the information provided on legacies and bequests by the provincial government from 1846 to 1900. The data are not entirely complete: smaller donations or bequests were not included in the lists; the administrators sometimes included only 'selected' legacies;²³⁷ and bequests to charities like the poor-relief boards (as opposed to the churches themselves) only began to be listed in 1877.²³⁸ Some inordinately large donations reduce the representative value of the data.²³⁹ Even so, the data series is a long one of fifty-five years, and some interesting conclusions can be drawn.

Firstly, the smaller denominations (like Jews, Baptists, Waals-hervormden, and Lutherans) bequeathed most often in proportion to their numbers (final column of Tabel 16): this confirms our impression that these smaller sects were to a large extent the preserve of the urban well-to-do.²⁴⁰ Of the denominations representing all classes of people, it is immediately noticeable that truly huge amounts were left by Catholics to their churches: in the course of half a century they bequeathed more than half as much again as the Hervormden, although they had less than half the members. The Catholic annual rate of bequests per 1,000 population (6.36) was more than four times that of the Hervormden (1.40), and almost three times that of the orthodox Calvinists (2.26). This extraordinary generosity may be an explanation of the opinion of some theorists, like Max Weber and Abraham Kuyper, that Catholic countries or communities were relatively unlikely to achieve economic succes: Catholics were successfully urged

to be generous, and perhaps to a fault.²⁴¹

Interestingly, the (corrected) average donation is almost exactly the same (between fl 1,170 and fl 1,192) for the Catholics, the Hervormden, and the 'Other' denominations. The donations to civil charities from 1880 were slightly smaller (fl 1,069.57), and only the orthodox Calvinists were seriously behind with an average gift of fl 705.09, which is an additional piece of evidence to suggest that the orthodox were, in general, from less wealthy backgrounds. Legacies to the civil charities increased towards the end of the century, presumably as a function of increasing secularization.²⁴²

There are, of course, other sources to supplement the data in Table 16. Two interesting examples are the financing of the Hansweert Catholic church, and the legacy of Agatha Porrenaar. This latter bequest was a large sum of money (fl 25,800 in 1800), which realized over fl 1,000 a year in the government four percents, and was shared out equally amongst 128 NHK gemeenten in Zeeland and Noord-Brabant. After suffering disastrously from the tiërtering, the legacy had an administration of its own, each gemeente receiving fl 12.60 in 1821.²⁴³ A few g^vilders may have been unimportant, but fl 20,000 (the capital value of the legacy in 1863) was not, and might have been a crucial investment elsewhere. Bequests of this size were unusual, but by no means unique: thirteen legacies exceeding fl 10,000 have been excluded from the averaging in Table 16, of which some were even over fl 50,000.²⁴⁴ The example of the

new Roman Catholic parish at Hansweert (near Kruiningen) in 1868 is interesting because of the dominant role played by foreign (Belgian) benefactors: in a few cases the churches were actually attracting outside money into the province.²⁴⁵

The total sum of officially published legacies to charities in Zeeland over fifty-five years was fl 1.14 million, or fl 20,700 annually. There is no doubt that Zeeland's economy would have benefited from an extra twenty thousand a year, but a million over half a century is not a really exceptional amount, and anyway, it was not as if the money was 'dead'. It was, in a way, an investment in the 'church sector' of Zeeland, a service industry of some importance. Moreover, there is no indication that the legacies in Zeeland were any larger or more frequent than in other provinces. Indeed, on the basis of the evidence presented here, one would expect the Catholic provinces of Noord-Brabant and Limburg to be much more expensive in this sense.

III.C.2.f. Local Fund-Raising

Finally in this section on the churches as financial institutions, a brief look is required at the methods of raising funds on a local level, which were in principle only two: the hiring out of various services, and collections.

There was a certain income from services like the performance of marriages, but the principal recurring income of

this sort was derived from the leasing of pews or seats in the church. Interesting research directed towards the social class system has been done by Lucassen and Trienekens on this subject,²⁴⁶ and some of their findings can be summarized here. The system was used by all denominations, and was firmly established by the eighteenth century. The pews and chairs were hired, sold or auctioned on an annual basis to the highest bidders, who paid for the exclusive right to sit in a particular pew; the system was only abolished as late as 1960. What concerns us here is that the income from the system was high - up to forty percent of total parish income. Occasionally it could run into thousands of guilders each year.²⁴⁷ In Zeeland the Tholen Catholics helped to raise fl 500 of their pastor's annual stipend (of fl 900) by introducing pew-hiring in the 1820s; and as we have already seen Kleverskerke's NHK raised a solid proportion of its income from its pews.²⁴⁸

As far as collections were concerned, there were two kinds: voluntary and compulsory. Often the imposed tax eclipsed the voluntary collection, for it was reliable, could be budgeted for, and was fair, usually being organized on a sliding scale according to income.²⁴⁹ As early as 1828 the Provinciaal college was supervising the collection of fl 19.316 from fifty-one NHK congregations in church taxes or levies, and this was a fairly typical annual figure thereafter.²⁵⁰ Payment of the church tax was in effect compulsory: non-payment resulted in the withdrawal of the services of the church, usually beginning with the right to a certain pew, as in the case of a certain C.J. Sturm of Hoofdplaat.²⁵¹ The tax

could sometimes become really onerous, for instance when a major building project was in hand, as the people of Ijzendijke discovered in the 1840s, and those of Aardenburg and Lamswaarde (near Hontenisse) around 1850.²⁵² The provincial executive went so far as to recommend that only the Hervormden be taxed by their churches: not even the Catholic community was, in their opinion, numerous enough to support such a method of fund-raising.²⁵³ In the light of our information on the (over-)generosity of Catholics with their legacies, they may well have been right; nonetheless Catholics paid church taxes like the Hervormden throughout the nineteenth century.

V.C.3. Conclusion

As a sector in the economy of Zeeland, the churches played a part which was by no means frivolous or insignificant: besides undoubtedly providing spiritual and cultural services which were very much in demand, they earned the money spent on them (or rather, channelled through them) by using their organization and administration to redistribute moneys within the province, from national funds and private pockets to poor-relief boards and the building industry of the province. The churches also owned considerable property, and perhaps the only important accusation that can be levelled against them is that the investment of their capital was, to say the least, unimaginative.

However, in this they did not differ from the rest of Zeeland, or from the other provinces. In conclusion, then, despite the substantial costs incurred by the churches, they provided - even in economic terms - a useful service, and there is no available evidence which leads one to suspect that if they were a financial burden, that this was any more so in Zeeland than in other provinces.

V.D. Intervention by Churches in Public Affairs

In some cases - and in a theocracy in almost all cases - the churches can throw their weight onto one side or the other in public debate of secular matters. This can be done by all the churches as a collective interest group, by some churches, or by some individual churchmen, and can in theory directly affect the material state of the society. For instance, the Catholic clergy naturally took a strong position on legislation which dealt with the rights of Catholic Dutchmen: this was what is known as vested interest. In the microcosm, a local parson could, if he felt strongly enough, get up on Sunday and abuse the politics of the village mayor from the pulpit, and so try to influence his flock against the man. Indeed, this happened on occasion, as in Sint-Janssteen in 1851.²⁵⁴ On the larger scale, a figure like Abraham Capadose could affect the whole nation by waging campaigns on certain issues. Of course in the Netherlands many of the

political groupings are arranged on religious lines. It is not, however, easy to identify a religious group with an economic policy which can be straightforwardly called 'progressive' or 'backward' with the possible exception of the Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij.

We have seen how the ultra-orthodox Calvinists were opposed in principle to vaccination, insurance, to artificial fertilizer, and the like, although their actual effect on the progress of these important economic developments is unlikely to have been crucial. The twentieth century embodiment of this extreme orthodoxy in politics is the Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij. It was set up in 1918 as a political arm for the 'ultras', but since its initial support was largely from Zeeland (44%)²⁵⁵ one may assume that some of its attitudes were afoot in Zeeland at the end of the previous century. This is the party which rejects compulsory insurance and vaccination, which supports compulsory Sunday observance, which demands the abolition of female suffrage and the withdrawal of lay government from such issues as poverty, education, and any economic areas where private initiative might thrive.²⁵⁶ However, the SGP is very small²⁵⁷ and has been unable to inflict its - to say the least - reactionary socio-economic programme on the country. In Zeeland, although the issues were real ones, we have not found that the economic life of the province was seriously affected by this opinion-group.

This is not to deny that religion is a vital factor in public life and politics, especially in the Netherlands. Van der Bijl's work on Zeeland under the Republic has shown that, in the dispute between the liberal Coccejan Calvinists and the more orthodox Voetians, there was (in Middelburg anyway) a distinct link between Voetianism, bellicosity, Orangeism, and membership of the West India Company on the one hand, ranged against the allied and similarly linked forces of Coccejanism, anti-Orangeism, pacifism and business interests in the East India Company on the other.²⁵⁸ In the nineteenth century, there is evidence that anti-Catholic feeling was a potent weapon in politics.²⁵⁹ Religion was regularly used to justify the nationalism inherent in the exploitation of the Javanese, as was delightfully parodied by Multatuli through the mouth of his 'Parson Blatherer' (dominee Wawelaar).²⁶⁰

V.D.I. Incidents in Zeeland

V.D.I.a. The Fishing Industry

There are one or two incidents of apparently direct involvement of religion in politics, which may condition our attempt to determine whether there is any general observation to be drawn about the influence of the churches on the fate of Zeeland. Let us first take the fishing industry. We read in the official

reports of the Dutch fisheries the following explanation for the decline of the deep-sea industry in the fishing community of Arnemuiden:

The reason for this unfavourable result is to some extent their own fault, not least in that the Arnemuiden fishermen are accustomed to spending Sunday at home. This custom means that the Friday, Saturday, Monday, and often the Tuesday are wasted as far as fishing is concerned. All attempts over the years to reform the situation have foundered on the intractable will of the fishermen.²⁶¹

Now this stubbornness may have had a socio-cultural rather than a religious root; but the fact that Arnemuiden has long had a reputation for uncompromising Calvinist orthodoxy might lead us to believe that religious zeal had a hand in economic decline in this case.²⁶² On the other hand, religious influence could work in the other direction. The fact that a few fishermen could earn a living on the inland waters of Zeeuws-Vlaanderen in the 1830s was attributed by the Provincial Governor 'to the regulations of the (R.C.) religion, which proscribes the taking of meat dishes on many days in the year.'²⁶³ And in the 1820s in Zierikzee, the fishing authorities actually utilized the Calvinist church services to promote reform amongst the fishermen, requesting the various ministers to further the cause of the new regulations on fishing in the Schelde estuaries.²⁶⁴

V.D.l.b. The Railway and the Dams

As far as industrial development was concerned, there was the alleged association in the minds of religious people of the smoke from the steam engine with 'the horrendous fumes from the pit of damnation'.²⁶⁵ This was of course in the same vein as 'dark satanic mills' imagery in England. Some Calvinists developed a strong distrust of western European capitalism and imperialism, as did the Dutch theologian J.H. Gunning,²⁶⁶ but there is little evidence to suggest this kind of reasoning in Zeeland. Isolated disdain for major changes on the part of naturally conservative orthodox Calvinists was sometimes in evidence, particularly on the subject of the greatest scheme of public work in Zeeland in the century: the construction of the railway line from Vlissingen to Bergen op Zoom, involving the closing of two major arms of the Schelde estuary (the Sloe and the Eendragt) and the digging of two major new canals through Walcheren and through Zuid-Beveland. Despite the employment the scheme brought, to say nothing of the prosperity it was supposed to usher in, some simple folk saw all that change as being sinful: the farmers of Grijpskerke viewed the project as practically sacreligious.²⁶⁷ The closing of the Sloe, between Walcheren and the Bevelanden, occasioned a pamphlet war arousing the deepest feelings of men dedicated to both the economy and the environment of Zeeland:²⁶⁸ one such man was Johannes ab Utrecht Dresselhuis.

Dresselhuis was one of Zeeland's most important clergymen in the nineteenth century, beginning in 1811 as NHK dominee in the village of Hoofdplaat, and eventually becoming a member of the standing committee of the NHK national synod (Algemeene synodale commissie) from 1849 to 1852. He was a liberal in church matters to the point of being a progressive, a devoted public servant, and dedicated to the prosperity of what he regarded as his province.²⁶⁹ This champion of the Enlightenment,²⁷⁰ this least likely of churchmen to hinder the economic development of Zeeland, was a major force in the campaign against the damming of the Sloe waterway. He produced two powerful pamphlets against the scheme in the forties when it was just becoming a serious possibility.²⁷¹ Unlike the pious peasants of Grijskerke, this was a man with real influence, whose writings were read by many whose votes counted. But it seems impossible to link Dresselhuis' rather uncharacteristic views on this issue with his religious principles.

V.D.l.c. Agriculture and Education

The most likely candidates amongst the denominations to retard development, the orthodox Calvinists, were actually a progressive force in some branches of agriculture. Farming was poorly represented in national politics, and the party of the kleine luyden, the Anti-Revolutionaire Partij, took the problems of the small farmer to parliament. It was the ARP that was instrumental in pushing forward the formation of the Agricultural

Commission (Landbouw Commissie) in response to the crisis in 1886,²⁷² and Kuyper's newspaper De Standaard was usually ready to suggest the agricultural interest in its columns.²⁷³

In matters of education, the churches were probably a great impetus to progress. Their tenacious defence of religious education is a major reason why the schools issue (schoolstrijd) remained a centre of attention for so long; and improved education is undoubtedly one of the facets of the social modernization which is inseparable from modern economic growth.²⁷⁴ The Catholics in particular spent great funds and effort on education,²⁷⁵ and the attention to the text of the Bible on the part of the orthodox Calvinists ensured a high standard of literacy amongst the rural poorer classes.²⁷⁶

V.D.2. The Alliance of Political and Religious Liberalism

So there is no apparent institutional link between religion and opposition to economic progress in Zeeland in the nineteenth century. It remains likely, however, that there is an ideological link, however informal, between political, economic and religious conservatism. An unwillingness to embrace major change in religion may be very close to a conservatism in public affairs, as is shown by the orthodox minister on the island community of Sint-Philips-land who opposed the road link to mainland Noord-Brabant, because in isolation lay his strength.²⁷⁷ Confessional trade unions in the Netherlands were less progressive than their socialist counterparts,

and Patrimonium and Unitas were actually founded in reaction to socialist radicalism. The emphasis on the past and on age-old tradition in most religions is likely to produce confessional political parties of a generally conservative nature.²⁷⁸ On the other side of the coin, there was a loose-knit brotherhood of relatively progressive people in Zeeland of the nineteenth century, linking together political liberals with modernists in religion and economic optimists, the whole being firmly placed in the privileged bourgeoisie class. An archetypal figure is that of Frederik Nagtglas, a Dutch Victorian in Zeeland; intelligent, diligent, well educated, modernist Calvinist, philanthropic, involved in local politics, a prolific writer, an incurable founder and member of upper middle class societies, clubs and organizations, and an avid supporter of any scheme designed to optimize the chances of Zeeland's elusive 'economic recovery'. He was near the centre of an influential Middelburg group of like-minded liberals whose voice was loud in the province in the second half of the century.²⁷⁹ This link between political and religious liberalism was not present only in Zeeland, but throughout the country, and has been admirably described by Kruijt in his characterization of differences between the denominations in the Netherlands.²⁸⁰

So if religion had been a potent force in the retardation of Zeeland in the last century, one would expect the leaders of that economy - the élite - to have been religious conservatives, perhaps orthodox Calvinists. But as we have seen, the liberal Protestant sects and the progressive wing of the NHK were peopled

by the upper classes - the urban bourgeois elite. It would seem, then, that direct intervention in public affairs by the churches, when it occurred, was not of great significance for the economic development of the province.

V.E. Conclusion

This chapter has dealt with the question of the possible effects of religious conditions on the economic fortunes of Zeeland. It has only been possible to find hard evidence concerning a limited number of the issues which have come under discussion. The evidence presented, together with the indications from the less comprehensively empirical sections of the chapter, points to an unequivocal conclusion: that whatever the economic problems of Zeeland were, it is not possible, in any important degree, to lay the blame for them at the door of any one denomination, or indeed at that of the religious situation as a whole.

There was certainly friction between Catholics and Protestants, but the scale was not of the order which would affect the economy of the province as whole. Some orthodox Calvinists held views on matters such as inoculation and insurance which were likely to impede economic progress, and indeed they were able to impose some of those views on the villages where they were reasonably represented. Nonetheless, it was not the case that these characteristics had any serious effect at the provincial level. As a sector in the local economy, the services provided

by the churches do not seem to have been grossly overpriced, and in the few incidents which have been investigated, there is no recurring pattern of economic conservatism discernible in the sporadic intervention of the churches in the politics and economics of the province.

This is by no means a full-scale refutation of a Weber-inspired hypothesis which would emphasize the socio-economic ramifications of certain ideological or religious standpoints. On the contrary, our investigation of vaccination, for example, has shown such a hypothesis to be defensible. What is quite clear, however, is that even though there are examples of religion affecting the economy, for the province as a whole there are no grounds at all for keeping alive the myth that religious and economic 'backwardness' in Zeeland are or were causally related.

Notes to Chapter V

1. G. Lenski, 1961, 311-16. This religious determinism is also advanced by Weber himself (M. Weber, 1976, 40); and see above, section II.E.1.
2. Two examples from Dutch studies: see H. van Dijk, 1976, 141 & 149-50, for a study of Rotterdam in the nineteenth century; and A.J. Wichers, 1965, 143 & 276 for a general study of regional differences in mentality (including those found in Zeeland).

On this subject of Catholic and Protestant in the Netherlands, see also J.P. Kruijt, 1943; and A. Chorus, 1942.

3. See 'Het uitsluitend koopen bij geloofsgenoten, uit een staatkundig oogpunt beschouwd', from TSS, 9(1853), 61-68.

Instances of this 'exclusivism' are documented as follows:

A. Chorus, 1942, 65 (Protestants using only Protestant shops and services); G.B.W. Huizinga, 1940, 56 (the same situation with Catholics in Medemblik); R.T. Griffiths, 1980, 154 (Catholic entrepreneurs employing only Catholic workmen); and S.E. Steigenga-Kouwe, 1950, 154 (the same situation in Catholic flaxworks in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen).

4. See J.A. Bornewasser, 1975. N.b. the Catholics often gave as good as they got: *ibid.*, pp. 195-96.

For a more recent examination see M.G. Pettinga, 1981.

5. See in particular the semi-pornographic and for the most part wholly ludicrous polemic De papenspiegel (C. Wierbitsky, 1870); also J. de Bosch Kemper, 1856, 46-47 & passim.
6. A. Kuyper, 1899, 251-53.
7. J.A. Bornewasser, 1975, 187-88, & 202.
8. On the April Movement in general see A.J. Rasker, 1974, 159-61; & J.A. Bornewasser, 1975, 188. On the vociferous exchanges in the press see L.J. Rogier, 1964-65, vol. I, pp. 341-55; & J.M.H.J. Hemels, 1969, 21. M.E. Kluit, 1936, 307 deals with the involvement of Réveil protagonists in the controversy. For a fascinating study of organized and sustained anti-Catholicism on the part of a Protestant minority in Noord-Brabant, see W. de Vries, 1972, 213-37, & 379-81, which deals with the activities of the Maatschappij tot bevordering van welstand, and its more sinister filials Unitas and Christelijke hulpbetoon.
9. See, e.g. Verslag van de Provinciale Staten (1829), 13; (1830), 13.
10. Ibid. (1831), 15-16.
11. W.J.P.M. Brand, 1981, 68.
12. See M.J.H. Post, 1964, 112-25.
13. L. Wagenaar, 1903. The primary victims of the disorder were Dunkirk Catholic merchants driven to Vlissingen by the 1778 war between England and France.
14. See J. van Damme, 1983; & H. Arens, 1973, vol. I, 11-12. Arens sees religious differences as fundamental to varieties of 'folk mentality' in Belgian and Dutch Flanders (ibid., vol. I, 31-33 & 172).

15. See note 8. The Zuid-Beveland classis (NHK district organ) received a circular from the NHK provincial executive expressing the strongest support for the Maatschappij, and urging all Calvinists do their utmost to assist it in its efforts (RAZ, Classis Zuid-Beveland, no. 185, year 1837, doc. 5).
16. Letter from C.J. Waterschoot van der Gracht, Middelburg lawyer, in ARA, Justitie, no. 4715, Ambten en bedieningen, no.1.
17. W. van der Ploeg, 1936, in issue 737 (16 May 1936).
18. W.J.P.M. Brand, 1981, 69-70.
19. Ibid., pp. 74-83.
20. Ibid., pp. 87-89.
21. A.J.C. Rüter, 1941-50, vol. I, pp. 87-89, 248, & 308.
The provincial governor referred to 'your majesty's intervening arrangements' ('Uwer Majesteit's tusschenkomende beschikking'): *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 428. A deservant was a priest responsible for a Roman Catholic sub-parish (hulp-parochie). See also W.J.P.M. Brand, 1981, 94-95.
22. See A.J.C. Rüter, 1941-50, vol. II, pp. 36-37.
23. J. van Damme, 1983.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-52.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 153-56.
28. Verslag van Gedeputeerde Staten (1854), 99; & (1855), 90.
29. See *ibid.* (1855), 91.

30. See Spook, 1854, 44-45, & passim. This lively, anti-establishment, radical political broadsheet appears only to have run to one issue: the publisher (A.A. Crafford of Middelburg) had several brushes with the authorities for printing inflammatory material. See note 141 to Chapter IV.
31. A.M. Wessels, 1936, 74.
32. See Eerste verslag, 1856, 1-3. The sole agent, an ex-Old Catholic named Krul, achieved the disposal of 148 bibles, no converts, and his own resignation before his first year was out.
33. The Maatschappij held its A.G.M. in Middelburg in 1856, and suffered the indignity of being relegated to a second-class hotel, because the more desirable venues were all Catholic-owned! (W. de Vries, 1972, 162).
34. In his doktoraalskriptie on the Roman Catholic Church in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen 1832-41, Brand implicitly excludes all explanations for interdenominational friction except the legal anomalies (W.J.P.M. Brand, 1981, 92-96).
35. J.A. de Kok, 1964, 254-55; & Appendix 2.
36. J.P. Kruijt, 1947, 5-6.
37. G.B.W. Huizinga, 1940, 47-48.
38. A.C. Kersbergen, 1935, 128.
39. The exceptions were on Zuid-Beveland, where the ultra-orthodox Calvinists gained strength at the cost of NHK percentages.

40. Similar conclusions (from rather less accurate information) can be drawn from the figures and maps in J.C. Ramaer, 1909, 16-19, 65-68, & endplate II. Useful maps of the Catholic/Protestant division of Zeeuws-Vlaanderen are to be found at S.E. Steigenga-Kouwe, 1948, map 12; and C.D. Saal, 1947, 38.
41. J.A. de Kok, 1964, 140-43.
42. See *ibid.*, p. 143; & also J.P. Kruijt, 1933, 137-38.
43. C.D. Saal, 1947, 39-43.
44. J.A. de Kok, 1964, 142-43.
45. J. ab U. Dresselhuis, 1819, 149. The same is repeated in P.N. Muyt, 1821, 136-37.
46. J. Was, 1846, 69: the language is emotive.
47. C.D. Saal, 1947, 45-46. On the other hand, a similar study in the Sluis area, of Retranchement, found the Catholics to be no danger at all, despite their number: A.C. de Vooy, 1947, 72.
48. H.S. Lucas, 1960, vol. II, pp. 406-07.
49. RAZ, Provinciaal bestuur 1851-1910, 1857 Relatieven, vol. 692, doc. 10579 (19 October 1857).
50. W. de Vries, 1972, 204 & 389. See also Y. Verhasselt, 1964, 108. In a recent local study of Catholic-Protestant friction in the Netherlands, it was concluded that 'land was the ultimate source of power' ('land was hier de machtsbron bij uitstek': M.G. Pettinga, 1981, 20-21).
51. J.A. de Kok, 1964, 145-47.
52. In e.g. Aardenburg, Hoofdplaat, Ijzندیke, Sint-Kruis, Sluis, Waterlandkerkje; and in 's-Heerenhoek on Zuid-Beveland.
See Table V.1.

