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La Grande Arche des Fugitifs? Huguenots in the Dutch Republic After 1685

Michael Joseph Walker

A thesis submitted to the faculty of
Brigham Young University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

La Grande Arche des Fugitifs? Huguenots in the Dutch Republic After 1685

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In the seventeenth century, many refugees saw the United Provinces of the Netherlands as a promised land—a gathering ark, or in French, *arche*. In fact, Pierre Bayle called it, “la grande arche des fugitifs.” This thesis shows the reception of one particular group of Protestant refugees, the Huguenots, who migrated to the Netherlands because of Catholic confessionalization in France, especially after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. The thesis offers two case studies—one of the acceptance of Huguenot clergymen and one of the mixed reception of refugee radical and philosopher Pierre Bayle—in order to add nuance to existing knowledge and understanding of the Huguenot diaspora, and of the nature of tolerance in the Dutch Republic, especially in regard to the Dutch Reformed Church.

Dutch society, and especially the Reformed Church, welcomed the Huguenot refugees because of their similar religious beliefs and the economic and cultural benefits they brought with them. Particularly following the 1685 Revocation, refugees fleeing France settled securely in the Republic amongst the Walloons, descendants of refugees already settled there, and worshiped in prosperity and peace within the Walloon Church, a French-speaking arm of the Dutch Reformed Church. Using synodal records, this thesis examines the relationships between refugee pastors and the established Walloon leaders and finds that there was a bond of acceptance between the two groups of clergy, motivated by the desire for orthodoxy in religious belief, or in other words, by a Reformed desire for confessionalization. Huguenots were also able to maintain a measure of French identity while still being integrated into Dutch society.

The second chapter shows the limits of Dutch tolerance by examining the Netherlandish experience of Pierre Bayle, a Huguenot refugee and philosopher. His experience was typical for a controversial philosopher and refugee in the Netherlands because he endured intolerance from certain religious authorities, but also received protection from other moderate religious officials and university and civic authorities. Bayle expressed sentiments that the Netherlands was a safe haven, or ark, for refugees, even though he endured censure from church officials. Their aims were to make the community’s religious convictions more uniform, and some leaders of the Dutch Reformed Church saw Bayle’s ideas as threats to that—to confessionalization.

In the same vein as Benjamin Kaplan’s *Divided By Faith*, this thesis shows that tolerance certainly existed in the Republic, but was more complicated than Bayle and others suggested. Indeed, efforts that thwarted confessionalization were met with intolerance by the Reformed Church. This thesis also contributes to Huguenot studies by discussing the relationships of refugees to their host community in the Dutch Republic.

Keywords: Huguenot, refugee, pastor, Pierre Bayle, confessionalization, Dutch Republic, Netherlands, France, Revocation, Walloon, Dutch Reformed Church, Edict of Nantes, tolerance

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In his most recent book, Dr. Craig Harline, wrote, “Not only are we most interested in the past when we see what it has to do with us personally, we learn best from it too.”¹ This caused me serious reflection. What have I learned from this particular study of the past? I gained an appreciation for the people I wrote about, the period, the arguments, and the history, but, most importantly, I learned that the Huguenot experience has applications for all of us.

I also learned that writing a thesis is time consuming and difficult! Many offered advice. First, I thank all the BYU professors who directed, taught or employed me. Those include Drs. Craig Harline, Karen Carter, Christopher Hodson, Donald Harreld, Malcolm Thorp, Mary Richards, Mark Choate, and Timothy Davis. I thank my committee for having patience and providing prompt feedback. In addition, I acknowledge Dr. Judith Pollmann from the University of Leiden for her help since 2007. Thanks also to Leiden’s “Walloon Library.”

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Finally, I would like to thank my wife, Heather Marie, and our son, Xander Malachi. Thank you for your patience and love. I am fortunate to have you in my life.

¹ Craig Harline, *Conversions: Two Family Stories from the Reformation and Modern America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 19.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1685 Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes, ending toleration of the Protestant minority (called Huguenots) in France and forcing them to convert to Catholicism or emigrate.¹ Some 185,000 Huguenots left, seeking refuge in the Dutch Republic, the British Isles, Germany, Switzerland, Scandinavia, Africa, and the New World (including New France, the Caribbean, South Carolina, Florida, New York, and Brazil; see Figure 1).² This thesis seeks to contribute to knowledge and understanding of the Huguenot diaspora by examining their little-studied experience in the Dutch Republic, where roughly 60,000 Huguenots found a new home, causing Pierre Bayle to call the Republic, “la grande arche des fugitifs” (see Figure 2).³ This thesis also seeks to contribute to a growing understanding of the nature of Dutch tolerance toward outsiders.

The Huguenot Diaspora

The Huguenot diaspora spanned almost three centuries across the Atlantic World, and, other than the slave trade, was the largest migration in the Early Modern period. The migrations began early in the sixteenth century, but the largest came after the Revocation.⁴ Generally Huguenots fled hastily from persecution, but occasionally leaders actually planned colonies for

¹ The Edict of Fontainebleau, known as the Revocation, revoked the Edict of Nantes.

² Bertrand Van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks, eds. *Memory and Identity: The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), vii-ix. This collection of articles covers an immense array of subjects, including valuable articles from Jon Butler, Carolyn Lougee Chapell, Phillippe Denis, Timothy Fehler, Willem Frijhoff, Keith Luria, Van Ruymbeke, and others. The studies discuss cultural boundaries, religious difference, family bonds, and sociability across the Atlantic resettlements, among other topics.

³ Hubert P. H. Nusteling, “The Netherlands and the Huguenot émigrés,” in *La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes et les Provinces-Unis, 1685: Actes du Colloque international du tricentenaire*, ed. J. A. H. Bots and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes (Amsterdam: Academic Publishers Associated and Holland University Press, 1986), 27. Nusteling quotes Bayle’s widely read and controversial *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*. This entry is about Kuchlin, a Huguenot who resettled in Holland. Original citation: Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique par Mr. Pierre Bayle, Cinquieme Edition, Revue, Corrigée, et Augmentée avec la Vie de L'Auteur, par Mr. Des Maizeaux, Tome Troisieme* (Amsterdam: P. Brunel, 1711), 688. See Figure 2 for a reproduction of the entry.

⁴ The numbers of Huguenots who migrated: 60,000 to the Dutch Republic, 50-60,000 to the British Isles, 25,000 to Germany, 22,000 to Switzerland, 10,000 to the Americas, 2,000 to Scandinavia, and 400 to South Africa.

migration. They usually fled to Calvinist or multiconfessional communities throughout Europe and along the Atlantic Ocean.⁵

The Huguenots found some success in resettlements to South Africa, although only a few hundred ever went there, and the journey was much more difficult than a European or even American resettlement. Philippe Denis writes that the experience was initially much like resettlements elsewhere, but ultimately the Huguenots experienced almost no autonomy in Africa, and the journey itself was full of disease and hunger.⁶ Those who resettled in South Africa were also less educated and skilled than the Huguenots who resettled around Europe, which was precisely why they tried Africa: Africa did not require as much skilled labor for colonization. But in the end, the long-term outcomes did not bode well for the Huguenots, both in terms of religious satisfaction and logistics, which was why not many more groups resettled there. Furthermore, settlers here were totally subject to the Dutch East India Company's rules, and oftentimes the pastors appointed for them by the Company had completely different views from the congregants; they did not end up with the religious freedom they had desperately sought.⁷ In fact it seemed only a slight improvement upon life in France. The Huguenots here were also almost all completely assimilated into the culture of the existing Caucasian South Africans after just a few short years because they had neither the means to influence South African society, nor the training or skills.⁸

Resettlement in the Americas was generally more successful than in Africa, though not without its flaws. Settlers traveled here not only to escape persecution, but also for a completely

⁵ Jon Butler, *The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in New World Society, 1600-1700* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 1.

⁶ Philippe Denis, "The Cape Huguenots," in Van Ruymbeke and Sparks, 288.

⁷ The Dutch East India Company decided to appoint pastors for the Huguenots who resettled in South Africa instead of letting them choose their religious leaders.

⁸ Denis, 299.

new economic life and a sense of adventure in a new world. However, they also met harsh and expensive conditions, including crossing the Atlantic.⁹ Resettlement was especially difficult when Huguenots migrated to predominantly Catholic colonies where religious difference and poor infrastructure for immigrants provided barriers. Attempts to establish colonies in Spanish-held Florida, for instance, proved to be no better than what the Huguenots had escaped in France. In 1565, the Spanish overwhelmed Fort Caroline in Florida, which was a mostly Huguenot settlement, offering clemency to Catholics, but not Protestants.¹⁰ Since the Spanish had not widely settled that area, all the French thought they might be left alone. The Spanish justified their attack on Fort Caroline as ridding the area of heretical Protestant influence, and they offered an ultimatum to the Huguenots to give up their arms and convert or die. Most Huguenots thus reverted to Catholicism. Similar problems occurred in French-held territories like the West Indies and New France, as Louis XIV wanted Protestantism eradicated from all French possessions too.¹¹ These distant Huguenots suffered less on these islands than they had in France, however, as they were still often able to worship in private.¹²

The Protestant British New World seemed to offer a more propitious migration for Huguenots than Catholic parts of the Americas did. But because the British-held lands in the Americas lacked the infrastructure of the Netherlands or England, with neither an existing French-speaking Protestant Church nor a large, sympathetic population, the Carolinas provided

⁹ John Fontaine with an introduction by Edward P. Alexander, *The Journal of John Fontaine: An Irish Huguenot Son in Spain and Virginia, 1710-1719* (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and distributed by the University Press of Virginia, 1972), 6-7. Fontaine's family left France shortly after the Revocation and resettled in Southern Ireland. To find additional success, Fontaine moved to the American colonies.

¹⁰ Francis Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1865), 124. This account offers republished journal entries written in 1565 from the priest Doctor Solís de las Meras.

¹¹ Gérard Lafleur and Lucien Abénon, "The Protestants and the Colonization of the French West Indies," in Van Ruymbeke and Sparks, 267.

¹² Lafleur and Abénon, 274.

only a partially successful example of resettlement outside Europe.¹³ At first, the Carolinas actively recruited Huguenots with ample financial assistance to further build and settle the colonies.¹⁴ In fact, Jon Butler argues that living conditions in the American settlements were actually better than those in London or Rotterdam in the Dutch Republic.¹⁵ He suggests that the roughly 10,000 Huguenots who migrated to the New World thrived and enjoyed great economic success. Starting in 1682, the Carolinas also tried to attract Huguenots by allowing them to maintain some religious differences with the predominant Church of England. However, policies in Great Britain and its colonies changed by 1689, and by 1706 the Church of England became the established Church in South Carolina, a trend that had been growing for years.¹⁶ The new Huguenot settlers often disagreed with the Church of England, but by the end most had joined it. Two of the three Huguenot congregations merged with that Church out of necessity and obligation. This assimilation, also facilitated by rapid intermarriage, actually worked against Huguenot identity, as by the early eighteenth century they had more and more of an Anglo-American identity.¹⁷ Assimilation of Huguenots in the Netherlands occurred much more slowly than in the Americas, ironically because the Huguenots already had so much in common with the

¹³ In the last thirty years, a flowering in Huguenot diaspora scholarship has occurred largely due to the impact of historian Jon Butler's 1983 text, *The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in New World Society, 1600-1700*. Butler's work examines the circumstances surrounding the need to migrate from France, and several chapters are devoted to individual locations of settlement in what is now the United States, focusing on Boston, South Carolina, and New York. He explains why much of the Huguenot culture assimilated into the societies in which they settled, particularly with respect to religious practice, noting that religious similarity and intermarriage with non-Huguenot English speakers were some examples of such assimilations. He examines how the populations interacted and assimilated. Because of cultural similarities, my thesis suggests assimilation was less of an issue for the Huguenots among the Dutch; they retained their French identities and still adhered to Dutch Reformed practices.

¹⁴ Bertrand Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden: The Huguenots and Their Migration to Colonial South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006), xviii. Van Ruymbeke examines the transitions, migrations, kinships, conformity in faith and economic prosperity of the Huguenots in South Carolina.

¹⁵ Jon Butler, "The Huguenots and the American Immigrant Experience" in Van Ruymbeke and Sparks, 198. Note that Butler is comparing metropolises to countryside, but that the Huguenots also resettled in smaller cities and even rural areas in the Republic and Great Britain and found adequate living conditions.

¹⁶ Bertrand Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden*, 127-129.

¹⁷ Jon Butler, "The Huguenots and the American Immigrant Experience," 201.

dominant Dutch Reformed Church: they did not have to change much in their lifestyles and thus retained their identity.¹⁸

In Europe, Huguenots generally found better refuge than in the Americas, not only in the Netherlands and the British Isles, but in Germany too. Indeed, many wanted to continue their lives and trades in a similar manner as they had in France, and believed that staying in Europe would allow them to do so; the larger numbers of Huguenots who remained in Europe, instead of leaving for the New World, serves as evidence of this (see Figure 1). However, the situation in Germany was not quite as ideal as in the Dutch Republic or Great Britain. Timothy Fehler writes that in Emden, Germany, the native German population regarded the French congregation with disdain and jealousy, and community quarrels frequently occurred, often over financial assistance to refugees.¹⁹ There were also fewer Walloon congregations in Germany (Protestant refugees from the French-speaking Netherlands), so not as many Huguenots could even be supported—it was a less adequate infrastructure than in Great Britain or the Dutch Republic. In total, only about 25,000 Huguenots settled across Germany, which was about half as many as in the British Isles or the Dutch Republic.²⁰

Because both the Dutch Republic and the British Isles had a long history of French-speaking Walloon Churches, the experience in the British Isles is often compared to that of the Netherlands; indeed, they were overall the best places for Huguenot resettlement. Jon Butler notes that although much has been written about sixteenth-century Walloon arrivals to English communities, historians have been less interested in “the more important Huguenot refugee who

¹⁸ Neil Kamil disputes the total assimilation of American Huguenots, but he too seems to suggest that Huguenot culture in the end resided mostly in their souls and only had physical representation in artwork or furniture. Neil Kamil, *Fortress of the Soul: Violence, Metaphysics, and Material Life in the Huguenots' New World, 1517-1751* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005).

¹⁹ Timothy Fehler, “The French Congregation’s Struggle for Acceptance in Emden,” in Van Ruymbeke and Sparks, 80 and 84.

²⁰ About 40-50,000 Huguenots went to England with 10,000 to Ireland; 60,000 went to the Dutch Republic. See Figure 1.

crowded into Britain after 1680.”²¹ We know, however, that the many branches of Walloon Churches in Great Britain sought to preserve Huguenot culture and lifestyle for a short time in the years that followed the Revocation.²²

We also know for the period after 1685 that it was harder for the Huguenots in England to maintain their particular religious traditions than it was for the Huguenots in the Dutch Republic. This was for the same reasons that existed in the Americas: the Church of England was different enough from the Huguenots’ Reformed religion to cause friction. In 1689, the Church of England, though Protestant, decided to get tighter control of how all Protestants practiced their faith in England. By this date, the Huguenots had of course barely started to settle in amongst the Walloon Church and other communities in England (at most for the previous nine years and mostly since 1685). The differences in language and the longstanding presence of the Walloon Churches preserved Huguenot culture somewhat, but as Butler notes, rapid assimilation through marriage occurred in the British Isles just as in the American colonies, so that after 1720 there was little support, even in London, for independent Huguenot congregations.²³ Moreover, Butler states that many Londoners did not want the Huguenot refugees to settle there, and committees even took up collections to send them on to New York and South Carolina to get them out of the British Isles or to avoid their coming altogether.²⁴ Another difference with the Netherlands in the resettlement in Great Britain was that Walloons and Huguenots who migrated to the latter often saw themselves increasingly as English subjects and maintained less of a

²¹ Butler, “The Huguenots and the American Immigrant Experience,” 195.

²² Francis W. Cross, *History of the Walloon and Huguenot Church at Canterbury* (Canterbury, England: Cross and Jackman and the Huguenot Society of London, 1898). Cross describes every aspect of the Church from the time of its formation by the Walloons to its growth, membership, and leadership at the end of the nineteenth century. Societal integration of Huguenots seemed to be similar to the Dutch Republic.

