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Converted Relationships: Re-negotiating Family Status after Religious Conversion in the Nassau Dynasty

Abstract

This essay examines four case studies from the Nassau dynasty in the early modern period to explore strategies that converts used to negotiate understanding from their family members for their religious choices and to re-define their relationships and status as members of the dynasty. It studies the strategies and words used by male and female members of the dynasty, Flandrine of Nassau (1579–1640), Johann Ludwig of Nassau-Hadamar (1590–1653), Johann VIII of Nassau-Siegen (1583–1638), and Louise Hollandine of the Palatinate (1609–1722), each of whom had converted to Catholicism. The essay argues that these conversions provoked different strategies of dynastic and familial management, each of which responded to the gender of the converts, their positions in the hierarchy, and the potential consequences of their conversions for the House of Nassau and its political alliances.

The Nassau dynasty is generally fixed in the modern mind as one of the leading elite families of Protestant Europe. Yet, over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a number of family members converted from the Calvinist faith to become Catholic, Lutheran, and even agnostic. In this essay, we explore the strategies that converts used to negotiate understanding from their family members for their religious choices and to re-define their relationships and status as members of the dynasty. The potential negative consequences of such conversions—loss of affective connection to family members, practical and financial support, and status within the dynastic structure—necessitated particular forms of management. Here, we study the strategies and words used by both the male and female members of the extended Nassau dynasty who had converted to Catholicism, in order to tease out the gendered nature of the negotiations and the tools converts employed in these moments of potential crisis and their outcomes.

What was it that converts set out to achieve through their discussions with their natal family? Firstly, they hoped to reintegrate or re-connect with family. Some further aimed to convert other family members to their new faith. In each case, converts were able to distinguish between the conceptual and practical implications of their connection to dynasty and family, as they conceptualized their identities as members of both. Although the familial and dynastic contexts

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are our focus in this essay, redefinitions of these identities were just one aspect of the re-positioning required after conversion, which affected a wide range of social networks beyond kin alone.

How did members of dynastic families renegotiate their relationships with other family members after conversion? As previous studies have noted, vast volumes of Nassau family correspondence remain extant in archival deposits across Europe and form a key resource for understanding this particular dynasty during the early modern period.¹ Letters were critical to the making and shaping of Nassau dynastic identity and in managing its collective reputation.² So too was correspondence a vital tool that converts employed to articulate an intellectual, theological and affective position, to engage, suspend, delay and cease discussion with family, to foster certain relationships and break away from others, and to exchange information directly and indirectly.

The reiteration and reestablishment of affective ties with relatives was one aspect of letter content and function for these converts. This essay responds to the call articulated by Rosenwein, Stearns, and others to revise current understandings of emotions by placing their expression in specific cultural and social contexts.³ Scholars of conversion have begun to analyze the role of emotions in the narrativization of the conversion experience, itself a constitutive part of the conversion process.⁴ Here we explore a different aspect of the role of emotions in conversion processes; that is, how affective expression formed part of the renegotiation of family identity within an elite dynasty. In previous studies, we have considered the expression of emotions within the Nassau correspondence in other contexts, specifically, the ways emotions signaled patriarchal allegiance and forged sibling ties, and how they were expressed in grief and in marriage negotiations.⁵ Now we consider the expression of emotion in cases of conversion; what was expressed, to whom, and when, in the negotiation of converts' renewed relationships to family members. Previous analyses have shown how elite women typically performed substantial familial management through their more explicitly affective correspondence than that of men.⁶ Did epistolary negotiations of conversions also follow this gendered pattern, or did they produce new dynamics?

The exchange of letters was one part of negotiating these relationships. However, there were also other tools to renew relationships that were exposed through letters—sometimes employed to affect recipients, but also to persuade others in the family. Converts also sent gifts, proposed visits and fostering arrangements for the dynasty's children, which were common practices in the House of Nassau, particularly among its female members.⁷ For Nassau men, military service in support of the Protestant faith was an expectation. What could male converts do in the absence of this kind of dynastic contribution? How could they express their feelings for family and faith? Our questions explore gendered aspects of early modern aristocratic conversions. These aspects, and the experiences of women, have been rarely studied, as Angelika Lozar and Angelika Schaser have observed.⁸ Scholars have typically discussed early modern conversions as either expressions of individuality, part of migration movements, or informed by economic advantage.⁹ Much attention has been paid to the individual experience and expression surrounding conversion,¹⁰ and it is usually assumed that the break with the old religion, and the social community with which it was associated, was absolute. At the very least it was significant: converts certainly had to re-socialize themselves within a new social context. What has received less attention are the

relationship dynamics between converts and their families of origin, the responses of family members to the conversion, and how these dynamics were gendered.¹¹ This approach offers new insights into the religious politics of Europe's dynastic families, which have previously been studied largely in the context of the socially and politically complex interfaith marriages of this period.¹²

Despite the impression of a unified Nassau dynasty—twenty-four of the Nassau sons of various dynastic branches fought in armies for the Protestant cause—there were, over several generations, a surprising number of conversions in this family. Most notably, William, the founder of the Orange–Nassau dynasty, made two conversions. Raised a Lutheran, he converted to Catholicism to accept the inheritance of René of Châlons, which included the title of Prince of Orange in 1544. He later converted to Calvinism in 1573. In his case, there was strong strategic reasoning behind his conversions, both of which led to new alliances, including marriages, which enhanced the networks of the Orange–Nassau dynasty across Europe. William's eldest son, Philip William, who had been captured by the Spanish and raised Catholic, did not convert back to Calvinism when he returned to the United Provinces. Nor did his half-sister Flandrine of Nassau (1579–1640), a daughter of William and his third wife, Charlotte of Bourbon-Montpensier, who had been raised in a French monastery and took the veil at fourteen, in spite of protests from her family and the Dutch States-General. Another of William's daughters, Catharina-Belgica, had been raised in the Lutheran household of her aunt Catharine of Schwarzburg, sister of William, but she was later married to a leading Calvinist statesman and Nassau ally in Germany. In a slightly later period, Johann Ludwig of Nassau-Hadamar (1590–1653), one of the many sons of William's brother, Johann VI, by his third wife Johanna of Sayn-Wittgenstein, would also convert to Catholicism.

In the third generation of William and Johann's descendants there was a range of conversions to Catholicism. Recent scholarship has noted targeted aristocratic conversions as part of the political strategy of the Counter-Reformation,¹³ in which Johann Ludwig of Nassau-Hadamar and his nieces and nephews played a part. There was a series of high-profile male converts: two were William's grandsons from France's leading Huguenot families, Henri de La Trémoille and Frederic-Maurice de La Tour d'Auvergne.¹⁴ From the same generation, Johann VIII of Nassau-Siegen (1583–1638), a grandson of William's brother Johann VI, and the son of Johann VII and his wife Magdalena of Waldeck-Wildungen, also converted to Catholicism, as did a granddaughter of William, Louise Hollandine of the Palatinate (1609–1722), who was the daughter of Frederick V and Elizabeth Stuart, and who later became abbess of the prestigious convent of Maubuisson in France.

Each convert did so against dynastic politics and the wishes of their family, albeit for a range of individual reasons that included belief, local political pressures, as well as access to greater power or freedom. In this paper, we examine four particular cases that offer different contexts and strategies of conversion, as well as varied familial responses. These are, from the second generation, William's daughter Flandrine and Johann VI's son Johann Ludwig; and from the third, William's granddaughter Louise Hollandine, and Johann VI's grandson Johann VIII.

Flandrine of Nassau

After her mother's unexpected death in 1582, the three-year-old Flandrine had been given as a peace offering to her Catholic maternal grandfather, the Duke of Montpensier, in France. William's continuation of a common practice of transferring children to relatives as a way of fostering familial bonds occurred here despite the difference of religion between them. The Duke's death the same year saw Flandrine passed to Jeanne de Chabot, her aunt, who was abbess at Paraclet de Quincey but known to be sympathetic to the Protestant cause. When Chabot formally converted, another of Flandrine's aunts, the staunchly Catholic Jeanne de Bourbon, abbess of Jouarre, petitioned Henri III to take care of the child. Flandrine herself abjured on August 15, 1588, at age nine, took the veil at age eleven on September 19, 1590, and made her profession as a fourteen-year-old on November 21, 1593. Hers was to be one of a number of conversions of Huguenot aristocratic young women to conventual life in that period.¹⁵ Flandrine had not reached the formal age for profession, which was sixteen. No letters directly from Flandrine to her senior relatives survive from this period, if indeed any were written. Instead, a series of letters from Catholic relatives in France to her brother Maurice and stepmother Louise de Coligny, the leaders of the Nassau family in the Dutch Republic at this time, insisted upon the sincerity of her desire for monastic life. Flandrine did, however, write of her desire to her older sister, sixteen-year-old Louise Julienne, and it was left to Louise Julienne to inform her uncle, Jan of Nassau, in Dillenburg that

She has written to me and I do not think that is it by force or against her will that this is so, but with her will and that she desires it with all her heart. I wrote about it to Monsieur the Duke of Montpensier so that he could prevent it and Madame my step-mother who has spoken to him several times, but for all that he says that he has done what he can but that he cannot force her, so that I greatly fear that it will be very difficult to bring her back.¹⁶

Flandrine appears to have allowed others, more senior Catholic relatives in France and her elder sister, to act as her intercessors in this matter. In not corresponding directly with her stepmother or brother Maurice, Flandrine could remain isolated from family pressure or the need for explanation that would require her to openly disagree with her dynastic elders.

