

A Public Catholic Museum

The Archepiscopal Museum Utrecht as an actor in the construction of Catholic image and identity in the late-nineteenth-century Netherlands.



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Vindicamus hereditatum patrum nostrum
We demand the heritage of our fathers

Slogan of the periodical *De Katholiek* [the Catholic], first published in 1840.

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Abstract

The Arch Episcopal Museum Utrecht opened in 1872 amidst vocal anti-Catholic sentiments. The museum rose to prominence and influenced the creation of a Catholic public image, and identity. The museum has not been studied as a cultural institute before. The museum's cultural impact is analysed using contemporary newspaper articles which have not been analysed before, and the concepts of public sphere, imagined communities, and cultural contact zones. The museum incorporated Catholic history in the Dutch historical narrative and normalized Catholicism in Dutch society. The museum did however not battle existing stereotypes of Catholicism. The museum contributed to the construction of a national Catholic identity by providing tangible heritage, creating a shared history for the Catholic community. The museum enforced an identity and image of Catholicism that placed it in a distinct pillar in Dutch, nineteenth-century society.

Introduction

The second half of the nineteenth century saw drastic changes to Dutch religious life. The liberal constitution of 1848 legalized Catholic organisations and institutes. In 1853 the episcopal hierarchy was re-established in the Netherlands; whose first Archbishop Mgr. Johan Zwijsen were to be seated in Utrecht. Since the last bishop left in 1592, Utrecht became the centre of the Netherlands' ecclesiastical governance again. It would however be until 1902 before the Archbishop started living in the Calvinist city of Utrecht.

In 1862 the first Catholic cultural centre opened. Amidst anti-papal sentiments in mid-nineteenth-

century Utrecht, Mgr. Gerard van Heukelum, a priest in Utrecht, opened his attic to the public. In it, he stored a collection of religious antiquities. This private collection grew, and Mgr. Van Heukelum moved his collection and opened a museum. In 1872 the *Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum Utrecht* (Archepiscopal Museum Utrecht, hereafter: ABM), opened in *Huis Loenersloot*, Kromme Nieuwegracht 20 (see fig. 1). In the following years museum attendance increased and the ABM rose to prominence as a museum of religious antiquities.¹ The ABM's collection is today part of *Rijksmuseum Catharijneconvent's* collection.

Van Heukelum started his collection to provide examples of medieval art for contemporary artists.² The quest for pure religious art, based on Catholicism's medieval heyday, led him to find the St. Bernulphus-guild in 1869 for Dutch, neo-Gothic artists.³ The guild kept close ties with the ABM, as the report of their twenty-fifth jubilee shows.

The relation of the ABM to the construction of Catholic image and identity in the late-nineteenth-century Netherlands is the subject of this thesis. Through close reading of contemporary newspaper articles the cultural impact of the ABM is analysed. This analysis discusses the question how the *Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum Utrecht* influenced the construction of Catholic image and identity in the late-nineteenth-century Netherlands.



Figure 1 View of *huis Loenersloot* ca. 1900, housing the *Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum*.

¹ Ton van Schaik, "Een minderheid wordt zichtbaar: Het Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum in de context van tijd en plaats" [A minority becomes visible: The Archepiscopal Museum in the context of its time and place], in *Naar de middeleeuwen: Het Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum in Utrecht vanaf het begin tot 1882* [To the Middle Ages: The Arch Episcopical Museum in Utrecht from its start till 1882], ed. Elmer Peters (Utrecht: Stichting Matrijs, 2012), 10.

² Ibid.

³ A.J. Looyenga, "Heukelum, Gerardus Wilhelmus van (1834-1910)," *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland* [Biographic Dictionary of the Netherlands], last modified Nov. 12, 2013, <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn2/heukelum>, accessed on Dec. 2, 2020.

The ABM had a split identity. The first, a *Catholic* identity, concerned the ABM as an institutional representation of Catholic culture. The ABM was a cultural ambassador in the construction of a Catholic image and identity. Secondly, there was the *secular* identity. As a collection of religious antiquities, it was envisioned as an institute that curated national heritage (for an impression of the exhibition, see fig. 2). The secular identity is not separated from the Catholic identity, for its role as a heritage institute normalized Catholicism by integrating Catholic heritage in Dutch historical narratives. This integration of Catholicism in Dutch national historiography was an essential element in the construction of a national Catholic identity.⁴



Figure 2 Clipping of *De Katholieke Illustratie* showing part of the ABM's permanent exhibition.

These identities had a mixed impact on public life. The historic canonization of Catholicism created historic legitimization for Catholicism. By providing a historic narrative in which modern Catholicism links back to the Middle Ages, the Catholic community became historically rooted. This internal effect is however contrasted by the effect the ABM had on non-Catholics. The link with the Middle Ages, reenforced stereotypical *topoi*, including the public image of the Middle Ages, prevalent in Catholicism's image, such as superstitiousness and antiquatedness.⁵ It is this paradox, between the legitimization of modern Catholic identity and reinforcing a stereotypical image of an antiquated religion, that makes the impact of the ABM on image and identity construction interesting. The analysis of this paradoxical effect shows how the ABM strengthened pillarization in Dutch, nineteenth century society.

Historiography

Research on the ABM has not discussed its impact on the construction of Catholic image or identity. Instead, research has focussed on the ABM's importance for the Dutch neo-Gothic movement and its collection. This work has been done by Elmer Peters in *Naar de Middeleeuwen* [To the Middle Ages] (2012). This monograph details the collection history of the ABM and provides catalogue entries for the museal collection.

The impact of the ABM in the revival of Dutch Catholic life and the emancipation of Catholic culture is a lacune, even though Van Schaik calls the ABM the first Catholic cultural initiative.⁶ Van Schaik, instead, contextualizes the early days of the ABM in a time when Catholicism was a suppressed minority in Utrecht. This work is in line with other scholarship

⁴ P. Raedts, "Katholieken op zoek naar een Nederlandse identiteit 1814-1898" [Catholics searching for Dutch identity 1814-1898], *BMGN* 107 (1992): 4, 720.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 723.

⁶ Van Schaik, "Een minderheid wordt zichtbaar," 12.

on Dutch nineteenth-century Catholicism, as is discussed by Piet de Rooy.⁷ Most eminent on this topic is the bundle *Staf en Storm* [Crosier and Staff] by Jurjen Vis en Wim Janse (2002)

As Piet de Rooy mentions in the introduction of *Staf en Storm*, the re-establishment of the episcopal hierarchy is considered a catalyst in the development of a national Catholic community.⁸ On the construction of a Catholic community in the nineteenth century, Raedts argues, analysis has focussed on the historical narratives that linked modern Catholicism with the Middle Ages.⁹ The struggle of finding Catholic access to public life and the interplay between Dutch nationalism and the construction of Catholic identity, is identified by Raedts as the historiographical narrative of Dutch, nineteenth-century Catholicism.¹⁰ Mention of the ABM is not made in Raedt's article, showing that the influence of this institute has not been discussed in detail.