²³ Butler, “The Huguenots and the American Immigrant Experience,” 195.

²⁴ Butler, “The Huguenots and the American Immigrant Experience,” 198.

French identity.²⁵ Furthermore, some accounts suggest that the French and English did not always get along and that the English sometimes directed verbal and occasionally physical violence toward the Huguenots.²⁶ In the end, the Walloons offered the most helpful integration to the Huguenots in England, but even that was not enough to help them retain their separate identity.²⁷

Resettlement in the Netherlands was somewhat more successful for the Huguenots than in the British Isles, and both locations were the most receptive as compared to anywhere else because of cultural and linguistic structures provided by the pre-existing Walloon Churches. The greatest number of Huguenots settled in the Dutch Republic as opposed to any other single place.²⁸ In the Netherlands, the Huguenots retained their separate culture and identity for the longest time of any of the areas of resettlement, arguably into the nineteenth century.²⁹ However, they also managed to be integrated into Dutch society. The Huguenots were attractive to the Dutch because of their skills, important in the Dutch economy, and also their Reformed religion, which matched so well the religion of the Dutch Reformed Church. Indeed, the Dutch communities to which the Huguenots fled greatly benefited from the additional talent, wealth and devotion these refugees brought and generated.

Alice Clare Carter suggests that the Dutch readily accepted and invited skilled, talented or wealthy foreigners. She argues that while other countries were rejecting religious diversity, the Netherlands (especially Amsterdam) embraced the skilled individuals who helped create the Dutch “Golden Age” regardless of religious confession; however, the religious confession of the

²⁵ John Miller, “The Fortunes of the Strangers in Norwich and Canterbury, 1565-1700,” in Van Ruymbeke and Sparks, 120.

²⁶ Miller, 117-118.

²⁷ For some Huguenots, retaining their identity as Huguenot or French was not desirable.

²⁸ Willem Frijhoff, “Uncertain Brotherhood: The Huguenots in the Dutch Republic,” in Van Ruymbeke and Sparks, 135. See also Nusteling and Figure 1.

²⁹ Huguenot congregations regularly held French religious services well into the nineteenth century.

Huguenots happened to match very closely the sentiments of the Dutch Reformed Church, making them even more attractive than other sorts of refugees. Amsterdam was “a city where toleration flourished” and also provided “a ready market for their [Huguenot and refugee] industrial skills.”³⁰ The Huguenots enriched the communities where they made new homes; their commitments to the new communities left a lasting cultural impact where they settled.³¹ In fact, the most skilled Huguenots migrated to the Netherlands because the Dutch Republic found quick use for their skills. Various cities even competed with each other in the Republic to attract the most skilled refugees. William III of Orange also encouraged the towns to support the Huguenots as part of his effort to gain political favor among Protestants around the Republic and in England and to combat the policies of his political opponent Louis XIV. Furthermore, the States of Holland offered generous funds, which also served as propaganda against France and emboldened the Dutch to help Huguenot refugees. The Dutch army also benefitted from the Huguenot exodus from France, as Louis XIV had previously employed Huguenots as soldiers and officers.³²

Even though the Dutch welcomed the Huguenots, that hospitality was not always easily facilitated. Willem Frijhoff notes that although the refugees were quickly and readily absorbed into Dutch society, the usual problems associated with refugee migrations were still ever present.³³ Some of the difficulties included providing finances for poor relief, housing shortages and inadequacies, and, for the Dutch Reformed Church, orthodoxy among the refugee populations. These issues were less of a problem in the Netherlands, though, than elsewhere.

³⁰ Alice Clare Carter, *Neutrality or Commitment: The Evolution of Dutch Foreign Policy, 1667-1795* (London: Edward Arnold Ltd., 1975), 2.

³¹ Kamil, xvii.

³² Frijhoff, 140, 142, and 146.

³³ Frijhoff, 156.

Frijhoff's work shows that there are still plenty of areas to investigate in the historiography about how the Huguenots interacted with their Walloon host communities and Dutch society— certainly the historiography, which has been rooted most deeply in studies of the Revocation and of migration, has largely ignored interactions among the clergy. Early histories of the Huguenots in the Dutch Republic discussed individual settlements, and read more as a recounting of events rather than a historical analysis or a synthesis.³⁴ More recent work has concentrated on narrower issues, such as the migrant groups themselves, or the revocation, or the economic impact of migration.³⁵ This thesis offers an investigation of how Huguenot pastors

³⁴ The following works also discuss important elements to the Huguenot experience: George A Rothrock, *The Huguenots: A Biography of a Minority* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1979); Michelle Magdelaine and Rudolf von Thadden, *Le Refuge Huguenot* (Paris: Armand Colin Éditeur, 1985); Philip Benedict, *The Huguenot Population of France, 1600-1685: The Demographic Fate and Customs of a Religious Minority* (Independence Square, PA: The American Philosophical Society, 1991); Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *The Ancien Régime: A History of France, 1610-1774* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996); Frank Lestringant, *L'Expérience Huguenote au Nouveau Monde (XVIIe Siècle)* (Genève: Librairie Droz S.A., 1996); Andrew Spicer, *The French-speaking Reformed Community and their Church in Southampton, 1567-c.1620* (London: Sutton Publishing, 1997); Myriam Yardeni, *Le Refuge Huguenot: assimilation et culture* (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2002).

³⁵ Elie Benoist, *Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes* (Delft: Chez Adrien Beman, 1693). Benoist's history takes the side of the Protestants, as he was a pastor himself, and provides insight into Protestant sentiments at the time. Benoist remained the main historical source into the nineteenth century. The nineteenth-century works were also sympathetic to Protestant causes. Other early histories include: *Exposé Historique de l'État de l'Église Réformée des Pays-Bas; pour être présenté de la part de la réunion Wallonne aux Églises Réformées Étrangères, spécialement aux églises de la France et de la Suisse-Française, par la Commission pour les affaires des Églises Wallonnes des Pays-Bas* (Amsterdam: G. Van Tyen and Fils, 1855) and Johannes de Hullu, "Introduction," in *Register of the Walloon Church of Cadzand in Holland, 1685-1724*, ed. Huguenot Society of London (London: Butler and Tanner Limited, 1934), 5-23. De Hullu's contribution provides secondary analysis after which the entire register is published. Among the newer studies, French and Dutch scholars have done the most significant work. Two of them discuss the Revocation; both were published in 1985, the three-hundredth anniversary of the Edict. Janine Garrison's work focuses on the history of tolerance and intolerance from the publication of the Edict to its Revocation a hundred years later. Garrison notes the principal migrations of the Huguenots in both the British Isles and the Netherlands. Janine Garrison, *L'Édit de Nantes et sa révocation: Histoire d'une intolérance* (Paris: Éditions Du Seuil, 1985). The other work is an edited volume compiled from a conference held in remembrance of the anniversary of the Revocation. Each chapter discusses various relevant historiographies concerning the Revocation and its relationship to the Dutch Republic, including articles about the Walloon Church, William III of Orange, Huguenot refugees, Pierre Bayle, Pierre Jurieu, and others. J. A. H. Bots and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes, eds., *La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes et les Provinces-Unis, 1685: Actes du Colloque international du tricentenaire/ The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the Dutch Republic, 1685: Proceedings of the international Congress of the tricentennial* (Amsterdam: Academic Publishers Associated and Holland University Press, 1986). Two other examples include Gerald Cerny, *Theology, Politics and Letters at the Crossroads of European Civilization: Jacques Basnage and the Baylean Huguenot Refugees in the Dutch Republic* (Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1987) and Warren C. Scoville, *The Persecution of Huguenots and French Economic Development, 1680-1720* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960). Scoville discusses how the persecution of the Huguenots affected their industries and economies.

were specifically treated in their efforts at relocation and also how the Huguenot refugee-philosopher Pierre Bayle navigated Dutch society.

Dutch Society and Religion

To understand the relationships between the Huguenots and their host communities around the Netherlands, it is important to gain a sense of how Dutch society worked, and to also explain why the Netherlands was considered famously tolerant. After all, not just Huguenots went to the Dutch Republic—all kinds of refugees migrated there.

One reason Dutch society was open was its loose political structure. After the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, formalized by the Treaty of Münster, the Dutch Republic, or the United Provinces, became completely independent of Spain.³⁶ However, the Republic was not much more than a conglomeration of loosely connected provinces (with fiercely independent municipalities) and the Treaty of Munster merely confirmed this pattern of political organization that had been evolving for nearly half a century. The cities and provinces also held ultimate control over religious life. Thus, if people did not find a peaceful political or religious existence in one town or province, then they could simply move to another.³⁷

Another reason the Republic was open was because the dominant church, the Dutch Reformed Church, was subordinated to the state, and could not do as it pleased outside of its own membership. The Republic had declared that the Reformed Church was to be the public church, but this did not confer upon it official status: it simply meant the Reformed alone could worship

³⁶ J. L. Price, *Dutch Society, 1588-1713* (Harlow, England: Pearson Education, 2000), 49.

³⁷ For example, Dirck Coornhert, a sixteenth-century philosopher, moved from Delft because its leadership banned him—he found acceptance in Gouda. Gerrit Voogt, *Constraint on Trial: Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert and Religious Freedom* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2000), 205.

in public, and that all other churches were outlawed for public worship.³⁸ In practice, however, other churches flourished, as civic leaders did not wish to act simply as agents of the Reformed Church. Moreover, for most of the seventeenth century the Reformed were a minority in the Republic—to have enforced all of the Church’s decrees would have alienated plenty of local subjects, and thus threatened the authority of civic leaders. An example of one form of religious conciliation disliked by the Reformed was the multiconfessional town church: some towns allowed housing meetings for Calvinists, Catholics and even Mennonites in the same building.³⁹ The Reformed complained often about the mixed religious situation, but in practice their influence was limited: they could discipline within the church, but civic leaders disciplined alleged religious offenders only as they saw fit.

As the seventeenth century wore on, the percentage of Reformed in the Republic increased steadily and significantly, reflecting growing Reformed success at confessionalization. Still, the church remained subordinate to the state, and the structure of the Republic made it difficult to enforce even the religious measures that the state did agree to. In the United Provinces, if both local and provincial authorities did not think enforcement of a decree was necessary, there was little a religious leader could do. This was different from much of Europe, including France, where an official church’s word was also in theory law, and thus a powerful church could more easily control orthodoxy.

A third and final reason why Dutch society was relatively open was the emergence of new sentiments and ideas that favored religious tolerance. Because of a vast publishing industry and a complex environment of religion and politics, the Netherlands was a hub for new ideas.

³⁸ Craig Harline, *Conversions: Two Family Stories from the Reformation and Modern America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 15-16.

³⁹ A. T. Van Deursen, *Plain Lives in a Golden Age*, trans. Maarten Ultee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 63.

Perez Zagorin suggests that the emergence of new ideas, especially in the Dutch Republic, allowed for greater religious tolerance to spread across Europe.⁴⁰ Indeed, the idea that one's conscience should be subjected to the will of a powerful church bothered the Dutch. They remembered the power and control of the Catholic Church during their war with Spain; that memory influenced the desire to subordinate the Church beneath the state.⁴¹ Thus, the motives for a weaker public religion were ideological, political and economic; a strong central church would give that body too much control.

Openness and tolerance therefore arose out of the complex political relationships and structures in the Provinces, and also out of preference. Many different confessions and ideas were tolerated partly because enforcing orthodoxy and eliminating heterodoxy was an expensive and time-consuming task, and partly because civic leaders wanted to limit the power of religious leaders. Among other things, the openness of the Republic and the loose political structure encouraged fiscal growth, diversity, and a growing population over the course of the following century. During this time of great economic, political, religious and social change in the seven United Provinces, the Dutch not only succeeded in their longstanding war of independence against Catholic Spain, but grew their new Republic into a market economy (presaging the capitalist economies of the much later industrial revolution), became a major economic power in Europe, developed thriving fishing and shipping industries, opened colonial trade connections in

⁴⁰ Perez Zagorin, *How the Idea of Religious Toleration Came to the West* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 240. Zagorin argues that multi-confessional tolerance only existed in the Dutch Republic and that ideas were a determining factor in emerging tolerance. In practice, however, toleration existed in instances across Europe, sometimes in great measure. Zagorin adds little explanation for the actual reasons why the Netherlands was so tolerant of various confessions and groups with regards to how tolerance was actually practiced. He focuses on ideas instead of practice. Furthermore, the Dutch were not initially more tolerant than other Europeans. After overthrowing Spanish rule, the Dutch people accepted provincial and municipal governance, the diversity of which required religious accommodation and tolerance in some degree. Their reaction to the Spanish contributed to a rejection of national authority desired by the Dutch Reformed Church. This allowed for subordination of the church to the state. See also Henry Kamen, *The Rise of Toleration* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), and R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1120* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987).

⁴¹ Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided By Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 108.

Asia and South Africa, and saw their arts flourish.⁴² The fragmented structure and the thriving economy made the Republic an unusually open society, including for refugees. For Huguenots this society was especially attractive because they belonged to the same Reformed church, facilitating their migration. The Huguenots not only fit the mold of industrious and skilled citizens, but the religious mold that the Dutch Reformed Church sought as well, as it tried to make Dutch society more and more Reformed.

Other refugees groups who supported these goals were also well-received in Dutch society, and provide context for understanding the general acceptance of the Huguenots. Members of the Scottish and English Churches in the Netherlands had similar experiences to the Huguenots, at earlier dates. Douglas Catterall's *Community without Borders* shows how the Scots, like the Huguenots, offered great, lasting contributions that have largely been ignored by historians, especially regarding the impact they had on their new communities. Part of this impact was that the very presence of foreigners caused the Dutch to define Dutch identity more specifically than ever. Catterall notes that by their massive influx and new presence, migrant groups like the Scots, or in our case the Huguenots, demanded a "wholesale renegotiation of the boundaries between communities, their members, and outsiders...in reaction to the new threats

⁴² For an understanding of Early Modern Dutch society, see J.L. Price's *Dutch Society*. Price explores the social history of the "Golden Century" and its influences and dependencies upon and interconnections with the Dutch Revolt and resulting Eighty Years War in both the northern and southern Netherlands, as well as the changes, socially, culturally and politically that resulted from the elimination in the north of the Spanish royal administrators. He tracks the economic miracle arising out of the development of the Dutch trading system, the increasing urbanization of the Dutch countryside, the transformation of the rural north (including the move from small family farms to larger holdings where day labor from the village or seasonally from the towns made changes in the social and cultural landscape of Dutch agriculture), the importance of Dutch fisheries, especially its herring exports, the emergence of Dutch capital investment and lending markets, and the emergence of a religiously diverse society (notwithstanding the Dutch Reformed Church's status as the public church) and the beginnings of a secular society. He also discusses the decline of the economic miracle as wars with France and competition from England depleted Dutch capital, and the threats to the Dutch capitalist system posed by market declines in demand and prices for Dutch textiles and other products, which in turn foreshadowed problems for the Dutch economy.

to peace and security that outsiders and the poor represented.”⁴³ Still, because of religious similarities, the Scots Church of Rotterdam served to offer the Scots the same official ties and community bonding that the Dutch Reformed Church granted the Huguenots, conditional on a certain amount of conformity, of course. Yet the Scots were also able to maintain their own enclave in the Rotterdam community, just as the Huguenots would do. Because of the similarity of their faith and culture to Dutch practices, the Scots serve as another example of a migrant group that helped the Dutch Reformed Church in its efforts at confessionalization.⁴⁴

The very term “confessionalization” suggests that though Dutch society was relatively open, there were limits to its tolerance, with the main force behind many of those limits coming from the Dutch Reformed Church. It was the nature of Early Modern European societies to attempt to impose social discipline, including religious discipline, upon the population, and this was certainly the goal of the Dutch Reformed Church. Though the Church’s power was limited, its influence, again, did gradually increase in the later seventeenth century. Historians initially defined confessionalization as “the cooperation of state and church authorities to impose confessional norms of belief and behavior on a largely ignorant population.”⁴⁵ In recent decades, however, historians have gone beyond the idea of confessionalization as simply a cooperative enterprise between church and state, and thought of confessionalization as a process of more

⁴³ Douglass Catterall, *Community without Borders: Scots Migrants and the Changing Face of Power in the Dutch Republic, 1600-1700* (Leiden, the Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill, 2002), 6.