Once she was irrevocably professed, however, Flandrine became a valued correspondent for her sisters who later managed to visit her at the convent in Poitiers. In 1597, her sister Elisabeth, Duchess of La Tour d'Auvergne, and then some months later Elisabeth's daughter Louise (accompanied by her nurse), passed by the convent on their way from Sedan to Turenne.¹⁷ Forging bonds of affection with her sister, Flandrine would later write to Elisabeth that among all the nieces and nephews, Louise would always be her favorite: "I will never love any as much as my cute little niece whom I kiss with all my affection."¹⁸ Flandrine, typically, was emotionally expressive and sometimes volatile—traits her sisters recognized. In 1598, Flandrine wrote of her younger half-brother Frederick Hendrick's visit, asking her sister Charlotte-Brabantine (who would become Duchess of La Trémoille) to do likewise "so as to have this joy to kiss you a million times, as I did our dear little brother."¹⁹ Such visits between family

members who were spread across France, the Low Countries, and Germany, were an important part of Nassau bonding. In May 1603, Flandrine's older sister Louise-Julienne who lived in the Palatinate, asked her sisters in France to persuade Flandrine to travel to Sedan where they could all meet.²⁰ Through such visits and discussion of them, emotional ties among the siblings were forged, and renewed.

In the letters written to her sisters, Charlotte-Brabantine and Elisabeth, who had both married into the French nobility, Flandrine frequently sought their assistance, typically to secure patronage, placements, and favors for her friends. In exchange, Flandrine reiterated her enduring affection and sent small gifts such as jams, books, and candles. In the early letters to her Calvinist sister Elisabeth, Flandrine talked of "our God," thus finding a link between them, rather than distinguishing between their faiths. However, over time, Flandrine began to write more confidently of her faith. From the 1610s onwards, perhaps encouraged by the Jesuits, or at least the acceptance of Trent in France, and perhaps also by the example of her contemporary Marie Angélique Arnauld, Flandrine looked to enforce a more strict form of enclosure at her convent. Her sisters perceived this as an attempt to subordinate family relationships to her faith, with Elisabeth writing to Charlotte-Brabantine that the restriction which new elements of enclosure (specifically, the grill between the nuns and their visitors) imposed was an "obstacle" which was "annoying."²¹ Amelia wrote to Charlotte-Brabantine in July 1611, insisting that Flandrine demonstrate the priority of her familial relationships above her faith: "you must not see her through the grill. You should have the privilege to see her otherwise . . . as her sister."²² In December, Flandrine gave hope to Charlotte-Brabantine with the news that there was talk of a dispensation from Rome that would enable her to see her sisters without the grill (which would create the possibility of direct physical contact between them), and insisted that she was "dying" to see her and her children.²³ Elisabeth and Charlotte-Brabantine applied to various Catholic officials to allow them direct physical access. But by 1620, it was Flandrine herself who declared to Elisabeth: "I dare not give you any hope, for I'm told that there is no means to have permission . . . if you were of our religion there might be hope."²⁴ Flandrine spoke in terms of her extreme regret, but her final comment suggested that her sisters ought to consider conversion themselves if they valued their familial relationship to her.

Flandrine progressively pursued a more explicit offensive to convert her sisters. As the Huguenot minority in France to which Elisabeth and Charlotte-Brabantine belonged became more politically isolated after the death of Henri IV in 1610, and its social and political status waned on the national stage, Flandrine became more confident in recommending her faith to them as the ascendant alternative. Now, Flandrine conceived, it seems, that her sisters might welcome social support from the Catholic community that surrounded them, and she was in a position to assist them. She wrote of her convent's prayers for their conversion and began sending gifts of literature to them and their children. In July 1614, she discussed her involvement with local Jesuits and their combined prayers for Charlotte-Brabantine, whose natural goodness, she wrote, made them "doubly regret to see you mistaken in your religion."²⁵ But Flandrine's prayers evidently received short shrift with Charlotte-Brabantine, for Flandrine wrote bitterly to Elisabeth soon after: "I know well that she has no obligation to love me and that

she does not either, as she bears witness to me. I cannot do less from my side, nor do I have very great affection, but always I will honor her as should a sister, simply without adding anything special to it."²⁶ In 1619, Flandrine reported accounts of local miracles to Elisabeth, although these received little encouragement, it seems, from her sister. Again, she could not contain her disappointment, writing angrily: "I am annoyed that you did not believe the miracle that I wrote to you about, that more than a thousand people have seen."²⁷

At the same time, Flandrine's sisters were also exerting emotional pressure on her. The impasse in regard to their religious views was reflected in other ways within the family. In January 1615, Amelia reported that Flandrine was complaining that none of her sisters would send her a daughter to raise, which would allow her to participate in a familial practice of exchange that her Calvinist sisters were continuing among themselves. Flandrine, wrote Amelia, "writes however that she does not want to lose hope that she might have one of those of her closest to raise . . . This poor sister has a lot to complain of in her errors. May great God have pity on her and call her one day into the knowledge of the truth, this is what I hope with such passion."²⁸ Flandrine's sisters thus cut her out of familial practices of immense emotional significance that she had expected to be able to maintain, despite her divergent faith.

When Elisabeth's daughter, Marie de La Tour, married her cousin, Henri de La Trémoille, Charlotte-Brabantine's son, she was brought more frequently into Flandrine's orbit of familial correspondence. Marie remained a leading Huguenot figure in a period in which the number of conversions of high-profile aristocratic men—including eventually that of her own husband in 1628—was increasing.²⁹ She and Flandrine became involved in a rigorous intellectual debate in 1620 over the coronation ceremony of Flandrine's nephew, Frederick V, son of their sister Louise-Julienne, who had just been invited to become the Protestant King of Bohemia and crowned in November 1619. This had been an unusual ceremony, neither entirely Calvinist nor very Catholic, in which the liturgy was adapted from that used at the coronation of the Catholic Charles IV, but it was sung rather than spoken as was the Calvinist tradition. In January 1620, Flandrine wrote to Marie's mother Elisabeth that

We have had a little dispute Madame your daughter and I, having written to her what you said to me that I was happy to see the coronation of the king of Bohemia because the ceremonies had been done according to our religion. She replied to me that for them, they did not esteem them as such, for they wanted only the pure and simple word of Our Lord.

Marie had, Flandrine wrote, asked her minister to compose a letter explaining the Calvinist understanding of the theology that informed the ceremonial aspects of the coronation, but Flandrine was not to be convinced. As she wrote to Elisabeth:

Dear Madame, this is not to dispute but only to say to you that I am so much strengthened and confirmed in my belief by this letter of the minister written by Madame your daughter in which one can see never more clearly that they themselves lie not only in this aspect, but in all the letter, but this is too long to write to you about. What I would do, I do with a very good heart, without fearing that it might not be agreeable.³⁰

Few letters remain between the sisters from the 1630s until Flandrine's death in 1640, and it is possible that their growing determination to hold to their respective religious positions did not foster the more regular correspondence of earlier years, although their extant letters continued to include the same expressions of affection for each other. Indeed, it was, Flandrine argued, her ardent love for her siblings that compelled her to seek their conversion despite its risks to her family connection. She did not hesitate to express hurt and anger when they did not respond as she hoped. Yet Flandrine needed her family networks for practical and financial assistance beyond the convent, and affectionate language to all her sisters—however much she confessed in her own letters that she felt no great affection for some of them—was one of the few tools at her disposal to maintain local familial ties.

Johann VIII of Nassau-Siegen

Johann VIII of Nassau-Siegen was the son of William the Silent's nephew Johann VII and thus a second cousin of Flandrine.³¹ Johann VIII was socialized in the familiar pattern of Nassau men of his generation: a good part of his childhood was spent at Dillenburg in close proximity to his cousins. He was educated with his brothers Johann-Ernst and Adolf at leading Calvinist universities. When Johann VIII travelled through Italy between 1602 and 1603, he was arrested in Naples in February 1603 because he had been mistaken for a brother of his Calvinist uncle Maurice of Orange. He was eventually released after Pope Paul V intervened. In June 1603 his uncle Ernst Casimir, the Nassau *stadhouder* in Friesland at the time, expressed in a letter his happiness at Johann's release.³² Already a distinguished military leader in his youth, he later became known for his participation in the siege of Breda.

A Protestant religious identity was the hallmark of the Nassau family that Johann VIII would have internalized as a child and young man. In 1604, while serving in the army under his relative Georg Friedrich of Hohenlohe (son of Magdalena of Nassau-Dillenburg) in Hungary, he left in protest about the persecutions and conversions of the Protestants. He wrote about the matter to his father, explaining that he had "searched his conscience" and decided to take leave from his camp.³³ The emotions expressed in this letter signaled both his doubts and his attempt to find a compromise between dynastic obligations and his own conscience (that is, to leave his position in the army, which defied a prime expectation of Nassau men).

Eight years later, almost to the day, in December 1613, Johann VIII announced in a letter to his father his own (voluntary) conversion to Catholicism. He acknowledged in this letter, sent from Italy, that his uncle Wilhelm-Ludwig of Nassau-Dillenburg had put emotional pressure on him to inform his father officially. While Johann VIII presented this decision as his individual choice, it carried wider emotional and political consequences for the Nassau family.³⁴ It is possible that Johann VII was informed of his son's conversion well before December because in October 1613 he added a clause to his will, stipulating that his successor should not be of Catholic faith.³⁵ Johann VII saw the conversion of his son as part of a wider Counter-Reformation movement, led by the Jesuits, and of which the conversion of aristocratic men and women was an important part. In the same year, Wolfgang

Wilhelm of Pfalz-Neuburg had secretly converted to Catholicism in order to marry Magdalene of Bavaria, the daughter of Duke William V of Bavaria.³⁶

In the letter to his father, Johann VIII defended his right to seek his individual salvation, and expressed the hope that his father would come to an understanding of the truth, which he now equated with Catholicism. He even included a gift of Jesuit reading material. Most of the letter was taken up with theological arguments to refute Luther and Zwingli, and only towards the end of it did Johann express stronger sentiments about the direct impact of his conversion on his position in the family: "Finally I beg *Euer Liebden*³⁷ diligently, not to be bitter and in enmity with me because I desire to save my soul. Instead be assured that I will honor, respect, and obey you all my life as this is the duty of a pious child towards its parents."³⁸ He was hoping to reinforce the filial bond, not a wider dynastic loyalty, which his father at least saw as based on a shared religion.