53. See, e.g., J.P. Kruijt, 1947, 11 & 14; & F.W.A. van Poppel, 1974, 335. The Catholics share these characteristics with the much smaller group of orthodox Calvinists. See also section III.A, on demography.
54. J. van Damme, 1983, 78 & 158.
55. Ibid., pp. 130-31 & 158.
56. L. Brunt, 1972.
57. See in particular A. van der Meiden, 1968.
58. See e.g., J. Hendriks, 1971; D.T. Kuiper, 1972; J.C. Boogman, 1978; & L.H. Mulder, 1973. For a convenient summary of the rather complex development of the orthodox sects in the 19th century, see I. Lipschits, 1977, 60.
59. L. Brunt, 1972, 50-52.
60. A league of ultra-orthodox congregations still within the NHK, notable examples of which in Zeeland are Arnemuiden and Tholen (J.W. Dippel, 1942, 225). The Gereformeerde Bond, however, was formed in 1906, and therefore strictly speaking is outside the scope of this survey. (See C.N. Impeta, 1972, 113-17; & J. van der Graaf, 1981, 13-95).
61. See A.J. Rasker, 1974, 194-97.
62. A. van der Meiden, 1968, 7-13 & passim. See also H.A. Hofman, 1977.
63. Uitkomsten, 1891, 392-97.
64. See A. van der Meiden, 7; & L. Brunt, 1972, 52.
65. Many of the titles of these works may be found in the bibliographical appendix. See also M.J. Wintle, 1983.

66. See Tables V.3 and V.4.
67. See M.J. Wintle, 1982, *passim*.
68. A brief summary of these disputes is provided at M. van Empel, 1935-59, vol. II, pp. 559-69.
69. These two examples are taken from many incidents. RAZ, Classis Walcheren, no. 20 [Acta], 7 March 1816; and RAZ, Classis Zuid-Beveland, nos 167, 168, & 174.
70. Bladzijde, 1883, 4-22.
71. J.W. Dippel, 1942, 224 ('...de verhouding tusschen Hervormden en Gereformeerden vaak gespannen is').
72. See above, section IV.A.1.
73. See A. van der Meiden, 1968, 227. Of the nearly 300 'zware' gemeenten (in c. 1965) listed in Van der Meiden's appendix (ibid., pp. 223-26), about one fifth are to be found in Zeeland. See also L.W. de Bree, 1969, 72-77.
74. See A. van der Meiden, 1968, 51-52.
75. J.P. Kruijt, 1933 ('de Hervormden zijn er over het algemeen zeer rechtzinnig').
76. Bruinisse had 216 Christelijke Gereformeerden, Goes 325, Hoek 99, Oud-Vossemeer about 530, & Wissekerke 336 (RAZ, Provinciaal bestuur 1851-1910, no. 4383q).
77. RAZ, Aanwinsten 1970, no. 47, MS pp. 236-46. There is a large amount of local literature of varying quality on these sects, a few of which are: P.J. Aarssen, 1977, 176-78 & 190-92 (on Rilland-Bath); Q.J. Munters, 1958, 23-24 (Noord-Beveland); & L.H. Wagenaar, 1880, 241-45 (Ledeboerians).

78. J.P. Kruijt, 1943, 20-25. A similar view is taken at L. Brunt, 1972, 49-51; and at J. Tennekes, 1969, 367-69.
79. See J.P. Kruijt, 1943, 22. Compulsory insurance was on the social programme of the Anti-Revolutionaire Partij, the political wing of the Doleerenden under Kuiper: this was hardly designed to accommodate the ultra-orthodox (H. Amelink, 1929, 125).
80. F. van der Goes, 1940, 21, 23 & 24.
81. C. Bakker, 1977, 112-13.
82. L.H. Mulder, 1973, 225-26.
83. H.K. Roessingh, 1964, 167.
84. B. Glasius, 1844, 310 ('mindere en onkundige klasse des volks').
85. E.g. F. Boerwinkel, 1956, 111-12.
86. '...Terwijl onder de aanhangers der nieuwe secte, zoo veel ons kennelijk is, geene personen gevonden worden wier voorbeeld of invloed andere tot navolging zouden kunnen opwekken': RAZ, Verslag van Gedeputeerde Staten [MS] (1836), p. 12; see also Verslag van Gedeputeerde Staten (1838), 11-12.
87. A. Kuiper, 1917, 6, 13, & passim.
88. R.J. Staverman, 1954, 165-72; H.H. van Leeuwen, 1984, 53-54; J. Hendriks, 1971; & J. van Putten, 1968, 167 & 274-75.
89. J. Verrips, 1977, 87-88, 103, & passim; & L. Brunt, 1979; 48.
90. Open brief, 1886, 7 & 14. The pamphlet, presumably penned by an educated person, was written in a Zuid-Beveland dialect, and therefore, perhaps, specifically directed at popular audiences?
91. See G.A. de Kok, 1973, 40-41.
92. C.D. Saal, 1947, 47-48.

93. J. Verrips, 1977, 73-81.
94. See *ibid.*, pp. 82-83.
95. RAZ, Provinciaal bestuur 1851-1910, 1856 Relatieven, vol. 559, doc. 7069; vol. 560, doc. 7227; & 1856 Minuten, vol. 591, doc. 2717.
96. See *ibid.*, 1856 Relatieven, vol. 560, doc. 7227, appendix re 1849.
97. G. Groen van Prinsterer, 1837. See also Falck's disgust at the government's attitude in a letter to Thorbecke, dated 28 September 1837 (A.R. Falck, 1861, 363-64). For general works on the Afscheiding in Zeeland see L.W. de Bree, 1950, 93-95; M. van Empel, 1935-59, 572-75; & A.M. Wessels, 1936.
98. RAZ, Verslag van Gedeputeerde Staten [MS] (1835), 11-12.
In 1836 the temporary removal of the principal leader of the secession in Zeeland, H.J. Buddingh, resulted in a reduction of tension (Verslag van Gedeputeerde Staten (1836), 16).
99. See *ibid.* (1837), p. 18.
100. See *ibid.* (1840), p. 16.
101. See *ibid.* (1840), p. 16; (1841), p. 21; & (1842), p. 21.
102. See ARA, Justitie, nos 4844 & 4845.

103. See RAZ, Classis Zuid-Beveland, no. 185, year 1834, docs 13 & 24; year 1835, doc. 17; year 1836, docs 3, 14, 15 & loose papers comprising lists of seceders in various gemeenten:

's-Heer Hendrikskinderen: 3 seceders

Kruiningen: 12

Krabbendijke: 27

Waarde: 7

Bath: 5

Yerseke: 9

Wemeldinge: 1

Kapelle: 6.

The numbers refer to full members, and do not include children, etc.

104. RAZ, Biggekerke NHK, no. I-1-6 [Acta kerkeraad 1832-76], p. 24.

105. See *ibid.*, p. 26.

106. These developments on a local scale are best followed in the (usually) well preserved local NHK archives; e.g. (among many) RAZ, 's-Heerenhoek-Nieuwdorp NHK, no. 3 [Notulen kerkeraad 1806-47], pp. 301-66; & RAZ, Biggekerke NHK, nos I-1-6 & I-10.

107. A.J.C. Rüter, 1941-50, vol. I, pp. 219-21.

108. See a letter written by Buddingh from the Middelburg prison on 26 November 1828, in G. Groen van Prinsterer, 1964- , *Briefwisseling* vol. II, pp. 246-47.

109. See P. Wakker, 1875, 2-8.

110. See e.g. L.H. Mulder, 1973, 206, for evidence of government paranoia.

111. A.J.C. Rüter, 1941-50, vol. I, pp. 24-25 & 90.
112. L.H. Mulder, 1973, 206-07.
113. P.W.J. van den Berg, 1949, 85-86.
114. See, e.g., G. Groen van Prinsterer, 1837, 1-2; & L.H. Mulder, 1973, 207.
115. See J. Tennekes, 1969, 378-81.
116. 'Straffende hand Gods' (G.A. de Kok, 1973, 39). See also the chapter called 'The Sermon' in a novel about the island Walcheren after the inundation of 1945: A. den Doolaard, 1949, 57-65.
117. On 1825, See J. de Kanter, 1825, 1; & W. Polman Kruseman, 1914, 71. On the 1840s, see F. Nagtglas, 1977, 46; and also F. Nagtglas, 1894, 82-83.
118. Here I am much indebted to W. Rutten, a researcher at the Agricultural University of Wageningen, working on the history of vaccination in the Netherlands. He was kind enough to read this section in draft, and offered several comments, many of which have been incorporated.
119. See P. Razzell, 1977(A); & P. Razzell, 1977(B).
120. On Capadose in general, see D. Kalmijn, 1955, in which pp. 126-69 deal with the vaccination question.
121. See *ibid.*, 369.
122. See J. Art, 1974, 12-16, where it is shown that in 19th century Flanders the Catholic church was well aware of the direct correlation between cholera epidemics and rises in church membership.

123. H. McLeod, 1981, 83. He is referring to London, Paris & Madrid in the 1832 epidemic.
124. B. Büch, 1977, 193-94. W. Rutten's research suggests it was endemic until 1880 (see above, note 118).
In 1825, e.g., 98 deaths from kinderziekte were recorded in the province (Verslag van Gedeputeerde Staten (1825), 74-75), and in 1865 the number of deaths from the pox on Walcheren is said to have occasioned a shortage of coffins!
(J. Vader, 1964(C), 173).
125. Although these were the major outbreaks, there were regular scares, which were sometimes actually declared to be epidemic, e.g. in 1853, when a series of urgent letters was exchanged between Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Commissaris of Zeeland. The dreaded cholera was threatening to spread from Rotterdam through Brouwershaven to the rest of Zeeland (RAZ, Provinciaal bestuur 1851-1910, no. 3856 [Relatieve vertrouwelijke stukken 1853], docs 148, 155, 158, 161, 167, 172, 182, 183, 186, 202 etc.).
No effective cholera vaccine was developed until the very end of the 19th century.
126. J. Schuurbeque Boeye, 1941, 13 [Fig. 3].
127. T. van der Zee, 1943, 204 & 248-50.
128. About three-quarters of the victims were from Zeeuws-Vlaanderen: J.C. van den Broecke, 1850, 220.
129. T. van der Zee, 1943, 247-48.
130. SSJB, 2(1850), 342. Another source confirms this: only 317 caught cholera of whom 183 died (J.C. van den Broecke, 1850, 220).

131. B. Büch, 1977, 194.
132. SSJB, 25(1873), 232.
133. E.W. Hofstee, 1978, 208-10.
134. P.J. Bouman, 1946, 20.
135. The escape was due to skilful breeding rather than inoculation:
ibid., pp. 121-22.
136. Verslag van den landbouw (1858), 38.
137. Of 147, 169 infected cattle from 1867 to 1869 in Utrecht,
Zuid-Holland & Zeeland, only 22 (0.015%) were from Zeeland
(P.J. Bouman, 1946, 182).
138. In 1878, e.g., a threat was reported from Germany, but never
reached Zeeland (RAZ, Provinciaal bestuur 1851-1910, no. 3881
[Vertrouwelijke stukken 1878], docs 104, 106 & 107).
139. There was no shortage of vaccinators in Zeeland: it was the
province with the most doctors per 1,000 population in the
country in 1867 (information supplied by W. Rutten; see above,
note 118).
140. See e.g. Ondervinding, 1815.
141. Nut, 1826, 3-5.
142. The Provinciale commissie van het geneeskundige onderzoek en
toevoorzicht (Provincial committee for medical research and
supervision), whose records are to be found in RAZ, Genees-
kundig staatstoezicht.
143. An example of the research is H. Goemans, 1836; see also
RAZ, Geneeskundig staatstoezicht, nos 112-64 [Relatieven tot
de notulen 1814-65], which show how vaccination was closely
monitored in these years.

144. In 1840, e.g., to P.N.J.H. During (Koewacht) & W. de Oude (Sint-Janssteen): Provinciale blad (1840), no. 62.
145. See J.C. van den Broecke, 1849, 5-14.
146. J.M.G. van der Poel, 1954, 50.
147. Nut, 1826, 5.
148. 'Waren wij zoo gelukkig van niet te moeten melding maken... van de godsdienstige beginselen van sommige onder ons, als zonde de aanwending der vaccine een vergrijp tegen de Voorzienigheid' (J.C. van den Broecke, 1849, 4).
149. J.P. Kruijt, 1933, 133.
150. L.W. de Bree, 1969, 75. Later the controversy moved to the Veluwe.
151. Similar figures are available for the province for much of the 19th century; e.g. in 1856 3,085 Zeelanders were vaccinated. Data at RAZ, Provinciaal bestuur, 1851-1910, 1857 Minuten, vol. 706, doc. 1932 provide a breakdown for each gemeente.
152. W. Rutten (see above, note 118) informs me of some minor deficiencies in this source. A few more vaccinations were registered at a later date (see Jaarverslag van het geneeskundig staatstoezicht over 1866 (The Hague, 1867), section on vaccinations). The differences are very minor, and no changes have been made.
153. The regents of the NHK poor-relief board in Rotterdam were keen proponents of vaccination for their parishioners (P.A.C. Douwes, 1977, 170-71).
154. This is claimed by J. Verhave, 1980, 254.

155. This point is cogently made by E. Le Roy Ladurie, 1979, 105.
156. A.J. Wichers, 1961, 221-24.
157. See *Uitkomsten*, 1890, vol. III, verslag 68, pp. 6, 14 & bijlage A; verslag 69, p. 14; verslag 70, pp. 4 & 14-15; & verslag 71, p. 9. However, Zeeland was not accused of relative backwardness: the whole country was castigated (*ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 74).
158. J.P. Kruijt, 1933, 216-18; & J.P. Kruijt, 1943, 23.
159. A. van der Meiden, 1968, 167-68; & J. Tennekes, 1969, 379.
160. P.A. Barentsen, 1935, 324-26; & W. Petersen, 1955, 51-53.
161. See, e.g., C. Wiskerke, 1922, 419.
162. W. Petersen, 1955, 52-53.
163. The co-operative Welbegrepen eigenbelang in Aardenburg (see *Uitkomsten*, 1890, vol. III, verslag 73, p. 14); and Eigen hulp in Hontenisse (*ibid.*, verslag 74, pp. 12-13). For a complete list of Zeeland co-operatives purchasing artificials in 1893 (27 of them), see Almanak ZLM (1895), 106-13.
164. A.J. Rasker, 1974, 86.
165. See the example of Sassenheim: I. Gadourek, 1956, 93.
166. The authority for this paragraph is I.J. Brugmans, 1969, 175-77.
167. J.A. Berger, 1936, 90. Interestingly, there were some attempts in this direction in Zeeland in the 1840s: between 1840 and 1844, workers' mutual societies were set up in Zierikzee, Goes & Bommenede, to guard against the economic effects of illness or death (see RAZ, Schorer, no. 500). The movement was, however, a limited one.

168. P.W. Klein, 1973, 139.
169. J. van Lennep, 1942, 225.
170. See for Walcheren J. Vader 1964(C), 173; and for the province in general Verslag van den landbouw (1853), 46.
171. F. Nagtglas, 1977, 123.
172. See P.J. Bouman, 1946, 137, 235-36, 249, & 281.
173. W. Polman Kruseman, 1914, 37 & passim.
174. See Reglement, 1836(B). Premiums per head on five grades of cattle ranged from fl 0.90 to fl 1.60 p.a.
175. Notulen van de Provinciale Staten (1838), 20-21.
176. P.J. Bouman, 1946, 137.
177. See *ibid.*, pp. 235-36; the evidence is provided at *Uitkomsten*, 1890, vol. IV, bijlage F, p. 7; vol. III, verslag 71, p. 7; verslag 72, p. 7; verslag 73, p. 12; & verslag 74, p. 10.
178. P.J. Bouman, 1946, 249 & 281. An example of cattle insurance in the later period is the Nieuw- en Sint-Joosland mutual society Veeverzekering van melkvee, founded in 1882, reimbursing 75% of losses (A. Walraven, 1896, 73-74). See also the list of mutual societies for insurance in Almanak ZLM (1895), 114-17.
179. Verslag van den landbouw (1903), 122-23.
180. 'De oorzaak van het niet assureren moet hier gezocht worden in gemoedsbezwaren, voortspuitende uit bijzondere godsdienstige begrippen' (*Uitkomsten*, 1890, vol. III, verslag 71, p. 7).
181. J.P. Kruijt, 1933, 133.
182. A. Walraven, 1896, 164.
183. Verslag van Gedeputeerde Staten (1848), 28.

184. H. Amelink, 1929, 125.
185. See J.H. Scheurer, 1931, 28
186. P.J. Bouman, 1946, 137.
187. See A. Chorus, 1942, 44; I. Gadourek, 1956, 93; & also
J. Baert, 1946, 604.
188. Beheer, 1867, 313n.
189. SSJB (1859), 357. The exact figures are (respectively):
82,148.25 HA; fl 40,083,380; & fl 96,227,250. The 40 m. figure
is arrived at by calculating the annual taxable income from
the land (fl 2,004,169) over twenty years.
190. Chapters on kerkelijke zaken in Notulen van de Provinciale
Staten & Verslag van Gedeputeerde Staten.
191. For Zeeland, see Notulen van de Provinciale Staten (1815),
9-10; (1816), 9-10 & (1817), 7-8.
192. In articles 90 & 92 (Handleiding, 1976, 49-50).
193. Z. Paspoort, 1820, 146-47. Its first members in Zeeland were
the Governor, Van Citters & Ermerins (from the Gedeputeerde
Staten), Paspoort (Middelburg lawyer), Van Adrichem (tax
receiver, Middelburg), & the president and secretary of the
NHK provincial board. In fact, Zeeland's Gedeputeerde
Staten had suggested that they have exclusive control of the
matter: this was rejected by the Ministry, which insisted
on the provincial committees (Notulen van de Provinciale
Staten (1817), 75-80; & (1818), 15).
194. See *ibid.* (1817), p. 73.
195. See *ibid.* (1826), p. 16; & (1827), p. 10.
196. RAZ, Verslag van Gedeputeerde Staten [MS] (1835), pp. 14-17.

197. H.M. Kesteloo, 1875, 77.
198. RAZ, Provinciaal College van Toezicht. This archive has only recently been brought to light, and is not listed in the RAZ publication Archieven, 1979. During the latter part of 1978 I began a search for the - apparently missing - archive, which came to light in the attic of a Mr Maas in Middelburg. Through the good offices of the archivist of the NHK, Dr J.P. van Dooren, it was shortly afterwards moved to the premises of the NHK provincial organization in Middelburg, where I was able to examine it briefly. Thereafter it was moved to the RAZ depot. A draft inventory was begun by Mr P.J. Bos at the RAZ: it remains unfinished and is not yet generally available. I have tried to align my quotations from the archive with Bos's draft inventory numbers; it is possible, though, that these may be revised or in some cases even erroneous. Hopefully the source will soon be generally available.
199. See RAZ, Provinciaal College van Toezicht, provisional no. 251 [Rekeningen 1840-1920]. The fonds was set up by the college in 1839.
200. Notulen van de Provinciale Staten (1831), 16.
201. Verslag van Gedeputeerde Staten (1854), 97-98; & (1857), 122.
202. See *ibid.* (1876), ch. VII, p. 1.
203. Notulen van de Provinciale Staten (1824), 33; see also Handleiding, 1976, 50.
204. Notulen van de Provinciale Staten (1825), 10-11.
205. A.J. Rasker, 1974, 156-58; & Handleiding, 1976, 50.
206. Verslag van Gedeputeerde Staten (1857), 120-21.

207. This was made quite clear, in the case of gemeenten already under the jurisdiction of the 1819 reglement, in 1860 (ibid. (1860), p. 161).
208. See ibid. (1862), pp. 199-200; this ruling arose from the establishment of a new Afgescheidene gemeente at Groede in 1862, shortly after the abolition of the government Ministries of Worship.
209. See ibid. (1864), pp. 178-79.
210. It was no longer necessary for churches to declare salaries, appointments, parish boundaries, or new congregations: the reforms were slowly winning through (ibid. (1868), pp. 275-76).
211. See ibid. (1868), p. 280.
212. See ibid. (1869), ch. VII, p. 3.
213. See ibid. (1870), ch. VII, pp. 1-3, 7, & bijlage D. The new regulation (bijlage D) is still published in virtually the same form: Algemeen reglement, 1969. In the following years, the various 86 NHK gemeenten eventually in the scheme went on to accept formally the new system, including the College's supervision: RAZ, Provinciaal College van Toezicht, provisional nos 31-117 [Plaatselijke reglementen] .
214. Handleiding, 1976, 50-51.
215. See RAZ, Provinciaal College van Toezicht, provisional nos 20 [Fonds voor minvermogende gemeenten 1889-1920] , 18 [Bijdragen en kosten van het Provinciaal College 1882-98] , & 151 [Rekeningen 1840-1920] .
216. For an example of this kind of administration, see RAZ, Classis Zuid-Beveland, no. 228 [Diverse leggers van diaconale goederen] .

217. J. Doorman, 1847-48, part I, p. 5.
218. Notulen van de Provinciale Staten (1814), 13-14; (1815), 9-10; & (1816), 9. More detail is available in the records of the classes, where the plight of individuals is aired, e.g. RAZ, Classis Walcheren, no. 20 [Handelingen 1814-79] , entries for 7 & 25 March 1816; & no. 37 [Relatieven 1813-16] . See also RAZ, Classis Zuid-Beveland, no. 148 [Resoluties 1813-16] ; A Mulder, 1930, 127-29; & M. van Empel, 1935-59, vol. II, pp. 570-71.
219. SSJB, 10(1858), 25-26.
220. See Notulen van de Provinciale Staten (1826), 11; Verslag van Gedeputeerde Staten (1856), 119; & (1857), 113.
221. M. van Empel, 1935-59, vol. II, 570-71.
222. See Notulen van de Provinciale Staten (1827), 8-9; & (1828), 9-10; which make no bones about this tactic. The system entirely failed, of course, with the ultra-orthodox.
223. See Table IV.29 above, on numbers of clergy in the province.
224. These data may be defective in that the sources may not be complete records. Many private donations are mentioned in the same sources: these have been omitted as being hopelessly incomplete. Other sources confirm the figure for annual average subsidies: the Protestant churches in Zeeland received fl 49,000 in subsidies from 1814 to 1823, which is fl 4,900 p.a. (J. de Kanter, 1824, nalezing, p. 8); and the NHK, from 1832 to 1864, received fl 147,132 or fl 4204 p.a. (RAZ, Provinciaal College van Toezicht, provisional no. 251 [Rekeningen 1840-1920] , doc. entitled 'Staat van verleende

onderstand aan hervormde gemeenten in Zeeland'). These figures of fl 4,000 to 5,000 concur with the fl 7,000 to 8,000 in Table 15, which covers all denominations, and not only the NHK.

225. The matter is of course a great deal more complicated. See for the discussion J. Mokyr, 1974; J. Mokyr, 1975; R.T. Griffiths, 1977; and R.T. Griffiths, 1979, 9-14 & 47-66.
226. See *ibid.*, p. 10.
227. SSJB, 1(1849), 225-27.
228. See P.A.C. Douwes, 1977, 61-65.
229. Examples of this kind of dispute took place in Hoofdplaat in 1855 (RAZ, Provinciaal bestuur 1851-1910, 1855 Relatieven, vol. 419, doc. 2456; & vol. 422, doc. 3193); in Bruinisse in 1860; in 's-Heer Arendskerke in 1862; in Aagtekerke, Elkerzee & Sint-Philipsland in 1872; and in Yerseke in 1873 (see Verslag van Gedeputeerde Staten (1860), 167; (1862), 207; (1872), ch. VII, pp. 1-2; (1873), ch. VII, p. 1; & (1874), ch. VII, pp. 1-2).
230. The example of the small NHK gemeente of Kleverskerke (near Arnemuiden) illustrates the source of income: between 1825 and 1860, the churchwardens received their modest funds (fl 267 in 1855) in roughly equal shares from land rents, pew-hire, collections, church taxes, and 'other sources' (respectively 18.7%, 16.2%, 17.3%, 26.2%, & 21.5%). See RAZ, Kleverskerke NHK, Voogdij, no. 3.

Another example of this kind of administration is RAZ, Biggekerke NHK, Voogdij, nos 10-11.

231. The budget in question is that of J.H. Hendrik, the newly-wed son of a banker, with an income of fl 3,600 to 5,000 p.a. (J.H. van Zanten, 1931, 117-19).
232. The various denominations, and the peculiarities of local ownership, make it very difficult: e.g. in RAZ, Gewestelijke besturen, no. 684 is an attempt to inventorize the income of Zeeland's churches in 1808, but even the rigorous bureaucracy of the French period failed to achieve anything like complete information.
233. See H.F.J.M. van den Eerenbeemt, 1975(A), 485. In Oostburg, the income of the churchwardens' committee fell from fl 10,002 in 1800 to fl 4,486 in 1815 (RAZ, Domnisse, no. 4).
234. See, e.g., RAZ, Classis Walcheren, no. 134 [Liggers der diaconie goederen 1886-1916].
235. In 1812 fl 1,351; 1813 fl 973; 1814 fl 1,250; 1815 fl 900 (RAZ, Domnisse, no. 3).
236. See *ibid.*: the rent from the land was fl 1,743 in 1816.
237. After 1 January 1871 it was no longer necessary to have bequests approved by the provincial government: thereafter only those which were voluntarily submitted to the lay authorities were mentioned. See Verslag van Gedeputeerde Staten (1870), ch. VII, p. 1; & (1871), ch. VII, p.6.
238. There was a new format in that year: see *ibid.* (1877), ch. VII.