⁴⁴ Catterall, 2-3, 5, 12-13, and 294. Catterall argues that it is somewhat myopic, and a distortion of the real anthropology of Europe, to think of continental Europeans as wholly xenophobic—migrant populations contributed significantly to the sociability of their communities. Another important study is Keith Sprunger’s *Dutch Puritanism*. Sprunger discusses a similar narrative with the English and Scottish Churches as the Huguenots experienced—successes and some difficulties navigating Church politics and policies, but a mostly successful reception and integration. His work provides the history of English and Scottish (mostly Puritan) English-speaking Churches in the Netherlands and also discusses connections between Puritan movements and the overseas churches along the Atlantic. Keith L. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism: A History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden, the Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1982), x. See also Phillip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

⁴⁵ Karen E. Carter, *Creating Catholics: Catechism and Primary Education in Early Modern France* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011), 15.

clearly defining a faith from within as well.⁴⁶ In the Netherlands, civic leaders wanted to keep the peace above all else, rather than simply enforce the will of the Church, so if Dutch Reformed goals did not keep peace, then the state would not go along. When the church's goals did meet the state's goals, however, or at least did not hinder them, then the state would cooperate with the church, and the traditional model of confessionalization could be said to apply. My thesis follows the more recent meaning of confessionalization as well, however, which focuses on the efforts of a church to normalize, streamline, and promote a minimum orthodoxy and to attract more and more members. In the Dutch Republic, people were not born into the Reformed Church, but had to be recruited into it—and the influx of 60,000 Huguenot refugees as recruits, plus Scottish and other migrants, forced the Church to decide how it would define doctrine, and what it meant to be Reformed. That the Dutch Reformed Church grew from a small, minority confession at the beginning of the sixteenth century into a much more powerful and popular religion by the end of the seventeenth century suggests that the Church's attempts at confessionalization were somewhat successful, even if Dutch rulers did not cooperate as well as the Church had hoped in making Dutch society more fully Reformed.⁴⁷

Though the Church increased in size, and continued to work vigilantly to make Dutch society more Reformed, the Republic still remained known for its relative tolerance. In practice, tolerance could be seen as existing within a continuum that ran from total acceptance of a

⁴⁶ Karen E. Carter, 14-18. Carter offers a useful historiography of confessionalization. Historians Reinhard and Schilling introduced this historiographical debate in the 1980s and emphasized the role of the state in the process of confessionalization. Wolfgang Reinhard, "Gegenreformation als Modernisierung? Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des konfessionellen Zeitalters," *Archive for Reformation History* 68 (1997): 226-52; Heinz Schilling, "'Konfessionsbildung' und 'Konfessionalisierung,'" *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 42 (1991): 447-63. Philip Benedict calls the Reinhard and Schilling model strong confessionalization. He and other historians emphasize the weak model of confessionalization, of which the Dutch Republic fits easily. Weak confessionalization diminishes the role of the state and emphasizes competing confessions as the motivating factor for the consolidation of orthodoxy and orthopraxy. See Philip Benedict, "Confessionalization in France? Critical Reflections and New Evidence" in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559-1685*, eds. Raymond A. Mentzer and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 44-61.

⁴⁷ Van Deursen, 260-61.

practice to outright rejection and harsh punishment (in some parts of Europe even death) for those who espoused unorthodox beliefs or practices.⁴⁸ When differences in faith existed in a community, often people found ways to live and act civilly, or they did not, and conflicts, sometimes violent, ensued. Benjamin Kaplan suggests that to the Early Modern mind, especially after 1650, toleration was “a pragmatic arrangement for the limited accommodation of regrettable realities. Not infrequently, it still broke down.”⁴⁹ To have a successful society, sometimes people decided to get along despite differences in practice and ideology. Kaplan also suggests that this had been in place for a long time: “Ever since the reformations, more than a century before Locke or Bayle set pen to paper, Christians in Europe had been finding ways to live peacefully with one another despite their religious differences.”⁵⁰ Certainly this was true in the Dutch Republic, where various important thinkers were able to find homes and publish their writings because of its openness, including Dirck Coornhert, René Descartes and Baruch Spinoza, among others. This was also true of important Huguenot authors like Pierre Bayle and Pierre Jurieu. However, this does not mean these authors were universally approved, especially not by the dominant Reformed Church.

Welcoming the Huguenots was in general not that hard for the Dutch Reformed Church: it was happy to have more likeminded religionists on its side, and thus its attitude toward the Huguenots approached something like full acceptance. The Church, and some other Dutch, were much more grudging, however, toward certain other groups, such as Catholics, or even toward certain Huguenot refugees who did not conform as the Church pleased—such as Bayle. Bayle fled to the Dutch city of Rotterdam and became a successful publisher and professor for a time.

⁴⁸ For example, some communities allowed practitioners of a minority sect to worship as long as adherents held services in private houses rather than in a chapel with a church bell.

⁴⁹ Kaplan, 336.

⁵⁰ Kaplan, 336.

When his writings started to cause some stir within the Dutch Reformed Church, he ended up having serious troubles with Rotterdam's Walloon Church consistory.

Bayle's case illustrates another of Kaplan's arguments: that tolerance and confessionalization had an inverse relationship.⁵¹ Kaplan actually suggests that tolerance mostly declined during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early part of the eighteenth centuries, precisely as confessionalization increased. This was largely because people believed that their communal welfare was dependent upon God's will as interpreted by their confession, and disobeying that will by allowing in divergent views and people would bring God's wrath upon the community.⁵² Kaplan states, "For Europeans, every town and village had a spiritual dimension: more than a convenient, worldly arrangement for human cohabitation, it was a religious body—a 'corpus Christianum.'"⁵³ If this body were to be weakened or challenged, then the whole would fail. Toleration generally stopped for those who did not obey. Intolerance increased as the motivation for confessionalization increased.⁵⁴ The question, of course, was how much tolerance a society would allow, especially an increasingly confessionalized society.

The thesis concentrates on the two ends of the continuum of openness in the Dutch Republic, especially in regard to the role on this continuum of the Dutch Reformed Church. First, we visit the generally successful acceptance of an outside group of refugees, the post-Revocation Huguenots, and especially pastors and their families. We find that the Walloon and Dutch Reformed Churches wanted to help outsiders who would further their cause and who were culturally, linguistically and ethnically similar. The second chapter treats some limitations to

⁵¹ Confessionalization is the systematic desire of states and peoples to enforce one religious confession or denomination upon an existing population.

⁵² Peter Steinfels, "A Revisionist Historian Looks at Religious Toleration," *The New York Times*, November 24, 2007. See also Kaplan, 60.

⁵³ Kaplan, 60.

⁵⁴ Kaplan, 47.

Dutch tolerance, as reflected in the case of Pierre Bayle, who was initially well-received in the Republic and later ran into trouble. The Huguenot experience, and the limited nature of Bayle's troubles, shows how and why people migrated to the Dutch Republic, and why even Bayle, who faced some opposition, still considered it to be "la grande arche des fugitifs."

CHAPTER 1

“UNE SI BELLE CONCORDE ET UNE SI HEUREUSE UNION”:

HUGUENOT AND WALLOON PASTORS

Religious warfare characterized much of French life during the second half of the sixteenth century, which saw the Wars of Religion between the Huguenot minority and the Catholic majority. In 1598, France ended the wars by issuing the Edict of Nantes, which granted limited rights of worship to Huguenots. The seventeenth century saw increased toleration of Huguenots in some parts of France, but also a rise in their persecution as the crown came to believe that a strong nation required a single faith: the king's, which happened to be Catholic.⁵⁵ Persecutions increased into the 1680s until October 1685, with the Edict of Fontainebleau, commonly known as the Revocation (of the Edict of Nantes), which reversed France's policy of tolerating Protestantism. With weapons drawn, government forces pressured Huguenots to leave or convert—185,000 left.

The Huguenots had several places already prepared for them to go. The sixteenth-century exodus of Walloon Protestants (from what is now southern Belgium) to the northern Netherlands had set up the infrastructure for later Huguenot communities there.⁵⁶ As a result of Catholic confessionalization by Philip II of Spain, the Walloons left the southern Netherlands from the 1550s on, settling among sympathetic Protestants in the north.⁵⁷ Walloons either joined existing communities and Reformed churches, or formed their own separate congregations. These *Églises Wallonnes* and their communities became in later decades a haven for the

⁵⁵ The Huguenots never totaled more than ten percent of the French population, or 1.5 million people. Bertrand Van Ruymbeke, “Minority Survival” in Van Ruymbeke and Sparks, 3.

⁵⁶ Besides the Netherlands, the Walloons also created communities in the British Isles and Germany.

⁵⁷ Following a union from 1581, the northern Netherlands officially became the independent United Provinces of the Netherlands by the Treaty of Munster in 1648.

Huguenots leaving France, especially after the Revocation. In turn, the Huguenots influenced extensively the social, economic and political dynamic in their new communities. Skilled Huguenots held valuable trades and occupations, and they tended to be highly involved in religious study and practice—including many pastors and their families. Out of 600 pastors who immediately fled France after the Revocation, 363 came to the Netherlands.⁵⁸ This chapter will demonstrate through consistory and synodal records that orthodox refugee pastors quite easily found acceptance in the United Provinces when they left France largely because their promises of orthodoxy contributed to the further confessionalization of the Dutch Reformed religion in the Netherlands. In other words, immigration was a major impetus for continued efforts at Reformed confessionalization, both because immigration caused the existing church to define orthodoxy more clearly, and because the immigrants themselves were willing to go along. The Walloon and Dutch Reformed Churches tried to achieve this by requiring oaths of allegiance and dogmatism from the new Huguenot pastors, issuing statements of approval at synods, inviting participation in such sacraments as the Lord's Supper, offering monetary assistance and physical sustenance to those in need (such as widows), and providing tax exemptions and civic rights to the refugees.

Walloon in the provinces long had been given some autonomy from the prevailing Dutch Reformed Church, the publicly authorized confession in the Provinces. Perhaps they received autonomy because of the language barrier, the relatively small size of the Walloon population, and because both Churches espoused Reformed beliefs. Certainly their skills and industry did not hurt their cause for acceptance either. As a result, the Dutch Reformed Church did not feel threatened by the growing Walloon Church, even after the Huguenot explosion decades later. At a time when fewer than thirty cities in Europe had more than 100,000 people,

⁵⁸ Frijhoff, 142.

the influx of roughly 60,000 Huguenots throughout the seven major cities of the Netherlands, almost all of whom sought to fit into the Walloon Church's religious structure, represented a major social and religious impact (See Figure 1).⁵⁹

The Walloons' existing structure boded well for émigrés, as the Walloons themselves were descendants of sixteenth-century religious refugees. Indeed, many Dutch pastors were refugees from the southern Netherlands themselves and there was an existing memory and tradition in the north of helping refugee Protestants. Furthermore, Dutch communities experienced smaller refugee resettlements throughout the latter part of the sixteenth century and occasionally during the seventeenth century from Wallonia and France, so the Dutch were already acclimated to helping refugees. Catterall's and Sprunger's studies show, again, that the Dutch welcomed other Protestant migrants from the British Isles as well, confirming the willingness of the Dutch to accept refugees of similar religious circumstances.⁶⁰

The Huguenots found acceptance in the Dutch Reformed Church by working through the Walloon Church for all religious decisions. Even in completely Huguenot congregations, the members had to seek approval of Walloon leaders and Synods. For example, when Huguenots established a new congregation, it was as part of the Walloon Church, a branch of the Dutch Reformed Church. The Dutch Reformed Church granted the Huguenots public status via the Walloons. Besides the fact that it was compulsory, a practical reason for working through the Walloon Church congregations was that the network of relationships was strong, as Huguenots had ties to Walloon relatives and friends who were members. In addition, Huguenot refugees often sought out Walloons in advance, preparing places for them to resettle. It was no secret

⁵⁹ Frijhoff, 136. The cities were Amsterdam, the Hague, Rotterdam, Leiden, Haarlem, Delft, and Utrecht.

⁶⁰ Catterall, 5 and Sprunger, x.

what was happening in France, and Church officials in the Netherlands knew they could do much to aid in the safety of these like-minded co-religionists.

Orthodoxy and Confessionalization

For decades, the well-established and well-networked Walloon Church held at least semi-annual Synod meetings for their congregations in the Netherlands. These were usually held in April and September, with a different city and church hosting each meeting. The importance of the Synod meetings in understanding Huguenot migration should not be underestimated. Individual churches had their local consistory meetings to address their local or individual concerns, but the Walloon Church Synod meetings involved delegates from across the Dutch Republic, and affected the lives of all French refugees in their new homeland. These synodal records illustrate how policies shaped the groups more generally and universally.

Synods were comprised of two representatives from each of the consistories, or the local governing bodies for local churches. Delegates to the Synods usually included a pastor and a top Church elder.⁶¹ It was generally expected that pastors and church elders would attend, and if one would be absent, then a letter announcing such was the common courtesy.⁶² Like other churches, the Dutch Reformed Church had certain procedural expectations, and only the leading local consistory members attended the Synods, signifying the importance of the meetings.

⁶¹ Hubert Bost, ed., *Le Consistoire de L'Église Wallonne de Rotterdam, 1681-1706: Édition annotée des Actes et présentation historique par Hubert Bost* (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeurs, 2008), 8-9. The consistory records of the Walloon Church at Rotterdam were published with remarks by Hubert Bost, a Bayle biographer. The Rotterdam consistory, like other Walloon consistories, comprised important elders and pastors of the church that held decision authority on the local level, whereas the Synod brought together delegates of the Walloon churches twice per year (one pastor and one elder). Consistories sent delegates to the Synods.

⁶² *Livre synodal contenant les articles résolues dans les synodes des églises wallonnes des Pays-Bas* [microform]. *Publié par la Commission de l'histoire des Eglises wallonnes, Tome Deuxième, 1686-1688* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1904), 2, 16, 23. Hereafter referred to as *Livre synodal*. There are numerous examples of such letters throughout the *Livre synodal*. Generally at least one or two churches did not attend. It was rare for a church that was not going to send representatives to the conference to not send a letter excusing the absence.

Synod meetings addressed a variety of issues, including inappropriate behavior or deviation from orthodoxy on the part of pastors, financial concerns, caring for the poor, the authorization or ratification of decisions about preaching, the formation of new branches of the Walloon Church in different cities across the Netherlands, and, most importantly for my purposes here, the Huguenot pastors and their families under persecution in France and other places. Pastors received so much attention at synodal meetings because they were expected to be the exemplary guides for all of society. That they were treated so favorably in synodal records indicates that the host populations wished to be welcoming to these migrant groups. One could also argue that since these are official documents, it was good for the Synods to be seen as welcoming to these groups, whether or not it actually did favor them. After all, the Dutch Republic was one of the leading Calvinist Churches in Europe. How would it look if they did not help several thousand Calvinist refugees? But it is just as likely that they simply wanted to help the Huguenots because of similar faith and various economic benefits. Indeed, as this chapter will show, the lengths to which the Walloons went to help the Huguenots underscore the fact that they indeed welcomed them into their fold both publicly and privately. Furthermore, they allowed the Huguenots to administer branches that included no previous Walloon members, showing their great confidence in the Huguenot refugee pastors.

The evidence also indicates how important it was for the Huguenots to adhere to the doctrines of the larger Dutch Reformed Church, and how compliant the Huguenots were in this regard. Acceptance of adherents was directly connected to their orthodoxy. If individuals were orthodox, then there were rarely questions about their acceptance. Furthermore, because the Dutch Reformed Church required orthodoxy of all its pastors, the fact that they sought it from the Walloons and Huguenots as well suggests that the Dutch treated the Huguenot refugee

pastors with complete equality in religious matters, and had the same expectations of them that they had of any other Reformed pastors.