Johann VII's response contained a carefully crafted theological reply. He had read the Jesuit writings sent by his son, and even asked the minister in Dillenburg to provide him with new copies when these got lost. However, he also used the argument of emotional alliances to remind his son of the identity of the dynasty:

Highborn, friendly, and dear son. . . . I heard that you have left the true Christian evangelical religion, in which I diligently and in a Christian manner advised and reared you as well as your brothers and sisters. [I have] also taught you the correct foundations of the long acknowledged and accepted truth, for which we have risked our wealth, blood, and everything we had.³⁹

Admonition as a form of paternal love was expressed to compel the obedience of a son to his father, and indeed to honor his House.

Johann VII's emotional expressions aided his paternal authority, and his right, to correct the decision and behavior of his son. He ended his letter with the following reminder: "Thus I cannot avoid exercising my paternal office, to put before your eyes the unreason and the trivial motives and pretended reasoning and to refute the same. And my admonishing you as a father that *Deine Liebden* will diligently take note of my counter-report as well as of God and the gifts of the Holy Spirit."⁴⁰

Importantly, while Johann exhorted his son to follow the true religion (Protestantism) he also gave his son a way out. By blaming Jesuits, as seducers and enemies, his emotional management avoided serious confrontation with his son, who appeared instead as a victim, and in this way an absolute break could still be avoided. In his opinion, his son was "lamentably seduced by the Jesuit scoundrels." He wrote: "My child has been driven by the local roguish Jesuits so far as not only to deny his God and to gamble away his own salvation, but also to soil his hands with the blood of his parents, relatives, and friends."⁴¹ Thus, while the conversion of his son was expressed as having serious consequences for the Nassau family, anger and rejection were diverted and reconciliation still possible if his son listened to his father and relatives.

Johann VII also enlisted other senior men in the family, such as his brother Wilhelm-Ludwig, to influence and to realign his son emotionally by reminding the younger Johann of their shared dynastic values and religious identity. Wilhelm-Ludwig, who was at the time the Nassau *stadhouder* of Friesland in Leeuwarden, wrote promptly to his nephew. In his letter, he emphasized Johann's

filial duty to pay respect to his father in person, which would be a much stronger emotional demonstration of their hierarchical relationship than could be achieved in writing: "You know the obligation that you owe to your father and can in no way refuse him this contentment, especially as it is about a subject that touches upon the conservation of your soul and of your honor."⁴² Wilhelm-Ludwig demanded Johann declare to which emotional community he belonged: Johann should not

reject paternal admonition and the advice of all your closest relatives, which will be more certain and useful for you to follow than that of the enemies of your house, who are truly blind in their idolatry, for love of which [it] is well to be feared that you will be distanced from divine benediction, and will hardly advance your fortune that way.⁴³

Wilhelm-Ludwig even sent Johann the money to hasten his visit to his father in Siegen, reinforcing the young man's subordinated and dependent position.

These initial attempts at conciliatory language gave way to a more hostile tone when it was clear that the conversion was permanent. Johann went on to marry the Catholic Ernestine Yolanda de Ligne in 1618, but it is possible that he was already engaged to her in 1613, the year of his conversion.⁴⁴ His uncle Wilhelm-Ludwig was blunt in the expression of his disapproval of this relationship and the negative influence he felt it had on his nephew. Wilhelm-Ludwig remarked critically that Johann's feelings for Ernestine, whom he had met at the court in Brussels, had put him in a subservient position to a woman and caused his conversion: "Satan has worked such that in order to please her [Ernestine Yolanda de Ligne] he first went to mass in Brussels and finally declared himself to be a Catholic. Later, as my nephew Johann himself told me, he broke free from her and stood on his own feet again, but now he wants to have her back again."⁴⁵ As a senior Nassau man, Wilhelm-Ludwig, like his brother Johann VII, could see the Catholic conversion of a male family member only as an external evil temptation to which this young man had unfortunately succumbed.

Johann's relationships with his Calvinist family were irreparably damaged by his conversion. When his father died in 1623, Johann occupied Nassau-Siegen at the head of a Habsburg Army and introduced a Catholic Counter-Reformation. In 1624, he participated in the Siege of Breda, a city defended for the Dutch by his second cousin Justinus of Nassau for eleven months before it finally surrendered. In the famous portrait, *The Surrender of Breda* by Diego Velázquez, Johann is depicted third from the left in the Spanish camp, looking straight at the spectator. In 1632, Nassau-Siegen was conquered by the Swedes, after which his half-brother Johann Moritz of Nassau-Siegen re-introduced Protestantism there. Johann himself died in 1638.

Johann Ludwig of Nassau-Hadamar

Although seven years younger than Johann VIII of Nassau-Siegen, Johann Ludwig of Nassau-Hadamar belonged to an earlier generation of Nassau men. He was the youngest son of Johann VI and thus a paternal uncle of Johann VIII. His father died in 1606, when Johann Ludwig was only sixteen years old. The dukedom was divided between Johann VI's five surviving sons and as a

consequence Nassau-Hadamar, the inheritance of Johann Ludwig, was created. Johann Ludwig was educated in Calvinist institutions that bore the name of his Nassau ancestors. He visited the school in Herborn that had been founded by his father, and studied from 1604 at the *Académie des Exercices* in Sedan, which had been founded by his uncle, the Duke of Bouillon. In 1606, he fled Sedan because of the nearing army of Henry IV, and continued his studies in Geneva. In May 1608, he was back in Dillenburg, the ancestral home of the Nassau dynasty and the residence of his older stepbrother Johann VII. He was thus geographically close to his nephew Johann VIII who had converted to Catholicism against the wishes of his father in 1613, and would have witnessed the conflicts this caused in that branch of the family. In 1617, Johann Ludwig married the Calvinist Countess Ursula zur Lippe (1598–1638).

One year later, in 1618, the Thirty Years War began and the Nassau counties were among the worst affected. The Calvinist Nassau brothers sided with the Protestant camp and thus made themselves enemies of Emperor Ferdinand II, who threatened to confiscate their lands. In 1629, Johann Ludwig was sent by his brothers to Vienna to negotiate with the Emperor.⁴⁶ Although he was the youngest of the brothers, Johann Ludwig was chosen for this delicate mission because of his reputation for possessing good diplomatic skills. Once in Vienna, Johann Ludwig unexpectedly switched sides and, under the influence of the Jesuit confessor Wilhelm Lamormaini, he converted to Catholicism in 1629.⁴⁷ This religious change of another member of such a prominent Protestant family was a considerable victory for the Catholic side, and part of the Jesuit campaign to convert leading aristocrats.⁴⁸ Not surprisingly, the Emperor Ferdinand II offered to take Johann Ludwig into his service. However, Johann Ludwig chose first to return to Hadamar where he permitted the Jesuits to found an academy, and further allowed the establishment of Franciscan and Dominican monasteries. Surprisingly, he did not delegate control of the relevant archbishopric in Trier to the Catholic Church; instead he himself maintained control over it. Johann Ludwig emerged as a man capable of negotiation, both with his family and in the political sphere. In 1638, he negotiated the Peace of Münster on behalf of Ferdinand III, and in 1647, Philip IV of Spain made him a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece for his achievements in bringing about peace between Spain and The Netherlands. For his contribution to the successful negotiations of the Peace of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years War, Ferdinand III promoted him to Prince in 1650.

Like his relatives Flandrine and Johann VIII before him, Johann Ludwig converted to Catholicism away from home—in his case, Vienna. From this distance, he had to use letters to communicate his conversion to his family. While his father was no longer alive, he had to inform his siblings, and his wife and children. A lively correspondence ensued which, as well as his wife Ursula, included his sisters Anna of Isenburg and Magdalena of Erbach (1595–1647), his older brother Ernst Casimir of Nassau-Dietz (1573–1642, *stadhouder* of Friesland, Groningen, and Drenthe), his older half-sister Maria of Nassau-Idstein (1568–1632), and Elisabeth of Waldeck (1610–1647, a granddaughter of his older brother Johann VII). None of his relatives approved of Johann Ludwig's conversion and all embroiled him in detailed theological discussions. While his sisters Anna and Magdalena still reassured him of their sisterly affection, it was his brother Ernst Casimir who was his most vociferous critic and who openly condemned what he saw as the insincerity of Johann Ludwig's conversion, and thus,

by implication, his betrayal of the Nassau family. Ernst Casimir spoke in his letters of a “serious case,” and remarked that “the devil is a Jack of all trades and knows how to disguise himself as an angel.”⁴⁹ Even more damning, he pointed to the very worldly circumstances of his brother’s conversion in the imperial city of Vienna and implied that this “denial of the true religion” was done in order to gain the favor of the emperor.⁵⁰ Such an open accusation of betrayal of family loyalty as seen in the letters of Ernst Casimir—who was not only the older brother but also a prominent representative of the Nassau family as a *stadhouder*—was in stark contrast to the emotions and strenuous efforts to maintain family ties found in Johann Ludwig’s correspondence with his wife and his sister Anna.⁵¹

Ursula zur Lippe responded to her husband Johann Ludwig’s conversion with anxiety and expressed her disappointment openly as emotional pain and hurt. Johann Ludwig must have anticipated her reaction because he asked his favorite sister Anna to function as an intermediary and to personally deliver his letters to his wife, so as to soften the impact on her. In his letters, Johann Ludwig tried to minimize the rift that had occurred between the couple as a result of his change of religion by emphasizing the continued and unchanged affection and loyalty he felt for Ursula. His first letter opened with a strong emotional statement of his continuing love for her, and expressed his longing to see her and their children very soon, and to “hold her by the hand.”⁵² He then moved straight to the topic of his conversion, telling Ursula that God had rescued him from the deep doubts with which he had been struggling for several years, as she very well knew and which she “had cried about with Christian and hot and heart-cutting tears.”⁵³ Johann Ludwig went to considerable lengths to acknowledge his indebtedness and devotion to his pious wife by representing himself not only as someone who had had religious doubts, but, worse, as a husband who angered her “pious Christian heart” with his sins before his conversion.⁵⁴

Johann Ludwig emphasized that it was Ursula, his “much-beloved heart,” who showed great “Christian zeal” and who with a “loyal and upright heart” had always served God and had supported him as her husband in all his spiritual trials.⁵⁵ He admitted to his wife that he had hindered her pious works in the past. On reflection, he found that this previous behavior “cut wounds in [his] heart” when he thought about with how much patience and friendliness she had overcome his behavior, and insisted that he would love her till his death.⁵⁶ He characterized his wife as “all truth already Catholic if she was only explained the points of [Catholic] teachings thoroughly.” He then left it to her own conscience to decide whether to convert or not. Only in his concluding words did he mention their children again, hoping that the Lord would “delight [their] hearts in eternity,” and wishing to kiss his children and wife “a hundred thousand times.”⁵⁷ In this letter, Johann Ludwig claimed his position as *pater familias*, but avoided a direct schism with his wife by suggesting that all her pious behavior as a supportive wife was in some way already “Catholic.” He went on at length to praise her pious and wifely support for him, and to renounce his previous irreligious life that had caused her distress. Throughout his letters to his wife he emphasized their continuous marital bond, and minimized the religious differences between them.