Historians have written about Catholic newspapers and periodicals, for they were legal and dominantly present in nineteenth-century cultural life.¹¹ Clemens identifies these papers as essential in the creation of a Catholic community.¹² This history of paper publications is however in contrast with other public expressions of Catholicism that led to debate. Peter Margry's article provides an overview of the impact of rituals on the formation of a Catholic image and identity in the nineteenth century.¹³ Margry notes that multiple rituals were subject to public debate and were protested by anti-papists. The illegal Catholic processions were for instance ridiculed in anti-papist publications (see fig. 3).¹⁴

Processions were allowed in the 1814 constitution but were quickly criminalized after multiple were accompanied by armed militiamen, called *milites Christi*, culminating in a national ban in 1848 (this law would not be abolished until 1983).¹⁵



Figure 3. A cartoon ridiculing a procession in the satirical periodical *Uilenspiegel*, July 27th, 1873. The subscript states that one of the relics on display is a hollow tooth of the St. Andreas and shows a clergyman pushing a wheelbarrow overflowing with bones.

⁷ Piet de Rooy, "Inleiding" [Introduction], in *Staf en Storm: Het herstel van de bisschoppelijke hiërarchie in Nederland in 1853: actie en reactie* [Crozier and Storm: The re-establishment of the episcopal hierarchy in the Netherlands in 1853: action and reaction], ed. Jurjen Vis and Wim Janse (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2002), 11.

⁸ Rooy, "Inleiding," 11.

⁹ Raedts, "Katholieken op zoek naar een Nederlandse identiteit," 724.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 725.

¹¹ Theo Clemens, "Een kerk zonder bisschoppelijk bestuur" [A church without episcopal hierarchy], in *Staf en Storm: Het herstel van de bisschoppelijke hiërarchie in Nederland in 1853: actie en reactie* [Crozier and Storm: The re-establishment of the episcopal hierarchy in the Netherlands in 1853: action and reaction], ed. Jurjen Vis and Wim Janse (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2002), 17.

¹² *Ibid.*, 18.

¹³ Peter Margry, "Imago en Identiteit" [Image and Identity], in *Staf en Storm: Het herstel van de bisschoppelijke hiërarchie in Nederland in 1853: actie en reactie* [Crozier and Storm: The re-establishment of the episcopal hierarchy in the Netherlands in 1853: action and reaction], ed. Jurjen Vis and Wim Janse (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2002), 67.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 70.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 77.

Another ritual which illustrates the struggle for public display of Catholicism, is the ringing of church bells. The discussion was specifically on the *angeluskleppen*, a ringing of bells three times a day to call for prayer outside of regular church services.¹⁶ Every Catholic that heard these bells was expected to drop to their knees and start praying, unknown is whether anyone actually adhered this rule.¹⁷ What is known, is that Protestant periodicals described the *angeluskleppen* as an abject development and called the bell tolls pollution of public life.¹⁸

The debate on processions and the *angeluskleppen* shows an exclusion from public rituals. The ABM was therefore remarkable as a Catholic organisation that had access to the public sphere and attracted visitors from both within and outside of the Catholic community.

It is these public manifestations of Catholicism that was hated the most by anti-papists. These public rituals are, however, the cultural manifestation of religion through which it embeds itself into public life. Whilst the debate on these rituals brought the Catholic community together, they also reinforced the Catholic image, that was also identified by Raedts, of a medieval fanatical and superstitious religious group.¹⁹ This split effect is also present in the ABM. The ABM, whilst bringing Catholics together, enforced medieval stereotyping in Catholicism's public image.

This thesis adds to the historiography of Catholic culture in the late-nineteenth century by offering an analysis in which the ABM plays an active role in the creation of Catholic image and identity. Specifically, by expanding upon Raedts' and Margry's work with the addition of this cultural institute. This thesis furthermore adds to the study of late-nineteenth century Catholicism in the development of Dutch, pillarized society by showing how the ABM constructed an exclusive Catholic community that had its own place in Dutch society. Finally, it provides an analysis of primary sources which have not been discussed previously. These sources shed light on Utrecht's cultural history and the development of the ABM as a public institute.

Theory

The concept *image* in this thesis is defined as the constructed representation of a community by outsiders in the public sphere. Being constructed, image is not static but historicized. This definition incorporates two concepts, Habermas' *public sphere* and Anderson's *imagined community*. Image consists of the notions that outsiders have of a community. Image is created in the public sphere, the sphere where public opinion is constructed.

Pratt's *cultural contact zone* is used to analyse how the ABM influenced the construction of Catholic image for non-Catholic visitors to the ABM. This combination of terms creates a conceptual framework using which the construction of image is analysed.

The concepts by Habermas and Pratt have been applied to museums by Barrett and Clifford. These applications allow these concepts to be used for the analysis of the emancipatory effect of museums for subaltern groups. The concept of the imagined community is also used to analyse the construction of Catholic identity.

The concept of *community* as it is here used, is based on Benedict Anderson's concept of the *imagined community*. Anderson introduced this term as an analytic concept for the construction

¹⁶ Margry, "Imago en Identiteit," 81.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., 82.

¹⁹ Ibid., 81.; Raedts, "Katholieken op zoek naar een Nederlandse identiteit," 730.

of nationalism.²⁰ Anderson defines nations as “an imagined political community (..) imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.”²¹ In order to apply this concept to Dutch Catholicism, the political and sovereign elements are dropped.²² The community is still imagined, for members of the community will never know all their fellow-members.²³ Catholicism can furthermore be imagined as a community because the group is considered as one of horizontal equality, even though there are stark hierarchical and social differences.²⁴

For these imagined communities, Anderson continues, a historic link is invaluable.²⁵ He also names museums as strong, political entities.²⁶ The objects exhibited in museums shape the historicity of the community.²⁷ This historic link, as analysed previously by Raedts, was key in the creation of Catholic identity. The role of historicity and the construction of a community is relevant to incorporate in an analysis on the ABM’s role in constructing a Catholic identity.

The here used concept of *public sphere* is based on Jürgen Habermas’ theoretic framework. The public sphere is a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed.²⁸ This public sphere is the sphere where debate was engaged over the general rules governing relations.²⁹ In his analysis of the formation of the public sphere in England, Habermas stresses the importance of newspapers.

Habermas states that newspapers in the second half of the eighteenth century developed from institutions for the publication of news into bearers and leaders of public opinion.³⁰ This development occurred because, according to Habermas, public opinion is formed in the public sphere. By controlling the information stream and representations in the public sphere controls the opinions that are created in it.

The term *contact zone* was introduced by Mary Louise Pratt. Pratt uses this term “to refer to social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths.”³¹ The cultural contact zone is the space of cultural encounters. The mentioned asymmetric power relation is applicable to the Catholic situation in the late-nineteenth century. The combination of public sphere and contact zone occurs in the works of Barrett and Clifford on cultural encounters in museums.

The concept of the public sphere is linked to museums by Jennifer Barrett. James Clifford linked contact zones to museum. Albeit in a different period, Barret and Clifford’s principles are applicable to the ABM. Both provide a conceptual framework for the

²⁰ Anderson, Benedict, *Imaged Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 3.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

²² This is not dropped to state that Dutch Catholics had no political or sovereign elements. These elements are however beyond the scope of this thesis.

²³ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.

²⁵ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 161.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 178.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 179.

²⁸ Jürgen Habermas, Sara Lennox, and Frank Lennox, “The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article (1964),” *New German Critique* 3 (1974), 49.

²⁹ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), 57.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 53.

³¹ Mary Louise Pratt, “Arts of the Contact Zone,” *Profession* (1991), 34.

emancipation of subaltern groups through museal representation. The Catholic collection of the ABM is an institutional representation of Catholicism in the public sphere.³² Using the conceptualization of Barrett and Clifford, the ABM can be studied as an institutional representation of Catholicism that non-Catholic visitors were confronted with.