239. For that reason, a weighting procedure has been introduced in Table 16, excluding all single bequests of more than fl.10,000, in order to produce the column 'corrected average value of bequest'.

The single huge donation subtracted from the Gereformeerden total is noteworthy. The legacy was worth fl 180,000, including substantial properties in two of Middelburg's most fashionable streets - the Segeerstraat and the Lange Delft. It was left to the Gereformeerde Gemeente of Middelburg in 1876 by Jonkheer (minor nobleman) Willem Versluys (d. 1875). The Jonkheer had lived at Domburg, and over a long period had supported various ultra-orthodox leaders in Zeeland, often paying their fines for them. See H.A. Hofman, 1977, 39-41; and Verslag van Gedeputeerde Staten (1876), Chapter VII, p. 5.

240. See above, section IV. A.2.

241. In a verbal communication, Dr P.A.M. Taylor (University of Hull) informs me that his work on the history of Boston (Mass.) suggests the same phenomenon: that the Roman Catholics were donating themselves into penury. Information on church collections nowadays show how things have changed: in the 1980s the Hervormden put about fl 75 p.a. into the plate each, compared to the Gereformeerden with fl 220. Dutch Catholics, however, manage only about fl 37.50 (Daling, 1983).

242. In 1888 the bequests to the civil authorities for social purposes were increasing both in number and in size (Verslag van Gedeputeerde Staten (1888), ch. VI, p. 259).

243. J. van der Baan, 1873. See also RAZ, Classis Zuid-Beveland, no. 5, year 1836, doc. 4 [administration of the A. Porrenaar legacy in the Bevelanden] .
244. See, e.g. C.F. Stroo, from Eekloo in Belgium, who left two farms valued at fl 87,410 & fl 52,000 to the R.C. parishes of Aardenburg and Eede respectively. The will was contested, but upheld (Verslag van Gedeputeerde Staten (1873), ch. VII, p. 4; & (1875), ch. VII, p. 5). In an 1877 case involving fl 20,000 left to the Catholic church in Groenedijk (near Hontenisse), the will was contested by L. de Cauwer of Hulst, who maintained that it had been made 'under unwarranted pressure from the clergy' ('... met ongeoorloofde pressie van de zijde der geestelijkheid'): *ibid.* (1877), ch. VI, pp. 48-49.
245. See A. van Schijndel, 1920, 2 & 5.
246. J. Lucassen, 1978.
247. See *ibid.*, pp. 246-55.
248. RAZ, Kleverskerke NHK, Voogdij, no. 3. See also above, Note 230.
249. See RAZ, Provinciaal College van Toezicht, provisional nos 31-117 [Plaatselijke reglementen] , especially that of Brouwershaven.
250. Notulen van de Provinciale Staten (1828), 12.
251. RAZ, Provinciaal bestuur 1851-1910, 1857 Minuten, vol. 698, docs 422 & 1747. N.b. this seemingly trivial issue was discussed by the Bishop of Breda and the Commissaris of the province Zeeland, illustrating the seriousness with which the matter was taken.

252. Verslag van Gedeputeerde Staten (1843), 27; & (1849), 23-24.
253. Notulen van de Provinciale Staten (1829), 14.
254. RAZ, Provinciaal bestuur, no. 3854, docs 58, 61 & 74. These quarrels were often a result of a dispute between the confessional and the civil poor-relief boards.
255. I. Lipschits, 1977, 59.
256. See *ibid.*, pp. 62-65; & Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij, 1918.
257. Less than 0.5% of the vote in 1918 (I. Lipschits, 1977, 59).
258. M. van der Bijl, 1981, 227-32 & 313-14.
259. See, e.g., the public 'outrage' at Willem I's intended marriage to a Roman Catholic, Henriette d'Oultremont: C.H.E. de Wit, 1977, 367.
260. Multatuli, 1970, 234.
261. De oorzaak van die ongunstige uitkomst ligt echter ten deele bij hen zelve, niet het minst in de vaste gewoonte der arnemuidsche visschers om den Zondag te huis door te brengen. Deze gewoonte toch leidt er toe, dat de Vrijdag, Saturday, Maandag, en dikwijls ook nog de Dinsdag voor de visscherij verloren gaan. Alle pogingen, sinds jaren reeds aangewend, om hierin verandering te brengen, zijn afgestuit op den onverzettelijken wil der visschers.
- Verslag zeevisscherijen (1870), 64.
262. There were 16% Gereformeerden in 1899 (see Appendix 1), and in the early 20th century the NHK in Arnhem was to form one of the most characteristic Gereformeerde Bond gemeenten (ultra-orthodox congregations within the NHK): W. Banning, 1953, vol. I, pp. 78-80.

263. Quoted in J. van Damme, 1983, 30.
264. O. Groeneyk, 1821, 319-26. The new regulations heralded the Nieuwe visscherij in 1818: see E.W. Smit, 1978(A).
265. 'Als den afgrijselijken walm van den put des afgronds':
H.J. Koenen, 1856, 140.
266. T.L. Haitjema, 1953, 174-75.
267. A. Geschiere, 1933, 63.
268. See, e.g., S.W. de Wind, 1840; B.P.G. van Diggelen, 1843;
B.P.G. van Diggelen, 1844; D. Dronkers, 1849; etc., etc.
A good selection is quoted by M. van Empel, 1935-59, vol. I,
pp. 278-79.
269. On Dresselhuis, see H.Q. Janssen, 1862; & J. van der Baan,
1866, 327.
270. His address to his congregation on the fortieth anniversary
of the foundation of the liberal organization 'Nut' was
entitled, 'On the Enlightenment as source of man's felicity'
(*'Over de verlichting, als bron van volksgeluk'*): H.Q. Janssen,
1862, 12.
271. J. ab U. Dresselhuis, 1843(A); & J. ab U. Dresselhuis, 1843(B).
272. W.H. Vermeulen, 1966, 65-68.
273. In, e.g., matters of taxation: E.J.J.B. Cremers, 1892, 53-54.
274. I.J. Brugmans, 1969(B), 78-79.
275. The Minister of the Interior was interested enough in grants
from religious institutions for education to request a survey
on the subject from his provincial lieutenants: RAZ, Provinciaal
bestuur 1851-1910, 1857 Relatieven, vol. 671, doc. 4485.

276. The favourable influence of Dutch Calvinism on levels of literacy is emphasized by A.M. van der Woude, 1980, 258-64. The letters declaring secession from the NHK after 1834 show a very low level of illiteracy among the signatories, e.g. only one out of more than twenty in Biggekerke in the late 1830s (RAZ, Biggekerke NHK, no. I-10).
277. L.W. de Bree, 1969, 75.
278. L.W.G. Scholten, 1968, 20.
279. See A.F. van Ommen, 1981, 37 & passim.
280. J.P. Kruijt, 1943, 66-75.

Chapter VI: Summary and Conclusion

VI.A Summary of Findings

This study began, after the introductory chapter, with an examination of the existing historical literature on Zeeland in the modern period. Despite some hopeful signs in recent years, the conclusion of the survey was that much of the work done to date is of a piecemeal and incidental character, which has made it extremely difficult to form a clear, integrated impression of the history of the province in the last two centuries. In this respect, Zeeland lags behind many of the other 'peripheral' Dutch provinces. Furthermore, on the subject of religion, there appears to be a 'received opinion', or commonly held set of assumptions, about Zeeland in the nineteenth century, occasionally expressed explicitly, but more often merely implied. That opinion can be summarized as follows: there was a conservative and traditional mentality amongst Zeeland's inhabitants, expressed in certain religious attitudes, which formed a significant contributory cause of the province's rather mediocre economic performance in the nineteenth century.

This survey of the existing literature helped to shape the direction and thrust of the thesis as a whole, in that the following questions, thrown up by the survey, invited an answer. How exactly, in quantifiable terms, did the various churches and denominations develop in the nineteenth century, both in competition with each other, and in the face of modernizing forces and secularization? Was there indeed an over-representation of

'traditional' religious attitudes? Is it possible to show that attitudes based in (conservative) religious belief affected the socio-economic fortunes of the province to a significant degree? And finally, if the 'received opinion' on the province's history is erroneous, then what should be the guiding issues for future historical investigation into the province's past?

The literature survey was followed (in Chapter III) by a brief account of nineteenth century Zeeland in its demographic, economic, social and political dimensions. Besides pointing to a number of areas which are awaiting further research, the conclusion was reached that although the provincial economy was very one-sided in its concentration on arable farming, agriculture was in general competently practised, and was fully integrated into a modern market economy. There were, however, indications that a certain drain of profits and capital out of the province was in operation.

In Chapter IV a systematic examination of the growth and/or decline of the various churches and denominations was conducted with the help of two extensive data series on religious affiliation in Zeeland (contained in Appendices 1 & 2). Other supplementary sources were integrated into the analysis, which revealed a background of general stability, and only gradual change, with the following salient features.

The rise of groups of Calvinists wishing to separate themselves from the mainstream NHK by virtue of their orthodoxy was an increasingly noticeable characteristic after the 1830s. The years around the mid-century seem to have been a watershed of some kind for many of the smaller denominations. The districts

most associated with religious change, controversy and conflict were undoubtedly Walcheren, Zuid-Beveland, and western Zeeuws-Vlaanderen. Where it was possible to estimate the relative performance of the various denominations in the face of modernization and secularization, Roman Catholicism showed itself to be the most resilient in most cases, sheltering its adherents most successfully from the effects of change. The Catholics did more than other groups to counteract secular change by increasing levels of clerical personnel in the province. Similarly, relatively few Catholics emigrated; Catholic villages lost fewer members to atheism or agnosticism; in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen Catholicism was reasonably successful in fending off mixed marriages; shotgun weddings were better kept to a modicum by Catholics than by the Calvinists; and in several villages the Catholics succeeded in asserting themselves into a position of demographic majority over the Protestants.

An investigation of the orthodox Calvinists showed that the Gereformeerden (Afgescheidenen) denomination enjoyed the most impressive percentage growth of all, mainly at the expense of the Hervormden. Furthermore, they were capable of an impressive exertion of social control over the communities in which they were even slightly represented, but only in certain matters. They were extremely successful in keeping alcohol consumption to a minimum, and in limiting the numbers of illegitimate children born. Children conceived before their parents' marriage, on the other hand, apparently presented no threat or problem to the orthodox, and Catholics on occasion were as capable of trying to stamp out certain forms of festivity as were the Calvinists. The province

as a whole was one of the most reluctant in the Netherlands to succumb to secularization, insofar as it can be measured in terms of census returns. The steady maintenance of a twenty-five percent Catholic level in the province gave Zeeland some assistance in this respect, if the very low - almost negligible - numbers of atheists or agnostics in the monolithically Catholic provinces of Limburg and Noord-Brabant are anything to go by. The increasing numbers in the Gereformeerden (Afgescheidenen) group were indicative not so much of a change of heart, or of conversion, as of an initial situation where many of Zeeland's Calvinists were of a more or less orthodox bent, and had never felt really comfortable in the newly styled NHK. But despite differences between the denominations, all institutionalized religions found a common enemy in secularization, or the tendency to decrease in the share of men's lives which was accountable to the churches.

In Chapter V the analysis turned to areas of the socio-economic life of the province which might have been (detrimentally) affected by religious principles or attitudes. The investigation made quite clear that although religious issues could and sometimes did have an effect on the economy, in Zeeland in the nineteenth century those effects were so minute that no 'guilt' at all can be pinned to religion. In this respect the 'received opinion' on the history of the province has been squarely refuted. Despite the impressive ability of small numbers of orthodox Calvinists to sway the actions of a whole community, as in the case of vaccination, the actual results of such attitudes were negligible. The conflict between Protestants and Catholics

might hypothetically have led to the economic ill-effects of a civil war, but it was probably exaggerated, and was in reality confined to a small number of gemeenten in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen. The economic effects of ultra-orthodox Calvinist principles might well have been less than advantageous: their views on inoculation and insurance were anything but modern. However, in the cases which were examined, the ill-effects were avoided: the principles were followed really strictly by too few people, Zeeland was spared many of the ravages of plague, sickness, and weather, and these 'ultras' often enjoyed a concealed protection against calamity, such as unofficial mutual insurance arrangements. As an economic sector the churches seem not to have been inordinately expensive, and in any case gave reasonable value for money. And finally, institutionalized religion very seldom tried to affect the course of public affairs in a direct way, and when it did, it was often on the side of positive change or progress. Neither religion as conservative ideology, nor the churches as institutions, therefore, can be charged with blame for any economic disadvantage suffered by Zeeland in the last century.

VI.B. Conclusions

In summarizing the findings of this thesis, certain conclusions regarding the province of Zeeland have become apparent. In Chapter II, however, I suggested that, although the principal reasons for working on Zeeland were concerned with the history of the region for its own sake, regional history might have an

additional wider reference as well, providing that the study's central roads of enquiry had been laid out with macro-historical questions in mind. I shall deal with these wider-ranging conclusions under two headings, concerning religious change, and the interaction between religion and the economy.

In the course of the nineteenth century, there was a confrontation taking place, by no means confined to Zeeland, between the powers which had traditionally dominated rural society, and a collection of forces of change and renewal, conveniently grouped under the term 'modernization'. True, Zeeland's agricultural communities had for centuries been integrated into an international market structure, which meant that total physical and cultural isolation was never an issue in the nineteenth century: besides, so-called 'traditional' society was itself in a constant state of flux and self-renewal, and to see the nineteenth century as a watershed period between a static 'old-fashioned', ancien régime, rural society and a twentieth century 'modern world' is to distort reality. Nonetheless, developments which took place in the course of the nineteenth century amounted to a virtual revolution in the way life was led in rural society. The accessibility of even the remotest village was radically altered by improvements in the infrastructure, in transport services, in communications, and in the press. These changes, and the flow of migrants away from the villages, made Zeelanders increasingly aware of people and situations far outside their own village, or even province. In some cases, no doubt, it would amount to the realization that people were very different elsewhere; but equally important was to become aware that

on the other side of the province, of the country, or of the world, there were like-minded people, sharing for instance a similar religious viewpoint. This loss of isolation in physical and ideological terms was complemented by changes in the economy, particularly by those enforced by the long agricultural crisis of the eighties and early nineties. After the commercial death of madder, and the advent of unprecedented competition in wheat production from the new world, it was necessary to turn to new crops, and to new approaches to farming in general. On the constitutional and political plane as well, enormous changes occurred; by the end of the century ordinary people were being asked for their direct votes in national elections. There was of course a price to pay: during the whole century, but particularly as a result of Thorbecke's local government reforms of the fifties, the village council and polder board steadily lost most of their autonomy, until, relentlessly forced through by an ever-increasing centralization of the tax system, the cold presence of central government in the village itself was impossible to ignore.

These and many other changes presented rural society with, as I have said, a confrontation. One of the central pillars of that traditional society, naturally, was institutionalized religion. Now the churches and denominations were undergoing their own internal processes of change, as is well illustrated by the struggle in almost every religious group between right and left, between conservative and progressive, between orthodox and liberal. But within local society as a whole, institutional religion was squarely in the traditional camp, threatened as it was by 'modernization'

in the garb of secularization, both in the form of increasing numbers of atheists and agnostics, and in the sense of seeing its authority decline on matters over which it had traditionally held sway.

In this confrontation between institutionalized religion and secularization (where the latter is taken to mean the reduction of the influence of institutionalized religion), the results of the investigation have shown that Roman Catholicism, and orthodox Calvinism, as opposed to the mainstream Calvinist NHK, were more tenacious and more successful in defence of their positions. Because of the tiny numbers involved, very few of the tests applied to the data were extended to include the smaller (Protestant) denominations like Baptists, Lutherans, Remonstrants, and the foreign-language congregations of the NHK (Waals-, Engels-, and Schots-Hervormden); however it is likely that they were also less successful against secularization in its various forms than the orthodox Calvinists and the Catholics. This situation, and the way in which it came about, had considerable consequences for the development of society in Zeeland, and can perhaps shed light on a much wider arena. There are two points that need making in this context, one concerning the élite, and one concerning verzuiling.

The élite which governed and set the tone in the province of Zeeland was, with few exceptions, not Roman Catholic, and not affiliated to orthodox Calvinist denominations. Until late in the century, the same was true at national level. The members of the élite were either part of the mainstream Calvinist NHK, or quite frequently attached to the small Protestant churches.

This division is, in Zeeland, parallel to the one separating success and relative failure in the face of secularization. The churches containing the élite (and it should not be forgotten that in the NHK especially there was also a very large number of non-élite members) were those which adopted - or had forced upon them - a tolerant or at least relatively acquiescent attitude towards secularization. It seems to have been the case that a continued association with the élite was dependent upon a broad view of religion and secularization. In the course of following the generally liberal, progressive, and tolerant path the NHK took in the nineteenth century, it was able to maintain its contacts with the dynamic élite. This was also true of the smaller Protestant denominations, and herein may lie a clue to the flurry of activity amongst these smaller groups around the mid-century, which was noticed in Chapter IV (section IV.A.3). There were developments at that time at both national and local level, characterized by the power of the Thorbeckian liberals with their new style of economic liberalism, laissez-faire policies, secular government and education, and links with the financially sound but politically under-represented middle classes. These changes almost certainly affected many within the small Protestant denominations. It may well be true that a change of direction in the membership trend of these groups around the mid-century had to do with a sort of self-examination process: which decisions needed to be taken in religious matters in order to allow continued or improved access to the élite?

While it is true that the orthodox Calvinists and Roman Catholics were not well represented in the elite of the province, it is also the case that they never had been, and had therefore not conceded a great deal. Indeed, by the end of the century at national level, both orthodox Calvinists and Roman Catholics had begun to play a significant role in government; moreover, it was not the case that they had 'marked time' in the face of secularization. On the contrary, they had launched counter-offensives. But this brings me to my second point, concerning verzuiling.

Given the confrontation with secularization, our findings have shown that in Zeeland the orthodox Calvinist and Roman Catholic reaction differed from that of the other religious groups. Far from acquiescing in the reduction of the proportion of men's lives governed by religion, they emphasized religion not only as a form of worship and set of theological doctrines, but also as a way of life. Instead of allowing the ties between religion and, say, politics, education, or social life, to wither and die, they insisted on the renewal of the importance of an integrated Roman Catholic or orthodox Calvinist approach to everything in life. By the beginning of the twentieth century, and lasting into the 1960s, this approach resulted in a situation where even such an innocuous activity as goat breeding required a specifically Roman Catholic (or Gereformeerde) approach, to the point of having a priest on the board of the local Catholic breeders' association to make sure that things were done as they should be. The works of the orthodox Calvinist national leaders, and in particular those of Abraham Kuyper, are littered with references to the

necessity of extending the Calvinist approach outside the church to the pursuit of ordinary things in life: the scope was eventually to cover the entire existence of the faithful 'from the cradle to the grave', including every form and level of education, employment, social life, and even media and entertainment. Our findings have shown the relative strength of the orthodox Calvinists and the Roman Catholics in controlling their flocks, and indeed whole communities in which their members were reasonably represented, particularly in matters concerned with sexuality and morality, and in any issues in which the orthodox Calvinists thought Providence was involved.

This early development in rural Zeeland was an important step towards what became known as verzuiling, or the vertical pillarization of Dutch society as a whole into self-contained 'columns' or vertical groups based on ideology or religion. At the local level, then, we have an indication of the behaviour of those groups which were to become the basis of the twentieth century verzuiling system, and they strove in the face of secularization actually to extend the areas in which actions would be determined by religious principles. This local movement, later co-ordinated and encouraged by powerful organizational structures at national level, eventually resulted in an arrangement whereby the orthodox Calvinists and Roman Catholics had - indirectly through their leaders - far more say in political and economic public debates and decisions than they would even have dreamed of at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The attainment of verzuiling, then, was a momentous step in the emancipation of these groups.

The wider conclusions which can be drawn from the part of this study concerned with the relationship between the economy and religion are of a rather different nature. The point of departure was an apparently generally accepted association between the religious characteristics of Zeeland, and its economic fortunes in the nineteenth century: that 'received opinion' has been shown to be erroneous. By the same token the question is raised: if religion was not a significant cause of the 'backwardness' of Zeeland, then what was? In which direction should we look now?

In the first place it must be recognized that a clear picture of Zeeland's economic history in the nineteenth century does not yet exist: more work needs to be done before we can talk with any certainty about Zeeland being a 'backward' province, let alone make pronouncements about the degree of its 'backwardness'. But our findings do hint at a direction in which to seek the answers. The association of religious attitudes and economic misfortune belies the assumption that the cause of the misfortune lay in the mentality of the region's inhabitants. Parts of this thesis have highlighted the occasional success of a religious principle in promoting action which may well have had economic disadvantages, as in the case of vaccination. Nonetheless, this operation of local mentality on the economy has been shown to have been ineffectual, because of external factors which neutralized the effects of religious opinion. This would suggest that it might be more effective to seek the explanation of Zeeland's economic performance in the structure of the larger economic system of which she was a part: shifts and changes of focus within the Dutch, European, and

world economy are more fruitful hunting grounds for an explanation of a region's performance than are the nuances of mentality and attitude in the region's inhabitants. Zeeland's place in that economic system was determined in the first place by her geographical location: a fragmented series of islands and coastal polders in the delta of the Schelde river, with secondary access to the Rhine and Maas. This is, of course, a reinforcement of a theory of regional history which demands that problems be approached from the macro-level downwards, rather than the other way around.

In the early part of this thesis the views of Max Weber on the relationship between religion and economic behaviour were outlined, together with their implications for this study in particular (section II.E.1). In summarizing the findings of the research it was concluded that the situation in Zeeland as a whole cannot be used to support the Weberian hypothesis that the economic behaviour of the province is explicable in terms of the religious attitudes of its inhabitants. On the other hand the conclusion was reached that in certain cases the 'mentality' of the orthodox Calvinists in particular was capable of exerting a strong influence over the course of socio-economic events. In this respect, while both Weberian and marxist theory are seen to be possible, neither can be totally or exclusively vindicated.

But Zeeland can shed a more constructive light on one area of the issues raised by the Weber thesis. Weber was of the opinion that Protestantism - and Dutch Calvinism in particular - had in it the roots of modern capitalist behaviour, as opposed to the more medieval economic outlook of the Roman Catholics.

Much of the subsequent debate has concentrated on whether Dutch Calvinists were modern in their economic ideas, or whether Catholics were not. One of the confusing elements has always been the exact make-up of this Calvinism. Weber pointed out that the Calvinism of the Dutch Republic was of a kind that stimulated modern economic development; the 'received opinion' on Zeeland in the nineteenth century assumes that 'Calvinism' did exactly the opposite.

It is clear that the umbrella term 'Calvinism' will not bear the strain of the analysis, and must be more subtly defined. As others have pointed out, Calvinism of the seventeenth century and Calvinism of the nineteenth century were not the same thing; as far as the Dutch are concerned, Calvinism in the later nineteenth century depended more on the writings of Abraham Kuyper than on those of Jean Calvin, certainly on economic issues.¹ Indeed, in the text of this thesis we have made use of the term 'neo-Calvinist'. So Weber's association of early Calvinism with economic progress should not be taken out of context and applied in the nineteenth century. But there are other differentiations within Dutch or Zeeuws Calvinism besides those of the temporal dimension. I have been at pains to point out the crucial role of 'orthodoxy' in determining the 'mentality' of Calvinists, and one can divide Calvinists into at least three relevant groups. Firstly there were generally progressive mainstream Calvinists in the NHK. Secondly there were the orthodox Calvinist Gereformeerden, who after about 1870 found their national leader in Abraham Kuyper, and who have been referred to as 'neo-Calvinists'. And finally, there is the group of ultra-orthodox Calvinists, for the most part members of small sects and denominations. The research in this thesis has

shown only the last group, the Ultras, having a strongly characteristic mentality based on religious principles, which was likely to have unfavourable economic consequences. This is the group referred to by the received opinion on Zeeland's history; the group was however so tiny that its effect was negligible.

Weber's association of economic modernism with Calvinism is much better suited to the second group of orthodox Calvinists, the followers of Kuyper, the kleine luyden. Recognizable as a national group by the end of the nineteenth century, their religious orthodoxy did not, in general, prevent them from making active use of all the modern economic facilities available to them. Weberian ideas of 'thrift', and of 'the nobility of the calling' would be more appropriate to this group, although two points must be emphatically reinforced. Firstly, the kleine luyden were 'neo-Calvinists', and not the same as their sixteenth or seventeenth century predecessors. Secondly, our conclusions in Zeeland, while not specifically directed at this question, have not suggested any extraordinary socio-economic characteristics of this group, except their reluctance to undergo vaccination and their abstemiousness when it came to illegitimate births and alcohol consumption. The indications are that the most successful of the Calvinists in socio-economic terms were to be found among the least orthodox of them all, in the NHK, and amongst the other smaller Protestant denominations.