Ursula’s letters to her husband expressed very different emotions. Before her husband’s missives arrived, she had already heard rumors about Johann Ludwig’s conversion, and thus his letter confirmed her fears and “saddened her painfully.”⁵⁸ Her letter, which was much shorter than her husband’s, spoke of the pain his

conversion had caused her: "I had hoped not to have to live through this [his conversion]. I cannot say with words the sadness and wound which this has caused in my heart."⁵⁹ After assuring Johann Ludwig of her wifely obedience, she asked him not to force her to change her religion.⁶⁰ Ursula ended her letter with the hope that "You will not cease to love me or turn your heart away from me."⁶¹ Ursula was clearly not in a position to question her husband about his decision to convert, and there is no indication that he had discussed the possibility with her before he left for Vienna. Indeed, she indicated this breach of trust by stating in the opening paragraph of her reply letter to Johann that she had heard rumors about his conversion long before his letter had reached her.

While Johann Ludwig had described the emotional hurt he had inflicted on his wife as stemming from his behavior before the conversion, in contrast, Ursula wrote that the "sadness and wound in [her] heart" was caused by his change to Catholicism, and lay in the present (and future), rather than the past. Ursula voiced her desire to remain Calvinist, but this, she conceded, was dependent on her husband's decision in the matter. It was a letter marked by resignation; she even spoke of her desire to die. Ursula understood the limits of her power as a wife to change her husband's mind, and her emotional strategies in this letter reflected her acknowledgement that a personal compromise in which she could remain Protestant was all that she could hope for. The religious fate of the children remained unspoken in the letter, perhaps because it was clear to her that the boys at least would be brought up as Catholics. Despite her disappointment, she did try to reconnect with Johann Ludwig, although from a clearly subordinated position, in pleading that "he not cease to love her." She did not appeal to his regard for their shared marital past, and she did not try to persuade him to reconsider his conversion. Yet in a very subtle way, Ursula asserted her authority by reminding her husband that "one ought to be more obedient to God than to people."⁶²

In the letters of his younger sister Anna, to whom Johann Ludwig had entrusted the delivery of his letters to Ursula, we see a strong rejection of his religious conversion, but also the desire to keep their close sibling bonds. Anna regretted that she had not been able to do him the "sisterly favor" of taking his letter to Ursula, and affirmed that she would have loved to fulfill his wish that she "visit your wife and to hand over the letters, I would have loved to show you the sisterly favor as well as to comfort your wife about this sad news"⁶³ but she and her husband had been ill. In her long reply, dated November 1629, she assured Johann Ludwig of her continued love, but criticized his conversion, in a stronger and more detailed way than his wife had done, by reminding her brother of their shared childhood and their upbringing in the same faith: "I was brought up together with *Euer Liebden* in the same redeeming word of the Lord, I still keep to this now and, with God's grace, will do so until the end of my life."⁶⁴ Anna hoped that "his dark heart which is now covered in a thick fog of papistry and idolatry"⁶⁵ would be enlightened by God. Anna then directly admonished Johann Ludwig:

Thus I beg and remind *Euer Liebden* from a loyal sisterly heart and for the sake of your soul's happiness, do not allow yourself to be deprived of the privilege of reading God's words for yourself, but instead practice this diligently at the command of Christ, to whom we owe our allegiance more than to the Pope or to other human beings.⁶⁶

As a younger sister, Anna was emotionally very close to Johann Ludwig and enjoyed his trust, as his plea that Anna personally deliver his news and letter to his wife suggests. Their mutual affection allowed her to criticize his conversion more openly than his wife could, without risk of severing her sisterly bonds.

To reconcile his ongoing affections for his denominationally divided family (his wife and daughters remained Calvinist, and his sons did become Catholic), and to project the new faith onto his political realm, Johann Ludwig often used the symbol of the heart.⁶⁷ The sincerity of his love, expressed through the heart, was, for example, at the center of his letters to his wife Ursula. Johann Ludwig could express his feelings and intentions in a combination of Protestant heart-metaphors, conjugal love images, and the language of his new faith. He addressed his wife as his “much-beloved heart;” he acknowledged that, before his conversion, his behavior had “hurt her heart;” and from “the depth of his heart” he reported how his “heart had been changed.” Any grief he caused her before the conversion now made his “heart feel as if it had been cut like a wound.” The heart became central to the discourse and to the actions of Johann Ludwig after his conversion, as it also did for some of his sons who were brought up as Catholics. When Johann Ludwig of Nassau-Hadamar died in 1653, he requested that his heart be buried in the Jesuit church in Hadamar as “a token of love,” and as a conscious re-enacting of the Jesuit theology of the Sacred Heart to express his Catholic alliances even in death.⁶⁸ His son Moritz Heinrich permitted the Jesuits to erect the *Herzenbergkapelle* in 1675 as a chapel on the Hirtzberg, just outside of Hadamar.⁶⁹ One year later, a statue of the Virgin Mary, which had been brought from Koblenz, was erected. The name of the hill (Hirtzberg) changed over time to “Hertzberg” because the hearts of many of Johann Ludwig’s male descendants were buried there.⁷⁰

Johann Ludwig seems to have never played any significant role in the military, either before or after his conversion. Rather, he was involved in diplomatic negotiations (such as when he was sent to Vienna to negotiate on behalf of his brothers and the House of Nassau), and he continued to be employed as a diplomat for the emperor Ferdinand III after his conversion. Like Johann VIII, Johann Ludwig accepted a loss of dynastic status and focused his attention in these early letters on renewing his familial relationships—with his children of both faiths, with his wife, and with his siblings. Later, however, his actions were to cause a major rift within the dynasty. When Ferdinand III occupied lands belonging to some of Johann Ludwig’s Nassau relatives who had been in alliance with the King of Sweden, both Johann Ludwig and Johann VIII made efforts to obtain them.⁷¹ Johann Ludwig returned to Vienna to see the Emperor in 1636 and some areas were given both to him and to Johann VIII. While confessional change caused permanent divisions for men from their dynasty of origin, their connection to that identity could still be used to justify ownership of lands that had traditionally belonged to the dynasty.

Louise Hollandine of the Palatinate

Louise Hollandine was the second daughter of Frederick V, Elector Palatinate, and thus she was a great-granddaughter of William the Silent. After Frederick’s disastrously ineffective reign as King of Bohemia, the family settled at The Hague where they lived at the Dutch court under the protection of Frederick’s

uncle Frederik Hendrik, the Prince of Orange.⁷² Frederick V was continually occupied in attempts to regain his territories. When he eventually died in 1632, he left his widow Elizabeth Stuart with a large number of children who needed to marry or to make their fortune. By 1657, thirty-five-year-old Louise Hollandine was the only one of the daughters still with her mother. While two sisters had married, another, Elizabeth, had entered the Protestant abbey of Herford, where their cousin was abbess. In December 1657, Louise Hollandine left her mother's house at The Hague in the dead of night, unaccompanied by her female servants, to make her way to Bergen op Zoom. From there, she traveled to the heart of the Spanish-held Catholic Low countries, Antwerp.

Initially, Louise Hollandine found refuge with the English Carmelite house, and it was there that she converted on January 25, 1658. In March, she went to Rouen where she was met by her brother Edward, who had himself converted to Catholicism to marry Anna Gonzaga.⁷³ In addition to that of her brother, Louise Hollandine received support from her relatives at the French court, including her aunt, Henrietta Maria (the widow of Elizabeth Stuart's brother, Charles I) in whose convent, Visitation of Sainte Marie de Chaillot, she remained.⁷⁴ With the assistance of the French queen, Anne of Austria, Louise Hollandine was eventually to find a more permanent home at Maubuisson, later becoming abbess in August 1664, and dying there in 1709.

Louise Hollandine had left a note for mother, explaining her desire to convert to Catholicism. In it, she explained:

By the grace of God a better light has appeared to me: it is the light of the Faith necessary to salvation. I sought a surer path than that of Calvinism, and it is this that has made me decide to change religion. I took myself away to be able, without opposition, to execute my plan. I beg you, O mother, to pardon my sudden departure. As soon as I am in an asylum where I can accomplish my project, I will give you knowledge of it. I have chosen this time of the year to leave the paternal house, because the feast of Christmas is near and I desired to celebrate this solemnity in Catholic Christianity, and not to have communion in a Calvinist temple.⁷⁵

Conversion to Catholicism was at the heart, she claimed, of her desire to leave. However, a series of letters published in The Netherlands in 1658 suggested that Louise Hollandine's Catholic supporters had had a heavy hand in the articulation of her conversion. These letters, real or forged, from Maria Elisabeth II van den Bergh op Zoom, the Catholic Princess of Hohenzollern (1613–71), suggested that Louise Hollandine had revealed her decision to her mother's friend and had sought her support. In addition to showing that she had arranged Louise Hollandine's clandestine flight from her mother's house, the third of Princess Hohenzollern's letters also appeared to indicate that Louise Hollandine's note for her mother had been in large part dictated by Princess Hohenzollern's priest. Princess Hohenzollern had suggested that:

you must only say in this letter that God, having given you the grace to have made you recognize the true Religion in which alone you believe you can have your salvation and by no other, that you will write to them when you have arrived in the place where you can be at liberty, and that seeing it is so close to Christmas and consequently you would be constrained to have had the Eucharist

against your conscience or to have them realize this change in your sentiment, you sought in this necessity to remove yourself, to put yourself in a place where you could follow the movement of your conscience without anyone stopping you; and add to it also that you will let them know from time to time your news. . . . delay telling them the reasons that have moved you to change until you have arrived at the place you are going.⁷⁶

She recommended that the explanation Louise Hollandine supplied her mother should convey only minimal information. Louise Hollandine was not to go into details about either her pathway to her desired conversion, or its theological basis. This gave her Protestant family and friends little material with which to argue against her decision. Practically, she was also not to reveal information that would enable her mother to track her down and bring her back to The Hague. The publication of Princess Hohenzollern's instructions in The Netherlands allowed Protestants to imply that Louise Hollandine's conversion had been orchestrated by others. A young woman like Louise Hollandine could be seen as easily persuaded—a position that denied her full rights to spiritual autonomy but saved face for her family.