Barrett states that museums have re-invented themselves to democratize in the 1980s by battling social distinctions which maintain social inequality.³³ She stresses the importance of museums as institutes of historic canonization, stating that exhibited objects can have an inclusive as well as an exclusive societal effect.³⁴ The post-colonial context becomes clear in her discussion of race representation in museum, but she states that the same principle applies to gender representation.³⁵

Clifford states, in his 1997 seminal essay *Museum as Contact Zones*, that “[w]hen museums are seen as Contact Zones, their organizing structure as a collection becomes an ongoing historical, political, moral relationship – a power-charged set of exchanges, of push and pull.”³⁶ With this, Clifford moves from a contact zone to a conflict zone. In a museum, a visitor’s cultural identity is brought in conflict with representations of other cultural identities, shaping and shifting the visitor’s cultural knowledge. Clifford’s article was meant to challenge the representation of native Americans in museums.³⁷ Whilst they were represented in museums, their representation reenforced negative, primitivist stereotypes.³⁸

Method

Three sub-questions must be answered to answer how the ABM impacted the construction of Catholic image and identity. The first is who was interested in the ABM. This question is discussed using newspaper and visitor reports. These mentions of the ABM are not limited to museum attendees, for the museum as an institute influenced the construction of identity and image. This question is also discussed by analysing organised visits to the ABM by professional societies. These visits provide insight in the religious diversity of the ABM’s visitors. A religiously diverse group enabled the ABM to act in both the construction of Catholic identity and image.

The second question is how the ABM attributed to the construction of a Catholic community. This question is addressed using newspaper articles mentioning the ABM as a meeting space for Catholics and articles indicating that the ABM was an important Catholic institute. A visitor report is discussed to analyse how the ABM impacted the creation of Catholic identity.

The final question that must be answered is how non-Catholic visitors reacted to the ABM and its exhibition. As a cultural contact zone, the ABM was a place where non-Catholics

³² It can be argued that nineteenth century museums were not public places for their elitist nature. However, the entrance fee of the ABM, mentioned in numerous of the advertisements promoting the opening, was f0.30. f0,30 had the same purchasing power in 1872 as €3,09 in 2016. Indicating the museum’s entrance fee was affordable. There is no known mention by van Heukelum whether he wanted his museum to be visited by the broader public nor any statement indicating otherwise. IISG, “Value of the Guilder versus Euro,” last modified Feb. 15, 2019, <https://iisg.amsterdam/en/research/projects/hpw/calculate.php>, accessed on Jan. 21, 2021.

³³ Jennifer Barrett, *Museums and the Public Sphere* (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 13.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 120.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 168.

³⁶ James Clifford, “Museums as Contact Zones,” in *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* ed. James Clifford (Harvard University Press: London, 1999), 192.

³⁷ Ed Rodley, “On Museums and Contact Zones,” *Thinking About Museums*, last modified May 6, 2016, <https://thinkingaboutmuseums.com/2016/05/06/on-museums-and-contact-zones/>, accessed on Jan. 21, 2021.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

encountered Catholic culture. This encounter influenced the construction of the public image of Catholicism. This is discussed using opinion pieces which mention the ABM and articles which mention the ABM being visited by non-Catholic visitors.

The difference in newspapers' confessional or ideological affiliation is an important part of source criticism in this thesis. The newspaper clippings discussed must be differentiated based on their intended target audience. In nineteenth-century Dutch pillarized society, newspapers had intended, confessional audiences. Protestant and Catholic newspapers are expected to treat the ABM differently.

The impact of the ABM on the creation of identity and image of Dutch Catholicism is studied using newspaper articles, published on the *Delpher* database. The sources are picked from the period 1872, the opening of the ABM to the broad public, until 1914, when the institute had lost its relevance.³⁹

The synthesis of those interested in the ABM, the attribution to the creation of a Catholic community, and the reaction of non-Catholics shows the cultural impact of the ABM. This cultural impact is for Catholics on the construction of a national Catholic identity. The impact on non-Catholics is on the construction of Dutch Catholicism's public image.

Structure

This thesis is separated in three chapters. The first, *Development of the ABM*, is a chronological reconstruction of the ABM from 1872 until the turn of the century. The lack of research on the ABM, means developments in its popularity and visitors have not been described in detail. This chapter discusses the changes in the audience of the ABM and their reaction to the museum. The second chapter, *The ABM and Modern Catholicism*, discusses the link of the ABM with the archdiocese and how the institute functioned as a Catholic meeting space. This chapter discusses the role the ABM played in the creation of a Catholic community. The final chapter, *The ABM as a Public Institute*, discusses the ABM in opinion pieces and visits by academic societies. This chapter analyses how visitors reacted to the museum.

³⁹ In the 1910s the ABM suffered from lack of space for its collection and saw a sharp decline in visitor attendance leading to multiple movements to new buildings. This is reported in: A. Bern and J. de Meulder, "Het Aartsbisschoppelijke Museum te Utrecht" [The Archepiscopal Museum in Utrecht], *De Katholieke Illustratie*, Feb. 28th, 1914, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKDC09:017315021:00001>, accessed on Nov. 26, 2020.

Chapter I: Development of the ABM

The Opening of the Museum

Mgr. Van Heukelum planned the opening of the ABM on July 1st, 1872. Ahead of this day, numerous advertisements were published in both regional and national newspapers, drawing national attention. These included two Catholic papers: *De Tijd: Godsdienstig-staatkundig dagblad* and *De Maasbode*.⁴⁰ Advertisements were also published in two protestant newspapers: *De Standaard* and *Provinciale en Zwolsche courant*.⁴¹ Two non-confessional papers printed an article on the opening of the museum instead of an advertisement: *Het Vaderland* and *Algemeen volksblad voor Nederland*.⁴²

In these early days, *De Maasbode* is of note. *De Maasbode* was a daily, national Catholic newspaper. In this period *De Maasbode* had the largest readership of the Catholic dailies.⁴³ *De Maasbode* was therefore a save choice of advertisement for the ABM, reaching Catholics on a national scale. Besides running advertisements on the 30th of May and the 2nd, 4th, and 6th of June, they also published a visitation report on the opening of the ABM on the 29th of July 1872.⁴⁴

Publication in Catholic, Protestant, and non-confessional newspapers show the ABM wanted to attract a religiously diverse audience. As far as the sources available show, there were no articles published or letters send to anti-papal periodicals wanting to prevent or ridiculing the museum's opening.

The report on July 29th, 1872, in *De Maasbode* pictures a two-faced museum. On the one hand it notes the Catholic nature of collection and the link of the current Catholic community with these objects. On the other, it promotes the museum as a cabinet of treasures, distinct from religious beliefs.

The report starts with the silence on the museum's opening day, it reports that there was no big festivity and Utrecht's citizens were oblivious to the opening of ABM.⁴⁵ It continues by describing the splendours in the collection. It strikes a more emotional tone when describing the traditionalist value of the objects presented: "[E]very item speaks the childish belief of our

⁴⁰ *De Tijd*, "Advertentie: Utrecht" [Advertisement Utrecht], May 28, 1872, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010264570:mpeg21:p002>, accessed on Nov. 30, 2020.