Because of these concerns for quality control, the Walloon Synods and consistories monitored pastors much more carefully and closely than they did other Huguenot refugees. Although synodal records discuss more than just the pastors, a majority of the families found in the records were pastors' families. The same had been true in France, for different reasons: Catholic leaders saw pastors as a real threat to Catholic confessionalization there, as lay Huguenot families were not as vocal and visible as pastors. Thus, pastors received more attention in each place, both in public life and in the historical record.

In the years immediately following the Revocation, Synod meetings predictably discussed the growing population of Huguenots often, focusing especially on the refugee pastors. These records and acts of the Walloon Church reveal year by year the continuing, favorable, and helpful treatment toward the Huguenot refugees, especially their pastors, and the desire on the part of the Walloon Church leaders to accept their Huguenot brethren and to integrate them into their communities.

In April 1686, Rotterdam held the first Walloon Church Synod following Louis XIV's October 1685 Revocation. The pastors and elders of the Church needed to address a multiplicity of issues at the Synod meeting, but refugee concerns took first priority, especially the risk of perceived subversive or radical changes in local Church preaching, participation, and membership. With a large influx of new members who were strangers to the established, orthodox leadership, Walloon leaders worried how to ensure orthodoxy, particularly among new refugee pastors. Certainly there were some slight doctrinal differences between French Reformed Protestantism and the Walloon variety in the Netherlands, as well as nuances and

differences in orthodoxy among branches of the same church. However, the Walloon pastors were primarily concerned that some refugees might misrepresent themselves as orthodox Reformed pastors, when in fact they were not.⁶³ In other words, leaders did not want imposters among them. The Walloons wanted verification and assurance of the training and background of each pastor.

In addition, the Acts indicate a concern that refugees had been preaching incorrect doctrines, or more likely, the Acts were preventive measures to ensure that new pastors would deliver orthodox Reformed doctrines from that point forward. Yet this concern did not indicate overt hostility toward the new refugee pastors; rather, it indicated that the Walloons expected from the Huguenots the same uniformity they required of all Reformed pastors. Many of the émigré pastors were already preaching in congregations around the Provinces, and church elders and leaders simply needed an assurance of orthodoxy. Consequently, one of the first (and often repeated) ratified Acts dealt with the statement the Walloon leaders required the newly arriving Huguenot pastors to sign, indicating that they would in fact conform to the established doctrine of the *Églises Wallonnes* in their sermons.⁶⁴

At the Rotterdam Synod, it was current theology professors and pastors who saw the need to ensure that refugee pastors taught correct doctrines. Article 5 reads: “Sur les instructions de plusieurs Eglises, qui demandent que l’on s’assure de l’uniformité et de la pureté de doctrine des Pasteurs réfugiés, il a esté jugé...de dresser un projet sur cette affaire, qui prépare la matière et mette la Compagnie en estat d’en juger avec plus de facilité.”⁶⁵ In essence, the Walloon

⁶³ Art. 9, April 1687 Synod at Middelbourg, *Livre synodal*, 25.

⁶⁴ Art. 9, April 1687 Synod at Middelbourg, *Livre synodal*, 25.

⁶⁵ Art. 5, April 1686 Synod at Rotterdam, *Livre synodal*, 2. “At the direction of several of the Churches [Congregations], which have required that we assure that the refugee Pastors preach only uniform and pure doctrine, we have decided to establish a program that will provide the materials needed to allow the Company [the Church] to be in a position to judge such matters more readily and with greater facility.” All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

leadership, acting upon the instructions or, perhaps more accurately, the demands of several of the Walloon and Dutch pastors, declared that it was essential that the Church develop a plan to easily ensure uniformity and purity in the doctrines taught by the Huguenot refugee pastors. This could indicate not only a welcome reception of the refugee pastors, but cautious concern for their current flock and a desire that both the new arrivals and the established congregants and leaders would truly be doctrinally united under Christ. This was also in line with increased efforts at confessionalization by the Dutch Reformed Church, in the sense that the Church was trying more carefully to define doctrine in the wake of this influx of refugees. Thus, the Synod determined to have all refugee pastors sign the document (almost two hundred signed). Their signatures indicated that they would conform to the standards required by the Walloon Church and teach only correct Reformed doctrine. Furthermore, those absent had to eventually sign and verbally agree to the stipulations.⁶⁶ In addition, the following Walloon Synod held in September of that year, at Balck in Friesland, indicated that the prescriptions regarding uniformity had been accepted and were working. The Dutch Synod in North Holland sent a letter back to the Synod at Balck indicating that they approved of the Walloon Church's Christian efforts to bring about orthodoxy.⁶⁷ The Walloon Church's efforts among the Huguenots had thus been noticed with favor and validated by the Reformed Church.

Indeed, Walloon leaders hoped the refugees pastors would subsequently come to prominence, as many had ample training and could be useful to the body of Christ. For example, Article 8 indicates that Jaques Alpée de Saint Maurice, a refugee who was a former pastor and theology professor in France, was to be accepted in Maastricht for a similar position.⁶⁸ There are also exceptional examples of the pastor Pierre Jurieu and Pierre Bayle, who were Huguenot

⁶⁶ Art. 40, April 1686 Synod at Rotterdam, *Livre synodal*, 13.

⁶⁷ Art. 23, September 1686 Synod at Balck en Frise, *Livre synodal*, 20.

⁶⁸ Art. 8, April 1686 Synod at Rotterdam, *Livre synodal*, 7.

émigrés who helped shape refugee Protestantism (despite Bayle's later censure by the Rotterdam consistory).⁶⁹ As the years unfolded, Bayle and Jurieu, one-time colleagues, became bitter enemies, while Bayle and de Saint Maurice continued as solid literary and academic friends.⁷⁰

Synodal records also indicate an increase in the number of Walloon churches during the period in order to meet the needs of ministering to the large refugee population. Articles 16, 17, and 26 from the Rotterdam Synod discuss the details regarding the formation of new branches of the Church (with one of the existing Walloon elders), forming consistories and naming pastors.⁷¹ These articles support the idea that the Walloon Church hoped to become more integrated and united with the Huguenot refugee populations, as well as suggest that their fears about orthodoxy were more an exercise of sanction than a search for disciplined conformity. Furthermore, although the Synod anticipated that after committing to orthodoxy some might slide back into their old habits and perhaps teach unorthodox doctrines, it was not overly concerned. For example, the Synod did not form a universal decision on sanctions or punishment. Rather, it left it to each individual Walloon Church to determine what remedy might be required in any particular case. Article 48 reads: “[L]a Compagnie, considérant les grandes difficultés qu’il y auroit à faire une loy d’uniformité sur ce sujet, laisse la liberté aux Eglises d’en user suivant leur prudence.”⁷² Where punishment for backsliding was left to the “prudence” of the individual church, the Synod was apparently not worried it would be a rampant problem. Indeed, the synod

⁶⁹ Bayle and Jurieu knew each other in France as colleagues, but the two men became enemies in Rotterdam. For an appropriate summary, see Bots and Meyjes, 97-118. See also the chapter on Bayle in this study for an examination of their relationship.

⁷⁰ Correspondance from Pierre Bayle to Professeur du Rondel, *Bayle, P. au Rondel, du*, 10 Letters, Shelf Mark: Mar 4:1, Walloon Library, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Universiteit Leiden. December 4, 1698, Letter #156. Hereafter referred to as *Rondel Letters*. This collection is a group of letters photographed with permission from the archives at Leiden University. Du Rondel was a friend and Professor at Maastricht. See Figures 3 and 4.

⁷¹ Art. 16, 17 and 26, April 1686 Synod at Rotterdam, *Livre synodal*, 8 and 10.

⁷² Art. 48, April 1686 Synod at Rotterdam, *Livre synodal*, 14. “Given the great difficulty the Company [the Church] would encounter in attempting to establish a law of uniformity in this matter, the Company will leave each Church [Congregation] free to invoke such penalty as it deems prudent.”

at Balck indicates that any backsliding preachers, particularly those who had returned to Catholicism while in France, would be received back to the fold and forgiven, but still punished in varying degrees, on a case-by-case basis.⁷³

Practical Assistance and Spiritual Unity

In addition to concerns about orthodoxy, many of the refugee ministers were in desperate need of charitable contributions and a sense of unity within their communities. Articles 22 and 23 at Rotterdam indicate that charitable measures were implemented and Article 23 particularly addresses the need the Walloons felt to be more united with their impoverished brothers. Leaders at the Synod invited all in attendance, especially the refugee pastors (who were in attendance to sign the article stating their conformity), to be included in the communion or the Lord's Supper, as a celebration of the now good fortune of the once persecuted pastors. It reads:

La Compagnie considérant que nous devons à Dieu d'extraordinaires actions de grâces pour la faveur toute particulière qu'il nous a faite d'avoir trouvé une si belle concorde et une si heureuse union d'esprit entre les Pasteurs de ce Synode et nos frères venus de la grande tribulation, a jugé qu'il feroit de l'édification de tous les frères qui se sont embrassés en paix de sceller notre reconnaissance envers Dieu et notre sainte et fraternelle communion entre nous dans la célébration de la Sainte Eucharistie, à laquelle tous les Pasteurs seront particulièrement invités et tous ceux de l'assemblée qui auront inclination de s'y adjoindre.⁷⁴

The language of the passage quoted avows sincere empathy, compassion, and reverence toward the circumstances of the refugee ministers. The ministers speak of a beautiful concord and

⁷³ Art. 35, September 1686 Synod at Balck en Frise, *Livre synodal*, 22. Catholicism was called idolatry in the Synod records.

⁷⁴ Art. 23, April 1686 Synod at Rotterdam, *Livre synodal*, 9. "Considering that we owe such a great debt of thanksgiving to God for the special favor that he has granted to us in that we have reached such a pleasing accord and such a happy meeting of the minds between the Pastors of this Synod and the refugee Pastors who have fled the Great Tribulation, the Company [the Church] has decided that it will be for the edification of all of the brethren who have now embraced each other in a spirit of peace to seal our recognizance to God and for the sacred, brotherly communion which unites us, to celebrate the Holy Eucharist together, to which all the Pastors are each invited, as well as all those of the Assembly who are inclined to join with us."

happy union (“une si belle concorde et une si heureuse union”) between the pastors and the refugees, their brothers who came from the great tribulations (“nos frères venus de la grande tribulation”), indicating a sincere recognition of their former persecution and a hope for future stability and success.

The Synod also discussed the need to care for the widows of deceased pastors, both refugee and Huguenot. This was common among other Dutch Reformed synods too, but suggests that Huguenot widows, despite their refugee status, would also not be forgotten. The twenty-seventh Article focuses on recommending the widow of refugee Pastor Royère as a person of piety, thus enabling her to receive assistance more easily than otherwise from the Church. She was granted twenty ducats, presumably enough for her to subsist on while finding additional income. The Synod further agreed to set up a fund for the increasing number of impoverished widows, mentioning a few other names.⁷⁵ At the following Synod meeting in Balck in September, Article 11 refers to these women again as well as other women, specifically mentioning Article 27 of the Rotterdam Synod: some of the women were known widows and others had husbands who were being held with their condition unknown. The Act recommended all these women receive additional charity and be placed on the list of those receiving assistance from the Church, widow or not. Many of their husbands were imprisoned in Lyon, and many were dead.⁷⁶ One woman, Olympe Coste, was mentioned as being a victim of the persecution. Indeed, many of the same refugee pastors and widows were mentioned in the 1687 Synod at Middelbourg, along with additional struggling refugee widows:

La Compagnie continue d’exhorter les Églises à s’intéresser par leur charité pour les veuves recommandées par l’article 11 du Synode de Balk, qui sont les demoiselles

⁷⁵ Art. 27, April 1686 Synod at Rotterdam, *Livre synodal*, 10.

⁷⁶ Art. 11, September 1686 Synod at Balck en Frise, *Livre synodal*, 18. This is later emphasized again at Middelbourg, where additional money was requested. Art. 12, April 1687 Synod at Middelbourg, *Livre synodal*, 25.

Cassian, veuve de notre très cher frère Faget, ci-devant Pasteur à Sauveterre en Béarn, qui mourut sur la mer se sauvant de la persécution, Mademoiselle de la Place, veuve, fille de notre très honoré frère Monsieur de la Place, autrefois pasteur et professeur en théologie à Saumur, Malecare veuve de notre très cher frère Monsieur Malecare, aussi Pasteur, et les autre veuves de nos très chers frères les Pasteurs nommés dans l'article 27 du Synode dernier de Rotterdam.⁷⁷

The suffering clearly is of great concern, as shown by its mention here, of the widow of a pastor who died en route from France. He was not yet a part of the community, yet the Church was hoping to help his widow, indicating a great need and the desire to be charitable. Helping the widows, some of whose husbands were never members of their community, shows the sense of compassion and unity on the part of the Walloon Church Synod members.

Unfortunately, the need for monetary charity for all refugees was high, and often perceived as impossible to fill, but synodal records especially indicate the need for charity for pastors and families.⁷⁸ Article 33 at Rotterdam states, “Le nombre des Pasteurs réfugiés qui se trouvent réduits dans un estat déplorable et qui ont demandé a cette Compagnie de quoi subvenir à leur pressante nécessité a esté si grand qu’il a esté impossible de les secourir tous.”⁷⁹ The Article indicates that the number of refugee pastors in a deplorable state was so great that they could not provide comfort to all of them. However, because of the great need, they vowed to try. Later in the document, the Synod decided to collect taxes from the members to provide relief.

The state would later reimburse the members—reflecting that the state clearly desired these

⁷⁷ Art. 9, April 1687 Synod at Middelbourg, *Livre synodal*, 25. “The Company continues to exhort the Churches to take a charitable interest in the widows who were recommended by Article 11 of the Synod of Balck, who are the spinsters Cassian; the widow of our very dear brother Faget, previously Pastor at Sauveterre in Berne, who died at sea fleeing persecution; Mademoiselle de la Place, widow; the daughter of our highly honored brother, Mr. de la Place, formerly pastor and professor in Theology at Saumur; Malecare, widow of our very dear brother, Mr. Malecare, also Pastor; and the other widows of our very dear brothers, the Pastors named in Article 27 of the last Synod at Rotterdam.”

⁷⁸ Nusteling, 18. Nusteling indicates that it was the duty of the Walloon community to find suitable employment for some immigrants.

⁷⁹ Art. 33, April 1686 Synod at Rotterdam, *Livre synodal*, 11. “The number of refugee Pastors who have been reduced to such a deplorable condition and who have asked this Company [Church] to help them in their pressing want is so large that it is impossible to help them all.”

productive additions to their society. The Synod and Churches collected 108 doucatons in this manner for distribution and relief.⁸⁰ Additionally, in the twentieth Act, the Church publicly thanked the Walloon pastors for all the help they provided not only to the refugee pastors, but to all the refugees.⁸¹

In addition, it was not uncommon for refugees to be granted exemption from some taxes for a certain period. In fact, émigrés who left their home country because of religious issues and resettled in Amsterdam were granted by the Amsterdam Council “civic rights gratis and for life, and, for a period of three years, exemption from guild duties and excise taxes.”⁸² Tax exemptions allowed refugees to build successful businesses more quickly, and communities correctly believed that the influx of talented migrants could breathe new life into their economies. The Synod records show further evidence for this, as many new churches were being formed and communities were growing and prospering. For example, Articles 29 and 31 from the synod at Balck indicate that a new church comprised of “personnes réfugiées de France à Hoorn” formed a consistory, and several other churches sought permission from the Synod to employ new pastors.⁸³ This explains that there were not only plenty of refugees attending and ministering, but that they were doing well enough ecclesiastically and economically to foresee that they would not become too burdensome and would remain mostly self-sufficient. Acceptance of new people, especially if confessionally similar, seemed to bring about greater economic and cultural prosperity; their increased growth allowed for more revenue and, in this case, more prosperity to afford a new consistory and new pastors.

⁸⁰ Art. 33, April 1686 Synod at Rotterdam, *Livre synodal*, 11.

⁸¹ Art. 28, September 1686 Synod at Balck en Frise, *Livre synodal*, 21.