After her departure, Louise Hollandine's Catholic brother Edward, who lived in France, took on a role as intercessor on his sister's behalf in negotiating a redefined relationship with her mother and the dynasty patriarch, their brother, the Elector Palatine Karl-Ludwig. It was Edward who explained to his eldest brother Karl-Ludwig that "the fear she had to displease the queen obliged her to hasten her removal and even though no one holds one by the throat over a matter of religion, one still fears the reprimand of those whom one loves and respects." He pressed on, seeking a renewal of affection for Louise with their sibling, declaring: "if in the past she little pleased you in the vocation that she has chosen, she begs that you will pardon her."⁷⁷ Edward also indicated that their sisters continued their exchange of correspondence and gifts with Louise Hollandine. He noted to his brother that their sister, Elizabeth, a nun at the Protestant abbey of Herford, had even "written to her to send her the rule of the convent and a pattern of the habit."⁷⁸ Significantly, Edward did not discuss her religious decision; it was her act of disobedience that he sought to reconcile.

In seeking his family's assistance in supporting their sister emotionally and financially, Edward upheld her right to follow her own beliefs (beliefs, which of course, matched his own). Criticizing his mother's aggressive attacks on Princess Hohenzollern, Edward argued to Karl-Ludwig that

she has no cause to push the Princess Hohenzollen [sic] as she has done, for when a daughter is of the age of this one, one must believe her when she takes measures according to her advantages on what concerns her belief which should be free to her . . . our mother does what passes here for a generous action for her daughter [yet] she destroys her entirely by this silliness, for the family it creates only rumor which is bothersome, the other is between her and God.⁷⁹

Edward assisted his sister Louise Hollandine to renew emotional connection with the family's two most powerful figures, her mother and her eldest brother, while at the same time insisting upon her right to choose her own religious path.

Equally pressing for Edward was to secure financial support for Louise Hollandine from his family. As he argued to his brother, he had been able to

provide a little, but it would bring shame on the family to expect Catholic friends and supporters to cover all her living expenses. Although he continued to insist that what Louise Hollandine desired above all was assurance of her mother's love—"the poor girl will not believe herself content until her mother has witnessed it to her, she loves her still"⁸⁰—Edward could address the matter of finances directly with his brother. He wrote in some frustration more than a year after her conversion, when it was still unclear what the family would provide to Louise Hollandine for her entrance into the convent, that "in what relates to Louise, I am annoyed to have served as a lawyer in an affair which has turned out so poorly." He reminded his brother of their family responsibilities: "as far as I have the power, I have enough nature and friendship for those who are close to me to help them in need according to my means." However, he was also careful not to provoke Karl-Ludwig to anger: "I will content myself to assure you that I will no longer meddle in the affairs of my sister or in regard to Your Highness and if she has some business, I will beg her to engage more fortunate negotiators than me."⁸¹ Louise Hollandine could not enquire after her financial support overtly; hers was a language of affection. It was left to Edward to argue her case with their eldest brother, and, in his absence, to other negotiators on her behalf.

Edward died unexpectedly in 1663 at the age of thirty-seven. His death forced Louise Hollandine to take up the pen to her brother, Karl-Ludwig, for the first time since her conversion. In her first letter, in August 1664, she explained her silence thus:

During the life of my brother, the prince Edward, I did not dare to importune Your Highness with my news knowing that he would make known to you what was my need to tell you and that it was more agreeable from his hand than it would be from mine, now that he is no longer in the world, I hope Monseigneur that you will not find it bad that I give myself the honor of writing to you.

Louise Hollandine continued by asking her brother to repay some of the financial outlay that her French supporters had made on her behalf.⁸² If her correspondence with her brother remained principally concerned with financial matters, the same could not be said of that with the female members of her family. A steady series of letters, to Elizabeth and to Sophie and later, to Karl-Ludwig's daughter, Elisabeth Charlotte, linked her into the wider activities of her family. Later, both Sophie and her niece Elisabeth Charlotte visited Louise Hollandine at Maubuisson.

There were also other ways in which Louise Hollandine could foster affective ties with her family. She had always been reputed a gifted artist and had trained in her mother's home under Gerrit van Honthorst.⁸³ Her artistic endeavors continued within the abbey at Maubuisson. Edward had written in a letter to Karl-Ludwig how their mother had asked Louise Hollandine to paint Edwards's three daughters as part of an act of reconciliation between mother and daughter.⁸⁴ Louise Hollandine sent a number of paintings to family members and many are now held in Hanover, having been in her sister Sophie's collections.⁸⁵ Louise Hollandine was able to continue the family tradition of fostering her kin, by educating her relatives' daughters at Maubuisson. After another of William the Silent's grandsons, Henri de La Tour d'Auvergne, the Vicomte de Turenne, converted to Catholicism in 1668 following the death of his wife, he sent his youngest

daughter, four-year-old Marie-Sylvie-Brabantine, to Maubuisson to be educated until she was seventeen.⁸⁶ Like Flandrine before her, Louise Hollandine was unsuccessful at receiving the children of her Protestant sisters, but education within convents remained an important way in which Louise Hollandine could maintain status among the Catholic members of the dynasty and foster relationships with its next generation.

In later life, Louise Hollandine grew more confident in her relationship with her siblings and began to discuss her religious status with them. In a letter to Karl-Ludwig, in 1667, she indicated that there were those in her own convent who were working to achieve the conversion of her relatives: "There is an old nun here who spends more than she is worth in burning candles before the Holy Virgin for the conversion of all my relatives and writes every day to ask if they have not yet converted."⁸⁷ In 1670, she wrote rather more excitedly to her brother of a rumor she had heard: "one says that Your Highness wants to establish a monastery" and asked if he would like her to send the rule of Maubuisson.⁸⁸ In 1671, Karl-Ludwig signed a contract for the marriage of his daughter Elisabeth Charlotte to the Catholic Philippe, Duke of Orléans and Louis XIV's brother, which required her to convert to Catholicism. At this same time, Louise Hollandine and her sister Sophie were corresponding about the project of Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, the Bishop of Meaux, to re-integrate Protestants into the Catholic Church. Bossuet was himself exchanging ideas with Sophie's great correspondent, the philosopher Gottfried Leibnitz.⁸⁹ Bossuet had already successfully converted their relative, Henri de La Tour d'Auvergne. Although the reconciliation of their faiths did not eventuate, these activities highlighted Louise Hollandine's growing confidence in her familial relationships. This enabled her to approach her siblings about matters of faith, advancing her own views, and seeking support for the Church she had chosen, as well as affirming the emotional importance of bringing her family to see and to share her religious beliefs.

Conclusions

As these examples show, conversions in the Nassau family provoked different strategies of dynastic and familial management, each of which responded to the gender of the converts, their positions in the hierarchy, and the potential consequences of their conversions for the House of Nassau and its political alliances. Flandrine, Johann VIII, Johann Ludwig, and Louise Hollandine belonged to different generations and branches of the Nassau family, and their conversions were viewed in different political and dynastic contexts.

Letters, gifts, requests for visits, fostering, and education of children were all aspects of the renegotiation of familial relationships in affective terms within dynastic families. Letters could break or redefine familial relationships and create new relationships for converts at a time of their choosing. Letters often allowed more space in negotiating these relationships than face-to-face encounters. In the epistolary exchanges following conversion, negative emotions (such as anger, displeasure, and resentment) were most directly expressed following the lines of the family's social hierarchy: from father to son, from uncle to nephew, and occasionally also between brothers, but always with deference to seniority. Women were more careful it seems; they did express negative emotions to other women, but rarely directly. Use of epistolary intercessors to reconnect with dynastic figures

seems to have helped Flandrine and Louise Hollandine avoid direct maternal or familial confrontation about their religious decisions. In addition, the context of conversion appears to have evoked more strongly emotional language in correspondence than was usual for men, with both male and female converts in the Nassau family articulating love and affection in order to renew and sustain family ties as a sister, son, father, and husband. Face-to-face encounters were seen as more desirable, particularly for men, as they would demonstrate greater closeness and of course allow for more effective persuasion. Those in governing positions (father, uncle) could demand the performance of such affective bonds by those who were subordinate (son) in such encounters. But others, like Flandrine, employed the politics of the physical barrier of the convent grill to coerce her sisters to assess their own priorities of faith over family. In exchange, they denied Flandrine rights to share in the education and care of the dynasty's children.

In some respect, dynasties such as the Nassau understood themselves as a group with shared values, symbols, and identity. There was more flexibility for elite converts and their relatives to sustain familial alliances if the convert was in a relationship of near equality (at least within subordinated hierarchies, such as among siblings or, especially, among sisters). Renegotiation of affectionate relationships was more difficult if the conversion disrupted conventional male expectations, such as the obedience of a son to his father, or the dynastic inheritance and responsibility of an elder son. Male converts' new political and emotional loyalties and actions affected the political future of the entire dynasty.