⁴¹ *De Standaard*, "Advertentie: Utrecht" [Advertisement Utrecht], May 28, 1872, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:011065265:mpeg21:p002>, accessed on Nov. 30, 2020.;

Provinciale Overijssesche en Zwolsche courant, "Binnenland: Utrecht" [Local: Utrecht], May 28, 1872, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMHCO01:000066055:mpeg21:p002>, accessed on Nov. 30, 2020.

⁴² *Het Vaderland*, "Korte Berichten uit het Binnenland: Utrecht" [Short Local Messages: Utrecht], May 29, 1872, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB23:001391127:mpeg21:p00002>, accessed on Nov. 30, 2020.;

Algemeen volksblad voor Nederland, "Binnenland: Utrecht" [Local: Utrecht] June 6, 1872, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB19:000089044:mpeg21:p00002>, accessed on Nov. 30, 2020.

⁴³ Hans Vermeulen, *De Maasbode: De bewogen geschiedenis van 'de beste courant van Nederland* ['De Maasbode': The volatile history of 'the best newspaper of the Netherlands] (Zwolle: Waanders, 1994), 4.

⁴⁴ *De Maasbode*, "Advertenties: Utrecht" [Advertisement: Utrecht], May 30, 1872, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB04:000165278:mpeg21:p002>, accessed on Nov. 30, 2020.;

De Maasbode, "Advertenties: Utrecht" [Advertisement: Utrecht], June 2, 1872,

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB04:000165279:mpeg21:p004>, accessed on Nov. 30, 2020.;

De Maasbode, "Advertenties: Utrecht" [Advertisement: Utrecht], June 4, 1872,

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB04:000165280:mpeg21:p004>, accessed on Nov. 30, 2020.;

De Maasbode, "Advertenties: Utrecht" [Advertisement: Utrecht], June 6, 1872,

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB04:000165282:mpeg21:p004>, accessed on Nov. 30, 2020.;

⁴⁵ *De Maasbode*, "Binnenland: Utrecht," [Local, Utrecht] June 20, 1872,

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB04:000165302:mpeg21:p002>, accessed on Nov. 30, 2020.

distant predecessors to us, Catholics of the 19th century, to call to us: ‘see our teaching, our faith is still the same!’”⁴⁶

This use of language provides insight in the views of nineteenth-century Catholics on the link to their heritage. This link with medieval heritage was identified by Raedt’s as essential in the construction of Catholic identity.⁴⁷ The here provided text shows that such a link with the medieval Catholicism does exist, however the author distances himself by calling it a childish faith. The ABM’s collection is part of Catholic heritage, there is however a distinct and different modern Catholicism for the author. The objects do, for the author, establish a direct link between the *medieval* and *modern* Catholic. This link constructs a Catholic community by having a shared heritage.

The article continues in an ecumenical tone. In its review section the author writes: “All who visit Utrecht, no matter their religion, and that want to see something beautiful should go to the *Nieuwe Gracht* (the location of the ABM, ed.). Fulfilled... No, bewildered he shall leave this collection of art. There are treasures stored here whose existence is unknown to many...”⁴⁸

The author writes heard that numerous Protestants gifted antiquities to the ABM after their visit. The author calls upon others to do the same. This shows that the ABM was a contact zone, for Protestants encountering Catholicism. from the outset. Van Schaik mentions of the opening that wealthy protestant visitors were looking bewildered at the collection, for they were only used to their stripped-down churches without any riches.⁴⁹ The Catholic museum was outside of their cultural perspective. Their visit imprinted a Catholic image of a historic religion of riches. However, this historic link does not construct an image of Catholicism as a modern religion. Instead, the medieval link enforces the stereotypical notions prevalent in the late-nineteenth-century image of Catholicism.

The First Years of the Museum

In its first years the ABM suffered from a disappointing number of visitors. This becomes clear in an article in *De Tijd* on September 15th, 1873.⁵⁰ The article turns into an essay on the importance of studying artworks, noting: “(...) a viewing of old artworks shall give you the benefit of a tailored and enriched taste”.⁵¹ Ending in a call for all readers to visit the museum to look at art. *De Tijd*, although a Catholic newspaper, did not call upon viewers to learn about their Catholic heritage. The ABM in this article is considered a museal collection of religious antiquities, with no explicit link to modern Catholicism.

The next appearance of the ABM in a national newspaper occurred when the Dutch queen Sophie of Württemberg, then wife of king Willem III, visited Utrecht and the ABM on September 10th, 1875. Sophie van Württemberg (1818-1877) was herself not Protestant but

⁴⁶ My translation, original text: “Uit elk stuk spreekt het kinderlijke geloof van het verre voorgelacht tot ons, Katholieken der 19e eeuw, om on toe te roepen: ‘zie onze leer, ons geloof is nog altijd hetzelfde!’”

⁴⁷ Raedts, “Katholieken op zoek naar Identiteit,” 724.

⁴⁸ My translation, original text: “Al wie Utrecht bezoekt, onverschillig van welke geloofsbelijdenis hij ook zij, en die iets schoons wil zien, verzuime niet zijne schreden naar de Nieuwe Gracht te richten. Voldaan... Neen vol bewondering zal hij deze kunstverzameling verlaten. Hier zijn schatten verzameld, wier bestaan aan zeer velen onbekend zal zijn...”

⁴⁹ Van Schaik, “Een minderheid wordt zichtbaar,” 11.

⁵⁰ *De Tijd*, “Aartsbisschoppelijk Muzeum” (sic.) [Archepiscopal Museum] Sep. 15, 1873 <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010263462:mpeg21:p005>, accessed on Dec. 8, 2020.

⁵¹ My translation, original text: “(...) een bezichtiging der oude kunstwerken minsten dit gewigtig (sic.) voordeel opleveren, dat de smaak gevormd en veredeld wordt.”

Russian-orthodox of faith.⁵² This visit drew national attention in the written press. Both *Dagblad van Zuidholland en 's Gravenhage*, a monarchist daily, and *De Maasbode* reported this visit. Both articles mention that the Queen met with the Archbishop, Mgr. Schaepman in the ABM and were together guided through the museum by Mgr. van Heukelum.⁵³ Both articles stress how the Queen was impressed by the riches in the museum. Queen Sophie's visit normalized the interaction with Catholicism and legitimized the ABM as a heritage institute.

The visit by the Queen is noteworthy when discussing the ABM for two reasons. The first is the monarchical aspect. During the process of the re-establishment of the episcopal hierarchy in the Netherlands numerous anti-papal groups formed.

The culmination of these protests is known as the *April Movement* ("Aprilbeweging") in 1853, when several anti-papal petitions were submitted to government officials (see fig. 4). One of these petitions, signed by more than 51.000 people, was handed to King Willem III in Amsterdam.

Instead of uttering the words prepared by Thorbecke's cabinet, the King spoke his own anti-papal feelings in which he, according to eye-witnesses, berated the constitution.⁵⁴ This led to the resignation of the first Thorbecke cabinet. This event was broadly reported on in Dutch newspapers and was a political landmark.⁵⁵ It is therefore assumable that contemporary readers were aware of the symbolism of this event.

The King's actions in 1853 are in stark contrast with his wife's visit to the ABM in 1875. Rather than expressing anti-papal sentiments, a senior member of the royal family praised a distinctly Catholic museum. She furthermore met with the highest-ranking member of the clergy, the Archbishop.