⁸² Nusteling, 18.

⁸³ Art. 29 and 31, September 1686 Synod at Balck en Frise, *Livre synodal*, 21.

Charity and financial aid were often tied to the crucial question of orthodoxy. Yes, the Walloons helped the Huguenots adjust, but the main point of the Synod was confessionalization and adherence of the community to the Reformed faith. The April 1687 Middelbourg Synod wanted to ensure that the Haarlem chapter would send the money needed to fund pastor training and provide all necessary assurances that refugee pastors who had been trained at the expense of the synod would preach orthodox teachings. Furthermore, because some refugees were pretending to be pastors, several churches encountered difficulties with ensuring the authenticity of the credentials of their pastors when determining who to support financially. To combat this problem, the Middelbourg Synod recommended taking transcripts and testimonials from people and verifying their stories with others. Article 14 reads:

Les Églises sont chargées de bien caractériser les personnes à qui elles donneront des témoignages, pour éviter autant qu'il se pourra les surprises des faux frères réfugiés, et pour une plus grande précaution lesdites Églises sont exhortées d'avoir des témoignages imprimés, qu'elles pourront achever de remplir selon les diverses circonstances qui se présenteront, de quoi elles donneront connoissance à nos très chers frères les Ministres réfugiés afin qu'ils se précautionnent eux mesmes pour cela.⁸⁴

Indeed, it appears that on occasion Church kindness and charity were being taken advantage of, so these measures were important to ensure that not only was the money going to the appropriate individuals, but that the orthodox Reformed message was being taught. Here was another means of confessionalization within the Church: the orthodox were deemed to be the most deserving of charity. One congregation at Haarlem was specifically mentioned as having difficulties early on in following the policies to certify the Huguenot émigré pastors to preach, and financial

⁸⁴ Art. 14, April 1687 Synod at Middelbourg, *Livre synodal*, 26. "The Churches are directed to carefully screen the persons to whom they provide certificates to avoid to the extent possible any surprises from refugees who are false brethren; and such Churches are exhorted as an extra precaution to issue these certificates in printed form that they can arrange to complete in whatever circumstances arise, which they will provide as an introduction for our refugee Ministers, in order that they, themselves, may take special care in these matters."

assistance was contingent upon adherence to this principle. By the time it became an issue at the Synod, it seems as though the head pastor, Mr. Gallé, had already taken steps to correct the mistake. If the Synods knew the pastors were making progress towards orthodoxy, then additional financial assistance would flow. Article 10 at the Middelbourg Synod praised Haarlem for the changes it was planning to make, censured the Church for its problems, and exhorted it to fix the mistake hastily.⁸⁵ If they did so, then charity would be more easily given.

The Synods of the Walloon Churches encouraged not only charity toward refugees but conciliation, forgiveness and unity—with a hope that deviants would eventually conform. The messages in the Middelbourg Synod reveal the compassion of Church leaders toward repentant refugee pastors, for instance. Article 18 discusses readmittance to the ministry after lapses by several pastors.⁸⁶ Desire for integration and conciliation is also found in the statements of piety and the devotional presentation made at the September 1687 Bois-le-duc Synod. It was determined at the earlier Middelbourg Synod that Mr. de Brunville, the pastor at the Church in Groede, would deliver a sermon on 1 Timothy 1:13 and discuss how the people could be more charitable and conciliatory.⁸⁷ This is especially significant to note because of the message in that passage. Paul's letter to Timothy exhorts the teaching of true doctrine and forgiveness of sinners, and this passage particularly refers to repentance for persecution. 1 Timothy 1:12-13 reads: "And I thank Christ Jesus our Lord, who hath enabled me, for that he counted me faithful, putting me into the ministry; Who was before a blasphemers, and a persecutor, and injurious: but I obtained mercy, because I did it ignorantly in belief."⁸⁸ It appears that the importance of this

⁸⁵ Art. 10, April 1687 Synod at Middelbourg, *Livre synodal*, 25.

⁸⁶ Art. 18, April 1687 Synod at Middelbourg, *Livre synodal*, 27.

⁸⁷ Art. 13, April 1687 Synod at Middelbourg, *Livre synodal*, 26.

⁸⁸ King James Version of the Bible, 1 Timothy 1:12-13.

passage to the Synods was to teach the pastors that all their brethren needed forgiveness and charity, and that simple rejection or condemnation of deviancy was not an appropriate response.

This type of pious conciliation shows a real effort to profess Christian compassion and religious tolerance while still condemning all vestiges of French Catholicism that might exist among the refugees. There is also a marked, subtle message that a more unified society was their ideal—a hallmark of confessionalization. Still, this statement shows that though de Brunville surely desired uniformity, he also wanted to forgive others for not sharing his beliefs or acting according to his doctrines, and that persecution was not a solution. Kaplan notes that this notion of forgoing persecution was rapidly becoming a European ideal by now, including among the Dutch. In fact, tolerance had increasingly become an ideal in genteel society.⁸⁹ However, there were limitations—the nature of Dutch confessionalization allowed for some tolerant behavior, but it was always looking forward to the time when those tolerated would eventually change their errant ways and conform to the Dutch Reformed way of life. Indeed, the selection of Paul, the formerly sinful now repentant disciple, for de Brunville’s sermon shows that the Reformed clergy still thought of anyone outside of their faith as potential prospects for their religion and that the pastors needed to love people into the fold with a missionary zeal. Indeed, missionary work is both inherently intolerant and tolerant; the mere notion suggests there is something wrong with prospective converts, but in the vein of tolerance, the missionary seeks peaceably to convert and assimilate someone, not banish or exclude him.

Synods of the Dutch Reformed Church also contain ample evidence to suggest that Dutch believers themselves easily integrated the Walloon and Huguenot communities, and that integration was a part of the Church’s efforts at confessionalization. These Synods too indicate

⁸⁹ Kaplan, 335. Kaplan also notes that regular folk also fared well with being tolerant of different confessions, suggesting that carpenters, goldsmiths, printers, notaries, midwives, and domestic servants were remarkably tolerant in many circumstances. Kaplan, 253-54.

the need for immediate response to assist the Huguenot refugees. In the 1685 Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church, held at the Dutch town of Buren, deputies declared that the Walloon synod had been spoken to regarding continuing and increasing assistance to refugees who left severe persecutions in France.⁹⁰ The Synod at Buren resolved to seek the intervention of the States of Holland to plea with the King of France for lighter treatment of remaining Huguenots. They also made a plan to care for the refugee pastors, both those banished and those who voluntarily fled, and donated generous financial assistance (as was done by several Swiss cantons).⁹¹ Furthermore, the Dutch Synod asked all attendees to have the members of their church councils who were civic leaders to encourage the town councils to help the Huguenot refugees in any way possible. They asked too that they pray ceaselessly for God's help for the Huguenots still in France.⁹² This serves as a "grande arche" of hope for the refugees, but is not without its confessional benefits for the Dutch Reformed Church.

Both refugees and the host communities benefitted, then, from the welcome extended to the migrants. It is readily apparent from the Walloon Synod records and acts of the Walloon Church that its elders and pastors sought unity with the flood of Huguenot refugees. For their part, the incoming Huguenots (especially the pastors) officially complied with the expectation of religious conformity, and because of the skills their followers brought with them, the level of prosperity in their new communities rose; their net impact was thus beneficial to their community.⁹³ The Synod documents indicate that relocation in the Netherlands was possible in large part because of the charity of the Walloon Church and its members for many of the post-

⁹⁰ W.P.C. Knuttel, ed., *Acta der particuliere synoden van Zuid-Holland, 1621-1700, vol. 5. 1673-1686* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1908-1916), 522. Special thanks to Craig Harline for translating the Dutch sources.

⁹¹ Knuttel, 5:522.

⁹² Knuttel, 5:522.

⁹³ Frijhoff, 152-54.

Revocation Huguenot refugees—which also happened to promote the Reformed Church’s goal of confessionalization.

CHAPTER 2

NOT SO TOLERANT? THE CASE OF PIERRE BAYLE

One of the most famous Huguenot refugees in the Netherlands was Pierre Bayle, who fittingly became a major supporter of religious tolerance (see Figure 5). He needed tolerance himself—not only in France, but also in his adopted “grande arche.” Bayle (1647-1706) became a successful publisher and professor in Rotterdam at the Reformed *École Illustré*. However, he received a mixed reception there, especially once his writings on logic and toleration challenged norms supported by the Dutch Reformed Church—not to mention by a jealous political enemy who provoked the local consistory against him. Still, it is telling that the worst treatment Bayle received was removal from his professorship, which, to his great delight, obliged him to continue publishing for his subsistence, albeit with constant pressure from the Church. In fact, this was typical of how troublesome philosophers were treated in the Republic. This chapter will show that the Dutch Reformed Church’s frustration with Bayle’s controversies was the source of his negative treatment, but that the nature of Dutch society limited his troubles.

Bayle’s Early Life

Bayle’s confrontations with intolerance began early in life in Le Carla, a town in the Pyrénées in southern France, where he was born on 18 November 1647.¹ Le Carla’s Catholic majority persecuted Protestants heavily. It did not help that in 1647 only five percent of those who lived in Le Carla were actually Protestant.² Bayle’s family experienced persecution, as his father was a Protestant minister. Because it was too expensive to send Pierre to school, his

¹ Le Carla was later renamed Carla-Bayle after Bayle.

² Thomas M. Lennon, *Reading Bayle* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 4.

father's library was the source of his education until age twenty-one, when Bayle enrolled at the Protestant school in Puylaurens.³ After three months in Puylaurens, he converted to Catholicism and sought a Jesuit education in Toulouse. His spell as a Catholic did not last long, however, as he returned to Protestantism immediately after the defense of his Master's thesis. His conversion to Catholicism may have been sincere, despite the fact that it was short-lived, or he may have converted to Catholicism for a brief period simply to receive Jesuit instruction.⁴ Either way, Bayle's upbringing and conversion helped him to feel and then advocate the urgent need for religious tolerance. He experienced persecution both as a Protestant and a Catholic, which certainly influenced his later calls for tolerance and religious plurality.

Unfortunately for him, civic persecutors in France severely punished those who returned to Protestantism. Consequently, Bayle moved in September 1670 to Geneva to avoid persecution as a "relapsed heretic."⁵ His family was not as lucky: all of Bayle's immediate family died before he did, mostly from persecution. Catholics jailed his older brother in a French prison where he was tortured to death in an attempt to force his conversion, mostly because of controversy brought on by Bayle's writings.⁶ Although Bayle was aware of the threat he faced himself, he returned to France under an assumed identity to teach and write.⁷ After some success in Rouen and Paris as a tutor and teacher, he returned to northern France, where he became a professor at Sedan's Protestant Academy in 1675. It was here where he began organizing his ideas on philosophy and religious tolerance. Here he also first met his friend and colleague

³ Except his brother, Bayle did not see family again after the move, but actively corresponded with them. See Pierre Bayle, *Correspondance de Pierre Bayle*, ed. Elizabeth Labrousse (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1999).

⁴ Pierre Bayle, *Selections from Bayle's Dictionary*, eds. E. A. Beller and M. du P. Lee, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), xi. Hereafter Beller and Lee. The best schools were Jesuit, so it only makes sense that Bayle wanted to receive a quality education.

⁵ Lennon, 5.

⁶ Lennon, 6. See also Beller and Lee, xii.

⁷ Bican Şahin, *Tolerance: The Liberal Virtue* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010), 71.

Pierre Jurieu, who would become a jealous and bitter enemy. Bayle remained at Sedan until it was closed by the crown in 1681, just before the Revocation, and he was forced to leave.⁸

Bayle as Skeptic

Aware of the Dutch Republic's reputation as famously tolerant, Bayle fled to Rotterdam with other Huguenots. Bayle enjoyed active membership in the Rotterdam Walloon Church and insisted upon membership in the local consistory. This trend continued throughout his life—Bayle always maintained his Reformed Church roots and actively preserved his membership in the Church. In 1681, he became a professor at Rotterdam's *École Illustre*, the Walloon community's associated school. It was here that Bayle began to publish his brand of skepticism, and to criticize the ills of the contemporary world, especially its intolerance. In this environment, this Huguenot refugee could speak more freely than he ever could have in France or many other parts of Europe. Yet Bayle faced criticism here too. His trials with intolerance in France first shaped his notions of the need for toleration, but the limitations and restrictions placed upon Bayle in the Republic, a purportedly tolerant place, refined Bayle's advocacy of the virtue.

Bayle was a proponent of skepticism, which had been increasingly popular in Europe among intellectuals since the religious wars of the late sixteenth century. Many confessions by then claimed to be the true Church of Christ or to have God's authority.⁹ How could anyone know for sure, wondered skeptics? Some academics call this a crisis of authority. Skeptics emphasized empirical evidence instead of religious or spiritual authority: just because a respected figure said something did not make it true. They wanted reasons, and evidence. A

⁸ Lennon, 5.

⁹ Beller and Lee, vii.

skeptic was basically the opposite of a dogmatist—skeptics, including Bayle, felt that there was much to question in the religious, natural, and social world.¹⁰ Alan Levine states that “it was only when the crisis of authority became so acute in the sixteenth century that skepticism arose as a leading philosophical stance and toleration emerged as a desirable political idea.”¹¹ If no one could be sure which true church was absolutely true, or which authority to trust, then how could persecution of any other believer be justified? Religious leaders of all sorts disliked skepticism, seeing it as a great threat to their particular version of Christianity; skepticism was worse than heresy, for it suggested that perhaps no church had exclusive truth. Religionists saw skepticism as a road to atheism—a much worse plight than belonging to the wrong confession. And Bayle was, again, clearly a skeptic.

Some thinkers were not only skeptical of the claims of a particular church, but of religious truth in general. Some academics have argued that Bayle was a Pyrrhonist or a Fideist, varieties of skepticism that still allowed for a devout profession of faith because Bayle always insisted on being part of the Reformed Church.¹² Whatever the case, Bayle was about to get in trouble for his skepticism, even if he was generally treated better here than in France. Bayle’s enemies in the Republic knew that if they called into question his Christianity, and called his skepticism atheism, they could more readily immobilize him. He certainly did not want to be perceived as an atheist by anyone in authority.

The first publication that caused trouble for Bayle was the *Pensées diverses sur la comète*, published in 1682. It was initially published anonymously but that changed on reprintings. He had been writing *Pensées diverses* for several years, but it was not until he left for Rotterdam that

¹⁰ Şahin, 13-14.

¹¹ Lennon, 9. See also Alan Levine, *Early Modern Skepticism and the Origins of Toleration* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 1999).

¹² Barbara Sher Tinsley, *Pierre Bayle’s Reformation: Conscience and Criticism on the Eve of the Enlightenment* (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 2001), 22 and 322.

he finished and published the work.¹³ *Pensées diverses* was Bayle's response to the comet of 1680 and the numerous explanations regarding the comet's significance—some logical and some outrageous. One idea connected the laying of hen's eggs to the timing of the comets (See Figure 6): "In 1680, the appearance of a comet was accompanied by extraordinary happenings in Rome. Hens laid eggs with mysterious markings thought linked to the comet's characteristics and motion. Data was recorded about the date and hour at which each egg was laid."¹⁴ Scientists regarded the comet as an opportunity to learn more about the nature of the universe. In sharp, contentious contrast, many non-scientists and theologians thought the comet served as a sign or punishment from God. In *Pensées diverses*, Bayle sided with scientists over theologians.

Bayle wanted people to appeal to science before theology in instances in which empirical knowledge could be found. He thought it illogical to separate God from science, but at this time many immersed in theology tended to ignore or at least subordinate science:

C'est que vous étiez accoutumé par votre caractère Theologien a ne plus raisonner, dès que vous croyez qu'il y a du mystère....C'est enfin qu'ayant la conscience timorée vous croyez aisement que la corruption du monde arme le bras de Dieu des fleaux les plus epouvantables, lesquels pourtant le bon Dieu ne veut point lancer sur la terre, sans avoir essayé si les hommes s'amanderont, comme il fit avant que l'envoyer le Deluge.¹⁵

¹³ Although Bayle wrote many works that discussed tolerance and challenged confessionalization by the Dutch Reformed Church, the most significant contributions include: *Pensées diverses sur la comète* (1682); *Critique générale de Maimbourg* (1682); works from the newsletter *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* (beginning in 1684); *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* (1686); *Commentaire Philosophique* (1686-88); *Avis aux réfugiés* (1690); and *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* (1697). These were the main works that caused him trouble with the Rotterdam consistory.