VI.C. Further Research

The main objectives of this study have been to establish on the basis of reliable data the history of the growth and contractions of the various religious groups in the face of secularization, using not only religious census material, but also a number of other quantifiable sources. In doing this, and in summarizing the work done to date on the subject, a 'received opinion' on the province's history was identified and then shown to be erroneous. Furthermore, several historical debates at national and international level have been involved in the discussion, and on the basis of the present findings a modest contribution to those debates has been possible. But a large number of questions remain unanswered, or even unasked, and it is now appropriate to point out the areas and approaches which might benefit from more intensive investigation in the future.

My first pleas would go out to all those who concern themselves with Zeeland's history to place their researches in as wide a context as possible. If the posing of the questions, which should preface any historical work, is conducted with broad - national, or even universal - issues in mind, then their work is more likely to be of assistance to colleagues in their own field, and in others as well.

Secondly, the reaction in Zeeland to secularization on the part of various religious groups has thrown up some interesting ideas to do with verzuiling. The next step at the provincial level would seem to be to conduct a study of the élité and its religious

affiliations at various stages in the nineteenth century. The 'élite' would need to include the economic, social and political leaders of the province, and the study would require an estimate of the degree of importance of religion in the public life of those concerned.

Thirdly, I would point to a different approach to the study of religion in the province. For various reasons, mainly concerned with the fact that there was so much wrong to set right, this study has opted for an approach which, having established the dynamics of religious affiliation, seeks the mainspring of socio-economic behaviour in ideological convictions and attitudes. With the ground cleared, so to speak, it would now be possible to use the data collected here to undertake a study from a different angle, namely in seeking the way in which religious history can assist us to understand the workings of a society where other sources may be lacking or incomplete. To give a very crude example, can the division of Calvinists into progressives, orthodox and ultra-orthodox tell us anything about the emerging class structure in rural Zeeland in the nineteenth century? Or in a subtler formulation, can these denominational divisions enlighten us on the way in which various socio-economic groups in rural society reacted to modernization in the agricultural economy? There are models for this kind of study, which seek to use religion as an extension of social history to illuminate areas left dark or in twilight by other sources: an early Dutch example is H.K. Roessingh's study of religion in the Veluwe region,² while outside the Netherlands, J. Obelkevich's study of religion and (class-) society in part of England's Lincolnshire is exemplary.³

Finally, on the history of 'religion' and 'secularization' in Zeeland, it would be fruitful to expand our definition of those terms to include popular superstition, folklore, and magic. The folklorists - many of them amateur - have collected a great deal of data on this subject: it now needs systematizing and subjecting to a structural analysis. One of the objectives of an exercise like this would be to establish whether this kind of 'religion' fared the same as the institutionalized forms did in the face of secularization.⁴

So much for religion in Zeeland. The wider perspective of Zeeland's history in the last century is in need of systematic attention from historians, and on the basis of the work in this thesis, I would like to point to some issues which not only invite further analysis, but are crying out for it. The first is the demographic history of the province, with particular attention to the reasons behind the decline in the death rate during the second half of the nineteenth century, and to the role played by improvements in drainage and in the water supply. On Zeeland's economy we have the work of Bouman, which covers much of the agricultural sector:⁵ we need similar (if more concise) works on the realities of the situation in other sectors, such as industry, trade, shipping, and finance. Was it really as disastrous as has been made out? And we are in need of hard macro-economic data for the province, so that we can compare its economic size, composition, strengths and weaknesses with other provinces and areas.

But perhaps more importantly, it is necessary to place Zeeland in its context. To study Zeeland - or anywhere else -

without keeping at least one eye on the surrounding environment is to tell a story that few people will understand, and that even fewer will want to listen to. By this I mean that the student of local history should keep his options wide in two senses: firstly, that his theoretical approach must be guided by issues which are of importance at the 'macro' level; secondly, that he must be aware of the importance of the bonds which link his region to its surrounding environment, and must observe the ways in which they operate and alter over time. In terms of the economy, this means special attention to the flow of capital and labour in and out of the region, its direction and its fluctuating nature. In social (and religious) matters, I am pleading for attention to the links between, say, Zeeland's orthodox Calvinists and Kuyper's national organization. In this way, the reciprocal nature of the relationship between regional and national (or universal) history can be maintained, so that discoveries concerning the history of the nation will continue to affect our impressions of Zeeland, and that our work on Zeeland will be able, in its turn, to contribute to the debate at a higher level.

Notes to Chapter VI

1. G. Kuiper, 1953, 85-87.
2. H.K. Roessingh, 1964.
3. J. Obelkevich, 1976.
4. Obelkevich again provides a model for this kind of investigation. See *ibid.*, Chapter VI.
5. P.J. Bouman, 1946.

Appendix 1

Data for Each Gemeente in Zeeland Province on Total Population and Religious Affiliation (Nine Denominations) in Nine Census Years, 1815-99 (absolute numbers and percentages)

Date	Total Population	Roman Catholics	NHK	Gereformeerden (Afscheidenen)	Lutherans	Baptists	Remonstrants	Jews	No Religion	Other/Miscellaneous
AAGTEKERKE										
1815:	312	0	312	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	336	0								
%	100.	0.								
1839:	355	0	355	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	422	0	398	24	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	94.31	5.69	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	416	0	395	21	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	94.95	5.05	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	444	0	443	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	99.77	0.23	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	535	0	528	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	98.69	1.31	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	585	0	350	229	0	0	0	0	6	0
%	100.	0.	59.83	39.15	0.	0.	0.	0.	1.03	0.
1899:	623	0	351	270	0	0	0	0	2	0
%	100.	0.	56.34	43.34	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.32	0.
	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
AARDENBURG										
1815:	1124	238	833	0	1	52	0	0	0	0
%	100.	21.17	74.11	0.	0.09	4.63	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	1425	334								
%	100.	23.44								
1839:	1474	478	996	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	32.43	67.57	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	1628	619	963	0	6	40	0	0	0	0
%	100.	38.02	59.15	0.	0.37	2.46	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	1655	665	931	9	3	44	0	0	0	3
%	100.	40.18	56.25	0.54	0.18	2.66	0.	0.	0.	0.18
1869:	1732	728	918	10	0	68	0	0	0	8
%	100.	42.03	53.	0.58	0.	3.93	0.	0.	0.	0.46
1877:	1769	735	958	0	2	71	3	0	0	0
%	100.	41.55	54.15	0.	0.11	4.01	0.17	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1947	948	849	48	0	82	0	0	20	0
%	100.	48.69	43.61	2.47	0.	4.21	0.	0.	1.03	0.
1899:	1985	1029	829	17		98		0	12	0
%	100.	51.84	41.76	0.86		4.94		0.	0.60	0.

	POP	RC	NHK + KLEVERSKERKE	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
ARNEMUIDEN										
1815:	1087	14	1073	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.29	98.71	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	1384	18								
%	100.	1.30								
1839:	1528	22	1506	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.44	98.56	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	1490	27	1436	19	1	0	0	6	0	1
%	100.	1.81	96.38	1.28	0.07	0.	0.	0.40	0.	0.07
1859:	1487	35	1422	29	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	2.35	95.63	1.95	0.07	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	1658	79	1575	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	4.76	94.99	0.24	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	1761	85	1657	19	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	4.83	94.09	1.08	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	2019	45	1731	233	0	0	0	0	6	4
%	100.	2.23	85.74	11.54	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.30	0.20
1899:	2133	10	1784	339	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.47	83.64	15.89	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
AXEL										
1815:	2154	122	2022	0	8	2	0	0	0	0
%	100.	5.66	93.87	0.	0.37	0.09	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	2231	154								
%	100.	6.90								
1839:	2250	171	2079	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	7.60	92.40	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	2488	267	2119	100	1	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	10.73	85.17	4.02	0.04	0.04	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	2529	243	2152	128	1	2	0	0	0	3
%	100.	9.61	85.09	5.06	0.04	0.08	0.	0.	0.	0.12
1869:	2673	329	2166	171	2	1	0	0	0	4
%	100.	12.31	81.03	6.40	0.07	0.04	0.	0.	0.	0.15
1877:	3018	433	2405	153	0	0	0	0	0	27
%	100.	14.35	79.69	5.07	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.89
1889:	3431	546	1836	927	0	0	0	0	33	89
%	100.	15.91	53.51	27.02	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.96	2.59
1899:	4341	813	2198	1280	2	0	0	0	34	14
%	100.	18.73	50.63	29.49	0.05	0.	0.	0.	0.78	0.32

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
BAARLAND										
1815:	462	82	380	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	17.75	82.25	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	556	81								
%	100.	14.57								
1839:	604	100	504	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	16.56	83.44	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	577	112	388	77	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	19.41	67.24	13.34	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	632	149	347	136	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	23.58	54.91	21.52	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	714	165	370	179	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	23.11	51.82	25.07	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	738	159	372	205	0	0	0	0	0	2
%	100.	21.54	50.41	27.78	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.27
1889:	690	156	321	211	1	0	0	0	1	0
%	100.	22.61	46.52	30.58	0.14	0.	0.	0.	0.14	0.
1899:	705	149	327	222	0	0	0	0	7	0
%	100.	21.13	46.38	31.49	0.	0.	0.	0.	1.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
BIERVLIET										
1815:	1177	196	981	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	16.65	83.35	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	1467	359								
%	100.	24.47								
1839:	1675	393	1282	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	23.46	76.54	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	2077	568	1507	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	27.35	72.56	0.	0.10	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	2068	569	1498	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	27.51	72.44	0.	0.05	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	1925	599	1324	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	31.12	68.78	0.	0.10	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	2127	675	1448	0	3	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	31.73	68.08	0.	0.14	0.05	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	2150	780	1363	2	2	1	0	0	2	0
%	100.	36.28	63.40	0.09	0.09	0.05	0.	0.	0.09	0.
1899:	2267	895	1340	10	0	2	0	0	20	0
%	100.	39.48	59.11	0.44	0.	0.09	0.	0.	0.88	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
BIGGEKERKE										
1815:	421	0	421	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	558	0								
%	100.	0.								
1839:	477	0	477	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	515	0	511	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	99.22	0.78	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	531	3	513	10	0	0	0	0	0	5
%	100.	0.56	96.61	1.88	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.94
1869:	635	0	602	33	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	94.80	5.20	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	696	0	614	82	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	88.22	11.78	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	702	1	476	112	0	0	0	0	9	104
%	100.	0.14	67.81	15.95	0.	0.	0.	0.	1.28	14.81
1899:	677	6	429	228	2	0	0	0	10	2
%	100.	0.89	63.37	33.68	0.30	0.	0.	0.	1.48	0.30

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
BORSSELE										
1815:	610	93	515	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	15.25	84.43	0.	0.33	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	719	100								
%	100.	13.91								
1839:	795	122	673	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	15.35	84.65	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	871	125	679	66	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	14.35	77.96	7.58	0.11	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	877	144	684	48	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	16.42	77.99	5.47	0.11	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	995	164	772	58	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	16.48	77.59	5.83	0.10	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	1087	193	708	61	0	0	0	0	0	125
%	100.	17.76	65.13	5.61	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	11.50
1889:	1047	142	617	254	0	0	0	0	7	27
%	100.	13.56	58.93	24.26	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.67	2.58
1899:	1059	132	605	322	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	12.46	57.13	30.41	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
BOSCHKAPELLE										
1815:	777	767	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	98.71	1.29	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	841	834								
%	100.	99.17								
1839:	914	900	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	98.47	1.53	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	979	960	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	98.06	1.94	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	1048	1027	21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	98.	2.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	1141	1086	55	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	95.18	4.82	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	1306	1248	58	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	95.56	4.44	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1263	1177	72	14	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	93.19	5.70	1.11	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1899:	1235	1166	41	28	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	94.41	3.32	2.27	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
BRESKENS										
1815:	605	71	533	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	11.74	88.10	0.	0.17	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	1202	82								
%	100.	6.82								
1839:	1734	137	1587	0	0	0	0	10	0	0
%	100.	7.90	91.52	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.58	0.	0.
1849:	1899	239	1596	4	35	0	0	25	0	0
%	100.	12.59	84.04	0.21	1.84	0.	0.	1.32	0.	0.
1859:	1693	196	1452	3	24	1	0	10	0	7
%	100.	11.58	85.76	0.18	1.42	0.06	0.	0.59	0.	0.41
1869:	1497	140	1295	3	19	1	0	7	0	32
%	100.	9.35	86.51	0.20	1.27	0.07	0.	0.47	0.	2.14
1877:	1541	158	1349	3	24	0	0	6	0	1
%	100.	10.25	87.54	0.19	1.56	0.	0.	0.39	0.	0.06
1889:	1555	112	1317	25	35	1	1	3	48	13
%	100.	7.20	84.69	1.61	2.25	0.06	0.06	0.19	3.09	0.84
1899:	1957	98	1720	36	48	1	0	0	47	7
%	100.	5.01	87.89	1.84	2.45	0.05	0.	0.	2.40	0.36

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
BROUWERSHAVEN										
1815:	755	10	743	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.32	98.41	0.	0.26	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	956	29								
%	100.	3.03								
1839:	1092	12	1080	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.10	98.90	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	1439	31	1398	0	9	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	2.15	97.15	0.	0.63	0.07	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	1572	32	1492	27	3	0	0	0	0	18
%	100.	2.04	94.91	1.72	0.19	0.	0.	0.	0.	1.15
1869:	1749	22	1668	49	10	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.26	95.37	2.80	0.57	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	1890	21	1798	62	9	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.11	95.13	3.28	0.48	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1453	8	1236	201	1	6	0	1	0	0
%	100.	0.55	85.07	13.83	0.07	0.41	0.	0.07	0.	0.
1899:	1313	6	1110	174			1	0	7	15
%	100.	0.46	84.54	13.25			0.08	0.	0.53	1.14

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
BRUINISSE										
1815:	970	21	948	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	2.16	97.73	0.	0.10	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	1166	7								
%	100.	0.60								
1839:	1333	14	1319	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.05	98.95	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	1537	20	1515	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.30	98.57	0.	0.13	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	1536	5	1361	168	0	0	0	0	0	2
%	100.	0.33	88.61	10.94	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.13
1869:	1740	12	1414	295	11	0	0	0	0	8
%	100.	0.69	81.26	16.95	0.63	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.46
1877:	2044	1	1463	576	4	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.05	71.58	28.18	0.20	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	2338	0	1575	686	2	0	1	0	15	59
%	100.	0.	67.37	29.34	0.09	0.	0.04	0.	0.64	2.52
1899:	2611	6	1847	665	2	0	0	0	14	77
%	100.	0.23	70.74	25.47	0.08	0.	0.	0.	0.53	2.95

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
BURGH + WESTENSCHOUWEN, WESTLAND										
1815:	343	0	343	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	501	0								
%	100.	0.								
1839:	530	0	530	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	553	2	546	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.36	98.73	0.90	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	629	0	607	16	5	0	0	0	0	1
%	100.	0.	96.50	2.54	0.79	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.16
1869:	704	5	689	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.71	97.87	1.42	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	700	3	667	30	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.43	95.29	4.29	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	631	1	591	39	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.16	93.66	6.18	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1899:	603	3	569	30	0	0	1	0	0	0
%	100.	0.50	94.35	4.98	0.	0.	0.17	0.	0.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
CADZAND										
1815:	686	27	656	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	3.94	95.63	0.	0.44	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	974	24								
%	100.	2.46								
1839:	1156	16	1140	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.38	98.62	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	1171	24	1144	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	2.05	97.69	0.17	0.09	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	1162	22	1137	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.89	97.85	0.17	0.09	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	1183	22	1160	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.86	98.06	0.08	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	1328	34	1279	15	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	2.56	96.31	1.13	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1104	24	1002	4	8	0	0	0	18	48
%	100.	2.17	90.76	0.36	0.72	0.	0.	0.	1.63	4.35
1899:	1130	20	1038	1	4	0	0	0	0	67
%	100.	1.77	91.86	0.09	0.35	0.	0.	0.	0.	5.93

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
CLINGE										
1815:	1136	1136	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	1252	1252	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1839:	1494	1486	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	99.46	0.54	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	1818	1789	27	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	98.40	1.49	0.	0.11	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	1794	1776	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	99.	1.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	1899	1891	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	99.58	0.42	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	2153	2139	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	99.35	0.65	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	2661	2646	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	99.44	0.56	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1899:	3032	2992	39	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	98.68	1.29	0.	0.	0.03	0.	0.	0.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
COLIJNSPLAAT										
1815:	1432	0	1432	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	1612	7								
%	100.	0.43								
1839:	1688	1	1681	0	0	0	0	6	0	0
%	100.	0.06	99.59	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.36	0.	0.
1849:	1698	2	1671	19	3	0	0	3	0	0
%	100.	0.12	98.41	1.12	0.18	0.	0.	0.18	0.	0.
1859:	1780	1	1748	22	2	0	0	7	0	0
%	100.	0.06	98.20	1.24	0.11	0.	0.	0.39	0.	0.
1869:	1951	1	1814	131	0	0	0	4	0	1
%	100.	0.05	92.98	6.71	0.	0.	0.	0.21	0.	0.05
1877:	2065	1	1853	211	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.05	89.73	10.22	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1960	2	1645	302	2	0	0	0	5	4
%	100.	0.10	83.93	15.41	0.10	0.	0.	0.	0.26	0.20
1899:	1882	0	1585	266	0	1	0	0	12	18
%	100.	0.	84.22	14.13	0.	0.05	0.	0.	0.64	0.96

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS	
DOMBURG			+ DOMBURG BINNEN, DOMBURG BUITEN								
1815:	576	0	575	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
%	100.	0.	99.83	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.17	
1829:	820	0									
%	100.	0.									
1839:	764	0	764	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	
1849:	806	0	781	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	
%	100.	0.	96.90	3.10	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	
1859:	836	0	814	5	0	1	0	0	0	16	
%	100.	0.	97.37	0.60	0.	0.12	0.	0.	0.	1.91	
1869:	859	0	846	5	4	0	0	0	0	4	
%	100.	0.	98.49	0.58	0.47	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.47	
1877:	858	0	818	10	0	0	0	0	0	30	
%	100.	0.	95.34	1.17	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	3.50	
1889:	1010	1	812	157	1	6	0	0	7	26	
%	100.	0.10	80.40	15.54	0.10	0.59	0.	0.	0.69	2.57	
1899:	1116	3	837	255	3	0	0	0	18	0	
%	100.	0.27	75.	22.85	0.27	0.	0.	0.	1.61	0.	

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
DREISCHOR										
1815:	723	5	718		0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.69	99.31		0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	835	3								
%	100.	0.36								
1839:	896	2	894		0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.22	99.78		0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	1007	5	1001		0	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.50	99.40		0.	0.10	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	1035	0	1034		1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	99.90		0.10	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	1095	3	1092		0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.27	99.73		0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	1131	0	1131		0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.		0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1220	0	1167	37	0	0	0	0	16	0
%	100.	0.	95.66	3.03	0.	0.	0.	0.	1.31	0.
1899:	1193	0	1193		0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.		0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
DRIEWEGEN + COUDORPE										
1815:	377	33	344		0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	8.75	91.25		0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	442	82								
%	100.	18.55								
1839:	452	58	394		0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	12.83	87.17		0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	492	45	422	24	0	0	0	1	0	0
%	100.	9.15	85.77	4.88	0.	0.	0.	0.20	0.	0.
1859:	476	44	409	22	0	0	0	1	0	0
%	100.	9.24	85.92	4.62	0.	0.	0.	0.21	0.	0.
1869:	533	51	435	47	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	9.57	81.61	8.82	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	615	65	507	43	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	10.57	82.44	6.99	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	575	47	469	52	0	0	0	0	0	7
%	100.	8.17	81.57	9.04	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	1.22
1899:	592	46	439	107	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	7.77	74.16	18.07	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
DUIVENDIJKE + BRIJDORPE, KLAAS KINDERKERKE, LOOPERSC										
1815:	372	0	370		0	0	0	0	0	2
%	100.	0.	99.46		0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.54
1829:	361	4								
%	100.	1.11								
1839:	368	0	368		0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.		0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	447	1	446		0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.22	99.78		0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	446	0	424	22	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	95.07	4.93	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	556	0	509	47	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	91.55	8.45	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	640	0	568	72	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	88.75	11.25	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	606	0	421	185	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	69.47	30.53	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1899:	566	0	345	205	0	0	0	0	16	0
%	100.	0.	60.95	36.22	0.	0.	0.	0.	2.83	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
EEDE										
1815:	1038	1024	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	98.65	1.35	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	1212	1212	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1839:	1210	1187	23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	98.11	1.89	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	1275	1233	41	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	96.71	3.22	0.	0.	0.08	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	1271	1239	31	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	97.48	2.44	0.08	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	1243	1209	33	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	97.26	2.65	0.	0.08	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	1209	1189	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	98.35	1.65	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1270	1246	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	98.11	1.89	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1899:	1139	1123	11	0	0	0	0	0	5	0
%	100.	98.59	0.97	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.44	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
ELKERZEE										
1815:	353	2	351	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.57	99.43	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	406									
%	100.									
1839:	453	0	453	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	514	0	514	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	497	0	496	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	99.80	0.	0.20	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	620	0	619	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	99.84	0.	0.16	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	578	0	496	80	1	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	85.81	13.84	0.17	0.17	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	481	0	387	92	0	1	0	0	1	0
%	100.	0.	80.46	19.13	0.	0.21	0.	0.	0.21	0.
1899:	511	0	378	129	0	0	0	0	4	0
%	100.	0.	73.98	25.24	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.78	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
ELLEMEET										
1815:	324	0	324	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	388	9								
%	100.	2.32								
1839:	450	5	445	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.11	98.89	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	452	2	450	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.44	99.56	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	458	1	457	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.22	99.78	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	496	2	494	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.40	99.60	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	538	1	532	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.19	98.88	0.93	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	520	0	501	19	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	96.35	3.65	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1899:	481	0	468	12	0	0	0	0	1	0
%	100.	0.	97.30	2.49	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.21	0.