The second reason is that this is the first time the ABM functioned as a meeting space. The Archbishop did not reside in Utrecht until 1902. The choice for Utrecht was a Catholic



Figure 4. One of the times petition was handed over was in Utrecht. This painting depicts King Willem III receiving a petition by a group of Utrecht

⁵² Fia Dieteren, "Sophie van Württemberg," *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland* [Digital Women's Lexicon of the Netherlands], last modified Jan.13, 2014, <http://resources.huylens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/SophievanWurtemberg>, accessed on Dec. 10, 2020.

⁵³ *Dagblad van Zuidholland en 's Gravenhage*, "residentie-nieuws" [Residential News], Sep. 13, 1875, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB19:000884064:mpeg21:p00005>, accessed on Dec. 10, 2020.; *De Maasbode*, "Binnenland" [Local], Sep. 14, 1875, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB04:000166581:mpeg21:p003>, accessed on Dec. 10, 2020.

⁵⁴ Annemarie Houkes, "Het succes van 1848: politiek in de Aprilbeweging" [The succes of 1848: politics and the April Movement], in *Staf en Storm: Het herstel van de bisschoppelijke hiërarchie in Nederland in 1853: actie en reactie* [Crozier and Storm: The re-establishment of the episcopal hierarchy in the Netherlands in 1853: action and reaction], ed. Jurjen Vis and Wim Janse (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2002), 97-98.

⁵⁵ J. Bosmans, "Het onbehaaglijk vaderland. De katholieke staatkunde en de Staat der Nederlanden in de negentiende en twintigste eeuw" [The uncofortable fatherland. The Catholic statecraft and the state of the Netherlands in the nineteenth and twentieth century], *BMGN*, 58 (1993), 420.

provocation against the protestant Netherlands. Utrecht was, Hans de Valk states, an important *lieu de mémoire* for the protestant historiography of the Netherlands. Utrecht was the place where the Union of Utrecht was signed, the start of the Dutch Republic, and was the old religious centre of the Northern-Netherlands, with its Dom church and university.⁵⁶

Catholic circles were however looking at an older history than the one preached in the early nineteenth century, on which the great-protestant idea of the Dutch nation was inspired. The Catholics knocked on the door and claimed *their* part of the nation's historical narrative, states De Valk.⁵⁷

These notions contextualize the importance of the ABM as a meeting place. That the Archbishop was able to meet the Queen *in* Utrecht was of symbolic importance. The meeting furthermore shows the encounter of two national historical narratives. The protestant narrative of the members of the house of Orange encountered the Catholic historical narrative in the form of two of their highest-ranking members. The meeting with the Archbishop furthermore influenced a legitimized image of Catholicism for the monarchist readership of *Dagblad van Zuidholland en 's Gravenhage*, since the meeting with the Queen meant that the Archbishop was a recognized ecclesiastical official.

On February 22nd, 1876, a letter sent by F.C.C. Steinmetz, a part-time poet and tax collector, to the daily *Algemeen Handelsblad* reads that although the Queen enjoyed her visit, her loving words did not cause a spike in visitors.⁵⁸ Steinmetz' letter to a non-Catholic daily, shows that the ABM was of interest for a diverse religious group.

Steinmetz states that although there are numerous museums of antiquities, there are none that have brought together such a number of items which are exclusively meant to be used in religious services. For Steinmetz, the image of Catholicism as a religious group with historic ties is evident. His entry in the biographic dictionary does not mention his religious affiliation but his ten publications in *Vaderlandsche Letteroefening*, the chief literary periodical in this period, indicates he was a cultured man.⁵⁹

Visits by International Notability

After Queen Sophie's visit to the ABM, multiple foreign dignitaries followed. These visits attracted national attention to the ABM and were reported on in a religiously and ideologically diverse set of newspapers. The visits provide information on the development of the ABM and its popularity. They also legitimized the ABM as a historic museum.

⁵⁶ Hans de Valk, "Meer dan een plaats" [More than a place] in *Staf en Storm: Het herstel van de bisschoppelijke hiërarchie in Nederland in 1853: actie en reactie* [Crozier and Storm: The re-establishment of the episcopal hierarchy in the Netherlands in 1853: action and reaction], ed. Jurjen Vis and Wim Janse (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2002), 38.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ J.G. Frederiks and F. Jos. van den Branden, *Biographisch woordenboek der Noord- en Zuidnederlandsche letterkunde* [Biographic dictionary of the literature of the Northern and Southern Netherlands] (Amsterdam: L.J. Veen, 1888-1891), https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/bran038biog01_01/bran038biog01_01_3912.php, accessed on Jan. 20, 2021.;

F.C.C. Steinmetz, "Het Aartsbischooppelijk Museum te Utrecht" [The Archepiscopal Museum in Utrecht], *Algemeen Handelsblad*, Feb. 22, 1876. <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010099925:mpeg21:p006>, accessed on Dec. 20, 2020.

⁵⁹ DBNL, "Frans Friederich Christiaan Steinmetz," <https://www.dbnl.org/auteurs/auteur.php?id=stei015>, accessed on Jan. 19th, 2021.;

K. ter Laan, *Letterkundig woordenboek voor Noord en Zuid-Nederland* [Literary Dictionary of the Northern and Southern Netherlands] (Den Haag: G.B. van Goor Zonen's Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1952), 545-546.

The *Dragtster Courant* reports, amongst others but providing the most detailed account, that the emperor and empress of Brazil visited Utrecht and the ABM on July 24th, 1877.⁶⁰ The emperor was followed on October 26th, 1880, by princes Hendrik who visited the ABM and the *Amalia foundation*, as was reported on in *Algemeen Handelsblad*.⁶¹ The count and countess of Flanders would visit on July 16th, 1883, spending an afternoon in Utrecht visiting the ABM, Dom church and Cathedral. A report of this visit was published in *Het Nieuws van de Dag: Kleine Courant*.⁶² After this visit a break occurs for twelve years until 1895, when the Baron of Rothschild visited Utrecht for a day to view the ABM and buy some antiquities, which *Limburger Koerier* reported.⁶³

On July 20th, 1897, the ABM was visited, *Nieuwe Tilburgsche Courant* reported, by Mgr. Tarnassi, Internuntius to the pope. He was guided by a curator, mister Linden, together with Archbishop Mgr. van de Wetering.⁶⁴ The internuntius was the highest-ranking Vatican official in 1897, for the Netherlands would not receive a full diplomatic mission with a nuntius from the Vatican until 1967.⁶⁵ On July 1st, 1901, the ABM was visited by the Queen-Mother, Queen-Regent Emma, together with the nobles Van Bentheim.⁶⁶ A final visit in this period was on September 22nd, 1905, by Queen-Mother Margerita of Italy, of which a news bulletin was published in *De Courant*.⁶⁷

These visits show that the ABM received international interest. Through these visits, the ABM was mentioned in numerous national and local newspapers of different religious and ideological affiliation. These articles implicitly promote and legitimize the ABM as a museum. They furthermore legitimize the position of Catholicism in Dutch society, for these famous visitors normalized the position of the ABM as a Catholic institute.

⁶⁰ *Dragtster Courant*, “Binnenland” [Local]. July 26, 1877, 2.

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMTRES03:000805030:mpeg21:p00002>, accessed on Jan. 4, 2021.