Moreover, for women, dynastic contribution was not entirely about religious representation and military service, but about experiences, moments, care, and gifts that could be maintained after conversion to some extent. Louise Hollandine educated the daughters of her Catholic relatives as a continuation of the dynasty's tradition of fostering kin. Flandrine, Louise Hollandine, and Johann VIII all sent gifts of religious materials that might inspire further family conversions. Louise Hollandine offered paintings to her family members, and commissioning artwork was used as a way for her mother to signal willingness to renew ties with her daughter. For men, an expected dynastic identity was deemed to be Protestant, and they were obliged to participate in the military defense of the Protestant cause if necessary. Conversion clearly placed this under threat.

All four of these Nassau converts appear to have accepted loss of their dynastic status, focusing efforts in their correspondence on familial relationships—on their role as a son, sister, father, or husband. Female and male converts required the renewal of relationships with their family in different proportions. As nuns without a marital family for support, Flandrine and Louise Hollandine needed their natal kin more than other female converts might have. Men, on the other hand, were able to forge new networks both through marriage and personal service, as did Johann VIII and Johann Ludwig, through their military and diplomatic activities.

Endnotes

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1. Where possible, we cite from scholarly editions of the dynasty's vast remaining epistolary collections to assist other scholars to locate these texts. The authors are currently finalising a monograph of the early modern Nassau family based primarily on their extant manuscript and printed correspondence, *Gender, Power and Identity in the Early Modern Nassau Family, 1580–1814* (Ashgate). The research for this essay has been produced with financial support from an Australian Research Council Discovery grant.
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12. See for example, Barbara Diefendorf, "Houses Divided: Religious Schism in Sixteenth-Century Parisian Families," in *Urban Life in the Renaissance*, eds. Susan Zimmerman and Ronald F. E. Weissman (Newark, 1989); also Luria, *Sacred Boundaries*, esp. "Divided Families: The Confessional Boundary in the Household," 143–92.

13. Ines Peper, *Konversionen im Umkreis des Wiener Hofes um 1700* (Vienna, 2010); Eric-Oliver Mader, "Fürstenkonversionen zum Katholizismus in Mitteleuropa im 17. Jahrhundert: Ein systematischer Ansatz in fallorientierter Perspektive," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 34 (2007): 403–40.

14. And indeed their own sons in the next generation again, see Susan Rosa, "Il était possible aussi que cette conversion fût sincère: Turenne's Conversion in Context," *French Historical Studies* 18, no. 3 (1994): 632–66; and Rosa, "The conversion of Henri-Charles de la Trémoille, Prince de Tarente, 1670," *Historical Reflections/Reflexions historiques* 21, no. 1 (1995): 57–77.

15. See Luria, *Sacred Boundaries*, 231–32.

16. Jules Delaborde, ed., *Louise de Coligny, Princesse d'Orange*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1890; rept Geneva: Slatkine, 1970), 480–81: "Elle m'a escrit et me mande que je ne pense point que ce soit par force ou contre son gré que cela se fasse, mais avecq sa volonté, et qu'elle le desire de tout son coeur. J'en ay escrit à M. le duc de Montpensier affin qu'il luy plüst empescher que cela se fist; et Madame ma belle-mère luy en a parlé plusieurs fois; mais, sur tout cela, il dit qu'il y fera ce qu'il pourra, mais que l'on ne peut forcer sa volonté; de sorte que je crains fort qu'il sera très difficile de la pouvoir retirer delà," January 3, 1595.

17. Jean-Luc Tulot, ed., "Lettres de Flandrine de Nassau, abbesse de Ste-Croix, à sa soeur, la duchesse de Bouillon" (unpublished typescript, Saint-Brieuc, 2006), 1–22, at 4. Tulot's editions/transcriptions are all downloadable as PDF files from his website "Le Monde des la Trémoille dans le premier XVIIe Siècle," <http://jeanluc.tulot.pagesperso-orange.fr>.

18. Tulot, ed., "Lettres de Flandrine de Nassau," 5: "je n'en aymeray jamais tant que ma petite mig[on]ne nièce que j'enbrace de toute mon affection," February 15, 1599.

19. P. Marchegay, ed., "Lettres de l'abbesse de Ste Croix de Poitiers à la duchesse de la Trémoille, 1598–1630," *Archives historiques de Poitou* 1 (1872): 203–96, at 215: "afin d'avoir ceste joye que de vous embracer ung milions de fois, comme j'ay fait nostre cher petit frère," December 15 [1598]. On the religious position of women in the La Trémoille family at this period, see Luria, *Sacred Boundaries*, 218–29.

20. Tulot, ed., "Correspondance de Louise-Juliane de Nassau, électrice palatine (1595–1616)," part 1 (unpublished typescript, Saint-Brieuc, 2009), 24.

21. Tulot, ed., "Correspondance d'Elisabeth de Nassau, duchesse de Bouillon, à sa soeur Charlotte-Brabantine, duchesse de La Trémoille," part 3 (unpublished typescript, Saint-Brieuc, 2008), 15: "C'est opstacle est fâcheux," August 7, 1611.
22. Tulot, ed., "Correspondance d'Amélie de Nassau, duchesse de Landsberg," 3 parts (unpublished typescript, Saint-Brieuc, 2009), part 1, 126: "Il ne faut pas que vous la voiez par la grille. Vous devez bien avoir ce privilège de la voir autrement . . . comme seur," July 8, 1611.
23. Marchegay, ed., "Lettres de l'abbesse de Ste Croix de Poitiers," 239: "je me meurs de les voirs," December 13, 1611.
24. Tulot, ed., "Lettres de Flandrine de Nassau," 18: "n'ose vous en doner nulle espérance, car l'on m'a dit qu'il n'y a plus de moyen d'en avoir permission. . . . que sy vous esties de nostre religion qu'il y avoit espérance," April 13, 1620.
25. Marchegay, ed., "Lettres de l'abbesse de Ste Croix de Poitiers," 251: "ce qui nous doublement regretter de vous voir trompée en vostre religion," July 22 [1614].
26. Tulot, ed., "Lettres de Flandrine de Nassau," 5–6: "je scay fort bien que n'a nulle obligation á m'aimer et que ne le fasse point aussy, comme elle me l'a témoygne. Je ne peus faire moins que de mon costé ny avoir point une sy grande afecion, mes toujours je l'honoreray comme le doit une soeur, simplement sans y adjouster rien de plus particulier," May 30, 1615.
27. Tulot, ed., "Lettres de Flandrine de Nassau," 12: "je suis ennuyée de ce que vous ne croyés pas le miracle que je vous ay mendé, que plus de mille personne ont veu," December 8, 1619.
28. Tulot, ed., "Correspondance d'Amélie de Nassau," part 2, 26: "écrit cepandant qu'elle ne veut perdre espérance qu'elle n'aie encore quelque unes de ses proches pour les nourrir . . . Ceste pauvre seur est bien á plaindre en ses erreurs. Ce grant Dieu en veille avoir pitié et l'appeler un jour en la cognoissance de la vérité, c'est de quoy je l'en supplie avecque ardeur," January 29, 1615.
29. For Marie's role, see Sonja Kmec, *Across the Channel, Noblewomen in Seventeenth-Century France and England* (Trier, 2010).
30. Tulot, ed., "Lettres de Flandrine de Nassau," 15: "Chère Madame ce n'est point disputer, mes seulement pour vous dire que je suis tellement fortifié et confirmer en ma créance par ceste lettre du ministre escripte par Madame vostre fille que je ne vis jamais plus clérement qu'il desdise eux mesme, non point seulement en cela, mes en toute la lettre, mes cela seroit trop long á vous escripre. Ce que je ferois de très bon coeur, sans que je crains que ne l'auriés agréable," January 27, 1620.
31. A. W. E. Dek, *Graf Johann der Mittlere und seine 25 Kinder* (Rijswijk, 1962).
32. G. Groen van Prinsterer, ed., *Archives ou correspondance inédite de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau*, 2nd series, vol. II: 1600–1625 (Utrecht, 1858), 323–24, (hereafter *Archives ou correspondance inédite*).
33. *Archives ou correspondance inédite*, 323–24: "als habe ich mir dem lager zu folgen ein gewissen gemacht, undt von meinem Obersten dem general Wachtmeister urlaub begehret," December 15, 1604.
34. G. Specht, *Johann VIII von Nassau-Siegen und die Katholische Restauration der Grafschaft Siegen* (Paderborn: Verein für Geschichte und Altertumskunde Westfalens, 1964), 23. Pope Paul V, who had been present at Johann's conversion ceremony, wrote to the Archduke Albrecht, the regent of the Spanish Netherlands about this conversion on 1 March 1613, and recommended the young man to him. The pope also asked the duke to

liaise with the family de Ligne about Johann VIII's wish to marry Ernestine Yolande de Ligne.

35. Specht, *Johann VIII von Nassau-Siegen*, 26.

36. Eric-Oliver Mader, "Konfessionalität im Hause Pfalz-Neuburg: Zur Bedeutung des Faktors 'Konversion' für das konfessionelle Profil einer Herrscherdynastie," in *Barocke Herrschaft am Rhein um 1700: Kurfürst Johann Wilhelm II. und seine Zeit*, ed. Benedikt Mauer (Düsseldorf, 2009), 95–115, esp. 101. Mader compares the conversion of Johann William of Pfalz-Neuburg with that of Johann VIII of Nassau-Siegen, regarding both as direct changes from one confessional system to another. For a detailed discussion of the important conversion of Johann William of Pfalz-Neuburg, see also other works by Mader: Eric-Oliver Mader, "Die Konversion Wolfgang Wilhelms von Pfalz-Neuburg: Zur Rolle von politischem und religiös-theologischem Denken für seinen Übertritt zum Katholizismus," in *Konversion und Konfession*, eds. Lotz-Heumann et al., 107–46; Eric-Oliver Mader, "Staatsräson und Konversion: Politische Theorie und praktische Politik als Entscheidungshintergründe für den Übertritt Wolfgang Wilhelms von Pfalz-Neuburg zum Katholizismus," in *Internationale Beziehungen in der Frühen Neuzeit: Ansätze und Perspektiven*, eds. Heidrun Kugeler, Christian Sepp, and Georg Wolf (Münster, 2006), 120–50; Eric-Oliver Mader, "... wegen unserer conversion Irr und Perplex gemacht': Wahrnehmungen, Darstellungen und Vorbedingungen der Konversion des Pfalzgrafen Wolfgang Wilhelm von der Pfalz-Neuburg zum Katholizismus," *Düsseldorfer Jahrbuch* 75 (2004/5): 109–41.