	POP	RC	NHK + EVERDINGE	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
ELLEWOUTSDIJK										
1815:	369	0	369	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	600	4								
%	100.	0.67								
1839:	743	2	736	0	0	0	0	5	0	0
%	100.	0.27	99.06	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.67	0.	0.
1849:	743	22	693	14	3	0	0	11	0	0
%	100.	2.96	93.27	1.88	0.40	0.	0.	1.48	0.	0.
1859:	761	34	692	23	0	0	0	12	0	0
%	100.	4.47	90.93	3.02	0.	0.	0.	1.58	0.	0.
1869:	714	22	674	16	2	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	3.08	94.40	2.24	0.28	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	742	29	685	22	1	0	0	5	0	0
%	100.	3.91	92.32	2.96	0.13	0.	0.	0.67	0.	0.
1889:	707	14	685	0	0	0	0	8	0	0
%	100.	1.98	96.89	0.	0.	0.	0.	1.13	0.	0.
1899:	718	13	685	15	0	0	0	5	0	0
%	100.	1.81	95.40	2.09	0.	0.	0.	0.70	0.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
GOES										
1815:	4415	898	3466	0	29	19	1	2	0	0
%	100.	20.34	78.51	0.	0.66	0.43	0.02	0.05	0.	0.
1829:	4880									
%	100.									
1839:	5425	1235	4140	0	0	0	0	50	0	0
%	100.	22.76	76.32	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.92	0.	0.
1849:	5298	1142	3822	263	9	3	0	53	0	6
%	100.	21.56	72.14	4.96	0.17	0.06	0.	1.	0.	0.11
1859:	5708	1184	4114	303	19	4	0	69	0	15
%	100.	20.74	72.07	5.31	0.33	0.07	0.	1.21	0.	0.26
1869:	6202	1374	4232	439	0	0	2	36	0	119
%	100.	22.15	68.24	7.08	0.	0.	0.03	0.58	0.	1.92
1877:	6059	1215	4347	325	20	3	0	56	0	93
%	100.	20.05	71.74	5.36	0.33	0.05	0.	0.92	0.	1.53
1889:	6566	1327	4067	670	14	34	1	27	236	190
%	100.	20.21	61.94	10.20	0.21	0.52	0.02	0.41	3.59	2.89
1899:	6923	1332	4318	677	16	50	4	16	300	210
%	0.	19.24	62.37	9.78	0.23	0.72	0.06	0.23	4.33	3.03

	POP	RC	NHK + LANGENDAM	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
GRAAUW										
1815:	1147	1092	55	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	95.20	4.80	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	1437	1368								
%	100.	95.20								
1839:	1465	1424	41	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	97.20	2.80	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	1463	1416	47	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	96.79	3.21	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	1591	1556	35	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	97.80	2.20	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	1764	1727	37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	97.90	2.10	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	1939	1893	46	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	97.63	2.37	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1931	1887	44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	97.72	2.28	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1899:	2072	2001	71	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	96.57	3.43	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
GRAVENPOLDER,		'S-	+ O.	M.	ZWAKE					
1815:	507	134	373	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	26.43	73.57	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	568	106								
%	100.	18.66								
1839:	626	96	530	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	15.34	84.66	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	667	103	540	21	1	0	2	0	0	0
%	100.	15.44	80.96	3.15	0.15	0.	0.30	0.	0.	0.
1859:	673	108	401	31	0	0	0	0	0	133
%	100.	16.05	59.58	4.61	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	19.76
1869:	781	99	433	249	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	12.68	55.44	31.88	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	871	102	534	235	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	11.71	61.31	26.98	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	896	86	425	75	0	0	0	0	8	302
%	100.	9.60	47.43	8.37	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.89	33.71
1899:	913	103	548	75	0	0	1	0	4	182
%	100.	11.28	60.02	8.22	0.	0.	0.11	0.	0.44	19.93

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
GRIJPSKERKE			+ BUTTINGE,	HOOGELANDE,	POPPENDAMME					
1815:	556	4	552	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.72	99.28	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	645	3								
%	100.	0.47								
1839:	665	2	663	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.30	99.70	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	680	1	656	19	0	1	0	0	0	3
%	100.	0.15	96.47	2.79	0.	0.15	0.	0.	0.	0.44
1859:	716	0	688	28	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	96.09	3.91	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	736	0	651	81	0	1	0	0	0	3
%	100.	0.	88.45	11.01	0.	0.14	0.	0.	0.	0.41
1877:	759	0	617	141	0	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	81.29	18.58	0.	0.13	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	761	0	407	268	0	2	1	0	3	80
%	100.	0.	53.48	35.22	0.	0.26	0.13	0.	0.39	10.51
1899:	795	0	291	502	0	0	0	0	2	0
%	100.	0.	36.60	63.15	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.25	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
GROEDE										
1815:	1526	65	1372	0	89	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	4.26	89.91	0.	5.83	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	2218	201								
%	100.	9.06								
1839:	2487	221	2266	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	8.89	91.11	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	2521	355	2048	13	105	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	14.08	81.24	0.52	4.17	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	2463	481	1890	12	80	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	19.53	76.74	0.49	3.25	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	2506	446	1978	0	74	0	0	0	0	8
%	100.	17.80	78.93	0.	2.95	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.32
1877:	2714	499	2126	12	72	0	0	0	0	5
%	100.	18.39	78.33	0.44	2.65	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.18
1889:	2489	414	1957	26	48	0	0	0	11	33
%	100.	16.63	78.63	1.04	1.93	0.	0.	0.	0.44	1.33
1899:	2400	422	1917	7	45	1	1	0	7	0
%	100.	17.58	79.88	0.29	1.87	0.04	0.04	0.	0.29	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
HAAMSTEDE										
1815:	510	1	509	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.20	99.80	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	705	6								
%	100.	0.85								
1839:	773	4	769	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.52	99.48	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	844	7	825	12	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.83	97.75	1.42	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	848	0	817	31	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	96.34	3.66	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	983	24	871	88	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	2.44	88.61	8.95	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	982	29	880	72	0	0	1	0	0	0
%	100.	2.95	89.61	7.33	0.	0.	0.10	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1004	24	797	177	0	0	0	0	6	0
%	100.	2.39	79.38	17.63	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.60	0.
1899:	906	26	725	150	0	0	0	0	5	0
%	100.	2.87	80.02	16.56	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.55	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
HEER-ABTSKERKE, 'S- + SINOUTSKERKE, BAARSDORP										
1815:	310	55	255	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	17.74	82.26	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	297	78								
%	100.	26.26								
1839:	267	66	201	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	24.72	75.28	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	271	68	193	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	25.09	71.22	3.69	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	294	53	209	32	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	18.03	71.09	10.88	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	286	66	200	20	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	23.08	69.93	6.99	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	312	63	236	13	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	20.19	75.64	4.17	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	336	44	242	47	0	0	0	0	3	0
%	100.	13.10	72.02	13.99	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.89	0.
1899:	337	42	251	44	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	12.46	74.48	13.06	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
HEER-ARENSKERKE, 'S- + 'S-HEER-HENDRIKSKINDEREN, WISSEKERKE										
1815:	1392	425	967	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	30.53	69.47	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	1733									
%	100.									
1839:	1874	462	1412	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	24.65	75.35	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	2052	507	1281	260	0	0	0	0	0	4
%	100.	24.71	62.43	12.67	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.19
1859:	2247	542	1351	349	0	0	0	0	0	5
%	100.	24.12	60.12	15.53	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.22
1869:	2528	566	1426	525	1	0	3	3	0	4
%	100.	22.39	56.41	20.77	0.04	0.	0.12	0.12	0.	0.16
1877:	2921	649	1734	534	1	0	0	0	0	3
%	100.	22.22	59.36	18.28	0.03	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.10
1889:	2928	570	1635	634	1	0	0	0	1	87
%	100.	19.47	55.84	21.65	0.03	0.	0.	0.	0.03	2.97
1899:	3049	538	1677	761	0	0	0	0	22	51
%	100.	17.65	55.	24.96	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.72	1.67

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
HEERENHOEK, 'S-										
1815:	509	232	276	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	45.58	54.22	0.	0.20	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	651	360								
%	100.	55.30								
1839:	729	453	276	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	62.14	37.86	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	805	582	205	17	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	72.30	25.47	2.11	0.12	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	770	557	207	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	72.34	26.88	0.78	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	968	762	193	13	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	78.72	19.94	1.34	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	1021	801	192	23	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	78.45	18.81	2.25	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1017	811	179	27	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	79.74	17.60	2.65	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1899:	1031	862	151	18	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	83.60	14.65	1.75	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
HEINKENSZAND										
1815:	982	457	522	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	46.54	53.16	0.	0.31	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	1229	612								
%	100.	49.80								
1839:	1343	687	649	0	0	0	0	7	0	0
%	100.	51.16	48.32	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.52	0.	0.
1849:	1466	742	614	101	0	0	0	9	0	0
%	100.	50.61	41.88	6.89	0.	0.	0.	0.61	0.	0.
1859:	1492	729	639	117	1	0	0	5	0	1
%	100.	48.86	42.83	7.84	0.07	0.	0.	0.34	0.	0.07
1869:	1632	777	711	124	2	0	1	3	0	14
%	100.	47.61	43.57	7.60	0.12	0.	0.06	0.18	0.	0.86
1877:	1692	840	708	141	2	0	1	0	0	0
%	100.	49.65	41.84	8.33	0.12	0.	0.06	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1653	724	703	180	7	0	0	0	4	35
%	100.	43.80	42.53	10.89	0.42	0.	0.	0.	0.24	2.12
1899:	1625	786	613	188	3	0	1	0	7	27
%	100.	48.37	37.72	11.57	0.18	0.	0.06	0.	0.43	1.66

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
HENGSTDIJK										
1815:	590	558	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	94.58	5.42	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	661	598								
%	100.	90.47								
1839:	656	623	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	94.97	5.03	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	660	634	26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	96.06	3.94	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	702	665	37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	94.73	5.27	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	709	658	51	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	92.81	7.19	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	761	720	41	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	94.61	5.39	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	639	615	22	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	96.24	3.44	0.31	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1899:	625	603	19	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	96.48	3.04	0.48	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
HOEDEKENSKERKE										
1815:	621	212	298	0	0	0	0	0	0	111
%	100.	34.14	47.99	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	17.87
1829:	714	322								
%	100.	45.10								
1839:	798	399	399	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	50.	50.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	795	381	385	29	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	47.92	48.43	3.65	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	857	402	381	74	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	46.91	44.46	8.63	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	970	425	496	42	7	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	43.81	51.13	4.33	0.72	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	1036	449	489	98	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	43.34	47.20	9.46	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1020	522	336	143	0	0	0	0	1	18
%	100.	51.18	32.94	14.02	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.10	1.76
1899:	1109	524	391	130	0	0	0	0	21	43
%	100.	47.25	35.26	11.72	0.	0.	0.	0.	1.89	3.88

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
HOEK										
1815:	1004	10	994	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.	99.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	1231	56								
%	100.	4.55								
1839:	1356	53	1303	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	3.91	96.09	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	1432	61	1330	40	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	4.26	92.88	2.79	0.07	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	1465	71	1341	52	0	0	0	0	0	1
%	100.	4.85	91.54	3.55	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.07
1869:	1578	64	1423	87	0	0	0	0	0	4
%	100.	4.06	90.18	5.51	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.25
1877:	1744	68	1577	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	3.90	90.42	5.68	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1975	48	1635	258	1	0	0	0	15	18
%	100.	2.43	82.78	13.06	0.05	0.	0.	0.	0.76	0.91
1899:	2238	66	1709	413	1	0	0	0	11	38
%	100.	2.95	76.36	18.45	0.04	0.	0.	0.	0.49	1.70

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
HONTENISSE										
1815:	3517	3267	250	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	92.89	7.11	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	4222	4064								
%	100.	96.26								
1839:	4687	4485	202	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	95.69	4.31	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	4640	4396	243	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	94.74	5.24	0.	0.02	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	4799	4554	244	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	94.89	5.08	0.	0.02	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	4794	4514	278	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
%	100.	94.16	5.80	0.	0.	0.04	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	4946	4622	322	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	93.45	6.51	0.	0.04	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	4992	4662	302	16	2	1	0	0	9	0
%	100.	93.39	6.05	0.32	0.04	0.02	0.	0.	0.18	0.
1899:	5035	4714	313	8	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	93.63	6.21	0.16	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
HOOFDPLAAT										
1815:	701	297	404	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	42.37	57.63	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	992	584								
%	100.	58.87								
1839:	1299	738	561	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	56.81	43.19	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	1527	885	642	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	57.96	42.04	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	1367	820	543	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
%	100.	59.99	39.72	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.29
1869:	1373	892	481	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	64.97	35.03	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	1665	1093	572	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	65.65	34.35	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1437	1028	394	8	1	0	0	0	6	0
%	100.	71.54	27.42	0.56	0.07	0.	0.	0.	0.42	0.
1899:	1391	0	339	10	0	0	0	0	12	0
%	100.	74.05	24.37	0.72	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.86	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
HULST										
1815:	1920	1450	460	0	8	0	0	2	0	0
%	100.	75.52	23.96	0.	0.42	0.	0.	0.10	0.	0.
1829:	2124	1883								
%	100.	88.65								
1839:	2344	2061	262	0	0	0	0	21	0	0
%	100.	87.92	11.18	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.90	0.	0.
1849:	2364	2111	245	0	0	1	0	7	0	0
%	100.	89.30	10.36	0.	0.	0.04	0.	0.30	0.	0.
1859:	2255	1994	247	2	1	0	0	11	0	0
%	100.	88.43	10.95	0.09	0.04	0.	0.	0.49	0.	0.
1869:	2265	2033	223	0	1	1	0	6	0	1
%	100.	89.76	9.85	0.	0.04	0.04	0.	0.26	0.	0.04
1877:	2360	2149	209	0	0	0	0	5	0	0
%	100.	91.06	8.86	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.21	0.	0.
1889:	2415	2217	192	2	0	1	0	0	3	0
%	100.	91.80	7.95	0.08	0.	0.04	0.	0.	0.12	0.
1899:	2804	2579	212	7	0	1	0	0	5	0
%	100.	91.97	7.56	0.25	0.	0.04	0.	0.	0.18	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
IJZENDIJK										
1815:	1678	828	845	0	5	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	49.34	50.36	0.	0.30	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	2239	1254								
%	100.	56.01								
1839:	2341	1299	1037	0	0	0	0	5	0	0
%	100.	55.49	44.30	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.21	0.	0.
1849:	2544	1456	1085	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	57.23	42.65	0.	0.12	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	2457	1502	954	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	61.13	38.83	0.	0.04	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	2671	1748	918	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
%	100.	65.44	34.37	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.19
1877:	2889	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	65.59	34.22	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.19
1889:	2861	1911	930	4	0	0	3	0	2	11
%	100.	66.79	32.51	0.14	0.	0.	0.10	0.	0.07	0.38
1899:	2775	1888	853	15	1	0	3	0	15	0
%	100.	68.04	30.74	0.54	0.04	0.	0.11	0.	0.54	0.

	POP	RC	NHK + BIEZELINGE,	GEREF	LUTH EVERSDIJK	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
KAPELLE										
1815:	996	48	948	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	4.82	95.18	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	1198	43								
%	100.	3.59								
1839:	1342	38	1304	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	2.83	97.17	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	1414	41	1347	24	0	0	0	2	0	0
%	100.	2.90	95.26	1.70	0.	0.	0.	0.14	0.	0.
1859:	1416	32	1260	124	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	2.26	88.98	8.76	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	1596	50	1353	193	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	3.13	84.77	12.09	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	1774	20	1623	131	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.13	91.49	7.38	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1901	31	1536	228	0	1	0	0	5	100
%	100.	1.63	80.80	11.99	0.	0.05	0.	0.	0.26	5.26
1899:	1952	53	1582	298	0	0	0	0	0	19
%	100.	2.72	81.04	15.27	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.97

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
KATS										
1815:	280	0	280	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	367	0								
%	100.	0.								
1839:	402	0	402	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	377	0	369	8	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	97.88	2.12	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	431	0	431	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	568	7	547	9	5	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.23	96.30	1.58	0.88	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	616	0	594	22	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	96.43	3.57	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	601	0	574	25	0	0	0	0	2	0
%	100.	0.	95.51	4.16	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.33	0.
1899:	583	0	533	34	0	0	0	0	16	0
%	100.	0.	91.43	5.83	0.	0.	0.	0.	2.74	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
KATTENDIJK										
1815:	307	28	279	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	9.12	90.88	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	593	59								
%	100.	9.95								
1839:	736	21	715	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	2.85	97.15	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	776	26	740	9	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	3.35	95.36	1.16	0.13	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	846	5	831	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.59	98.23	1.18	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	933	5	902	23	0	0	0	0	0	3
%	100.	0.54	96.68	2.47	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.32
1877:	1041	3	1013	25	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.29	97.31	2.40	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1088	6	1038	17	0	0	0	0	2	25
%	100.	0.55	95.40	1.56	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.18	2.30
1899:	1070	1	1012	44	1	2	0	0	0	10
%	100.	0.09	94.59	4.11	0.09	0.19	0.	0.	0.	0.93

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
KERKWERVE + NIEUWERKERK, RENGERSKERKE, ZUIDLAND										
1815:	528	55	462	0	11	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	10.42	87.50	0.	2.08	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	558	36								
%	100.	6.45								
1839:	521	32	489	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	6.14	93.86	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	506	24	480	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	4.74	94.86	0.	0.40	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	566	23	477	66	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	4.06	84.28	11.66	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	611	10	505	78	0	0	0	0	0	18
%	100.	1.64	82.65	12.77	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	2.95
1877:	682	1	584	97	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.15	85.63	14.22	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	769	1	599	164	0	0	0	0	5	0
%	100.	0.13	77.89	21.33	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.65	0.
1899:	808	1	540	256	0	0	0	0	9	2
%	100.	0.12	66.83	31.68	0.	0.	0.	0.	1.11	0.25

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
KLOETINGE										
1815:	631	60	571	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	9.51	90.49	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	782	50								
%	100.	6.39								
1839:	856	39	805	0	0	0	0	12	0	0
%	100.	4.56	94.04	0.	0.	0.	0.	1.40	0.	0.
1849:	923	16	865	29	0	0	0	12	0	1
%	100.	1.73	93.72	3.14	0.	0.	0.	1.30	0.	0.11
1859:	1002	32	945	18	0	0	0	7	0	0
%	100.	3.19	94.31	1.80	0.	0.	0.	0.70	0.	0.
1869:	1059	22	969	65	0	0	0	3	0	0
%	100.	2.08	91.50	6.14	0.	0.	0.	0.28	0.	0.
1877:	1188	78	1015	95	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	6.57	85.44	8.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1259	98	986	65	0	0	0	0	5	105
%	100.	7.78	78.32	5.16	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.40	8.34
1899:	1297	70	1036	106	0	1	0	0	15	69
%	100.	5.40	79.88	8.17	0.	0.08	0.	0.	1.16	5.32

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
KOEWACHT										
1815:	1315	1312	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	99.77	0.23	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	1528	1524								
%	100.	99.74								
1839:	1699	1672	27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	98.41	1.59	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	1825	1807	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	99.01	0.99	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	1865	1838	27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	98.55	1.45	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	1981	1949	31	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
%	100.	98.38	1.56	0.	0.	0.	0.05	0.	0.	0.
1877:	2137	2119	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	99.16	0.84	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	2253	2233	15	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	99.11	0.67	0.22	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1899:	2354	2329	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	98.94	1.06	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
KORTGENE										
1815:	670	1	668	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.15	99.70	0.	0.15	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	801									
%	100.									
1839:	902	0	902	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	910	5	904	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.55	99.34	0.	0.11	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	950	1	948	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.11	99.79	0.	0.11	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	1017	0	1008	7	1	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	99.12	0.69	0.10	0.10	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	1052	0	1047	4	0	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	99.52	0.38	0.	0.10	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1095	0	1067	20	0	0	0	0	8	0
%	100.	0.	97.44	1.83	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.73	0.
1899:	1119	0	1081	35	1	0	0	0	1	1
%	100.	0.	96.60	3.13	0.09	0.	0.	0.	0.09	0.09

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
KOUDEKERKE										
1815:	1060	8	1037	0	2	13	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.75	97.83	0.	0.19	1.23	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	1141									
%	100.									
1839:	1225	10	1215	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.82	99.18	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	1300	0	1271	24	3	2	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	97.77	1.85	0.23	0.15	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	1452	7	1423	20	2	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.48	98.	1.38	0.14	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	1657	148	1496	6	2	5	0	0	0	0
%	100.	8.93	90.28	0.36	0.12	0.30	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	1694	9	1653	29	3	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.53	97.58	1.71	0.18	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1746	6	1285	411	1	0	0	0	16	27
%	100.	0.34	73.60	23.54	0.06	0.	0.	0.	0.92	1.55
1899:	2269	16	1464	721	9	2	0	0	11	46
%	100.	0.71	64.52	31.78	0.40	0.09	0.	0.	0.48	2.03

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
KRABBENDIJKE + NIEUWLANDE										
1815:	516	0	516	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	686									
%	100.									
1839:	778	0	778	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	925	16	836	0	0	1	0	0	0	72
%	100.	1.73	90.38	0.	0.	0.11	0.	0.	0.	7.78
1859:	1014	1	951	61	0	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.10	93.79	6.02	0.	0.10	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	1123	22	1016	84	0	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.96	90.47	7.48	0.	0.09	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	1310	16	1177	115	0	1	0	1	0	0
%	100.	1.22	89.85	8.78	0.	0.08	0.	0.08	0.	0.
1889:	1731	29	931	698	0	1	0	0	7	65
%	100.	1.68	53.78	40.32	0.	0.06	0.	0.	0.40	3.76
1899:	2002	26	1081	375	0	2	0	0	1	517
%	100.	1.30	54.	18.73	0.	0.10	0.	0.	0.05	25.82

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
KRUININGEN										
1815:	860	0	860	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	1090	8								
%	100.	0.73								
1839:	1240	0	1237	0	0	0	0	3	0	0
%	100.	0.	99.76	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.24	0.	0.
1849:	1206	5	1159	40	1	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.41	96.10	3.32	0.08	0.08	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	1574	98	1430	44	0	1	0	0	0	1
%	100.	6.23	90.85	2.80	0.	0.06	0.	0.	0.	0.06
1869:	2107	183	1723	171	3	3	0	3	0	21
%	100.	8.69	81.78	8.12	0.14	0.14	0.	0.14	0.	1.
1877:	2452	234	1995	185	2	10	2	17	0	7
%	100.	9.54	81.36	7.54	0.08	0.41	0.08	0.69	0.	0.29
1889:	2964	473	2175	248	3	12	1	0	28	24
%	100.	15.96	73.38	8.37	0.10	0.40	0.03	0.	0.94	0.81
1899:	3249	493	2202	377	6	6	0	0	165	0
%	100.	15.17	67.78	11.60	0.18	0.18	0.	0.	5.08	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
MELISKERKE										
1815:	390	0	390	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	403	1								
%	100.	0.25								
1839:	442	0	442	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	481	0	481	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	492	0	450	41	0	0	0	0	0	1
%	100.	0.	91.46	8.33	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.20
1869:	546	0	518	28	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	94.87	5.13	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	556	0	465	91	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	83.63	16.37	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	569	0	325	190	0	0	0	0	1	53
%	100.	0.	57.12	33.39	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.18	9.31
1899:	559	0	256	296	0	0	0	0	7	0
%	100.	0.	45.79	52.95	0.	0.	0.	0.	1.26	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
MIDDELBURG										
+ M. STAD, M. AMBACHTEN										
1815:	13114	1639	10629	0	454	145	0	247	0	0
%	100.	12.50	81.05	0.	3.46	1.11	0.	1.88	0.	0.
1829:	14700	1963								
%	100.	13.35								
1839:	15858	1950	13593	0	0	0	0	315	0	0
%	100.	12.30	85.72	0.	0.	0.	0.	1.99	0.	0.
1849:	15884	1930	12882	182	363	157	4	353	0	4
%	100.	12.15	81.10	1.15	2.29	0.99	0.03	2.22	0.	0.03
1859:	16088	1749	13132	302	359	167	6	316	0	57
%	100.	10.87	81.63	1.88	2.23	1.04	0.04	1.96	0.	0.35
1869:	16422	1924	13048	603	335	170	6	271	0	65
%	100.	11.72	79.45	3.67	2.04	1.04	0.04	1.65	0.	0.40
1877:	16064	1509	13287	568	269	140	8	249	0	34
%	100.	9.39	82.71	3.54	1.67	0.87	0.05	1.55	0.	0.21
1889:	17116	1592	11683	2658	304	218	13	191	368	89
%	100.	9.30	68.26	15.53	1.78	1.27	0.08	1.12	2.15	0.52
1899:	18837	1822	12921	2543	317	234	23	212	619	146
%	0.	9.67	68.59	13.50	1.68	1.24	0.12	1.13	3.29	0.78

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
NIEUW-	EN ST.J.-	LAND+	NIEUWLAND, SINT JOOSLAND							
1815:	488	0	488	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	624	3								
%	100.	0.48								
1839:	660	0	660	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	654	0	627	27	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	95.87	4.13	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	683	7	612	31	1	0	0	0	0	32
%	100.	1.02	89.60	4.54	0.15	0.	0.	0.	0.	4.69
1869:	807	6	772	28	0	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.74	95.66	3.47	0.	0.12	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	919	6	869	43	0	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.65	94.56	4.68	0.	0.11	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	996	6	936	21	0	0	0	0	8	25
%	100.	0.60	93.98	2.11	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.80	2.51
1899:	1071	0	973	68	0	8	0	3	19	0
%	100.	0.	90.85	6.35	0.	0.75	0.	0.28	1.77	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
NIEUWERKERK			+ CAPELLE, BODTLAND							
1815:	831	64	760	0	1	0	0	6	0	0
%	100.	7.70	91.46	0.	0.12	0.	0.	0.72	0.	0.
1829:	966	36								
%	100.	3.73								
1839:	1108	33	1070	0	0	0	0	5	0	0
%	100.	2.98	96.57	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.45	0.	0.
1849:	1085	18	998	64	1	0	0	4	0	0
%	100.	1.66	91.98	5.90	0.09	0.	0.	0.37	0.	0.
1859:	1101	12	870	219	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.09	79.02	19.89	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	1236	16	1105	115	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.29	89.40	9.30	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	1368	6	960	338	0	0	0	0	0	64
%	100.	0.44	70.18	24.71	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	4.68
1889:	1449	14	910	424	4	0	6	0	15	76
%	100.	0.97	62.80	29.26	0.28	0.	0.41	0.	1.04	5.24
1899:	1535	4	946	473	1	0	0	0	2	109
%	100.	0.26	61.63	30.81	0.07	0.	0.	0.	0.13	7.10

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
NIEUWVLIET										
1815:	530	12	517	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	2.26	97.55	0.	0.19	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	659	8								
%	100.	1.21								
1839:	741	4	737	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.54	99.46	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	742	1	737	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.13	99.33	0.	0.54	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	617	0	607	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
%	100.	0.	98.38	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	1.62
1869:	640	2	633	0	5	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.31	98.91	0.	0.78	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	725	12	682	0	5	0	0	0	0	26
%	100.	1.66	94.07	0.	0.69	0.	0.	0.	0.	3.59
1889:	631	0	600	0	15	0	0	0	0	16
%	100.	0.	95.09	0.	2.38	0.	0.	0.	0.	2.54
1899:	583	9	533	25	4	0	0	0	12	0
%	100.	1.54	91.42	4.29	0.69	0.	0.	0.	2.06	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
NISSE										
1815:	412	46	366	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	11.17	88.83	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	476	54								
%	100.	11.34								
1839:	476	67	409	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	14.08	85.92	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	546	78	467	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	14.29	85.53	0.18	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	541	84	436	21	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	15.53	80.59	3.88	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	631	91	513	27	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	14.42	81.30	4.28	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	665	99	405	161	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	14.89	60.90	24.21	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	638	99	431	94	0	0	0	0	0	14
%	100.	15.52	67.55	14.73	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	2.19
1899:	606	110	342	54	0	0	0	0	0	100
%	100.	18.15	56.44	8.91	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	16.50