⁶¹ n.b. *Princes* is not a typo for this is how the article names the visitor. It can be interpreted as Hendrik’s princess, who this Hendrik would have been is harder to pinpoint.; *Algemeen Handelsblad*, “Vervolg der nieuwstijdingen” [Continuation of the News], Nov. 27th, 1880,

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010104572:mpeg21:p007>, accessed on Jan. 4, 2021.

⁶² *Het nieuws van de dag: kleine courant*, “Stadsnieuws” [Municipal news], July 17, 1883,

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010065041:mpeg21:p007>, accessed on Jan. 4, 2021.

⁶³ *Limburger Koerier*, “Gemengd nieuws” [Mixed News], May 3, 1895,

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB23:002049144:mpeg21:p00001>, accessed on Jan. 4, 2021.

⁶⁴ *Nieuwe Tilburgsche Courant*, “Binnenland” [Local], July 22, 1897,

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010993743:mpeg21:p002>, accessed on Jan. 4, 2021.

⁶⁵ *Catholic Hierarchy*, “Nunciature to Netherlands,” <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/diocese/dxxnl.html>, accessed on Jan. 4, 2021.

⁶⁶ *De Nieuwe Courant*, “Laatste berichten” [Closing messages], July 5, 1901

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB15:000751009:mpeg21:p00002>, accessed on Jan. 5, 2021.

⁶⁷ *De Courant*, “Binnenlandsch Nieuws” [Local], Sep. 23, 1905,

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB19:000940060:mpeg21:p00001>, accessed on Jan. 3, 2021.

Chapter II: The ABM and Modern Catholicism

The ABM and the Archbishops

Two events show the impact of the ABM on the construction of a Catholic community from the perspective of the Archdiocese. These are the deaths of Mgr. Schaepman and Mgr. Snickers. The mourning of the Archbishops united Catholics on a national scale. In the middle of both funerals is an important mention of the ABM.

To start with Mgr. Schaepman's in memoriam in the *Provinciale Drentsche en Asser courant* published on September 21st, 1882.⁶⁸ Mgr. Schaepman was the second modern Archbishop of Utrecht from 1868 until 1882. In this in memoriam by H.D. Brenninkmeijer, he praises the Archbishops devotion to Catholic organisations. Brenninkmeijer gives the example of the ABM of which he writes that it had the honour of being visited by noblemen and men of fame, on the subject of art, from all corners of Europe.

Brenninkmeijer's in memoriam shows that the ABM was considered an important Catholic organisation. In the creation of community such organisations are essential, for they bring people together in a shared goal. In this case, exhibiting religious antiquities. The link with the Archbishop furthermore gave the ABM status for Dutch Catholics.

The visits by numerous noblemen by 1882 indicates that the list of foreign notability visiting the ABM is incomplete. These unknown visitors are not findable in the current newspaper database. This could be because these visits were not reported on in newspapers thus far published on Delpher. It could also be that they are not findable due to errors in Delpher's OCR-software.

The report on the funeral service for Mgr. Snickers provides another link with the archdiocese. Mgr. Snickers was the third modern archbishop of Utrecht from 1883 until 1895. *De Tijd* of April 6th, 1895 gives an extensive report on his funeral.⁶⁹ This report mentions thirty carriages partaking in the funeral procession. In the tenth carriage rode Mgr. van Heukelum, founder of the ABM and then pastor of Jutphaas. In the 21st carriage rode a delegation of the ABM consisting of J.W. Lindsen, Dr. Hanlo and Jan Brom. The funeral procession was a big event in the city of Utrecht that drew a large group of spectators, of which the article notes many where Catholics from all parts of the country (see fig. 5).



Figure 5. A photograph of Mgr. Snickers' funeral procession in Utrecht showing a large group of people watching the procession.

The funeral brought Catholics from all parts of the country together, united in mourning their highest-ranking member. This union contributed to

⁶⁸ *Provinciale Drentsche en Asser courant*, "Binnenland" [Local], Sep. 21, 1882,

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMDA03:000098119:mpeg21:p002>, accessed on Jan. 19, 2021.

⁶⁹ *De Tijd*, "Plechtige uitvaart en begrafenis van zijne doorluchtige hoogwaardigheid mgr. Petrus Mathias Snickers, Aartsbisschop van Utrecht" [Funeral of his eminent holiness Mgr. Petrus Mathias Snickers, Archbishop of Utrecht], April 6, 1895, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010990555:mpeg21:p001>, accessed on Jan. 19, 2021.

imagining a national community of Catholics. In the middle of this event that brought together Dutch Catholics is an important mention of the ABM.

Pope Leo XIII's Golden Jubilee

1888 marked the fiftieth-year pope Leo XIII was anointed as priest. His golden jubilee as a member of the clergy was to be celebrated in Utrecht. For this anniversary, a committee was formed to plan the celebrations. Several committee-meetings took place in the attic of the ABM. The first meeting was in November 1886 (exact date unknown) and was reported on in the *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*.⁷⁰ In attendance were representatives of the different diocesan departments in the Netherlands and members of the main organizing committee. As a central location, the ABM proved to be a usable place where Catholic officials could meet. The ABM was in the absence of an archepiscopal palace a central meeting hub for the organization of this grand Catholic event.

In the year following the jubilee the ABM again functioned as a meeting place for the organizers of the jubilee. On November 27th, 1889 Mgr. Dr. Jansen, secretary of the jubilee's organizing committee, was gifted an album containing homages for his work. This event was reported on the following week in *Het Vaderland* on December 1st and in the *Tilburgsche Courant* on November 28th.⁷¹

The articles show that about two hundred people attended the celebration in the ABM. The event was chaired by dr. P.J.H. (Pierre) Cuypers, the famous neo-Gothic architect who designed Amsterdam's Central Station and the *Rijksmuseum*. This second event underlines that the ABM served as a spot where notable Dutch Catholics came together.

The museum functioned as a meeting space where Catholics from all parts of the country could come together away from non-Catholics. By bringing together these Catholics, the meeting in the ABM invoked togetherness for both the attendees and the readers of the newspaper report. Besides its museal collection providing tangible heritage that was essential in creating a Catholic identity, the museum as a building enforced the imagination of a national Catholic community.

⁷⁰ *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, "Binnenland" [Local], Nov. 20, 1886, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:011009031:mpeg21:p001>, accessed on Jan. 20, 2021.

⁷¹ *Het Vaderland*, "Laatste berichten" [Final Messages], Nov. 28, 1889, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB23:001424130:mpeg21:p00005>, accessed on Jan. 20, 2021.; *Tilburgsche Courant*, "Kerkelijke Berichten" [Church News], Dec. 1, 1889, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010188292:mpeg21:p002>, accessed on Jan. 20, 2021.; *Tilburgsche Courant*, "Kerkelijke Berichten" [Church News], Nov. 24, 1889, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010188290:mpeg21:p002>, accessed on Jan. 20, 2021.

Chapter III: The ABM as a Public Institute

Relevance in Public Debate

The ABM featured as a symbol in public debate. Two articles show this use of the ABM, implicitly showing the author's image of Catholicism and the ABM. The first is an essay by De Beaufort published in 1879. The second is a letter published in 1887 pleading against the design of the *Academiegebouw* in Utrecht. These sources show the impact of the ABM's collection of antiquities on the construction of a public Catholic image.