¹⁴ See Figure 6. Bucknell University Carnegie Project, <http://www.departments.bucknell.edu/History/Carnegie/newton/comet.html>, [accessed on 22 May 2010].

¹⁵ *Pensées Diverses sur la comète*, Tome I, VIII, 40. Hereafter *PD*. Karl C. Sandberg: "It is because you are accustomed by your theological mind to abandon reason as soon as you believe yourself to be in the presence of a mystery...It is because your fearful mind very easily leads you to believe that the corruption of the world puts the most dreadful plagues in the hand of God, which the good Lord nonetheless does not wish to hurl upon the earth without having seen whether men will repent, as He did before sending the Flood." *Miscellaneous Thoughts*, VIII. Hereafter *MT*. Found in Pierre Bayle, *The Great Contest of Faith and Reason*, ed. Karl C. Sandberg (New York: Ungar, [1963]), 7-8. Hereafter Bayle and Sandberg.

From this passage we can tell that Bayle believed in cataclysmic events and signs from God, but different events and signs than some theologians: he didn't think God would have hens lay eggs to warn people of a coming comet. Bayle was saying that not everything in the natural world was a message from the Almighty. He maintained indeed that the great flood of Noah was a sign from God for humans to repent, but perhaps did so only to appease the church, because he also stated that not all calamities in the world were punishments from God or the wiles of the devil: they may have simply been events that happened from natural processes.

This did not please Dutch Reformed society because it indirectly challenged the idea that good comes solely from God and that God controlled and directed everything.

Car puis que l'expérience nous montre, que ceux qui croyent un Paradis et un Enfer sont capables de commettre toute sorte de crimes, il est evident que l'inclination à mal-faire ne vient pas de ce qu'on ignore l'existence de Dieu, et qu'elle n'est point corrigée par la connoissance que l'on acquiert d'un Dieu qui punit et qui récompense. Il résulte de la manifestement que l'inclination a mal-faire ne se trouve pas plus dans une ame destituée de las connoissance de Dieu, que dans une ame qui connoit Dieu.¹⁶

As this excerpt shows, Bayle also puts forward in this tract the difficult idea that one who does not believe in Almighty God, such as an atheist or a pagan, can still behave in an upright manner and vice versa. Indeed, he argues that many Christians who supposedly abide by the law and live righteously are guilty of many different crimes. If atheists, or anyone, can exist in peace with fellow human beings, Bayle said, then there is no reason to persecute or suppress them.¹⁷

The notion that atheists could be peaceful also angered some Reformed Church leaders, especially Bayle's enemies and competitors like Pierre Jurieu.

¹⁶ *PD*, Tome II, CXLV, 36. Sandberg: "For since experience shows us that those who believe in a Paradise and a Hell are capable of committing all sorts of crimes, it is evident that the inclination to do evil does not come from the ignorance of knowledge of a God who punishes and rewards. One may conclude therefrom that the inclination to do evil is not any greater in a soul destitute of the knowledge of God than in a soul which knows God." *MT*, CXLV, in Bayle and Sandberg, 15.

¹⁷ *MT*, CXXXIV and CXLV, in Bayle and Sandberg, 11 and 15.

Jurieu and the Consistory

Jurieu was a fellow Huguenot and originally a colleague of Bayle's at the Protestant Academy in Sedan, France. In Sedan, Jurieu had been the one to promote and elevate Bayle when a vacancy opened up; but Jurieu also had the ulterior motive that if he promoted the young Bayle, then he could strengthen his interests in the town and create another ally.¹⁸ This political instinct in Jurieu would come back to haunt Bayle. Both men fled France for Rotterdam at about the same time in 1681. Like Bayle, Jurieu also was a philosopher, but more of a theologian than Bayle, and certainly not a skeptic.

Bayle's *Pensées Diverses* most succinctly described his views on the relationship between religion and logic—heavily laden with appeals to scientific law, and reflecting skepticism. Because of that, Jurieu used the work against Bayle often because he thought it questioned Bayle's identity as a Christian—or at least it would make others believe that more easily. Bayle even considered it Jurieu's most damaging evidence against him, though Bayle himself obviously thought the claim to be unjust and unfounded. It was also the work most cited in later years to justify Bayle's eventual dismissal from teaching.¹⁹

The immediate trouble between the two men in Rotterdam, however, started in 1682, when both wrote commentaries against a Monsieur Maimbourg of France, who harshly criticized the Huguenots in his history of Calvinism. Jurieu's assessment was not as well written or as popular as Bayle's *Critique générale de Maimbourg*, and this exacerbated Jurieu's jealousy of Bayle. Furthermore, Jurieu did not like how inflammatory Bayle's critique was compared to his own. Jurieu was not alone in his criticism of Bayle. Reactions in France intensified against Bayle's writings as they reached his home country, and Protestants and Catholics alike shared

¹⁸ Sandberg, *At the Crossroads of Faith and Reason*, 83.

¹⁹ *Rondel Letters*. December 4, 1698, Letter #156.

some mistrust of Bayle's pen; Catholics did not like how he defended Protestantism, and both Protestants and Catholics distrusted his appeals to logic and toleration. In 1683, the state hangman in Paris burned a copy of Bayle's *Critique générale* at the stake. This work, along with *Pensées Diverses*, caused Pierre's brother Jacob to be imprisoned in France for three years, until his life was finally taken in a dungeon shortly after the Revocation.²⁰

Jurieu's blood boiled that Bayle had bested him with the *Critique générale*, and Jurieu did not like that Bayle caused popular scandal with the critique. What Bayle had written, though, had not yet angered the consistory enough to get its attention. At this point, Jurieu was just jealous and applying pressure to the consistory to investigate Bayle. Then a few years later, another of Bayle's tracts angered Jurieu again—the *Commentaire philosophique sur ces paroles de Jésus-Christ*, written shortly after the Revocation in 1686. With this work, Bayle heightened the jealousy Jurieu had for him, because the *Commentaire* was again the type of controversial success that Bayle had hoped it would be. Jurieu decided to move forward more forcefully now with his criticisms of Bayle.

In the *Commentaire Philosophique*, Bayle used logical proofs to show how the Augustinian justification of Luke 14:23 contradicted the Gospel of Christ, because it permitted, even required, the punishment of heretics: “Go out into the highways and hedges COMPEL THEM TO COME IN, that my house may be filled.”²¹ Orthodox Christian religious leaders traditionally used this passage to justify force and compulsion. They argued that intolerance was essential to punish deviance from orthodoxy so as to deter future heresy, make an example of the heretic and hopefully bring conversion to the heretic. Bayle's central point was that this justification was contrary to the core tenets of the Gospel. He wrote, “Le sens littéral de ces

²⁰ Şahin, 71.

²¹ Amie Godman Tannenbaum, *Pierre Bayle's Philosophical Commentary: A Modern Translation and Critical Interpretation* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1987), 27. See Luke 14:23.

paroles est contraire aux idées les plus pures et les plus distinctes de la raison, donc il est faux.”²²

He continues this reasoning in the next chapter when he writes, “Une interprétation de l’écriture tout à fait contraire à l’esprit de l’évangile ne peut être que fausse. Or est-il que le sens littéral de ces paroles, contrain-les d’entrer, est tout à fait contraire à l’esprit de l’évangile. Donc le sens littéral de ces paroles ne peut être que faux.”²³ Basically Bayle reasoned that the literal interpretation of “compel” as meaning “force” was contrary to both reason and the intentions of Christ’s message; compulsion was contrary to liberty of conscience.

The *Commentaire* jumpstarted Jurieu’s efforts at provoking the Rotterdam consistory to take action against Bayle. Jurieu was, again, something of an opportunist and used Bayle and others in an attempt to improve his theological stature.²⁴ Jurieu used the *Commentaire* and Bayle’s recently published *Avis aux réfugiés* (1690) to agitate the Rotterdam consistory against Bayle, claiming he was an enemy of Protestantism and the Republic and even an agent of France.²⁵ Although the consistory thought Jurieu’s claims a bit extreme, they actively listened and made an inquiry.

In May of 1691, the Rotterdam consistory started to investigate Jurieu’s accusations. Initially and repeatedly the consistory wanted Bayle and Jurieu to find a resolution without any official action on its part. By November 4, 1691, Bayle and Jurieu had agreed in writing to meet privately and resolve the dispute with each other and the consistory by the following June.²⁶ The discussion of some of the interactions seems formulaic and rote, but, as Bost notes, when you

²² *Commentaire philosophique sur ces paroles de Jesus-Christ Contrain-les d’entrer, ou Traité de la tolérance universelle*, Partie 1, Chapitre 2. Hereafter *CP*. Sandberg: “The literal meaning of these words is contrary to the most distinct ideas which reason teaches us; therefore, it is false.” Bayle and Sandberg, 49.

²³ *CP*, Partie 1, Chapitre 3. Tannebaum: “An interpretation of Scripture completely contrary to the spirit of the Gospel can only be false; the literal sense of the words, *Compel them to come in*, is directly repugnant to the spirit of the Gospel; the literal sense, therefore, of these words can only be false.” Tannenbaum, 40.

²⁴ Kaplan, 345, states that religious self-promotion was common in Early Modern Europe.

²⁵ Şahin, 71.

²⁶ Bost, *La Consistoire*, 27 and 126.

consider how the minutes were taken and how the events were recorded, even the decision to arrive at a date for resolution was often lively and heated. Jurieu was well known for having tactical reversals of opinion, and he would change sides on issues as was convenient. Of the interactions, Bost summarized that

La rédaction des “actes” du consistoire est confiée au secrétaire. Celui-ci ne dressé pas un procès-verbal des séances, se contentant d’un relève de décisions qui, la plupart du temps, s’efforce de gommer les aspérités du débat qui a précédé: on aimerait bien connaître la teneur des échanges qui animent les séances, mais il faut se contenter de supposer les positions contradictoires qui one été défendues. Très exceptionnellement, une trace de dissension a été conservée, comme lorsque Jurieu opère un de ces revirements tactique dont il a le secret ou quand il est question de savoir si le règlement de l’affaire Bayle doit ou non être transfère au synode.²⁷

It is clear, to be sure, that the secretary of the meetings of the consistory was hoping that decorum would be preserved. Also, there existed a great desire that from their resolutions the situation would be peaceably resolved. In order to bring honor and peace, as the leadership stated, to the consistory, on December 2, 1691, Jurieu and Bayle agreed to halt the presses on current publications by Bayle until the matter could be resolved. The consistory stated this was basically to persuade the parties to proceed calmly and prudently toward a course of peace and reconciliation, which would be to the edification of the Church.²⁸ Although the Bayle and Jurieu case was an attempt at censorship, it was handled in a deliberate, business-like fashion, and the decision by Bayle to hold the presses was voluntary, not coercive. There were no dragoons running into anyone’s home and there were not any instances of violence. Perhaps, in Jurieu,

²⁷ Bost, *La Consistoire*, 9. “Editing the minutes of the consistory is confided to the secretary. He does not prepare a transcript of proceedings, contenting himself instead with a summary of the decisions reached, and for the most part erasing the harshness of the discussions that occurred: One would welcome knowing the tenor of the exchanges which enlivened the proceedings, but one must be content to imagine the contradictory positions that were taken. On a highly exceptional occasion, a trace of the dissension survived, like when Jurieu would launch one of his tactical reversals of position for which he had the secret skill, or when it was a question of knowing whether the resolution of the Bayle Affair would or would not have to be transferred to the synod.”

²⁸ Bost, *La Consistoire*, 127.

there was an impassioned, reactionary extremist, who would have liked to silence Bayle. Certainly the Church wished to protect orthodoxy, but it did not want to raise public disputes among the people or even vilify Bayle. Jurieu often claimed the consistory protected Bayle, but the consistory tried to distance itself from both Bayle and Jurieu throughout the matter.

The following January, the consistory tried again to resolve the feud because by now both Jurieu and Bayle had produced publications against one another and started to make a lot of noise. The consistory did not like the increasingly public nature of the feud and wanted it still to be quietly and privately resolved: two colleagues in the Church—one a preacher and one a teacher—were at complete odds. And Jurieu was furious that the disputes were not resolved in his favor. By June, when the dispute was supposed to be settled, Jurieu accused the consistory of attempting to snuff out his complaints without examining his evidence. Jurieu also wanted more done than simple ecclesiastical censure.²⁹ The meeting minutes state:

Celle dudit jour 10 juin 1691 après-midy chez M. Dubosc

Sur la lecture du memoire de Mr Jurieu notté A, la compagnie unanimement n'a peu s'empecher de luy tesmoigner par les precedents deputtés son estonnement au sujet de ce qu'il luy attribue d'avoir voulu prendre la protection de Mr Bayle & d'avoir voulu estouffer ses plaints sans en examiner les preuves, puisque la compagnie n'a eu jusqu'ici pour but que de suivre les voies \de la justice & de la charité & d'empecher un bruit scandaleux, & que c'est dans cette veue seulement qu'elle a employé tout ce qu'elle avoit d'autorité, sans pourtant avoir pretendu entrer dans la cognoissance de l'affaire d'Estat mais seulement par raport à la doctrine & au scandale, conformement à la Parole de Dieu & aux reiglements de discipline ecclesiastique. Au surplus, la compagnie /199/ confirme ses \résolutions\ precedents & elle declare que, si Mr. Jurieu veut incessamment produire ses preuves, elle entrera dans leur examen & jugera l'affaire selon l'équitté. & sur la lecture d'un memoire produit & signé par Mr Bayle notté n. A & datté du 4 de ce mois, la compagnie y fera ses reflections dans la suite & selon sa prudence.³⁰

²⁹ Bost, *La Consistoire*, 130 and 132.

³⁰ Bost, *La Consistoire*, 132. “Resolution of the afternoon meeting, June 10, 1691, at the home of M. Dubosc: After reading the memorandum of Mr. Jurieu, marked A, the above delegates unanimously thought to declare their astonishment that Mr. Jurieu had attributed them intent to have undertaken the defense of Mr. Bayle and to have wanted to snuff out his complaints without examining his evidence because the consistory had consistently, as its only objective, followed the paths of justice and of charity, seeking to avoid a scandalous tumult, & it was in this view only that it had employed all the authority it had been given, without having pretended to undertake jurisdiction of the matter of State and dealt with the matter only with respect to the doctrine in view of the

From this passage, we can tell that Jurieu became angered with the consistory quite readily. The consistory wanted to make sure that its time was well spent and that if it was going to review Bayle's heretical actions, that Jurieu produce better evidence. The consistory's attitude seemed to be that Jurieu had cried wolf one too many times, but that they would listen again if Jurieu was able to show that Bayle had taught heresy and done damage to the consistory.

Jurieu didn't succeed: he even dropped this case against Bayle. The consistory actually scolded him for having made the feud so public. The scandal and public nature of his claims only served to help undermine the local church's efforts at confessionalization. In fact, the consistory scolded both parties over the issue. The minutes stated on June 17, 1691:

La compagnie estant extraordinairement assemblée [elle a] /200/ resolu de représenter à monsieur Jurieu qu'elle auroit souhaité qu'en agissant contre Mr Bayle il se fust tenu dans les termes d'un dénonciation pure & simple sans se servir d'aucunes paroles outrageantes, & qu'il eust agi conformément au règlement de nos synodes; à l'égard de monsieur Bayle, la compagnie a esté aucunement satisfaite de la soumission qu'il a tesmoigné de ne plus escrire contre Mr Jurieu en cas qu'il ne soit pas attaqué, mais elle ne peut s'empêcher de le blâmer des injures dont il s'est servy contre Mr Jurieu, souhaitant qu'il eust écrit avec plus de moderation & de retenue, & à l'égard de toutes les deux parties tant Mr Jurieu que Mr Bayle, la compagnie désapprouve la maniere dont l'un a attaqué & l'autre s'est deffendu, tous deux ayant deu s'adresser auparavant à la compagnie conformément aux règlements de nos synodes.³¹

scandal and conformity with the Word of God and the regulations of ecclesiastical discipline. Further the consistory confirmed its preceding resolutions & declared that if Mr. Jurieu wanted forthwith to produce his evidence, they would proceed to consider the same and judge the matter according to equity. & Upon the reading of a memorandum produced and signed by Mr. Bayle, marked A & dated the 4th of this month, the consistory would thereupon make its conclusions carefully considered."