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
NOORDGOUWE										
1815:	438	67	360	0	2	9	0	0	0	0
%	100.	15.30	82.19	0.	0.46	2.05	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	533									
%	100.									
1839:	639	106	533	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	16.59	83.41	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	689	61	624	1	3	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	8.85	90.57	0.15	0.44	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	717	46	665	0	5	0	0	0	0	1
%	100.	6.42	92.75	0.	0.70	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.14
1869:	777	35	737	1	4	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	4.50	94.85	0.13	0.51	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	805	21	782	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	2.61	97.14	0.	0.25	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	820	8	774	35	2	0	1	0	0	0
%	100.	0.98	94.39	4.27	0.24	0.	0.12	0.	0.	0.
1899:	811	6	727	72	1	1	0	0	4	0
%	100.	0.74	89.64	8.88	0.12	0.12	0.	0.	0.49	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
NOORDWELLE										
1815:	292	1	290	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.34	99.32	0.	0.34	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	364	2								
%	100.	0.55								
1839:	368	2	366	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.54	99.46	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	453	2	451	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.44	99.56	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	448	3	444	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.67	99.11	0.22	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	456	2	454	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.44	99.56	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	541	1	527	13	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.18	97.41	2.40	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	547	0	522	24	0	0	0	0	1	0
%	100.	0.	95.43	4.39	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.18	0.
1899:	492	1	478	13	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.20	97.16	2.64	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
OOSTBURG										
1815:	856	70	784	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	8.18	91.59	0.	0.12	0.12	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	1251	157								
%	100.	12.55								
1839:	1428	215	1213	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	15.06	84.94	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	1678	298	1366	0	7	4	0	3	0	0
%	100.	17.76	81.41	0.	0.42	0.24	0.	0.18	0.	0.
1859:	1661	373	1274	0	2	12	0	0	0	0
%	100.	22.46	76.70	0.	0.12	0.72	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	1745	435	1294	0	3	13	0	0	0	0
%	100.	24.93	74.15	0.	0.17	0.74	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	1914	506	1395	1	2	10	0	0	0	0
%	100.	26.44	72.88	0.05	0.10	0.52	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1933	513	1313	77	4	15	0	0	5	6
%	100.	26.54	67.93	3.98	0.21	0.78	0.	0.	0.26	0.31
1899:	1878	613	1126	115	1	12	2	0	7	2
%	100.	32.64	59.96	6.12	0.05	0.64	0.11	0.	0.37	0.11

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
OOSTERLAND + SINT JANSLAND										
1815:	861	0	861	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	1068	0								
%	100.	0.								
1839:	1136	0	1136	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	1272	2	1247	23	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.16	98.03	1.81	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	1340	2	1329	5	0	0	0	0	0	4
%	100.	0.15	99.18	0.37	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.30
1869:	1393	4	1239	150	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.29	88.94	10.77	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	1395	0	1395	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1438	2	1216	177	1	0	0	0	0	42
%	100.	0.14	84.56	12.31	0.07	0.	0.	0.	0.	2.92
1899:	1694	0	1349	338	0	0	0	0	7	0
%	100.	0.	79.63	19.95	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.41	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
OOSTKAPELLE										
1815:	660	3	655	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
%	100.	0.45	99.24	0.	0.15	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.15
1829:	773	0								
%	100.	0.								
1839:	803	0	803	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	856	1	850	2	3	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.12	99.30	0.23	0.35	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	849	2	781	64	2	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.24	91.99	7.54	0.24	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	1001	2	912	75	2	0	0	0	0	10
%	100.	0.20	91.11	7.49	0.20	0.	0.	0.	0.	1.
1877:	1060	1	980	78	0	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.09	92.45	7.36	0.	0.09	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1022	0	800	217	0	0	0	0	4	1
%	100.	0.	78.28	21.23	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.39	0.10
1899:	1035	1	592	436	2	0	0	0	4	0
%	100.	0.10	57.20	42.13	0.19	0.	0.	0.	0.39	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
OSSENISSE										
1815:	606	591	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	97.52	2.48	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	771	694								
%	100.	90.01								
1839:	760	740	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	97.37	2.63	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	778	749	29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	96.27	3.73	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	820	793	27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	96.71	3.29	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	865	832	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	96.18	3.82	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	906	877	29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	96.80	3.20	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	844	802	32	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	95.02	3.79	1.18	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1899:	852	797	34	17	0	0	0	0	4	0
%	100.	93.54	3.99	2.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.47	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
GUD-VOSSEMEER + VRIJBERGEN										
1815:	1102	236	866	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	21.42	78.58	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	1262	270								
%	100.	21.39								
1839:	1429	302	1123	0	0	0	0	4	0	0
%	100.	21.13	78.59	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.28	0.	0.
1849:	1573	350	1196	27	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	22.25	76.03	1.72	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	1699	367	996	8	1	0	0	0	0	327
%	100.	21.60	58.62	0.47	0.06	0.	0.	0.	0.	19.25
1869:	1741	406	957	378	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	23.32	54.97	21.71	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	1964	426	995	543	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	21.69	50.66	27.65	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1902	386	1001	513	0	0	0	0	2	0
%	100.	20.29	52.63	26.97	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.11	0.
1899:	1976	464	997	515	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	23.48	50.46	26.06	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
OUDELANDE										
1815:	371	38	333	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	10.24	89.76	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	433	37								
%	100.	8.55								
1839:	503	40	463	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	7.95	92.05	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	545	36	476	33	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	6.61	87.34	6.06	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	576	49	470	57	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	8.51	81.60	9.90	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	585	54	459	72	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	9.23	78.46	12.31	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	694	70	554	69	0	0	0	0	0	1
%	100.	10.09	79.83	9.94	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.14
1889:	649	56	479	98	0	0	0	0	0	16
%	100.	8.63	73.81	15.10	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	2.47
1899:	640	54	460	122	0	0	0	0	4	0
%	100.	8.44	71.88	19.06	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.62	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
OUWERKERK										
1815:	592	5	587		0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.84	99.16		0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	629	1								
%	100.	0.16								
1839:	732	4	728		0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.55	99.45		0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	800	19	779		1	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	2.37	97.37		0.13	0.13	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	705	1	702		1	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.14	99.57		0.14	0.14	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	781	9	771		1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.15	98.72		0.13	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	761	6	754		1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.79	99.08		0.13	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	832	1	779	52	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.12	93.63	6.25	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1899:	789	0	738	47	0	0	0	0	0	4
%	100.	0.	93.53	5.96	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.51

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
OVERSLAG										
1815:	425	425	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	460	460	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1839:	411	409	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	99.51	0.49	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	476	468	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	98.32	1.68	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	477	461	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	96.65	3.35	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	506	491	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	97.04	2.96	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	488	487	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	99.80	0.20	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	472	465	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	98.52	1.48	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1899:	456	439	12	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	96.27	2.63	1.10	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
OVEZANDE										
1815:	548	375	173		0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	68.43	31.57		0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	667	460			0					
%	100.	68.97			0.					
1839:	770	517	253		0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	67.14	32.86		0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	753	550	199		4	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	73.04	26.43		0.53	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	783	579	202		2	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	73.95	25.80		0.26	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	842	628	213		1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	74.58	25.30		0.12	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	959	714	245		0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	74.45	25.55		0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	906	689	196	12	0	0	0	0	9	0
%	100.	76.05	21.63	1.32	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.99	0.
1899:	947	723	214	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	76.34	22.60	1.06	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
PHILIPPINE			+ WATERDIJK							
1815:	208	147	61	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	70.67	29.33	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	453	409								
%	100.	90.29								
1839:	433	392	41	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	90.53	9.47	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	474	404	68	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
%	100.	85.23	14.35	0.	0.21	0.	0.	0.21	0.	0.
1859:	552	481	69	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
%	100.	87.14	12.50	0.	0.18	0.	0.	0.18	0.	0.
1869:	635	579	55	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	91.18	8.66	0.16	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	806	744	62	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	92.31	7.69	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	835	798	37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	95.57	4.43	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1899:	922	873	49	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	94.69	5.31	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
POORTVLIET			+ NIEUW STRIJEN							
1815:	905	39	862	0	2	1	0	0	0	1
%	100.	4.31	95.25	0.	0.22	0.11	0.	0.	0.	0.11
1829:	1078	48								
%	100.	4.45								
1839:	1216	45	1171	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	3.70	96.30	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	1340	27	1311	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	2.01	97.84	0.15	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	1727	420	1156	96	1	0	0	0	0	54
%	100.	24.32	66.94	5.56	0.06	0.	0.	0.	0.	3.13
1869:	1505	47	1314	143	0	0	0	0	0	1
%	100.	3.12	87.31	9.50	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.07
1877:	1646	37	1449	160	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	2.25	88.03	9.72	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1625	17	1281	326	0	0	0	0	1	0
%	100.	1.05	78.83	20.06	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.06	0.
1899:	1557	11	1198	317	0	0	0	0	1	30
%	100.	0.71	76.94	20.36	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.06	1.93

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
RENESE										
1815:	320	0	320	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	395	1								
%	100.	0.25								
1839:	445	2	443	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.45	99.55	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	504	4	498	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.79	98.81	0.	0.40	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	515	4	504	6	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.78	97.86	1.17	0.19	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	585	1	581	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
%	100.	0.17	99.32	0.17	0.17	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.17
1877:	630	2	620	7	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.32	98.41	1.11	0.16	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	590	8	545	36	0	0	0	0	1	0
%	100.	1.36	92.37	6.10	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.17	0.
1899:	590	0	538	50	2	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	91.19	8.47	0.34	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
RETRANCHEMENT										
1815:	462	40	422	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	8.66	91.34	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	654	90								
%	100.	13.76								
1839:	745	105	640	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	14.09	85.91	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	775	88	686	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	11.35	88.52	0.13	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	762	73	684	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	9.58	89.76	0.66	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	798	70	726	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	8.77	90.98	0.13	0.13	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	898	147	751	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	16.37	83.63	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	828	133	675	0	0	0	0	0	0	20
%	100.	16.06	81.52	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	2.42
1899:	784	92	684	0	0	0	0	0	5	3
%	100.	11.73	87.24	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.64	0.38

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
RILLAND-BATH										
			+ FORT BATH, MAIRE							
1815:	488	5	482	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.02	98.77	0.	0.20	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	545	22								
%	100.	4.04								
1839:	753	92	660	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
%	100.	12.22	87.65	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.13	0.	0.
1849:	1017	95	869	3	9	2	1	2	0	36
%	100.	9.34	85.45	0.29	0.88	0.20	0.10	0.20	0.	3.54
1859:	1301	142	995	140	15	0	0	7	0	2
%	100.	10.91	76.48	10.76	1.15	0.	0.	0.54	0.	0.15
1869:	1335	138	1112	72	0	0	0	0	0	13
%	100.	10.34	83.30	5.39	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.97
1877:	1377	123	1239	11	0	0	0	0	0	4
%	100.	8.93	89.98	0.80	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.29
1889:	1620	211	1048	241	0	0	0	0	16	104
%	100.	13.02	64.69	14.88	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.99	6.42
1899:	1822	250	1083	375	0	1	2	0	15	96
%	100.	13.72	59.44	20.58	0.	0.05	0.11	0.	0.83	5.27

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
RITTHEM										
			+ WELZINGE, NIEUW WEVEN							
1815:	377	0	377	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	426	2								
%	100.	0.47								
1839:	467	2	465	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.43	99.57	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	499	7	489	1	0	2	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.40	98.	0.20	0.	0.40	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	491	6	476	9	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.22	96.95	1.83	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	574	3	530	41	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.52	92.33	7.14	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	646	1	601	44	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.15	93.03	6.81	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	611	1	515	80	0	0	0	0	1	14
%	100.	0.16	84.29	13.09	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.16	2.29
1899:	678	0	539	138	0	0	0	0	0	1
%	100.	0.	79.50	20.35	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.15

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
SAS VAN GENT			+ ASSENEDE, ZELZAETE							
1815:	812	565	236	0	11	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	69.58	29.06	0.	1.35	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	895	719								
%	100.	80.34								
1839:	956	721	221	0	0	0	0	14	0	0
%	100.	75.42	23.12	0.	0.	0.	0.	1.46	0.	0.
1849:	1069	856	204	0	9	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	80.07	19.08	0.	0.84	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	951	756	194	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	79.50	20.40	0.11	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	1063	858	198	6	0	0	0	0	0	1
%	100.	80.71	18.63	0.56	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.09
1877:	1194	1002	192	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	83.92	16.08	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1336	1150	186	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	86.08	13.92	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1899:	1581	1383	192	4	0	1	0	0	1	0
%	100.	87.48	12.14	0.26	0.	0.06	0.	0.	0.06	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
SCHERPENISSE			+ WESTKERKE							
1815:	841	6	827	0	1	0	0	7	0	0
%	100.	0.71	98.34	0.	0.12	0.	0.	0.83	0.	0.
1829:	1050	14								
%	100.	1.33								
1839:	1112	15	1088	0	0	0	0	9	0	0
%	100.	1.34	97.85	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.81	0.	0.
1849:	1240	41	1185	7	0	0	0	7	0	0
%	100.	3.31	95.56	0.56	0.	0.	0.	0.56	0.	0.
1859:	1202	3	1187	6	0	1	0	5	0	0
%	100.	0.25	98.75	0.50	0.	0.08	0.	0.42	0.	0.
1869:	1236	1	1150	80	0	0	0	5	0	0
%	100.	0.08	93.04	6.47	0.	0.	0.	0.40	0.	0.
1877:	1460	1	1393	63	0	0	0	3	0	0
%	100.	0.07	95.41	4.32	0.	0.	0.	0.21	0.	0.
1889:	1510	2	1295	196	0	0	0	3	5	9
%	100.	0.13	85.76	12.98	0.	0.	0.	0.20	0.33	0.60
1899:	1388	0	1125	249	0	1	0	3	4	6
%	100.	0.	81.05	17.94	0.	0.07	0.	0.22	0.29	0.43

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
SCHOONDIJKE										
1815:	980	207	766	0	0	0	0	7	0	0
%	100.	21.12	78.16	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.71	0.	0.
1829:	1366	331								
%	100.	24.23								
1839:	1658	370	1288	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	22.32	77.68	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	1758	424	1332	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	24.12	75.77	0.06	0.06	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	1709	428	1276	3	1	0	0	0	0	1
%	100.	25.04	74.66	0.18	0.06	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.06
1869:	1771	413	1358	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	23.32	76.68	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	1793	408	1373	1	3	0	0	0	0	8
%	100.	22.76	76.58	0.06	0.17	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.45
1889:	1748	352	1300	88	1	0	0	0	5	2
%	100.	20.14	74.37	5.03	0.06	0.	0.	0.	0.29	0.11
1899:	1906	388	1345	166	1	0	0	0	6	0
%	100.	20.36	70.57	8.71	0.05	0.	0.	0.	0.31	0.

	POP	RC	NHK + VLAKE	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
SCHORE										
1815:	311	12	299	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	3.86	96.14	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	340	4								
%	100.	1.18								
1839:	396	4	392	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.01	98.99	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	457	23	425	9	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	5.03	93.	1.97	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	525	21	476	28	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	4.	90.67	5.33	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	633	17	583	33	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	2.69	92.10	5.21	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	759	35	682	42	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	4.61	89.86	5.53	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	763	47	625	86	0	1	0	1	0	3
%	100.	6.16	81.91	11.27	0.	0.13	0.	0.13	0.	0.39
1899:	799	78	650	57	1	0	0	0	7	6
%	100.	9.76	81.35	7.14	0.13	0.	0.	0.	0.88	0.75

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
SEROOSKERKE (SCH.)										
1815:	195	3	188	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.54	96.41	0.	2.05	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	214	1								
%	100.	0.47								
1839:	303	1	302	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.33	99.67	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	283	0	282	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	99.65	0.	0.	0.35	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	314	0	308	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	98.09	1.91	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	331	3	328	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.91	99.09	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	331	0	323	8	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	97.58	2.42	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	332	0	311	21	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	93.67	6.33	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1899:	321	1	298	22	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.31	92.84	6.85	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
SEROOSKERKE (WALCH.)										
1815:	674	0	674	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	795	5								
%	100.	0.63								
1839:	825	0	825	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	930	0	890	37	0	2	0	0	0	1
%	100.	0.	95.70	3.98	0.	0.22	0.	0.	0.	0.11
1859:	911	2	845	60	0	4	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.22	92.76	6.59	0.	0.44	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	1026	0	906	117	0	3	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	88.30	11.40	0.	0.29	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	1169	0	1078	89	0	2	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	92.22	7.61	0.	0.17	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1169	1	417	681	0	1	0	0	32	37
%	100.	0.09	35.67	58.25	0.	0.09	0.	0.	2.74	3.17
1899:	1224	0	376	835	0	2	0	0	10	1
%	100.	0.	30.72	68.22	0.	0.16	0.	0.	0.82	0.08

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
SINT-ANNALAND										
1815:	1277	1	1271	0	1	0	0	0	0	4
%	100.	0.08	99.53	0.	0.08	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.31
1829:	1604	1								
%	100.	0.06								
1839:	1694	1	1682	0	0	0	0	11	0	0
%	100.	0.06	99.29	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.65	0.	0.
1849:	1632	16	1601	15	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.98	98.10	0.92	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	2019	25	1841	150	0	0	0	0	0	3
%	100.	1.24	91.18	7.43	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.15
1869:	2118	12	1903	203	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.57	89.85	9.58	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	2345	10	1860	475	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.43	79.32	20.26	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	2397	9	1973	384	0	0	1	0	2	28
%	100.	0.38	82.31	16.02	0.	0.	0.04	0.	0.08	1.17
1899:	2405	6	1951	448	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.25	81.12	18.63	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
SINT-JANSSTEEN										
1815:	1180	1180	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	1377	1376								
%	100.	99.93								
1839:	1508	1493	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	99.01	0.99	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	1618	1609	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	99.44	0.56	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	1641	1633	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	99.51	0.49	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	1827	1815	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	99.34	0.66	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	1910	1893	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	99.11	0.89	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	2300	2278	22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	99.04	0.96	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1899:	2632	2620	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	99.54	0.46	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
SINT-KRUIS										
1815:	484	204	280	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	42.15	57.85	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	551	300								
%	100.	54.45								
1839:	540	282	258	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	52.22	47.78	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	562	325	237	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	57.83	42.17	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	590	337	253	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	57.12	42.88	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	657	398	259	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	60.58	39.42	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	749	474	274	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	63.28	36.58	0.	0.	0.13	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	690	438	250	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
%	100.	63.48	36.23	0.	0.	0.14	0.	0.	0.14	0.
1899:	677	464	209	1	0	0	0	0	3	0
%	100.	68.54	30.87	0.15	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.44	0.

	POP	RC	NHK + BRIGDAMME	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
SINT-LAURENS										
1815:	410	0	408	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	99.51	0.	0.	0.49	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	415	0								
%	100.	0.								
1839:	473	0	473	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	489	0	487	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	99.59	0.20	0.	0.20	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	446	1	430	15	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.22	96.41	3.36	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	453	0	410	42	0	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	90.51	9.27	0.	0.22	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	622	0	548	73	0	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	88.10	11.74	0.	0.16	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	549	0	357	165	0	0	0	0	1	26
%	100.	0.	65.03	30.05	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.18	4.74
1899:	578	0	271	307	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	46.89	53.11	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
SINT-MAARTENSDIJK										
1815:	1352	2	1340	0	3	0	0	7	0	0
%	100.	0.15	99.11	0.	0.22	0.	0.	0.52	0.	0.
1829:	1730	12								
%	100.	0.69								
1839:	1893	7	1882	0	0	0	0	4	0	0
%	100.	0.37	99.42	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.21	0.	0.
1849:	2031	8	1999	10	8	0	0	6	0	0
%	100.	0.39	98.42	0.49	0.39	0.	0.	0.30	0.	0.
1859:	2192	2	2122	52	0	0	0	10	0	6
%	100.	0.09	96.81	2.37	0.	0.	0.	0.46	0.	0.27
1869:	2408	0	2334	71	1	1	0	1	0	0
%	100.	0.	96.93	2.95	0.04	0.04	0.	0.04	0.	0.
1877:	2551	0	2476	56	8	1	0	10	0	0
%	100.	0.	97.06	2.20	0.31	0.04	0.	0.39	0.	0.
1889:	2795	0	2714	64	1	1	0	6	0	9
%	100.	0.	97.10	2.29	0.04	0.04	0.	0.21	0.	0.32
1899:	2791	2	2637	137	0	0	0	3	12	0
%	100.	0.07	94.48	4.91	0.	0.	0.	0.11	0.43	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
SINT-PHILIPSLAND										
1815:	421	0	421	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	516	0								
%	100.	0.								
1839:	599	0	599	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	721	2	546	172	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.28	75.73	23.86	0.14	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	1184	16	734	434	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.35	61.99	36.66	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	1360	16	767	575	0	0	0	0	0	2
%	100.	1.18	56.40	42.28	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.15
1877:	1608	0	585	1023	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	36.38	63.62	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1588	2	681	902	3	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.13	42.88	56.80	0.19	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1899:	1727	3	609	1111	2	0	0	0	2	0
%	100.	0.17	35.26	64.33	0.12	0.	0.	0.	0.12	0.