In 1879 W.H. de Beaufort, an independent liberal parliamentarian and editor of *De Gids*, published an essay in this liberal literary periodical. Beaufort pleads in his essay for a municipal museum of Utrecht's history. Beaufort wanted to combine *Kunstliefde*, an organisation with a small collection of artworks, with the ABM and perhaps some other cultural organisations.⁷²

De Beaufort's plea for a municipal historical museum gives the Catholic historical narrative a place in the historical narrative of Utrecht. Which was, as discussed in relation to the selection of Utrecht as the archepiscopal seat, controversial. By melting together these institutes Catholic history would have become a part of Utrecht's general history. De Beaufort's image of Catholicism was one of a religion with medieval roots. His essay furthermore normalized Catholicism as part of the national historical narrative for its liberal readership.

A second time the ABM popped up in public debate is a letter sent to *Het Vaderland* on December 8th, 1887.⁷³ The letter is signed Frank de Vrij, a pseudonym which gained fame when it was used by the radical patriot Pieter Vreede (1750-1837), indicating the author's liberal alignment.⁷⁴ In this letter a vocal argument against the design for Utrecht's new academy building is presented. The new design was in the neo-Gothic fashion, as is still visible when visiting the *Academiegebouw* today (see fig. 6). In his letter, De Vrij argues that the city should not be covered in antiquities, for Utrecht had enough antiquities in its archepiscopal museum to have to deal with a Gothic university building.



Figure 6 A picture of the neo-Gothic Academy building on the Domplein 29, Utrecht, made between 1915 and 1925.

His anti-neo-Gothic stance and his use of a radical liberal pseudonym show an anti-religious stance. De Vrij's image of Catholicism is one of an antiquated religion. As for the contents of the ABM, they should remain in the museum and not be part of public life.

⁷² Willem Hendrik Beaufort, "Bibliografisch Album" [Bibliographic Album, *De Gids* 43 (1879), 588-590. https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_gid001187901_01/_gid001187901_01_0079.php, accessed Jan. 6, 2021.

⁷³ Frank de Vrij, "Het Nieuwe Universiteitsgebouw te Utrecht" [The New University Building in Utrecht], *Het Vaderland*, Dec. 8, 1887, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB23:001413139:mpeg21:p00005>, accessed on Jan. 6, 2021.

⁷⁴ Johan Ramaer, "Vreede, Pieter," in *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek. Deel 9* [New Dutch biographic dictionary. Part 9] (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1933), 1245-1255. https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/molh003nieu09_01/molh003nieu09_01_2042.php, accessed on Jan. 6, 2021.

These two publications show that the ABM was a known museum in Utrecht's liberal circles. They contrast each other on the place of religious antiquities in Dutch cultural life. Whilst De Beaufourt pleads for a municipal history museum incorporating Catholic history, De Vrij argues that the collection is of antiquated curiosities that should remain in the museum.

An Intellectual Meeting Place

In the period 1890-1904 multiple societies visited the ABM. These visits highlight how intellectuals encountered Catholic culture. They also show that the ABM had established itself as a Catholic institute and part of Utrecht's Catholic community.

In 1890, the general assembly of the Dutch Healthcare Society (*Nederlandse Maatschappij tot bevordering der Geneeskunst*) was in Utrecht from 6-8 July, as is reported on in *Dagblad van Zuidholland en 's Gravenhage*.⁷⁵ Attendants of the conference were motivated to visit the ABM and were given free entrance when they showed their conference diploma's. This society was a professional organisation for doctors of any religious or ideological affiliation.⁷⁶ The general assembly brought multiple confessional groups in contact and the ABM further stimulated cultural encounters with Catholicism.

On July 16th, 1894, the St. Bernulphus-guild celebrated its fifth lustrum in the ABM, as is reported on in *Algemeen Handelsblad*.⁷⁷ The St. Bernulphus-guild was an association of neo-Gothic artists put together by Mgr. van Heukelum. The day's festivities started with a sermon in the Cathedral of Saint Catherine in Utrecht after which attendants went to the ABM for lunch. The article shows an image of Catholicism as a curator of culture and art. Besides this influence on the image of Catholicism, the meeting of the St. Bernulphus-guild in the ABM further strengthened the constructed Catholic community.

February 14th, 1896, saw a visit by Utrecht's Roman Catholic student association *Veritas* to the ABM, as was reported in *De Tijd*.⁷⁸ The students spent multiple hours in the ABM through which they were guided by Mgr. van Heukelum. *Veritas* was founded in 1889 and was the first Catholic student association in Utrecht. They would return for a visit on April 27th, 1904, for the celebrations of their third lustrum, as *Delftsche Courant* reported.⁷⁹ These returning visits by the new Catholic student association show how the ABM was of importance for Utrecht's Catholic community.

The ABM was visited on September 26th, 1900, by the Society for the Improvement of Architecture (*Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Bouwkunst*) during the festivities marking their 25th anniversary. During the festivities, attendees would visit the municipal museums of Utrecht as well as the city's park and two churches, as is announced in *Algemeen Handelsblad*.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ *Dagblad van Zuidholland en s Gravenhage*, "Binnenland" [Local], June 10, 1890

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB19:000919070:mpeg21:p00002>, accessed on Jan. 20, 2021.

⁷⁶ A.C.M. Kappelhof, "Koninklijke Nederlandse Maatschappij tot bevordering der Geneeskunst" [Royal Dutch Society for the improvement of Healthcare] *Onderzoeksgids Zorgverzekeraars 1870-1968* [Research Guide Healthcare 1870-1968], <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/zorgverzekeraars/Formats/ViewLong/-1188612362>, accessed Jan. 19th, 2021.

⁷⁷ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, "Binnenland" [Local], July 17, 1894,

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010147406:mpeg21:p001>, accessed on Jan. 20, 2021.

⁷⁸ *De Tijd*, "Binnenland" [Local], Feb. 17, 1896,

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010990862:mpeg21:p002>, accessed on Jan. 20, 2021.

⁷⁹ *Delftsche Courant*, "Binnenland" [Local] April 28, 1904,

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB08:000120833:mpeg21:p003>, accessed on Jan. 20, 2021.

⁸⁰ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, "Binnenland" [Local] Sep. 24, 1900,

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010164673:mpeg21:p002>, accessed on Jan. 20, 2021.

The final visit discussed here was on April 14th, 1903, by the Historical Society (*Historisch Genootschap*). They organised their general assembly in one of the rooms in the ABM, as is reported in *De Nieuwe Courant*.⁸¹ An account of this visit was published by Johanna Naber in the periodical *de Amsterdammer* in which she praises the museum's collection for storing beautiful Dutch antiquities.⁸² Bringing historians in contact with Catholic antiquities in the ABM is of significance when linking back to Van Raedts statement that a historic link to the Middle Ages was an essential part of nineteenth-century Catholic identity.

Both the Society for the Improvement of Architecture and the Historical Society were professional associations of mixed faiths.⁸³ Rather than the Catholic nature of the ABM drawing them to the museum, instead the historic and aesthetic value of the exhibited objects were of interest for these associations.

⁸¹ *De Nieuwe Courant*, “Wetenschappen” [Science] March 22, 1903,

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB15:000750139:mpeg21:p00002>, accessed on Jan. 20, 2021.

⁸² Johanna Naber, “Een bezoek aan het Aartbischoppelijk Museum te Utrecht” [A visit to the Archepiscopal Museum in Utrecht], *de Amsterdammer*, May 3, 1903. <http://historisch.groene.nl/nummer/1903-05-03/pagina/3#3/-40.58/1.23>, accessed on Jan. 21, 2021.