37. The German address "E. L." (*Euer Liebden*), a common phrase in early modern letters, has no direct equivalent in English. Its use was only permitted between family members of aristocratic families and thus was less formal than "Your Grace" or "Your Honor." An even more intimate/informal address, and thus restricted for use to those in more senior positions of authority within a family (e.g., fathers) was "D. L." (*Deine Liebden*).

38. *Archives ou correspondance inédite*, 411–12: "Endlich pitt E. L. ich ganz dienstlich, sie wollen deswegen dasz ich meine seel begere zue salvieren, mir nicht feindt und gram werden, sondern sich versichern dasz ich auszerhalb beschwernus meines gewizens, E. L. die zeit meines lebens ehren, respectiren und gehorsamen will, wie solches das ampt eines frommen kindts gegen seine eltern erfördere," December 26, 1613.

39. *Archives ou correspondance inédite*, 420–21: "Wohlgeborner freundtlicher lieber sohn . . . vernommen dasz D. L. von der wahren christlichen evangelischen Religion, darinnen ich D. L. und deren brüdere und schwestern vleissig unnd christlich underweisen und ufferziehen, auch die rechte *fundamenta* lehren lassenn seithero erkandter und angenommener warheitt bestendigk verplieben, und darüber gutt, blutt, und alles was wir gehabt, ufgesetzt, bey welcher D. L. und allen nachkommenden," [March 1614].

40. *Archives ou correspondance inédite*, 422: "so kan ich doch, aus erheischungk meines vaterlichen ampts, nicht underlassenn D. L. den ungrundt deren in dem schreiben unnd nichtigen motiven angezogener vermeinter grundt vor augen zu stellen und nach ebenselbiger ordnung zu wiederlegen, auch vatterlich ermahnen, dasz deine Liebe diessen meinen jegenbericht nechst anruffung Gottes umb die gaben seines heiligen Geistes, vleissig in acht nehmen," [March 1614].

41. "jaemmerlich durch das lose jesuitische gesindtlein verfuehret worden"; "Mein Kind . . . ist soweit von den schelmischen Jesuiten gebracht dasz es nicht allein seinen Gott verleugnet und die Sehlichkeit verscherzet, sondern auch das es seiner Eltern, Verwandten, Bekandten blut seine Haende zu besudeln von ihnen getrieben wird": Cited by Specht, *Johann VIII von Nassau-Siegen*, 28. This passage is omitted from the version of the letter published in *Archives ou correspondance inédite*, 420–30.

42. *Archives ou correspondance inédite*, 430–31: “sçavez l’obligation que devez à vostre père, et en nulle façon pouvez à luy refuser ce contentement, principalement que c’et pour ung subject qui touche la conservation de l’âme et de vostre honneur,” March 21–22, 1614.
43. *Archives ou correspondance inédite*, 430–31: “rejetter les admonitions paternelles et conseil de tous vos plus proches parents, qui sera le plus seur et util pour vous à suivre que celuy des ennemies de vostre maison, et qui sont vraiment aveugles en leur idolâtrie, pour l’amour de laquelle est bien à craindre que esloignés de vous la bénédiction divine et n’advancérés guères par là vostre fortune,” March 21–22, 1614.
44. Cited in Heinrich von Achenbach, *Geschichte der Stadt Siegen*, vol. 1, part 7 (1st edn 1894; Kreuztal: Die Wielandschmiede, 1978), 44, n. 1. He apparently told his father in 1618 that Yolande had already waited for him for six years.
45. “Nun hat aber der Satan so hierunter gewirket, daß man ihr zu gefallen zu Brüssel erstig in die Meß gangen und sich endlich ganz katholisch erklärt, gleichwohl hernachmals sich wiederum auf freie Füße gestellt, als mir mein Vetter Johann selbst gesagt und itzo will man sie wieder haben”: cited in Achenbach, *Geschichte der Stadt Siegen*, vol. 1, part 7, 44, n. 1.
46. For a description of his journey to Vienna, see Hessisches Staatsarchiv Wiesbaden (hereafter HStAW), Abt. 171 Nr. Z 642, *Reisetagebuch des Grafen Johann Ludwig von Nassau-Hadamar im Jahre 1629 nach Wien* (travel journal of Johann Ludwig of his journey to Vienna).
47. For a good general discussion of this conversion see Walter Michel, “Die Konversion des Grafen Johann Ludwig von Nassau-Hadamar im Jahre 1629,” *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 20 (1968): 71–101. For an earlier discussion, see K. Pagenstecher, “Graaf Johann Ludwig von Nassau-Hadamar en zijn overgang tot Katholieken godsdienst in 1629,” *Je maintiendrai*, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1905): 103–16.
48. Mader, “Konfessionalität im Hause Pfalz-Neuburg,” 100. Mader estimates that in the Holy Roman Empire approximately 60 dukes (and as he states “a comparable number of duchesses”) re-converted to Catholicism between 1590 and 1758.
49. HStAW, Abt 171. Nr Z 641, fol. 52: “Der Teufel als ein Tausendkünstler weiss sich bald zu verstellen in einen Engle und schickt Gott nach seinem Urtheil kraeftigen Irrtum,” cited in Michel, “Die Konversion des Grafen,” 71–72.
50. HStAW, Abt 171. Nr Z 642, fol. 32: “dass . . . die Profession zu Wien in der kaiserlichen Residenzstadt geschehen ist aus keener anderen Ursach, als dass man durch Verleugnung der wahren Religion bei Hof sich insinuiieren und des Kaisers Gunst Erlangen moege,” cited in Michel, “Die Konversion des Grafen,” 71–72.
51. Johann VIII had two sisters named Anna, but only one was married at the time: Anna, Countess of Isenburg-Büdingen (1594–1660). His younger sister Anna Amalie (1599–1667) married much later, in 1648.
52. HStAW, Abt. 171. Nr Z 641, fols 9–11 “Mein allerliebstes Hertz, Den gütigsten Gott bite Ich von grundt meines Herzens, D. L. sampt unseren herzlichsten Kindern in freuden, Gesuntheit und allem seeligen Wohlstand bald wieder zu sehen, darnach mich herzlich verlanget. Darumb auch alle Möglichkeit nach dem mich dahin bearbeiteten will, meine reiß mit Göttlichem genedigem beistand zue D. L. balt wieder ahn Handt zu nehmen,” Johann Ludwig to his wife, September 4, 1629, cited in Walter Michel, “Briefe zur Konversion des Grafen Johann Ludwig von Nassau-Hadamar (1629/30),” *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 42 (1990): 285–302, at 288.
53. HStAW, Abt. 171. Nr Z 641, fols 9–11: “wie D. L. bewußt und D. L. solches mit Christlichen heißen und wohl durchs hertz schneidendte thränen beweinet haben,” Johann Ludwig to his wife, September 4, 1629, cited in Michel, “Briefe zur Konversion,” 288.

54. HStAW, Abt. 171. Nr Z 641, fols 9–11: "sondern wohl oft D. L. frommes Christliches Hertz durch meine Sündte so oft überwältiget und geärgert habe," Johann Ludwig to his wife, September 4, 1629, cited in Michel, "Briefe zur Konversion," 289.
55. HStAW, Abt. 171. Nr Z 641, fols 8–11: "Mein allerliebste Hertz, mit waß großem Christlichen eyfer, mit was trewem aufrichtigem Hertzen und Fleiß D. L. ieder Zeit unserem Liben Gott durch seine genadt gedienet habe, wie getrew-, freundt- und tröstlich mir D. L. in allen meinen Betreubnißen, anfechtungen und Beschwerungen, welche Ich billich [fol. 10r] mit gehorsam undt gedult von der Handt meines himmlischen Vatters hette annehmen sollen," Johann Ludwig to his wife, September 4, 1629, cited in Michel, "Briefe zur Konversion," 290.
56. HStAW, Abt. 171. Nr Z 641, fols 8–11: "Ich D. L. nicht allemahl also, wie ich pillich gesolt hette, hinwieder begegnet bin, sondern fast hinderlich in Ihren Gottesfürchtigen Werken gewesen bin, so mir dan oft hernach noch Wundten in mein hertz geschnitten, wan ich betrachte, mit waß großer gedult und Freundlichkeit D. L. es allzeit überwunden haben, aber D. L. seindt undt wollens bieß in mein Todt versichert sein, das Ich sie gleichwohl allezeit treu und hertzlich gelibet habe, undt bis in mein grab durch Gottes genadt liben werdte," Johann Ludwig to his wife, September 4, 1629, cited in Michel, "Briefe zur Konversion," 290.
57. HStAW, Abt. 171. Nr Z 641, fols 8–11: Johann Ludwig to his wife, September 4, 1629, cited in Michel, "Briefe zur Konversion," 290.
58. HStAW, Abt. 171. Nr Z 641, fols 8–11: "waß sunst E. L. Schreiben anlanget, op ich bereit, von dem gemeinen Geschrei her in etwa von dem in halt gewußt, hat es mich doch gleich wol, hoch und schmerzlich betrübet," Ursula to Johann Ludwig, 1629, cited in Michel, "Briefe zur Konversion," 292.
59. HStAW, Abt. 171. Nr Z 641, fols 18–19: "welches ich dan wol, nicht gehoffet hatte, zu erleben, kan auch mit Worten nicht auß sprechen, die betrübnis und wundt, so dar durch in mein armes Hertze gemacht," Ursula to Johann Ludwig, 1629, cited in Michel, "Briefe zur Konversion," 292.
60. HStAW, Abt. 171. Nr Z 641, fols 18–19: "Nuhr das bitte ich E. L. wollen dar in fort fahren, mich nicht zu anderer religion zwingen oder ursache geben, das ich darzu genöthighet würde," Ursula to Johann Ludwig, 1629, cited in Michel, "Briefe zur Konversion," 292.
61. HStAW, Abt. 171. Nr Z 641, fols 18–19: "habe auch das feste vertrauen zu E. L., sie werden mich jetzt so wol lieben als zuffohr und ihr herze nicht von mir wenden," Ursula to Johann Ludwig, 1629, cited in Michel, "Briefe zur Konversion," 292.
62. HStAW, Abt. 171. Nr Z 641, fols 18–19: "das man Gott mehr schuldig ist zu gehorgen als den menschen," Ursula to Johann Ludwig, 1629, cited in Michel, "Briefe zur Konversion," 292.
63. HStAW, Abt. 171. Nr Z 641, fols 69–72: "Sonsten E. L. damahliges freundtliches begereen, E. L. gemahlin zu besuchen undt den brieff zu vberlieffern, hette ich sehr gern gethan, so wohl E. L. den schwesterlichen gefallen zu erweisen, als auch E. L. hliebste gemahlin vber dieser betrübten zeitung, so viell mir Gott genad verliehen hette, tröstlich bey zuwohnen," Anna Amalie to Johann Ludwig, November 29, 1629, cited in Michel, "Briefe zur Konversion," 297.
64. HStAW, Abt. 171. Nr Z 641, fols 69–72: "Zu diesem seligmachentem wordt Gottes bin mit E. L. ich von kindtheit auffgezogen, da zu halte ich mich noch zur Zeit, undt durch Gottes genadt biß an mein endt," Anna Amalie to Johann Ludwig, November 29, 1629, cited in Michel, "Briefe zur Konversion," 293.