	POP	RC	NHK +HEILLE,	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
SLUIS			GEREF LUTH BAP REM							
1815:	1840	518	1307	0	7	8	0	0	0	0
%	100.	28.15	71.03	0.	0.38	0.43	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	2478	1260								
%	100.	50.85								
1839:	2356	1186	1167	0	0	0	0	3	0	0
%	100.	50.34	49.53	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.13	0.	0.
1849:	2436	1224	1191	0	6	6	0	9	0	0
%	100.	50.25	48.89	0.	0.25	0.25	0.	0.37	0.	0.
1859:	2195	1137	1029	16	3	3	0	6	0	1
%	100.	51.80	46.88	0.73	0.14	0.14	0.	0.27	0.	0.05
1869:	2340	1138	1147	42	3	4	0	0	0	6
%	100.	48.63	49.02	1.79	0.13	0.17	0.	0.	0.	0.26
1877:	2408	1281	1123	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
%	100.	53.20	46.64	0.	0.	0.17	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	2415	1357	1021	14	2	4	0	0	1	16
%	100.	56.19	42.28	0.58	0.08	0.17	0.	0.	0.04	0.66
1899:	2385	1414	944	0	1	4	0	0	10	12
%	100.	59.29	39.58	0.	0.04	0.17	0.	0.	0.42	0.50

	POP	RC	NHK + OOST & WEST S.	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
SOUBURG			GEREF LUTH BAP REM							
1815:	749	16	720	0	1	6	0	6	0	0
%	100.	2.14	96.13	0.	0.13	0.80	0.	0.80	0.	0.
1829:	857	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.82	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1839:	929	3	926	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.32	99.68	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	1018	5	987	7	9	6	0	4	0	0
%	100.	0.49	96.95	0.69	0.88	0.59	0.	0.39	0.	0.
1859:	957	5	929	13	2	6	0	2	0	0
%	100.	0.52	97.07	1.36	0.21	0.63	0.	0.21	0.	0.
1869:	1647	480	1155	7	3	2	0	0	0	0
%	100.	29.14	70.13	0.43	0.18	0.12	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	1208	14	1180	7	1	6	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.16	97.68	0.58	0.08	0.50	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1537	29	1344	123	7	9	0	4	11	10
%	100.	1.89	87.44	8.	0.46	0.59	0.	0.26	0.72	0.65
1899:	2295	81	1698	487	4	6	0	2	7	10
%	100.	3.53	73.99	21.22	0.17	0.26	0.	0.09	0.30	0.44

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
STAVENISSE			GEREF LUTH BAP REM							
1815:	850	1	849	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.12	99.88	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	1082	2								
%	100.	0.18								
1839:	1213	3	1210	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.25	99.75	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	1264	4	1260	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.32	99.68	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	1291	2	1288	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.15	99.77	0.	0.08	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	1455	0	1455	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	1543	0	1543	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1606	1	1603	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.06	99.81	0.12	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1899:	1604	0	1567	33	0	0	0	4	0	0
%	100.	0.	97.69	2.06	0.	0.	0.	0.25	0.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
STOPPELDIJK										
1815:	1169	1139	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	97.43	2.57	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	1335	1335	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1839:	1393	1377	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	98.85	1.15	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	1478	1449	29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	98.04	1.96	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	1490	1474	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	98.93	1.07	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	1674	1651	23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	98.63	1.37	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	1809	1774	33	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	98.07	1.82	0.11	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1645	1626	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	98.84	1.16	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1899:	1540	1503	26	11	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	97.59	1.69	0.72	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
TERNEUZEN										
1815:	1385	70	1313	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	5.05	94.80	0.	0.07	0.07	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	1903	216								
%	100.	11.35								
1839:	2812	471	2335	0	0	0	0	6	0	0
%	100.	16.75	83.04	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.21	0.	0.
1849:	2877	526	2185	96	25	3	0	39	0	3
%	100.	18.28	75.95	3.34	0.87	0.10	0.	1.36	0.	0.10
1859:	3113	635	2331	107	9	1	0	30	0	0
%	100.	20.40	74.88	3.44	0.29	0.03	0.	0.96	0.	0.
1869:	3724	612	2751	299	9	0	0	21	0	32
%	100.	16.43	73.87	8.03	0.24	0.	0.	0.56	0.	0.86
1877:	4497	741	3286	397	22	4	0	25	0	22
%	100.	16.48	73.07	8.83	0.49	0.09	0.	0.56	0.	0.49
1889:	6244	1117	4400	572	23	8	2	27	46	49
%	100.	17.89	70.47	9.16	0.37	0.13	0.03	0.43	0.74	0.78
1899:	8174	1571	5607	820	20	14	1	24	67	50
%	100.	19.22	68.60	10.03	0.24	0.17	0.01	0.29	0.82	0.61

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
THOLEN										
1815:	1898	315	1571	0	2	1	0	9	0	0
%	100.	16.60	82.77	0.	0.11	0.05	0.	0.47	0.	0.
1829:	2159	334								
%	100.	15.47								
1839:	2394	360	2034	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	15.04	84.96	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	2423	382	2000	39	1	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	15.77	82.54	1.61	0.04	0.04	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	2523	372	2023	123	4	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	14.74	80.18	4.88	0.16	0.04	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	2632	321	2115	188	2	3	3	0	0	0
%	100.	12.20	80.36	7.14	0.08	0.11	0.11	0.	0.	0.
1877:	2723	351	2134	236	1	0	1	0	0	0
%	100.	12.89	78.37	8.67	0.04	0.	0.04	0.	0.	0.
1889:	2932	291	1978	606	0	1	1	0	49	6
%	100.	9.92	67.46	20.67	0.	0.03	0.03	0.	1.67	0.20
1899:	3076	276	2172	590	3	3	1	0	31	0
%	100.	8.97	70.61	19.18	0.10	0.10	0.03	0.	1.01	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
VEERE										
1815:	1275	87	1120	0	68	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	6.82	87.84	0.	5.33	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	921	106								
%	100.	11.51								
1839:	1082	153	929	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	14.14	85.86	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	975	121	814	15	14	5	0	6	0	0
%	100.	12.41	83.49	1.54	1.44	0.51	0.	0.62	0.	0.
1859:	923	117	768	16	6	0	0	0	0	16
%	100.	12.68	83.21	1.73	0.65	0.	0.	0.	0.	1.73
1869:	1354	275	1027	42	1	2	0	7	0	0
%	100.	20.31	75.85	3.10	0.07	0.15	0.	0.52	0.	0.
1877:	1145	63	967	100	6	2	1	3	0	3
%	100.	5.50	84.45	8.73	0.52	0.17	0.09	0.26	0.	0.26
1889:	806	28	569	190	0	0	0	0	6	13
%	100.	3.47	70.60	23.57	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.74	1.61
1899:	874	58	519	276	3	2	1	0	14	1
%	100.	6.64	59.38	31.58	0.34	0.23	0.11	0.	1.60	0.11

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
VLISSINGEN										
1815:	4538	1059	3174	0	283	21	0	1	0	0
%	100.	23.34	69.94	0.	6.24	0.46	0.	0.02	0.	0.
1829:	8029	2050								
%	100.	25.53								
1839:	8981	2042	6890	0	0	0	0	49	0	0
%	100.	22.74	76.72	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.55	0.	0.
1849:	9926	2488	6822	0	501	30	1	75	0	9
%	100.	25.07	68.73	0.	5.05	0.30	0.01	0.76	0.	0.09
1859:	10922	2758	7443	44	444	42	13	85	0	93
%	100.	25.25	68.15	0.40	4.07	0.38	0.12	0.78	0.	0.85
1869:	9489	2609	6313	140	291	47	2	83	0	4
%	100.	27.49	66.53	1.48	3.07	0.50	0.02	0.87	0.	0.04
1877:	10181	2699	6984	74	254	52	1	113	0	4
%	100.	26.51	68.60	0.73	2.49	0.51	0.01	1.11	0.	0.04
1889:	13165	3468	8183	755	316	101	9	92	219	22
%	100.	26.34	62.16	5.73	2.40	0.77	0.07	0.70	1.66	0.17
1899:	18893	4841	11517	1146	416	168	8	125	651	21
%	100.	25.62	60.96	6.07	2.20	0.89	0.04	0.66	3.45	0.11

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
VROUWENPOLDER										
1815:	791	0	791	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	853	6								
%	100.	0.70								
1839:	916	0	916	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	974	0	973	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	99.90	0.10	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	985	0	980	4	0	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	99.49	0.41	0.	0.10	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	1172	102	1041	27	1	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	8.70	88.82	2.30	0.09	0.09	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	1051	4	1024	23	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.38	97.43	2.19	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	945	0	432	475	0	1	0	0	0	37
%	100.	0.	45.71	50.26	0.	0.11	0.	0.	0.	3.92
1899:	909	1	404	495	0	0	1	0	8	0
%	100.	0.11	44.44	54.46	0.	0.	0.11	0.	0.88	0.

	POP	RC	NHK + VALKENISSE	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
WAARDE										
1815:	385	1	384	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.26	99.74	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	460	0								
%	100.	0.								
1839:	532	5	527	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.94	99.06	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	607	12	558	6	0	0	0	0	0	31
%	100.	1.98	91.93	0.99	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	5.11
1859:	648	29	551	68	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	4.48	85.03	10.49	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	700	36	596	68	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	5.14	85.14	9.71	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	760	23	654	83	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	3.03	86.05	10.92	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	751	17	612	93	0	1	0	0	0	28
%	100.	2.26	81.49	12.38	0.	0.13	0.	0.	0.	3.73
1899:	789	30	671	83	0	1	0	0	4	0
%	100.	3.80	85.04	10.52	0.	0.13	0.	0.	0.51	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
WATERLANDKERKJE										
1815:	412	158	253	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	38.35	61.41	0.	0.24	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	549	274								
%	100.	49.91								
1839:	579	252	327	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	43.52	56.48	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	623	320	303	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	51.36	48.64	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	553	296	249	8	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	53.53	45.03	1.45	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	580	309	271	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	53.28	46.72	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	681	382	290	9	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	56.09	42.58	1.32	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	648	349	289	9	0	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	53.86	44.60	1.39	0.	0.15	0.	0.	0.	0.
1899:	612	324	279	3	0	5	0	0	1	0
%	100.	52.94	45.59	0.49	0.	0.82	0.	0.	0.16	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
WEMELDINGE										
1815:	679	8	671	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.18	98.82	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	757	3								
%	100.	0.40								
1839:	796	0	796	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	873	0	844	26	1	1	0	1	0	0
%	100.	0.	96.68	2.98	0.11	0.11	0.	0.11	0.	0.
1859:	1002	7	995	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.70	99.30	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	1395	64	1302	6	0	1	0	0	0	22
%	100.	4.59	93.33	0.43	0.	0.07	0.	0.	0.	1.58
1877:	1498	6	1440	52	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.40	96.13	3.47	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1995	25	1874	30	0	1	1	0	0	64
%	100.	1.25	93.93	1.50	0.	0.05	0.05	0.	0.	3.21
1899:	1966	32	1844	19	0	3	5	0	2	61
%	100.	1.63	93.79	0.97	0.	0.15	0.25	0.	0.10	3.10

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
WESTDORPE										
1815:	1001	1001	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	1189	1186								
%	100.	99.75								
1839:	1346	1295	51	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	96.21	3.79	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	1419	1372	47	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	96.69	3.31	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	1381	1347	34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	97.54	2.46	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	1424	1388	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
%	100.	97.47	2.25	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.28
1877:	1653	1601	52	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	96.85	3.15	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1786	1723	50	12	0	0	0	0	1	0
%	100.	96.47	2.80	0.67	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.06	0.
1899:	1817	1771	46	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	97.47	2.53	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
WESTKAPELLE + W.STAD, W.BUITEN, POPPEKERKE										
1815:	1227	1	1224	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.08	99.76	0.	0.16	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	1691	1								
%	100.	0.06								
1839:	1892	2	1890	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.11	99.89	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	1914	5	1908	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.26	99.69	0.	0.05	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	1972	13	1942	17	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.66	98.48	0.86	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	2085	0	2079	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	99.71	0.29	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	2151	2	2138	11	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.09	99.40	0.51	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1955	0	1892	43	0	0	0	0	8	12
%	100.	0.	96.78	2.20	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.41	0.61
1899:	1872	0	1724	144	0	0	0	0	4	0
%	100.	0.	92.09	7.69	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.22	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
WISSEKERKE + GEERSDIJK, CAMPENS-NIEUWLAND, 'S-GRAVE										
1815:	1499	2	1496	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.13	99.80	0.	0.07	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	2038	20								
%	100.	0.98								
1839:	2271	6	2263	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
%	100.	0.26	99.65	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.09	0.	0.
1849:	2468	3	2458	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.12	99.59	0.28	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	2638	8	2608	16	1	0	0	5	0	0
%	100.	0.30	98.86	0.61	0.04	0.	0.	0.19	0.	0.
1869:	3428	1	3043	379	0	1	0	0	0	4
%	100.	0.03	88.77	11.06	0.	0.03	0.	0.	0.	0.12
1877:	3414	2	3069	336	0	1	0	0	0	6
%	100.	0.06	89.89	9.84	0.	0.03	0.	0.	0.	0.18
1889:	3071	0	2559	510	0	0	0	0	2	0
%	100.	0.	83.33	16.61	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.07	0.
1899:	3186	0	2540	643	0	3	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	79.73	20.18	0.	0.09	0.	0.	0.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
WOLPHAARTSDIJK										
1815:	858	3	855	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.35	99.65	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	1021	20								
%	100.	1.96								
1839:	1259	4	1253	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
%	100.	0.32	99.52	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.16	0.	0.
1849:	1388	9	1287	83	0	0	0	3	0	6
%	100.	0.65	92.72	5.98	0.	0.	0.	0.22	0.	0.43
1859:	1599	30	1449	120	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.88	90.62	7.50	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	1794	21	1593	170	0	0	0	0	0	10
%	100.	1.17	88.80	9.48	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.56
1877:	2098	0	1875	223	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	89.37	10.63	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	2046	39	1679	269	0	1	1	0	5	52
%	100.	1.91	82.06	13.15	0.	0.05	0.05	0.	0.24	2.54
1899:	2101	37	1719	341	1	0	0	0	3	0
%	100.	1.76	81.81	16.23	0.05	0.	0.	0.	0.15	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
YERSEKE										
1815:	568	0	568	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	743	5								
%	100.	0.67								
1839:	758	5	753	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.66	99.34	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	808	3	779	26	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	0.	0.37	96.41	3.22	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	850	1	802	47	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.12	94.35	5.53	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	1009	0	883	126	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	87.51	12.49	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	1723	4	1521	190	2	0	0	0	0	6
%	100.	0.23	88.28	11.03	0.12	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.35
1889:	3711	96	2643	585	10	0	0	0	67	310
%	100.	2.59	71.22	15.76	0.27	0.	0.	0.	1.81	8.35
1899:	4333	165	2958	644	3	3	2	1	55	502
%	100.	3.81	68.27	14.86	0.07	0.07	0.05	0.02	1.27	11.59

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
ZAAMSLAG										
1815:	1518	60	1456	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	3.95	95.92	0.	0.13	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	1894	57								
%	100.	3.01								
1839:	2171	80	2091	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	3.68	96.32	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	2400	168	2200	31	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	7.	91.67	1.29	0.04	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	2503	109	2243	149	2	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	4.35	89.61	5.95	0.08	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	2717	100	2300	306	2	0	0	0	0	9
%	100.	3.68	84.65	11.26	0.07	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.33
1877:	2830	115	2420	226	2	0	0	0	0	67
%	100.	4.06	85.51	7.99	0.07	0.	0.	0.	0.	2.37
1889:	2913	98	1972	782	1	0	0	0	11	49
%	100.	3.36	67.70	26.85	0.03	0.	0.	0.	0.38	1.68
1899:	3220	83	2080	1008	0	0	0	0	17	32
%	100.	2.58	64.60	31.30	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.53	0.99

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
ZIERIKZEE										
1815:	6260	1403	4633	0	192	12	0	20	0	0
%	100.	22.41	74.01	0.	3.07	0.19	0.	0.32	0.	0.
1829:	6452	1506								
%	100.	23.34								
1839:	6890	1681	5156	0	0	0	0	53	0	0
%	100.	24.40	74.83	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.77	0.	0.
1849:	7092	1731	5049	68	163	5	1	68	0	7
%	100.	24.41	71.19	0.96	2.30	0.07	0.01	0.96	0.	0.10
1859:	7345	1628	5299	202	135	1	1	75	0	4
%	100.	22.16	72.14	2.75	1.84	0.01	0.01	1.02	0.	0.05
1869:	7834	1589	5737	295	153	1	1	51	0	7
%	100.	20.28	73.23	3.77	1.95	0.01	0.01	0.65	0.	0.09
1877:	7395	1492	5531	204	118	7	2	40	0	1
%	100.	20.18	74.79	2.76	1.60	0.09	0.03	0.54	0.	0.01
1889:	7060	1211	4914	674	145	6	4	49	37	20
%	100.	17.15	69.60	9.55	2.05	0.08	0.06	0.69	0.52	0.28
1899:	6818	1013	4781	752	110	5	8	28	102	19
%	100.	14.86	70.12	11.03	1.61	0.07	0.12	0.41	1.50	0.28

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
ZONNEMAIRE + BOMMENEDE, BLOYS										
1815:	662	0	661	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	99.85	0.	0.15	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	816	2								
%	100.	0.25								
1839:	898	0	898	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	969	2	954	0	8	5	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.21	98.45	0.	0.83	0.52	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	990	1	988	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.10	99.80	0.	0.10	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	997	2	983	12	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.20	98.60	1.20	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	1028	0	1000	28	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	97.28	2.72	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1050	1	954	88	0	0	0	0	0	7
%	100.	0.10	90.86	8.38	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.67
1899:	1058	1	899	156	0	0	0	0	2	0
%	100.	0.10	84.97	14.74	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.19	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
ZOUTELANDE + BOUDEWIJNSKERKE, ST. JANSKERKE, WEEREND										
1815:	425	0	425	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	502	0								
%	100.	0.								
1839:	527	0	527	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	536	0	522	14	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	97.39	2.61	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	547	0	536	11	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.	97.99	2.01	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	607	1	586	20	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.16	96.54	3.29	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	627	3	604	20	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	0.48	96.33	3.19	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	648	0	510	100	0	0	0	0	0	38
%	100.	0.	78.70	15.43	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	5.86
1899:	669	0	508	160	0	0	0	0	1	0
%	100.	0.	75.93	23.92	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.15	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
ZUIDDORPE										
1815:	580	577	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	99.48	0.52	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	865	864								
%	100.	99.88								
1839:	847	838	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	98.94	1.06	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	983	982	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	99.90	0.10	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	975	972	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	99.69	0.31	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	909	908	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	99.89	0.11	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	968	968	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	936	936	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1899:	1014	1014	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	100.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.

	POP	RC	NHK	GEREF	LUTH	BAP	REM	JEW	NO	ODDS
ZUIDZANDE										
1815:	686	12	671	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.75	97.81	0.	0.44	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1829:	926	34								
%	100.	3.67								
1839:	965	13	952	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.35	98.65	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
1849:	1091	29	1060	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	2.66	97.16	0.	0.09	0.09	0.	0.	0.	0.
1859:	1052	31	1013	0	6	2	0	0	0	0
%	100.	2.95	96.29	0.	0.57	0.19	0.	0.	0.	0.
1869:	1089	21	1059	1	7	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.93	97.25	0.09	0.64	0.09	0.	0.	0.	0.
1877:	1209	22	1184	0	2	1	0	0	0	0
%	100.	1.82	97.93	0.	0.17	0.08	0.	0.	0.	0.
1889:	1067	30	944	68	6	4	0	0	13	2
%	100.	2.81	88.47	6.37	0.56	0.37	0.	0.	1.22	0.19
1899:	1098	24	1016	37	3	0	0	0	8	10
%	100.	2.19	92.53	3.37	0.27	0.	0.	0.	0.73	0.91

A. Classification

The census enumerators recorded a very large number of different religions, and it has been necessary and convenient to reduce them to just nine. The following classification process has been followed, wherever possible:

- NHK: All members, under all nomenclatures, of the principal Calvinist denomination, the Nederlandsche Hervormde Kerk. Though disestablished, this amounted to a national church. Because in some sources no further distinction is made, also included are the Waals-hervormden, Engels-hervormden (Presbyterians), & Schots-hervormden.
- LUTH: Evangelisch-Lutherschen & Herstelde Lutherschen.
- BAPT: Baptists, Mennonites, Doopsgezinden.
- REM: Remonstranten.
- GEREF: Seceders from the NHK, not otherwise categorized, at various times including: Afgescheidenen, Christelijke Afgescheidenen, Christelijke Gereformeerden, members of the Gereformeerde Kerken, etc., etc.
- RC: Roman Catholics and Oud-Katholieken.
- JEW: Nederduitsche & Portuguesche Jews.
- ODDS: 'Other/Miscellaneous' denominations, including: those of otherwise unlisted sects, of unknown religion, Anglicans (Episcopalians), Moravische Broeders, etc.
- NO: Those of specifically 'no' religion.

For a more extensive description of the classification, see Section II.A of the main text.

The days of the year of the various censuses are as follows:

- 1815: 1 January 1815 (see J.C. Ramaer, 1931, 221). The source for this appendix (RAZ, Aanwinsten, 1960, no. 17, sub. 60) is attributed by the author of the archive inventory (G.F. Sandberg) to 1816. The actual date is 1815, as is ascertained by comparison of the population totals of the gemeenten with data in other sources (e.g. Notulen van de Provinciale Staten (1825), 113-17; RAZ, Provinciaal Bestuur 1814-50, no. 3233, doc. entitled 'Bevolking van 1815'; & *ibid.*, no. 3242, doc. entitled 'Staat der geheele bevolking binnen de stad Middelburg...1815').
- 1829: 16 November, 1829 (see A.C. de Vooys, 1963, 44).
- 1839: The date of the '1839' census data quoted by Ramaer (J.C. Ramaer, 1909, 65-68) is technically 1 January 1840 (see Staten, 1841, title page).
- 1849: 19 November 1849 (Uitkomsten, 1852-53, title page).
- 1859: 31 December 1859 (Uitkomsten, 1863-64, title page).
- 1869: 1 December 1869 (Uitkomsten, 1873-75, title page).
- 1877: 31 December 1877 (RAZ, Provinciaal bestuur 1851-1910, no. 4383q).
- 1889: 31 December 1889 (Uitkomsten, 1891, title page).
- 1899: 31 December 1899 (Uitkomsten, 1901, title page).

C. Sources

Initially it was attempted to use, wherever available, sources already published in academic monographs, in order to avoid unnecessary duplication. In the course of collation, it became apparent

that, firstly, there was an unacceptably high incidence of error - of computation and of transcription - in what was already published; and secondly, that to co-ordinate the work of several authors interested in widely differing viewpoints was a thankless and unfruitful task. Therefore the original data were sought out.

1815: In the ARA (State Archives) there are data concerning a census held by the provincial governors on 1 January 1815 (see J.C. Ramaer, 1931, 221). Two MS copies of the Zeeland figures are to be found in the provincial archives in Middelburg: RAZ, Aanwinsten, 1960, no. 17, sub. 60; & amongst RAZ, Provinciaal bestuur 1814-50, no. 4960. The two versions differ slightly: the former has been used as a basic text, and the latter for purposes of minor corrections (see below, on errors). As far as is known, this source, entitled 'Staat van bevolking van den provincie Zeeland', has never been published. Its presentation here, and possible publication at a later date, will fill (for Zeeland at least) the hiatus in published Dutch population statistics bemoaned by De Kok (see J.A. de Kok, 1964, 270 & 275). The source, wrongly dated by the inventory (see above, on dates), is a particularly useful one, with details for every gemeente on each of twenty subjects: total population; males, males under 18, between 18 and 50, & over 50; females; married or widowed persons; ten categories of religion; and three of poor-relief. It appears to have a very low incidence of inaccuracy for a transcribed document (see below, on errors). Only the data on total population and religious denomination have been reproduced here in Appendix 1.

- 1829: The 1829 census data have never been published in their entirety (A.C. de Vooy, 1963, 45), but in J.A. de Kok, 1964, 350-62 the totals of population and the numbers of Catholics in each gemeente of Zeeland are laid out. De Kok's book is notable for the high quality of his research into archival sources.
- 1839: Figures for each gemeente, in percentage form, were published and used by Ramaer in his polemical plea for a change in the Dutch electoral system, on the grounds that religious groups were inequitably represented before the introduction of proportional representation (J.C. Ramaer, 1909, 44-50 & 65-68). The tables are not always accurate: the figures for Middelburg do not add up to 100 % (ibid., p. 66), and errors also occur in the data for Colijnsplaat, Nisse, Nieuwvliet, & Oostburg. Therefore we have returned to the original census (Staten, 1841). Only four categories of religion are provided there: Protestant, Catholic, Jew and Other.
- 1849: Again the data already published in monograph form, this time by De Kok, is unsatisfactory (J.A. de Kok, 1964, 350-62). There are several errors (in Bommenede, Brouwershaven, Goes, Kloetinge, Oudelande & Zieriksee), and the rearrangement of the 19 religious categories used by the enumerators into the nine used by De Kok lacks consistency. Therefore the census information itself has been used (Uitkomsten, 1852-53, vol. on Zeeland, pp. 32-37).
- 1859: See Uitkomsten, 1863-64, vol. I (1863), pp. 428-32.
- 1869: See Uitkomsten, 1873-75, vol. I (1873), pp. 402-07.

- 1877: Instead of taking data from the 1879 national census (see A.C. de Vooy, 1963, 45), an unpublished - and possibly unknown - source for 1877 has been used. It is a MS collection entitled 'Provincie Zeeland - staat van de bevolking naar de godsdienstige gezindheden op den 31sten december 1877', and is found in RAZ, Provinciaal bestuur 1851-1910, no. 4383q. The collection is a bundle of printed forms, one completed in (varying) handwriting for each gemeente in Zeeland, with the exception of IJzendijke. Fifteen denominations are used, together with columns for a total and for remarks. There are a few clerical errors (see below, on errors), but the source seems to be generally accurate and reliable. The hiatus - IJzendijke - has been filled as follows. The population of the town was 2,889 on 31 December 1877 (see Verslag van Gedeputeerde Staten (1877), bijlage 1, p. 14). In 1872 in IJzendijke the percentage of the various denominations was 34.22 % NHK, 65.59 % R.C., & 0.19% Others (Bevolking, 1969, 4). These percentages have been entered onto the appendix data base, and the (hypothetical) absolute numbers calculated from them.
- 1889: The source is the published census data (Uitkomsten, 1891, 383-97).
- 1899: Ramaer provides percentage figures for 1899, as with 1839 (J.C. Ramaer, 1909, 65-68). Once again, the original census data (Uitkomsten, 120-75) are taken in preference because of inconsistency in reducing the original fourteen categories to his ten.

N.b. the boundaries of certain gemeenten changed during the 84 years

which Appendix 1 covers: the methodology employed has been to use the 1899 situation as a base-line, and to mould previous data to fit it. As a result, for instance, the old municipalities of Bommene, Gapinge, 's-Heer Hendrikskinderen, Heille, Kleverskerke, & Sint Anna ter Muiden have been merged into (respectively) Zonnemaire, Vrouwepolder, 's-Heer Arendskerke, Sluis, Arnemuiden, and Sluis again. This is shown, wherever possible, by the listing of principal districts of the various gemeenten.

D. Corroboration

See above, on sources.

E. Errors

Many errors, apparent and actual, have been discovered in the course of assembling the data on computer files and running check-programs on them. They are listed below as an attempt to improve the quality of data in general use.

- 1815: The source used (RAZ, Aanwinsten, 1960, no. 17, sub. 60) contains four clerical errors, which have been corrected by comparison with the corroborating source (RAZ, Provinciaal bestuur, no. 4960):
- Ijzendijke: for 825 NHK members, read 845.
- Middelburg: for 434 Lutherans, read 454.
- Borsselle: for 0 Lutherans, read 2.
- Westkerke (part of Scherpenisse):
for 192 total population, read 129
(see *ibid.*, no. 3233).