⁸³ Jeroen Schilt and Jouke van der Werf, *Genootschap Architecture et Amicitia* [Society Architecture et Amicitia] (Rotterdam: Uitgeverij 010, 1992), 23.

Conclusion

Catholics were a suppressed cultural and religious group at the start of the nineteenth century. Whilst Catholics had limited access to public life due to their banned traditions, such as the *angeluskleppen* and processions, a common identity was constructed. Their constructed identity stressed their medieval religious presence in the Netherlands, dating back further than Protestants could achieve. Meanwhile, the public image of Catholicism consisted of superstitiousness and antiquatedness.

In the late nineteenth century the ABM opened as a Catholic cultural institute in the middle of Calvinist Utrecht. Whilst it started with low visitor numbers and a silent opening, it immediately drew national attention in newspapers. The visit by Queen Sophie and foreign notability drew more attention to the museum. Starting in the 1880s, the ABM became a meeting place for Catholics and professional societies.

The period between 1880 and 1900 is when the ABM was mentioned most in newspapers. In this period, the ABM had the highest number of visitors as the visits by foreign dignitaries, and societies shows. By 1914 the museum had lost its relevance to cultural life and became an obscurity in the city.

From the start, the ABM was mentioned in a religiously and ideologically diverse set of newspapers. Its opening was announced throughout the country in multiple newspapers. The ABM continued to attract interest from a religiously diverse group.

The 1872 report in *De Maasbode* shows that Protestant visitors enjoyed the museum and gifted antiquities. The 1876 letter by F.C.C. Steinmetz in *Algemeen Handelsblad* also shows the interest of non-Catholics in the museum. Queen Sophie's visit in 1875 introduced the ABM to Dutch monarchists.

The mentions of the ABM by De Beaufort and De Vrij show that liberal circles were interested in and visited the ABM. Mention of the ABM in anti-papist papers did not show up during this research, it is therefore unknown whether they were interested in the museum or not. The visits by professional societies starting in the 1890 show how intellectuals took interest in the ABM and its collection. These societies brought people of different religious and ideologic affiliations together.

Catholic interest in the ABM is also clear. The use of the ABM in organizing Pope Leo XIII's golden jubilee and the mention of the ABM in the events following the deaths of Mgr. Schaepman and Mgr. Snickers show the interest of ecclesiastical officials in the ABM. The visit by *Veritas* and the St. Bernulphus-guild shows the ABM was of interest for Catholic intellectuals.

Due to the analysis of newspaper publication, no insight is gained on the interest of the working class in the ABM. The newspaper articles provide information on the interest of the cultured authors. Through these publications only the indirect assumption can be made that regular people read the articles and therefore knew of the ABM.

The ABM served as a meeting place for Dutch Catholics. The presence of an ABM delegation in the funeral procession of Mgr. Snickers and the visit during *Veritas*'s lustrum are important events in the creation of a Catholic community. The ABM is present when Catholics were brought together. The organization of the festivities for Pope Leo XIII also brought Catholics from throughout the country together. The jubilee of the St. Bernulphus-guild also brought catholic together.

The ABM created a connection between Dutch Catholics in its presentation of Catholic artefacts. The exhibition of Catholic antiquities created a shared, tangible heritage. This is clearly expressed in the 1872 report in *De Maasbode*.

Whilst Van Schaik states that Protestant visitors were bewildered by ABM's collection, the discussed articles show that most non-Catholic visitors praised the collection. The 1872 report in *De Maasbode* mentions how Protestants contributed to the collection. After her visit in 1875, Queen Sophie praised the museum's collection. The same praise is given by Steinmetz in 1876.

Most vocal on his view of the ABM is Frank de Vrij in 1887. His modernist stance has little place for the museum and its antique collection. De Vrij sees no place for these antiquities in Utrecht's public life. De Beaufort, however, had a positive image of the museum when he pled for a municipal museum of Utrecht's history in 1879.

This incorporation of Catholicism in the national historiography is the recurring impact of the ABM on non-Catholic visitors. In the report on her visit, Johanna Naber names the antiquities as part of Dutch heritage. These reports normalize Catholicism by integrating it in the historiography of the Netherlands. This historic incorporation made Catholicism a legitimized part of the Dutch nation-state.

Further research on the ABM and its link to the construction of Catholic identity and image in the nineteenth century could go in different directions. I would argue the most interesting pursuit would be to research whether the archdiocese was aware of the role the ABM could play in the emancipation of Catholicism. Research on this subject can be undertaken by studying proceedings of meetings of ABM's employees with officials of the archdiocese, stored in the ABM's archive located in Utrecht's municipal archive.⁸⁴ Meetings within the archdiocese would also be of interest, as well as correspondence between the archdiocese and the ABM. These documents are stored in the archive of the archdiocese, also in Utrecht's municipal archive.⁸⁵

The ABM impacted the construction of Dutch Catholic image and identity in the late nineteenth century. In a period where Catholicism had limited access to the public sphere, the ABM was an agent that influenced public opinion. Its impact on image happened by functioning as a cultural contact zone, bringing non-Catholics in contact with Catholic culture. It effected the construction of Catholic identity by contributing to the imaging of a Catholic community.

The ABM's influence on the construction of image did not battle existing notions of superstitiousness and antiquatedness, the latter was even reinforced by its collection. The ABM however normalized Catholicism for its non-Catholic visitors who praised the exhibited objects. This paradoxical effect strengthened pillarization. Whilst the Catholic pillar was normalized, stereotypes were not debunked in the ABM. This case study strengthens Clifford's notion on the importance of how communities are represented. Whilst Pratt focussed on the importance of any type of representation, the ABM shows that representation itself is not a means to battle prevailing negative stereotypes.

The antiquities in the museum formed historic incorporation of Catholicism. Next to abstract historiographic narratives, the ABM's objects provided a tangible link with the distant, Catholic past. The ABM integrated Catholic history in Dutch historical narratives, giving Catholicism a spot in Dutch society. This historic incorporation however places Catholicism as a legitimized pillar next to Dutch Protestant, and ideological pillars.

As a cultural institute, the ABM contributed to the representation of a Dutch Catholic community. In a physical way, the ABM served as a meeting place that brought Catholics from all parts of the country together. It was furthermore a Catholic institute in the symbolic city of Utrecht, before the Archbishop would reside in the city. In an emotional sense the ABM

⁸⁴ *Het Utrechts Archief*, "Aartsbisshoppelijk Museum te Utrecht" [Archebiscopal Museum in Utrecht], <https://hetutrechtsarchief.nl/collectie/6969A189872FCDFDE0534701000ADF6B> accessed on Jan. 21, 2021.

⁸⁵ *Het Utrechts Archief*, "Aartsbisdom Utrecht" [Archdiocese Utrecht], <https://hetutrechtsarchief.nl/collectie/609C5B9E7C8D4642E0534701000A17FD> accessed on Jan. 21, 2021.

provided tangible heritage for Catholic visitors. This tangible heritage created a shared historic narrative, bringing Catholics together.

The ABM contributed to the construction of a national Catholic identity and legitimized the position of Catholicism in Dutch Society and historiography. The museum did however not battle existing stereotypes in the public image of Catholicism. Catholicism was considered by both in- and outsiders as a unique community in Dutch society, legitimized by its historic presence. The same historic presence however prevented cultural emancipation, being restricted to a community that was perceived as a medieval stereotype.

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