65. HStAW, Abt. 171. Nr Z 641, fols 18–19: “vnd E. L. dunckeles vnd finsteres hertz, welches itzundt mit einem dicken nebell des papsttumbs und abgoetterey bezogen,” Anna Amalie to Johann Ludwig, November 29, 1629, cited in Michel, “Briefe zur Konversion,” 297.
66. HStAW, Abt. 171. Nr Z 641, fols 69–72: “drvmb ich E. L. aus trewem schwesterlichem hertzen vmb ihrer sellen selligkeit willen bitte vnd ermane, sie wolle sich doch das wort Gottes selbsten zu leßen nicht berauben od[er] entziehen laßen, sondern sich darrin, nach dem befehl vnßeres herren Jesu Christi (deme wir ja mehr als papst und allen menschen zu gehorchen schuldig seindt) fleißig vben,” Anna Amalie to Johann Ludwig, November 29, 1629, cited in Michel, “Briefe zur Konversion,” 293.
67. For a discussion of the heart as a seat of meaning and sincerity in the writings of the Protestant Reformers, see Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford, 2010), 249.
68. Walter Michel, “Das Herz des Fürsten Johann Ludwig von Nassau-Hadamar gefunden,” *Nassauische Annalen* 76 (1965): 226–27.
69. Karl Josef Stahl, *Hadamar Stadt und Schloss. Eine Heimatgeschichte* (Hadamar, 1974), 220.
70. Stahl, *Hadamar Stadt und Schloss*, 221. In the chapel behind two marble plates on each side of the altar are the hearts of Bernhard von Nassau-Hadamar (d. 1695), Franz Alexander von Nassau-Hadamar (d. 1711), Franz-Hugo von Nassau-Siegen (d. 1736), and Wilhelm Hyacinth von Nassau-Siegen und Nassau-Hadamar (d. 1743).
71. Joachim von Ernst, “Johann Ludwig (Fürst von Nassau-Hadamar),” in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 14 (Leipzig, 1881), 258–60.
72. See the analysis of sibling relationships and familial structures in this family, Sophie Ruppel, “Subordinates, Patrons and Most Beloved: Sibling Relationships in Seventeenth-Century German Court Society,” in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, eds. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean (New York, 2011), 85–110.
73. Anna Wendland, “Pfalzgraf Eduard und Prinzessin Louise, zwei Konvertiten des Kurhauses Pfalz-Simmern,” *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 16 (1909): 43–80, at 46.
74. Wendland, “Pfalzgraf Eduard und Prinzessin Louise,” 61.
75. Cited in I. van Spilbeeck, “Louise Hollandine, Princesse palatine de Bavière,” *Précis historiques* 34 (1885): 201–17, at 206, and 263–85: “Par la grâce de Dieu une lumière meilleure m’est apparue; c’est la lumière de la Foi nécessaire au salut. J’ai cherché une voie plus sûre que celle du Calvinisme, et c’est ce qui m’a déterminée à changer de religion. Je me suis éloigné afin de pouvoir, sans opposition, exécuter mon dessein. Je vous supplie, ô ma mère, de me pardonner un départ aussi subit. Dés que je serai dans un asile où j’aurai accompli mon projet, je vous en donnerai connaissance. J’ai choisi cette époque de l’année pour quitter la maison paternelle, parce que la fête de Noël est proche et que je desire célébrer cette solennité en chrétienne catholique, et non faire la cène dans un temple calviniste.”
76. Lieuwe van Aitzema, *Historie of verhael van Saken van Staet en oorlogh in ende ontrent de vereenigde Nederlanden*, vol. 9, 1657–60 (Gravenhage, 1664), 142–43: “il faut que vous disiez seulement dans ce billet, que Dieu vous ayant fait la grace de vous avoir fait cognoistre la vraye Religion, dans le qu’elle seul vous croyez pouvoir faire vostre salut, & dela par nu moyen que vous leur manderez quand vous serez arrive au lieu ou vous le pourrez faire en la liberte, & que vous voyant proche au Noel, & par consequent contraint de faire la Ceine contre vostre conscience, ou de leur faire cognoistre le changement devostre sentiment, vous vous estes veu dans cette necessite de vous retirer pour vous mettre en un lieu

ou vou pourriez suivre le moucement de vostre conscience sans qu'on vous empescher; & adjoustez y aussy que vous ferez scavoit de temps en temps, de vous nouvelles. . . . remettez à leur dire les raisons qui vous ont esmeu à changer: lors que vous serrez arrivé au lieu ou vous voulez aller."

77. Karl Hauck, "Die Briefe der Kinder des Winterkönigs," *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 15 (1908): 135: "La crainte quelle a eu de deplaire a la raine sa mere la oblige a precipiter son elognement daupress d'elle et quoi que lon ne prant personne a la gorge pour la religion lon ne laisse pas de craindre la reprimende de desuz que on aime et respecte, . . . et si par le passé elle vous à peu de plaire dan la vacation quelle vas embrasser, elle vous pryera de luy pardonner, elle me paroît si de tasche du monde quil ne ce peut advantage," January 17 [1658].

78. Hauck, "Die Briefe der Kinder des Winterkönigs," 140: "la Grecque luy a escrite de luy mander la raigle du convent et un pattron de l'habit," July 12 [1658].

79. Hauck, "Die Briefe der Kinder des Winterkönigs," 136: "elle navoit onqueun subject de pousser la pr[incesse] de Zollern comme elle a fait, car quant une fillje de lage de celle la ill faut crere quelle peut prandre ses mesures celon sez advanttagez sur tout en sa craeence la quelle luy doit ester libre . . . nostre mere fait ce qui passe issy pour une action genereuse de sa filje elle la detruict entyerement par cette sottise la, car pour la familje ill ny a que le bruiet qui fasche car pour leffect sest entre Dieu et elle," February 14 [1658].

80. Hauck, "Die Briefe der Kinder des Winterkönigs," 143: "la pauvre filje ne croit pas pouvoir ester contant jusques a ce que sa mere luy aye taymogne, elle laime encore," October 8 [1658].

81. Hauck, "Die Briefe der Kinder des Winterkönigs," 153: "pour ce qui tousche la pr [incesse] Louise, je suis bien fasche davoit servy davocat en une affere qui a si mall reussy," "jores le pouvroi jay assez de naturell et damittye pour seuz qui me sonct si proche de les assister dans le besoin celon mes moyens," "je me contanteres de vous assurer que je ne me melleres plus des afferes de ma seur L ou regart de V.A.E. et si elle y a quelques afferes je la pryeres de prandre des negociateurs plus heureux que moy," May 23, 1659.

82. Hauck, "Die Briefe der Kinder des Winterkönigs," 198–99: "Duran la vie de feu mon frere la princesse [sic] Eduart je nay pas ose importuner V.A. par mes nouvelle sachant qu'il vous faisoit savoir ce qui estoit de mon devoir de vous dire et que estoit plus agreable de sa main quil nauroit este de la miene, maitenant qui nest plus en ce monde, jespere Monsigneur que vous ne treveres pas mauves, que je me done l'honneur de vous escrire," August 2, 1664.

83. Christopher A. Kerstjens, "A Princely Painter: Princess Louise Hollandine of the Palatinate, Abbess of Maubuisson," *Court Historian* 4 (1999): 161–66.

84. Hauck, "Die Briefe der Kinder des Winterkönigs," 159: November 21, 1659.

85. See Kerstijens, "A Princely Painter," *passim*.

86. Tulot, ed., "Mémoires du prince de Tarente d'après le manuscrit déposé aux Archives nationales de France" (unpublished typescript, Saint-Bruc, 2010), 18, 227.

87. Hauck, "Die Briefe der Kinder des Winterkönigs," 210: "il y a une vielie religieuse isy qui depense plus quelle vaut en brulent des sierges devant la St. vierge pour la conversion de tout mes parens et me ne menade tout les jour sil ne son pas encore converti," July 11 [1667].

88. Hauck, "Die Briefe der Kinder des Winterkönigs," 219: "lon dit que V.A. veut fonder une monastere," December 26, 1670.

89. Van Spilbeeck, "Louise Hollandine," 277; see also Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris, 1835), xxviii.