³¹ Bost, *La Consistoire*, 133. "The consistory being met in a special session resolved to represent to Mr Jurieu that it would have wished in acting against Mr Bayle that he had done so in terms of a denunciation, pure & simple, without having used any outrageous expressions and that he had acted in conformity with the rules of our synods; in what concerns Mr Bayle, the consistory was not in any way satisfied of the submission that he had made to no longer write against Mr Jurieu unless he was attacked, but that it felt to condemn the insults which he used against Mr Jurieu, wishing that he had written with a moderation and self-control and this concerns both parties as much Mr Jurieu as Mr Bayle, the consistory disapproved the manner in which one had attacked the other & the other had to defend himself, both should have first brought the manner before the consistory in conformity with the regulations of our synods."

From this we can gather that the consistory was exerting its authority, suggesting that Jurieu and Bayle should have come forward with their disputations first, rather than going public with them. This further shows the control they did desire, but that the force of their control was limited—especially as Bayle continued to write profusely against Jurieu.

Jurieu brought cases against many different individuals besides Bayle, but attacked Bayle more than anyone else.³² Jurieu's main protest against Bayle was that he was publishing false doctrines. Obviously, though, Jurieu did not like Bayle on a personal level—he believed Bayle to be undisciplined and unfit to lead and educate youth. But Jurieu often resorted to condemnation of anyone whom he saw as a threat or with whom he had a disagreement. Jurieu's hated brother-in-law, Basnage, for instance, was admitted to the consistory starting in 1686, with high commendation, yet Jurieu began his attacks on Basnage almost immediately. But again, Jurieu held special animosity against Bayle, and no doubt thought of taking his case to the synod if he couldn't get satisfaction in the local consistory.

If someone lost a case at the consistory, he could appeal to the Synod. Consistories much preferred their concerns not reach this level, if at all possible, because they were the body, as directed at the Synod of Dordrecht in 1618-1619, that was to assure Calvinist orthodoxy was preserved in the liturgy, the hymns and sermons and that all conformed to ecclesiastical discipline.³³ Jurieu's case against Bayle did not reach the synodal level, even though Jurieu was a delegate to the Zierikzee Synod, because the consistory of Rotterdam did not want Jurieu to suggest that the consistory itself couldn't handle it. Six members of the consistory formally disapproved of forwarding the March 1692 decision to the Synod.³⁴

³² Bost, *La Consistoire*, 27. Cases brought by Jurieu included Pielat, Le Gendre, Elie Saurin and Basnage.

³³ Bost, *La Consistoire*, 8-11.

³⁴ Bost, *La Consistoire*, 9.

As the years passed and more and more of Jurieu's other cases were resolved, the Bayle decision remained hanging, though it continued to be much debated by the consistory. During this time, and later, Bayle remained a faithful, open adherent to the Reformed Church in Rotterdam, and although he occasionally had disputes with the Church, he answered and addressed disputations as they arose.³⁵ Furthermore, other members periodically disagreed with leaders and Bayle was no different. However, the feud between Bayle and his nemesis revived again in 1693. Jurieu wanted to reduce his competition at the *École Illustré* and had grown tired of Bayle's publishing successes.³⁶ Jurieu again condemned Bayle as a seditionist and an atheist for writing still more tracts, an accusation that Bayle furiously denied.

Bayle's denial did not matter and the case reached a climax. Jurieu's noise led to Bayle's dismissal in 1693 from his professorship at *École Illustré*. Jurieu had become influential enough in the Reformed Church that he was able to "persuade the city magistrates of Rotterdam to dismiss Bayle from his teaching position."³⁷ The Church was responsible for the orthodoxy of school teachers, but the magistrates actually hired and dismissed them. Jurieu lost several battles with Bayle, but he won this particular war of words. Now that Jurieu was victorious, he even dropped his case against Bayle before the consistory: his dismissal was victory enough. Yet instead of discouraging Bayle, his firing actually emboldened him. Without his salary from teaching, he knew that he now had to rely solely on his publishing (with greater frequency) in order to sustain himself. Although the dismissal of Bayle by the magistrates might be seen as an instance of state-imposed confessionalization, it actually had the opposite effect: Bayle published

³⁵ Bost, *Le Consistoire*, 126. In one incident against Bayle, the consistory determined not to record the specific details, in case Bayle and Jurieu would later decide to throw out their contentions against each other.

³⁶ Şahin, 71.

³⁷ Bayle and Sandberg, xi.

his controversial unorthodox ideas more than ever now, and the magistrates did not wish to stop him.

The consistory refused to drop Bayle's case permanently despite Jurieu no longer making a formal complaint, simply because it wanted to be sure that Bayle would remain minimally orthodox. The consistory reviewed Bayle's writings from time to time between 1694 and 1698. In fact, the consistory informed Bayle that if he did not relent and apologize for errors, then he would lose his Church membership. A loss of membership would give legitimacy to the claims of atheism and possibly discredit Bayle to his publishers and his audience. It would also discredit Bayle to local rulers, because no city council was going to remain silent against an atheist, even if it was reluctant to punish the unorthodox. Bayle avoided further discipline, however, when he resolved to write an apology in 1698 for errors in his publications and promised to make corrections in future editions.³⁸

But this wasn't the end of Bayle's troubles. He continued to have run-ins with the consistory, which disliked some of his ideas but also wanted to keep him in the fold. Because Bayle valued his church membership, he tried to make concessions as he could. After his dismissal as a teacher, he continued publishing additional works from his newsletter that occasionally had negative reactions from the consistory, but nothing major.³⁹ Most importantly, he began work on his *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, which had circulated briefly in draft since 1692 and was finally published in 1697.⁴⁰

Bayle received some grief over some of the initial drafts, but after its complete publication, the criticism grew furious. The *Dictionnaire* was his most scandalous and wildly

³⁸ Bost, *La Consistoire*, 27.

³⁹ Beginning in 1684, the newsletter was called *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*.

⁴⁰ Karl C. Sandberg, *At the Crossroads of Faith and Reason: An Essay on Pierre Bayle* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1966), 82.

popular accomplishment, not to mention massively comprehensive—Bayle set the tone for future encyclopedias. Everyone who was well read across Europe and the Americas for the next century read Bayle’s *Dictionnaire*. The work garnered massive respect for its research and breadth, but, depending upon one’s perspective, it also caused delight and commotion for the commentary and criticism Bayle weaved throughout the entries. Bayle did not just describe a topic; he wrote the factual parts and then also quite freely garnished it with his humor and opinions. Bayle attacked personal enemies or leaders whose policies he found unsettling.

Some of the scandal was how plainly and directly Bayle addressed other confessions and the political necessity to tolerate them, especially the Anabaptists, for example.⁴¹ Bayle considered the root source of the intolerance around Europe to be persecutory leaders, both Catholic and Protestant, including the Dutch Reformed Church. Jacques Solé writes,

C’est dans cette perspective qu’il faut situer le plaidoyer que le Dictionnaire présentait, à nouveau, en faveur de la tolérance. Bayle le dirigeait surtout contre ceux qui, au sein du protestantisme, refusaient de se rallier à ce principe. Leur attitude, analogue dans le fond à celle des catholiques, justifiait, à ses yeux, une polémique d’ensemble contre tous les dirigeants ecclésiastiques....Sa double expérience personnelle de persécuté lui avait permis ainsi, tout en restant chrétien, de dresser le tableau le plus exhaustif qui ait jamais été établi des méfaits du cléricalisme.⁴²

Bayle knew all too well the level of control and power the clergy in many states had over religious life. The entry in the *Dictionnaire* on Anabaptists serves as evidence of that. Throughout the article, he explains point by point the persecution of Anabaptists by clerics of various confessions. Bayle gives a detailed account of an orthodox attempt to defame the

⁴¹ Tinsley, 23.

⁴² Solé, 23-24. “It is from this point of view [that is anticlericalism] that the Dictionary’s plea can be found anew in favor of tolerance. Bayle especially directed it against those within Protestantism who refused to agree with the idea of tolerance. Their attitude, analogous with the Catholics, justified, in Bayle’s eyes, an overall polemic against all ecclesiastical leaders....Bayle’s doubly personal experience as one who was persecuted allowed him, while remaining Christian, to draw the most exhaustive picture ever drawn of the misdeeds of clericalism.”

Anabaptists' reputation by spreading clearly false rumors representing the Anabaptists as participants in wild licentious sexual relations.⁴³ Bayle intended to represent them as they were; in fact, this served as an important purpose for most of his entries. Bayle did not subscribe to the idea that devout believers like the Anabaptists were hell bound. He opens the text stating that the group started as a response to a fallacy they saw in Luther's writing: "Ils abusèrent d'une doctrine qu'ils avaient lue dans le livre de *Libertate Christiana*, que Luther avait publié l'an 1520. Cette proposition qu'ils y trouvèrent, *L'homme Chrétien est le maître de toutes choses, et n'est soumis à personne*, et que Luther prenait dans un fort bon sens, leur parut proper à gagner la populace."⁴⁴ In this passage, Bayle humanizes what many others tried to demonize. Logically, Bayle showed that a heretic could be a Christian. All the Anabaptists were trying to do was follow the will of God as they understood it. They were appealing to scripture and exercising freedom of conscience.

This also relates to Bayle's view on religious truth. He believed in mostly subjective truths and that heretics had just as much a right to truth as the orthodox. Heresy as a concept, then, could not exist. Bayle biographer Hubert Bost explains,

[Bayle] récuse longuement le droit de persécution que s'arrogue la 'vraie religion' et montre qu'au contraire, les droits de l'hérétique sont identiques à ceux de l'orthodoxe. Il critique la notion même d'hérésie dont il montre le flou et les dangers....Celui-ci génère les mêmes mécanismes d'exclusion, et Bayle en sait quelque chose: 'On passe presque pour un hérétique jusque chez les protestants lorsqu'on parle avec quelque force pour la tolérance comme je l'ai fait.'⁴⁵

⁴³ *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, Tome II, "Anabaptistes," 12. Hereafter *DH*.

⁴⁴ *DH*, Tome II, "Anabaptistes," 1. Beller and Lee: "It was founded upon the Abuse of a Doctrine, which they had read in a Book, published by Luther, in the Year 1520, *De Libertate Christiana*. This Proposition, which they met with in it, 'A Christian Man is Master of every thing, and is subject to no one,' and which Luther intended in a very good Sense, seemed to them calculated to influence the Vulgar." *DH*, Found in Beller and Lee, 26.

⁴⁵ Hubert Bost, *Pierre Bayle* (Paris: Fayard, 2006), 305-306. "Bayle challenges the right to persecute, that the 'true religion' assumes it has, and shows, on the contrary, that the rights of the heretic are identical to those of the orthodox Christian. He criticizes that heresy, as an idea, is even possible and he shows how this view is dangerous and how the issues are blurred....Protestantism generated the same mechanisms of exclusion, and Bayle

Not only does this justify anticlericalism, but it also makes clear Bayle's reasoning for tolerance. If no one was a heretic, then why persecute? Furthermore, the passage also explains that Bayle thought Protestants just as guilty of persecution as Catholics; Bayle argued that if the Reformed Church expected tolerance of its own members worldwide, then it must also show tolerance.

Other topics of controversy included his relatively open treatments of non-religious subjects or of heresy, including Manichean heresy and atheism, or his entries on Pyrrho and Epicureans.⁴⁶ Here he continued the theme begun in *Pensées diverses* that the heretic and the unbeliever should be allowed the same toleration and the same liberty of conscience that the orthodox person was granted. There were also personal attacks on Jurieu scattered throughout many of his articles, as compensation for the grief Jurieu had given Bayle. Bayle's article on Pyrrho was meant completely to attack Jurieu by creating an archetype of self-satisfied pride that explained the difficulties of some Christian dogmas.⁴⁷ The articles served two purposes for Bayle— philosophical commentary and self-defense.

Angered and emboldened again, Jurieu urged the consistory to force Bayle to retract and correct some of his entries in his *Dictionnaire*. Rotterdam's consistory had finally swung overwhelmingly in favor of Jurieu, thanks to some changes in its membership. Previously, Jurieu had not been seen by the synods and consistories as completely orthodox, despite his insistence that he was the champion of orthodoxy.⁴⁸ Things had changed for Jurieu now, though. He insisted that his criticisms were because of Bayle's writing and his challenge to Reformed Church theology, but the personal attacks Bayle had made against Jurieu must have played a role

knew this: 'One passes as a heretic (or one is considered a heretic), when among Protestants, if he speaks for tolerance with force as I did.'"

⁴⁶ Beller and Lee, xix.

⁴⁷ Sandberg, *At the Crossroads of Faith and Reason*, 92.

⁴⁸ Sandberg, *At the Crossroads of Faith and Reason*, 94.

in the new charges as well. Jurieu insisted that Bayle be forced to change some of his entries, and the consistory, more sympathetic than before to Jurieu, considered it. Bayle could have lost his Church membership, and without it, he may, again, have lost the credibility to publish, at least in Rotterdam where he was established. With the potential threat of his membership on the side of Jurieu and his enemies, Bayle nominally agreed to make some changes to future editions of his *Dictionnaire* when the consistory questioned him and demanded the changes.

But Bayle determined that since the warnings were not severe, he would mostly ignore them and continue publishing how he wished, even cryptically commenting where he thought the consistory had been unfair. Thus, the second edition saw a revision of only one of the articles the consistory had considered obscene, on David, and both the original and revised versions were included.⁴⁹ He said in defense, “I am neither in the service of the Emperor, nor in the service of the King of France, but in the service of truth.”⁵⁰ This kind of action—throwing caution to the wind—might have set off a firestorm. But again the consistory did not want to have the case sent to the synod, which would have been an admission that the consistory could not handle the matter itself. The Dutch, at every level, were jealous of their jurisdictional authority. The consistory was willing to get occasional advice from the synod, but did not want to hand over a case completely. The real question, however, was whether it would get any help from civic authorities, if they censured Bayle. Because he had already lost his teaching position, it was likely that authorities thought he had been punished enough. In any case, the latest dispute was problematic for the consistory, because on one side was a loose cannon, Jurieu, and on the other was Bayle, a radical whose equal did not exist. The consistory wanted to preserve peace, but Jurieu wouldn’t quit attacking and Bayle wouldn’t back down. Eventually, the consistory grew

⁴⁹ Beller and Lee, xix. He made nominal changes to all the topics listed above.

⁵⁰ Pierre Bayle, quoted in Kathleen Perry Long, ed., *Religious Differences in France: Past and Present* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2006), 202-203.

tired of Jurieu's constant complaining; his loud bullying was not the way of the Walloon Church. Yet the consistory did want to censure Bayle—it just didn't want to do so publicly. The case was embarrassing to them at the larger church level; why could they not control two of their most prominent members?