- 1829: It has not been possible to check the internal consistency of the data, since they provide only population totals and numbers of Catholics.
- 1839: No errors discovered.
- 1849: The Middelburg data from *Uitkomsten, 1852-53, vol. on Zeeland*, p.32 adds up to 15,875, while the total population is given as 15,884.
- 1859: No errors discovered.
- 1869: No errors discovered.
- 1877: The following internal faults in the data source have been discovered:
- 's-Heerenhoek: the sum of the various denominations is 5 short of the total given.
- Hoofdplaat: total corrected from 1,605 to 1,605.
- Hulst: the sum of the denominations is 3 more than the total given.
- Ijzendijke: data missing (see above, on sources).
- Souburg: ink entries of 1,213 total and 1,187 NHK have been revised in the source in pencil to 1,208 and 1,180. The latter have been used here.
- 1889: No errors discovered.
- 1899: No errors discovered.

APPENDIX 2

Annual Data, 1826-76, on Zeeland's Total Population,
and Religious Denominations (with percentages)

Date	Total Population	<u>NHK</u>	Lutherans	Baptists	Remonstrants	<u>Gereformeerden</u> <u>(Afgescheidenen)</u>	Roman Catholics	Jews	Other/ Miscellaneous	No. Religion
1826:	133626	98125	1217	266	5	0	33618	393	2	0
%	100.00	73.43	0.91	0.20	0.00	0.00	25.16	0.29	0.00	0.00
1827:	133932	98668	1161	247	4	0	33455	396	1	0
%	100.00	73.67	0.87	0.18	0.00	0.00	24.98	0.30	0.00	0.00
1828:	134184	98551	1144	274	5	0	33822	387	1	0
%	100.00	73.44	0.85	0.20	0.00	0.00	25.21	0.29	0.00	0.00
1829:	135856	99953	1181	266	3	0	34003	449	1	0
%	100.00	73.57	0.87	0.20	0.00	0.00	25.03	0.33	0.00	0.00
1830:	135788	98891	1152	271	1	0	35076	397	0	0
%	100.00	72.83	0.85	0.20	0.00	0.00	25.83	0.29	0.00	0.00
1831:	135586	98625	1093	254	3	0	35198	412	1	0
%	100.00	72.74	0.81	0.19	0.00	0.00	25.96	0.30	0.00	0.00
1832:	135909	98802	1132	249	1	0	35270	454	1	0
%	100.00	72.70	0.83	0.18	0.00	0.00	25.95	0.33	0.00	0.00
1833:	137271	99872	1206	249	1	0	35475	468	0	0
%	100.00	72.76	0.88	0.18	0.00	0.00	25.84	0.34	0.00	0.00
1834:	138937	101090	1165	254	1	0	35937	490	0	0
%	100.00	72.76	0.84	0.18	0.00	0.00	25.87	0.35	0.00	0.00
1835:	140582	102697	1109	237	1	0	36025	496	17	0
%	100.00	73.05	0.79	0.17	0.00	0.00	25.63	0.35	0.01	0.00
1836:	142815	104248	1183	245	0	0	36562	539	38	0
%	100.00	73.00	0.83	0.17	0.00	0.00	25.60	0.38	0.03	0.00
1837:	144137	105475	1141	228	1	0	36733	558	1	0
%	100.00	73.18	0.79	0.16	0.00	0.00	25.48	0.39	0.00	0.00
1838:	145676	106407	1135	258	1	0	37323	552	0	0
%	100.00	73.04	0.78	0.18	0.00	0.00	25.62	0.38	0.00	0.00
1839:	148341	107349	1098	216	8	0	37918	591	1161	0
%	100.00	72.37	0.74	0.15	0.01	0.00	25.56	0.40	0.78	0.00
1840:	149958	108362	1055	233	3	0	38358	591	1356	0
%	100.00	72.26	0.70	0.16	0.00	0.00	25.58	0.39	0.90	0.00
1841:	152694	109912	1093	221	6	1014	38976	671	801	0
%	100.00	71.98	0.72	0.14	0.00	0.66	25.53	0.44	0.52	0.00
1842:	154000	110279	1144	225	6	1293	39501	675	877	0
%	100.00	71.61	0.74	0.15	0.00	0.84	25.65	0.44	0.57	0.00
1843:	154633	110595	1110	215	6	1378	39677	673	979	0
%	100.00	71.52	0.72	0.14	0.00	0.89	25.66	0.44	0.63	0.00
1844:	155149	110997	1106	220	4	1576	39716	667	863	0
%	100.00	71.54	0.71	0.14	0.00	1.02	25.60	0.43	0.56	0.00
1845:	157062	112107	1092	240	4	1486	40452	676	1005	0
%	100.00	71.38	0.70	0.15	0.00	0.95	25.76	0.43	0.64	0.00
1846:	156580	111418	1100	251	4	2652	40402	691	62	0
%	100.00	71.16	0.70	0.16	0.00	1.69	25.80	0.44	0.04	0.00
1847:	154921	110288	1053	243	13	2465	40130	711	18	0
%	100.00	71.19	0.68	0.16	0.01	1.59	25.90	0.46	0.01	0.00

Appendix 2, continued

Date	Pop.	<u>NHK</u>	Luth. Bapt.	Rem. <u>Geref.</u>	R.C.	Jew	Other	No		
1848:	155271	110561	1013	241	4	2525	40209	689	29	0
%	100.00	71.21	0.65	0.16	0.00	1.63	25.90	0.44	0.02	0.00
1849:	156725	111416	1224	272	8	2364	40604	670	167	0
%	100.00	71.09	0.78	0.17	0.01	1.51	25.91	0.43	0.11	0.00
1850:	161495	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
%	100.00									
1851:	160149	114271	1180	275	6	2718	40920	658	121	0
%	100.00	71.35	0.74	0.17	0.00	1.70	25.55	0.41	0.08	0.00
1852:	160785	114420	1150	259	6	3102	41066	662	120	0
%	100.00	71.16	0.72	0.16	0.00	1.93	25.54	0.41	0.07	0.00
1853:	162125	115407	1138	250	9	3310	41248	648	115	0
%	100.00	71.18	0.70	0.15	0.01	2.04	25.44	0.40	0.07	0.00
1854:	162651	115544	1150	251	7	3429	41494	659	117	0
%	100.00	71.04	0.71	0.15	0.00	2.11	25.51	0.41	0.07	0.00
1855:	161985	114924	1095	248	6	3691	41256	657	108	0
%	100.00	70.95	0.68	0.15	0.00	2.28	25.47	0.41	0.07	0.00
1856:	162947	115651	1134	245	2	3901	41360	639	15	0
%	100.00	70.97	0.70	0.15	0.00	2.39	25.38	0.39	0.01	0.00
1857:	163618	116017	1109	243	2	3832	41782	609	24	0
%	100.00	70.91	0.68	0.15	0.00	2.34	25.54	0.37	0.01	0.00
1858:	163830	115812	1124	245	2	4380	41465	646	156	0
%	100.00	70.69	0.69	0.15	0.00	2.67	25.31	0.39	0.10	0.00
1859:	164513	115541	1137	296	4	4826	41595	644	470	0
%	100.00	70.23	0.69	0.18	0.00	2.93	25.28	0.39	0.29	0.00
1860:	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
%	100.									
1861:	170131	119086	1162	280	12	4999	43338	663	591	0
%	100.00	70.00	0.68	0.16	0.01	2.94	25.47	0.39	0.35	0.00
1862:	172255	120538	1218	316	18	5423	43808	674	260	0
%	100.00	69.98	0.71	0.18	0.01	3.15	25.43	0.39	0.15	0.00
1863:	173160	121043	1248	336	13	5516	44090	654	260	0
%	100.00	69.90	0.72	0.19	0.01	3.19	25.46	0.38	0.15	0.00
1864:	174466	122213	1274	336	10	5699	44012	653	269	0
%	100.00	70.05	0.73	0.19	0.01	3.27	25.23	0.37	0.15	0.00
1865:	176169	123028	1267	340	13	5898	44769	632	222	0
%	100.00	69.84	0.72	0.19	0.01	3.35	25.41	0.36	0.13	0.00
1866:	177832	124134	1270	326	18	6168	44968	627	321	0
%	100.00	69.80	0.71	0.18	0.01	3.47	25.29	0.35	0.18	0.00
1867:	178998	124353	1268	329	21	6635	45428	616	348	0
%	100.00	69.47	0.71	0.18	0.01	3.71	25.38	0.34	0.19	0.00
1868:	179298	124629	1263	319	34	6613	45466	614	360	0
%	100.00	69.51	0.70	0.18	0.02	3.69	25.36	0.34	0.20	0.00
1869:	179436	123590	1238	361	32	8005	45524	572	114	0
%	100.00	68.88	0.69	0.20	0.02	4.46	25.37	0.32	0.06	0.00
1870:	181471	124343	1257	348	32	8786	46006	584	115	0
%	100.00	68.52	0.69	0.19	0.02	4.84	25.35	0.32	0.06	0.00
1871:	177533	120240	995	243	18	8355	46724	500	458	0
%	100.00	67.73	0.56	0.14	0.01	4.71	26.32	0.28	0.26	0.00
1872:	181650	123881	876	342	31	9479	46212	630	199	0
%	100.00	68.20	0.48	0.19	0.02	5.22	25.44	0.35	0.11	0.00
1873:	183365	125258	845	396	37	9524	46437	553	315	0
%	100.00	68.31	0.46	0.22	0.02	5.19	25.32	0.30	0.17	0.00
1874:	184215	125878	838	331	32	9724	46613	542	257	0
%	100.00	68.33	0.45	0.18	0.02	5.28	25.30	0.29	0.14	0.00
1875:	185628	126301	872	332	48	10067	47208	521	279	0
%	100.00	68.04	0.47	0.18	0.03	5.42	25.43	0.28	0.15	0.00
1876:	187046	127089	852	322	20	10194	47600	531	438	0
%	100.00	67.95	0.46	0.17	0.01	5.45	25.45	0.28	0.23	0.00

Note to Appendix 2: Sources, etc.

A. Classification

The classification of the various religions given in the sources into the nine denominations represented in Appendix 2 is the same as that described in the note to Appendix 1, except that the order of the last two groups has been reversed.

B. Dates

No data appear in the sources before 1826 or after 1876. The date for which the annual counts are valid is, generally speaking, 31 December. Occasionally identical figures can be found in other sources for 1 January of the ensuing year (e.g. the figures for 31 December 1837, 1838, & 1839 as printed in the Appendix are the same as those for 1 January 1838, 1839 & 1840 in the alternative source Zeeuwsche volks-almanak). The possible ambiguity here is reduced by the fact that the population is not likely to have changed very much in the course of 24 hours.

C. Sources

The data base is assembled from several sources; however, two predominate. For the years 1826-33 see Notulen van de Provinciale Staten; for 1834-49, 1851-59, 1862-65 & 1867-76 see Verslag van Gedeputeerde Staten. The missing years 1861 and 1866 are supplied from Zeeuwsch jaarboekje. 1850 and 1860 remain a problem: the figures were not published on the grounds that national census data would be forthcoming. The different methods of gathering information in the national and provincial exercises make it unwise to insert national census

data (available in Appendix 1) in this provincially gathered annual series.

D. Corroboration

Confirmation of the data in Appendix 2 can be obtained for 1837-39 from the alternative source Zeeusche volks-almanak; and for 1855, 1857, 1859 & 1862 from Zeeuwsch jaarboekje.

E. Errors

The source Notulen van de Provinciale Staten gives the 1833 total population as 137,270: this is assumed to be a clerical or printing error, and has been corrected to 137,271.

F. Definition of the Counts

Two ways of arriving at a count were employed by contemporary officials. One was to include all persons normally resident, including absent travellers, seamen & the like; the other was to count only those present at the time of assessment. The different totals are variously, and rather confusedly referred to in the sources as wettelijk, feitelijk and werkelijk (legal, actual and real). Wherever it has been possible to make a distinction, the larger figure (wettelijk or sometimes feitelijk) has been taken.

Appendix 3

Illegitimacy in the Gemeenten of Zeeland, 1840-64

Ref.	<u>Gemeente</u>	Pop. in 1859	Illeg. Rate*	Ref.	<u>Gemeente</u>	Pop. in 1859	Illeg. Rate*
46.	AAGTEKERKE	416.	26.00	67.	NIEUWERKERK	1101.	29.00
85.	AARDENBURG	1655.	44.00	4.	NIEUWLIET	617.	37.00
38.	ARNEMUIDEN	1487.	27.00	26.	NISSE	541.	39.00
99.	AXEL	2529.	32.00	64.	NOORDGOUWE	717.	35.00
31.	BAARLAND	632.	29.00	57.	NOORDWELLE	448.	21.00
93.	BIERVLIET	2068.	44.00	86.	OOSTBURG	1661.	51.00
43.	BIGGEKERKE	531.	16.00	69.	OOSTERLAND	1340.	43.00
22.	BORSSELE	877.	33.00	48.	OOSTKAPELLE	849.	16.00
107.	BOSCHKAPELLE	1048.	17.00	109.	OSSENSISSE	820.	24.00
79.	BRESKENS	1693.	86.00	77.	OUD-VOSSEMEER	1699.	30.00
9.	BROUWERSHAVEN	1572.	37.00	7.	OUDELANDE	576.	31.00
70.	BRUINISSE	1536.	22.00	68.	OUIWERKERK	705.	51.00
55.	BURGH	629.	47.00	5.	OVERSLAG	477.	23.00
81.	CADZAND	1162.	46.00	27.	OVEZANDE	783.	49.00
104.	CLINGE	1794.	80.00	95.	PHILIPPINE	552.	68.00
33.	COLIJNSPLAAT	1780.	51.00	75.	POORTVLIET	1727.	33.00
3.	DOMBURG	836.	44.00	56.	RENESE	515.	38.00
65.	DREISCHOR	1035.	29.00	82.	RETRANCHEMENT	762.	78.00
29.	DRIEWEGEN	476.	70.00	20.	RILLAND-BATH	1301.	29.00
60.	DUIVENDIJKE	446.	33.00	40.	RITTHEM	491.	21.00
87.	EED	1271.	23.00	96.	SAS VAN GENT	951.	69.00
59.	ELKERZEE	497.	29.00	76.	SCHERPENISSE	1202.	62.00
58.	ELLEMEET	458.	62.00	90.	SCHOONDIJKE	1709.	46.00
30.	ELLEWOUTSDIJK	761.	73.00	16.	SCHORE	525.	35.00
61.	GOES	5708.	61.00	1.	SEROOSKERKE (SCH.)	314.	54.00
105.	GRAAUW	1591.	27.00	50.	SEROOSKERKE (WALCH.)	911.	21.00
8.	GRAVENPOLDER, 'S-	673.	53.00	73.	SINT-ANNALAND	2019.	29.00
51.	GRIJPSKERKE	716.	15.00	103.	SINT-JANSSTEEN	1641.	40.00
80.	GROEDE	2463.	51.00	88.	SINT-KRUIS	590.	24.00
54.	HAAMSTED	848.	39.00	52.	SINT-LAURENS	446.	16.00
25.	HEER-ABTSKERKE, 'S-	294.	43.00	74.	SINT-MAARTENSDIJK	2192.	49.00
21.	HEER-ARENDSKERKE, 'S-	2247.	43.00	71.	SINT-PHILIPSLAND	1184.	29.00
23.	HEERENHOEK, 'S-	770.	26.00	84.	SLUIS	2195.	64.00
24.	HEINKENSZAND	1492.	52.00	2.	SOUBURG	957.	22.00
108.	HENGSTDIJK	702.	20.00	72.	STAVENISSE	1291.	29.00
28.	HOEDEKENSKERKE	857.	33.00	49.	STOPPELDIJK	1490.	28.00
94.	HOEK	1465.	25.00	97.	TERNEUZEN	3113.	69.00
106.	HONTENISSE	4799.	22.00	78.	THOLEN	2523.	28.00
91.	HOOFDPLAAT	1367.	44.00	37.	VEERE	923.	85.00
6.	HULST	2255.	46.00	41.	VLISSINGEN	10922.	99.00
92.	IJZENDIJKE	2457.	42.00	36.	VROUWENPOLDER	985.	9.00
14.	KAPELLE	1416.	36.00	19.	WAARDE	648.	74.00
34.	KATS	431.	31.00	89.	WATERLANDKERKJE	553.	58.00
11.	KATTENDIJKE	846.	26.00	12.	WEMELDINGE	1002.	47.00
63.	KERKWERVE	566.	48.00	100.	WESTDORPE	1381.	54.00
13.	KLOETINGE	1002.	30.00	47.	WESTKAPELLE	1972.	19.00
102.	KOEWACHT	1865.	42.00	32.	WISSEKERKE	2638.	47.00
35.	KORTGENE	950.	57.00	10.	WOLPHAARTSDIJK	1599.	34.00
42.	KOUDEKERKE	1452.	18.00	15.	YERSEKE	850.	38.00
18.	KRABBENDIJKE	1014.	40.00	98.	ZAAMSLAG	2503.	26.00
17.	KRUININGEN	1574.	40.00	66.	ZIERIKZEE	7345.	63.00
45.	MELISKERKE	492.	12.00	62.	ZONNEMAIRE	990.	36.00
53.	MIDDELBURG	16088.	63.00	44.	ZOUTELANDE	547.	15.00
39.	NIEUW- EN ST.J.-LAND	683.	50.00	101.	ZUIDDORPE	975.	44.00
				83.	ZUIDZANDE	1052.	51.00

* Illegitimacy Rate: number of illegitimate (live & dead) births per 1,000 total (live & dead) births, 1840-64.

Sources: RAZ, Provinciaal Bestuur 1851-1910, no. 4383n; & Appendix 1.

Appendix 4

Annual Alcohol Consumption in the Gemeenten of Zeeland, c. 1850.

Ref.	Gemeente	Jenever Beer		Ref.	Gemeente	Jenever Beer	
		litres p.a. per cap.				litres p.a. per cap.	
46.	AAGTEKERKE	2.00	1.00	67.	NIEUWERKERK	2.50	6.00
85.	AARDENBURG	11.00	32.00	4.	NIEUWVLJET	7.00	4.00
38.	ARNEMUIDEN	1.75	1.25	26.	NISSE	2.50	2.50
99.	AXEL	4.00	20.00	64.	NOORDGOUWE	2.50	0.50
31.	BAARLAND	1.75	3.50	57.	NOORDWELLE	4.50	1.00
93.	BIERVLIET	5.00	14.00	86.	OOSTBURG	7.00	18.00
43.	BIGGEKERKE	1.00	2.00	69.	OOSTERLAND	1.50	0.00
22.	BORSSELE	3.00	1.25	48.	OOSTKAPELLE	3.25	0.00
107.	BOSCHKAPELLE	4.00	20.00	109.	OSSENISSE	5.75	33.00
79.	BRESKENS	8.00	12.50	77.	UD-VOSSEMEER	0.50	6.50
9.	BROUWERSHAVEN	12.00	5.00	7.	OUDELANDE	3.00	3.00
70.	BRUINISSE	3.50	0.00	68.	OUWERKERK	3.50	5.00
55.	BURGH	5.00	2.00	5.	OVERSLAG	0.75	12.00
81.	CADZAND	3.00	3.00	27.	OVEZANDE	4.00	2.75
104.	CLINGE	0.13	38.00	95.	PHILIPPINE	3.50	35.00
33.	COLIJNSPLAAT	4.00	7.00	75.	POORTVLIET	1.50	0.00
3.	DOMBURG	3.50	1.50	56.	RENESE	5.00	3.00
65.	DREISCHOR	3.00	1.00	82.	RETRANCHEMENT	2.00	2.50
29.	DRIEWEGEN	3.25	5.50	20.	RILLAND-BATH	10.25	20.00
60.	DUIVENDIJK	0.75	0.00	40.	RITTHEM	4.00	4.00
87.	EED	2.25	5.50	96.	SAS VAN GENT	6.75	32.00
59.	ELKERZEE	3.00	0.00	76.	SCHERPENISSE	4.00	0.00
58.	ELLEMEET	4.50	2.50	90.	SCHOONDIJK	4.50	9.50
30.	ELLEWOUTSDIJK	3.00	4.25	16.	SCHORE	0.50	2.50
61.	GOES	8.00	16.00	1.	SEROOSKERKE (SCH.)	4.00	1.33
105.	GRAAUW	2.00	12.00	50.	SEROOSKERKE (WALCH.)	3.50	1.00
8.	GRAVENPOLDER, 's-	5.25	3.33	73.	SINT-ANNA LAND	4.50	2.00
51.	GRIJPSKERKE	0.75	1.50	103.	SINT-JANSSTEEN	1.25	49.00
80.	GROEDE	6.00	10.00	88.	SINT-KRUIS	2.25	4.00
54.	HAAMSTED	5.33	0.00	52.	SINT-LAURENS	4.00	5.00
25.	HEER-ABTSKERKE, 's-	0.14	0.00	74.	SINT-MAARTENSDIJK	3.50	0.00
21.	HEER-ARENDSKERKE, 's-	3.50	3.75	71.	SINT-PHILIPSLAND	0.75	2.00
23.	HEERENHOEK, 's-	7.00	5.33	84.	SLUIS	6.50	14.00
24.	HEINKENZAND	4.25	4.75	2.	SOUBURG	5.00	16.00
108.	HENGSTDIJK	3.00	45.00	72.	STAVENISSE	3.50	1.75
28.	HOEDEKENSKERKE	5.00	0.75	49.	STOPPELDIJK	2.25	27.00
94.	HOEK	1.75	2.00	97.	TERNEUZEN	9.00	20.00
106.	HONTENISSE	3.50	41.00	78.	THOLEN	4.50	7.00
91.	HOOFDPLAAT	5.00	11.00	37.	VEERE	8.50	5.00
6.	HULST	8.00	18.50	41.	VLISSINGEN	14.00	8.00
92.	IJZENDIJK	4.00	19.00	36.	VROUWENPOLDER	2.50	2.00
14.	KAPELLE	2.50	2.75	19.	WAARDE	5.00	8.75
34.	KATS	2.50	1.33	89.	WATERLANDKERKJE	4.00	11.50
11.	KATTENDIJK	3.00	3.75	12.	WEMELDINGE	3.75	23.00
63.	KERKWERVE	3.50	0.00	100.	WESTDORPE	2.25	44.00
13.	KLOETINGE	3.25	2.50	47.	WESTKAPELLE	6.75	1.00
102.	KOEWACHT	1.25	23.00	32.	WISSEKERKE	2.75	2.50
35.	KORTGENE	4.00	6.33	10.	WOLPHAARTSDIJK	3.25	7.00
42.	KOUDEKERKE	6.75	10.00	15.	YERSEKE	3.00	6.00
18.	KRABBENDIJK	2.50	6.00	98.	ZAAMSLAG	1.75	3.75
17.	KRUININGEN	4.00	13.00	66.	ZIERIKZEE	9.25	11.00
45.	MELISKERKE	1.25	1.50	62.	ZONNEMARE	4.50	1.00
53.	MIDDELBURG	9.00	6.50	44.	ZOUTELANDE	1.00	0.00
39.	NIEUW- EN ST. J.-LAND	14.50	14.00	101.	ZUIDDORPE	2.00	33.00
				83.	ZUIDZANDE	3.25	4.50

Source: Hoeveelheid, 1851, 5-9.

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[N.b. Only sources cited in the text are listed in the bibliography. For a guide to comprehensive bibliographies on Zeeland, see Chapter II above, section 11.B.1.]

A. Archive Materials

[N.b. the first three letters of the title, e.g. 'ARA', refer to the depository in which the archive is located.]

Algemeen Riiksarchief. The Hague

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Het Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken 1796-1815.

ARA, Justitie.

Archief van de Minister van Justitie, 1813-76.

Gemeentearchief. Zierikzee

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Stad en gemeente Zierikzee, 1275-20e eeuw [includes various sub-archives, e.g.: Kamer van Koophandel, 19de eeuw].

Rijksarchief in Zeeland, Middelburg

RAZ, Aanwinsten.

Aanwinsten 1955-heden, 16e-20e eeuw.

RAZ, Biggekerke NHK.

Hervormde gemeente te Biggekerke, 1583-1949.

RAZ, Classis Walcheren.

NHK classis Walcheren, later classis Middelburg, 1574-1951.

RAZ, Classis Zuid-Beveland.

NHK classis van Zuid-Beveland, later classis Goes, 1577-1968.

RAZ, Commissie van Landbouw.

Commissie van Landbouw in Zeeland, 1805-1851.

RAZ, Districtcommissarissen.

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RAZ, Domnisse.

Persoonlijke verzameling Domnisse, 19e-20e eeuw.

RAZ, Geneeskundig staatstoezicht.

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