Some personal correspondence housed at the Walloon Library archives at Leiden University in the Netherlands reveals a bit more insight into pressures Bayle received regarding his battles with Jurieu and the consistory. In these letters, Bayle corresponds with his confidant and colleague at the University of Maastricht: Professor du Rondel. He and the professor discuss many issues, but in one of Bayle's letters to du Rondel, he especially addresses frustrations over the clergy's views of his published works discussing the plight of the refugees, science and the comet. He also addresses that in consequence of their opposition he has to spend more time on his *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* and that he should not be bothered with their problems. Bayle provides justification as to why he should not have been dismissed from teaching:

. . . pendant que l'on se moque de [illisible: moi par les] dénonciations publiques, *l'Avis aux Refugies*, [illisible: de la part] de la Cabale de Genève, trios ou quatre ministres flamands [illisible: Voetiens] et persécuteurs des Cartésiens soufflant aux oreilles des nouveaux Bourgeois contre mon livre des Comètes, ont obtenu ce qu'ils ont voulu, sans que les fortes contestations que sept ou huit des meilleurs têtes de [illisible: Vroedscap] opposèrent en ma faveur, attirassent un mot qui tombât ailleurs que sur les Comètes. Quelques uns de mes amis m'ont conseillé d'aller demeurer a Amsterdam, prétendant qu'au pis [d'y] aller, j'y pourrais gagner quelque chose par des Collèges prives. J'ai mieux aimé demeurer ici pendant qu'on ne m'en chasse pas, et voici mes raisons. Mon ennemi qui ne peut se glorifier de rien pendant que mon interdiction a pour fondement unique le livre des Comètes, triompherait si je quitterais cette ville, il dirait, et ferait dire par tous ses émissaires que je serais sorti a cause que je savais bien qu'on m'en donnerait l'ordre, et cela parce qu'on me regardait come mal intentionné et coupable en fait d'Etat. Autre raison, mon Dictionnaire a besoin de ma présence, tant que je corrige les dernières s'épreuves, qu'afin de hâter l'impression.⁵¹

⁵¹ *Rondel Letters*. December 4, 1698, Letter #156. "While they mock me with public denunciations, including my *Avis aux Refugies*, the Geneva cabal with three or four Flemish ministers, persecutors of the Cartesians, whisper in the ears of the new Burgermeisters against my book on Comets, and get what they wanted, without allowing a strong opposing argument from seven or eight of the best minds of Vroedscap to be heard on my

Bayle first addresses his somewhat mild frustrations that he is being publicly mocked, but his tone is actually rather lighthearted. The message of the letter is carefree and almost worryless. When compared to his experiences in France, the consistory's concerns over orthodoxy seemed mild to Bayle. Bayle all but expressed gladness at the idea that even though his superiors at Rotterdam dismissed him from teaching, he still had relative security; he could publish and earn a living that way. He suggests that he would remain in Rotterdam unless they decided to kick him out—a real possibility, but unlikely. The consistory still held Bayle accountable, and if the consistory excommunicated him, life would have become difficult for Bayle. Again, he did not want to lose his Church membership and thereby possibly lose his publishing livelihood.

The letter to du Rondel serves three evidentiary purposes. First, this serves as proof that Bayle had numerous civic and intellectual friends in a cosmopolitan community, and, second, that even dismissal did not necessarily destroy his life. However, it did mean he could be fired. Finally, the letter also shows that the source of his troubles came from the Dutch Reformed Church; its desire to confessionalize society is what threatened his security. If the Church managed to get the state behind it, Bayle would be in trouble. Still, he wouldn't be exiled, imprisoned, or killed. Most likely, his books would have been censored, or forbidden, but that was problematic too, as we will see.

Bayle continues in the letter to write that he is also not worried terribly about expulsion because Jurieu's evidence is not strong. He then tells Professor du Rondel, in a joking and jovial

behalf, providing a word touching on nothing but the Comets. Some of my friends have counseled me to [leave Rotterdam and] move to Amsterdam, suggesting that in so doing the worst that could happen is that I might find something with the private colleges. However, I prefer to stay here as long as I am not actually cast out. Here are the reasons for my decision to stay: My enemy cannot vaunt himself at all as long as my interdiction from teaching is based only upon the book of the Comets, but he would triumph if I left this City. He would then claim, as would all of his mignons, that I had left because I knew that I had been ordered to leave and because that I was seen as ill-intentioned and found guilty by an act of the State. Another reason for not leaving is to speed the process of publishing my *Dictionnaire [Historique et Critique]*; it needs me here while I am correcting the final proofs." This letter is from a collection of letters obtained from the Walloon Library collection at Leiden University's archives. Du Rondel was a friend and Professor at Maastricht. See Figures 2 and 3 for a photograph of the letters.

tone, that he cannot possibly leave Rotterdam because his *Dictionnaire* needs him there for the final proofs. By the time the letter was written in 1698, Bayle was living in a cosmopolitan community—amidst a tolerance he helped to create. Throughout his life, plenty of evidence shows his loyalty to the Church, as he understood it, which is why the nominal concessions Bayle made in letters or retractions, satisfied the consistory—if he would pay lip service to the consistory, then it would consider him orthodox enough.

The Church, the State, and Publishing

How was this tolerant community created, though? The process fit into the framework discussed in the introduction of this thesis—the complexities of Dutch political jurisdictions and the reluctance of civic authorities to simply carry out the will of the Reformed Church allowed Bayle to get away with publishing a great deal of what he wanted, even though the Church still maintained a limited power to discipline him. This section discusses, on the basis of synodal records, the difficulties that religious officials of the Dutch Reformed Church had in bringing complaints against adherents or in getting civil punishments for religious actions. The opposite was true in Geneva, where Calvinism was more closely integrated into the political structure and where Calvin's domineering leadership readily punished variation from its tenets. In the Dutch Republic, the Church's authority extended only over matters of church discipline, not civic discipline. As already mentioned, religious authorities complained to civic authorities when issues arose, but often concerns were not addressed.⁵² This is also why complaints against Bayle were often ignored or never publicly addressed. It is also another reason why the consistory did not bother to take some action up to the Synod.

⁵² Knuttel, 5:57.

Synodal records indicated that Church authorities would often complain of violations of Church policy and civic authorities would simply look the other way, or do almost nothing. This was particularly true with publishing, which is relevant to Bayle's case. Books would be published that the Reformed Church asked to have banned; this happened in the towns as well as in the Province of Holland. The Synods would often send their deputies to civic authorities and receive a response that in a land as free as theirs, there was nothing that could be done.⁵³ In fact, only twelve theological works were banned by the state during the twenty-six years that Bayle was in the Dutch Republic and none of the authors experienced civic penalties.⁵⁴

Indeed, the Grand Pensionary of Holland (also occasionally referred to as the councilor Pensionary), the most powerful leader in the province of Holland and powerful throughout the Republic, is quoted as saying that in a free land as theirs, not everything could be remedied as the Church and state wished.⁵⁵ Some actions, in other words, had to be tolerated. Secular leaders usually suggested that the best course of action to be taken against objectionable books was to scorn them. Secular authorities likely meant that religious leaders should ignore the books, but Synod delegates considered their advice to mean that they should refute and ban the texts. Local churches wanted heretical texts banned, outlawed, collected and destroyed, and the Reformed synods agreed. However, local and provincial civic authorities were not really interested in banning them.

The Dutch Reformed Synod appealed to the Grand Pensionary on numerous occasions from 1673 and 1700, the years of publication for this source material and roughly the same

⁵³ Knuttel, 5:57.

⁵⁴ Sandberg, *At the Crossroads of Faith and Reason*, 101. Knuttel completed this research.

⁵⁵ Knuttel, 5:191.

timeframe of Bayle's most vociferous publishing efforts.⁵⁶ The usual response from the Grand Pensionary was one of empathy and compassion, but he would tell the representatives that there was little he would or could do. Indeed the Grand Pensionary considered all such enforcement to be "fruitless without the cooperation of the cities, and thus knew no better remedy than for each city that has printing shops to labor against it."⁵⁷ Basically this was the Grand Pensionary's way of saying that he would take no further action; he was washing his hands of it. Provincial officials had little say in some of these outcomes. On another occasion, the deputies of the Synod reported that they had gone to speak with the Grand Pensionary again, and not surprisingly, their prior request had been lost. One gets the sense that secular leaders were simply weary of the great number of complaints. They repeated the process and the end result was, again, not successful. There were no tangible results except for an expression of sympathy.⁵⁸ The Synod's final efforts to see whether the Grand Pensionary would take action also fell on deaf ears. When the deputies returned he told them that, "no common order can be implemented against printers, for a general decree wouldn't be enough, and a specific one wouldn't be practical."⁵⁹ What he meant was that a general decree would not be enforceable because provinces and cities would not enforce it. Moreover, civic authorities did not wish simply to do the bidding of the Reformed Church; the Grand Pensionary did not really want to enforce unorthodox publishing or bother wasting his days deciding which books to ban, or implementing bans made by synods and consistories. Furthermore, the significance of this

⁵⁶ These are the dates of the published archival records in the fifth and sixth volumes in the Knuttel text. It is likely this practice existed before and continued after these dates; however, the evidence in this chapter most greatly pertains to these years.

⁵⁷ Knuttel, 5:237 and 5:359.

⁵⁸ Knuttel, 5:529.

⁵⁹ Knuttel, 5:565.

decision is that even a high authority did not care to be bothered about a religious difference, a violation of religious policy, or censorship.

At the Dutch Reformed Church's 1690 Synod, delegates spoke with the Grand Pensionary of Holland, again asking him to ban heretical or improper books. As was common practice after a complaint, the Grand Pensionary advised that the deputies compile a list of books that should be banned. Accordingly the delegates determined to ban two heretical works already in print deemed heretical, including *Hertsoecker's Translation of the New Testament* or his *Commentary on the Three First Gospels*, and also books not yet printed, including all blasphemous books which leaders perceived as infringing upon the authority of Holy Scripture, all Remonstrant or Mennonite-Socinian books (grouped as one, though separate), and all unchaste books that worked against what they defined as good morals. These could very well have included Bayle's books, at least in the eyes of church leaders. The catch, and the plan the Grand Pensionary most often used to diffuse such requests, however, was that he again asked the deputies to first compile the list, then send a request to the States of Holland, attaching the list of proposed banned books, and finally suggest an effective implementation of the enforcement of the ban. This rarely went anywhere beyond a discussion between the Grand Pensionary and the deputies. Still, the deputies appeared before the Synod having done what was asked, and asked the Synod members to develop a plan to combat unorthodox books. In turn, the Synod responded to the deputies with thanks for their "faithful vigilance," urging them to continue in their efforts and to put together a request to the States to ask them to prohibit the types of books previously discussed. They also advocated that booksellers and printers not sell or print any theological materials unless they had been cleared by advance visits from a proper authority and

that visitors should be established in cities with printers to denote what would be acceptable to sell or publish.⁶⁰

This cycle continued regularly. The deputies would complain time and time again to the civil authorities, and usually the civil authorities, though sympathetic to the religious cause, offered reassurances that they agreed, but really wanted nothing to do with the enforcement of religious principles. They not only found it tiresome, but they realized that publishers brought revenues to their communities. When this is applied to Pierre Bayle's experience, the limitations of the Dutch Reformed Church are clear. Their censuring and scolding him, and even getting the local civic council to fire him from the *École Illustré*, simply did not hold the awful weight of the persecutions and executions in France. Furthermore, he was free to continue publishing and there was no civil or criminal punishment placed upon him when religious authorities censured him. Only when someone in the Republic committed a completely offensive deed, and it was universally accepted as such, did the state enforce the prescribed consequences. Even so, these acts were extremely rare.

These interactions shed light on some compelling concepts useful to this discussion. First, even in the "tolerant" Netherlands, religious officials spoke endlessly about the importance of enforcing orthodoxy. Yet they must have become aware that eventually the Grand Pensionary and other civil authorities would not enforce their bans. Still, they kept at the notion of trying to enforce their will. This reflects a desire for orthodoxy and also explains that a significant portion of the population, the devoutly religious, did not want complete religious tolerance. On the other hand, the evidence also shows that enough plurality existed to allow offensive ideas to be published regularly. Civic leaders were not so uninterested that they were rude to synodal messengers, or unconcerned with heterodoxy, and they continued to show nominal concern and

⁶⁰ Knuttel, 6:126-27.

respect to those complaining of the violations of established religious practice: the Reformed was the public church after all. But that was it. They argued that their land was so free that little could be done anyway to enforce orthodox practices.⁶¹

Although the Dutch Reformed Church was the public church, it seems that civic authorities were often more interested in improving economics than enforcing piety. Indeed, trade was the backbone of Dutch strength.⁶² Municipal and civic leaders would not enforce a specific type of religious devotion where it was not broadly demanded and not fiscally profitable for their communities. Furthermore, the idea of tolerance was becoming more socially acceptable and even desirable for those in public professions.⁶³ The situation for Pierre Bayle was such that he could feel mostly free to print whatever he wanted without being hanged or kicked out of Rotterdam, and the consistory and the Church's influence over his teaching position could bring only limited consequences; indeed, the best piece of evidence for all of this is that none of his books ended up being banned, and that he died of natural causes, in his own bed, in 1706.

Other Troubled Philosophers in the Netherlands

This mixed treatment in the Dutch Republic was common for other controversial philosophers besides Bayle, many of whom advocated the same ideas as Bayle. Comparing the similarity of the Dutch experience of other philosophers with Bayle's provides useful background and support for understanding the extent and limits of the tolerant United Provinces. Like Bayle, some of the most influential authors of modern tolerance experienced difficulty and

⁶¹ Knuttel, 5:191.

⁶² Price, 61.

⁶³ Kaplan, 253-54.

success in the Netherlands, including Dirck Coornhert (1522-1590), René Descartes (1596-1650), and Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677).

Though he lived and wrote earlier than Bayle, Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert also became known for his defense of tolerance and liberty of conscience. Coornhert experienced more persecution in the sixteenth century than did Bayle for his disputations. Civic authorities chose to be a bit more involved in religious questions then, and he had greater limitations than did Bayle as far as his ability to earn a living from his writings; Bayle also had more choice in where he was allowed to live. In one incident in February of 1578, provincial authorities in Holland put an end to a debate Coornhert had been engaging in with ministers in Delft; they disapproved because they could not tolerate public debate without prior consent.⁶⁴ By the time Bayle printed his disputations, civic officials had long grown tired of putting to rest these types of religious conversations. They were charged with keeping the peace and unless a debate caused a disruption of peace, it was not their problem. Even in the case of Coornhert, however, he was not burned or hanged or harmed physically; he was simply asked to get permission if he wanted to have a debate.

Coornhert did experience other difficulties, however. When he planned to move to Delft and stay with a friend while working on a concordance he was completing, he was told by the bailiff (on behalf of the mayors) that he could not move there. Coornhert went to Delft anyway and appealed, complaining that they should not treat him as the Spanish Inquisition would. The response of the pensionary of Delft was to meet in person with him. The pensionary explained that “the refusal to let him stay in Delft had been caused by their desire to avoid religious commotion. His disputations had earlier caused quite a stir among the townsfolk, and they

⁶⁴ Voogt, 2.

wanted to prevent further polarization.”⁶⁵ Ironically, the pensionary conceded and let Coornhert stay in Delft anyway to work on his project. He was expelled from Delft three months later because he made some noise after all. However, like the rest of the Dutch Republic, if one did not find favor in one area, he simply had to move a short distance and find a place of acceptance. Coornhert went to Gouda thereafter, for its reputation of tolerance, where he spent the rest of his days.⁶⁶ The example of Coornhert is important to Bayle’s experience because although Coornhert faced much more difficulty where he lived than did Bayle, his example still shows that the worst Dutch intolerance would do to him was expulsion from the town.

Another example of this pattern of treatment toward philosophers is René Descartes. Descartes’s influence upon European thought and European society, and especially the Dutch, was immense. He approached the world as a scientist, mathematician and philosopher, but his writings had consequences for religion too. Descartes spent most of his professional life in the Netherlands—for its university culture and tolerance—and he arguably had the greatest impact upon the proliferation of his philosophy during his time in the Netherlands.⁶⁷ Descartes moved often throughout the Netherlands, but he thrived in University communities, just as Bayle later would. Much of Descartes’ philosophy defended the ability to search for truths and “natural enlightenment” and was in line with the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle.⁶⁸ In fact, much of Descartes’ philosophies only nominally challenged orthodox Reformed views.

A particular trouble arose for Descartes at Utrecht in 1641. A few University theologians considered Descartes’s recent definition of man as three-fold, including “a soul, a mind, and a body” as heretical; in their minds, they believed Descartes argued that God’s creations were

⁶⁵ Voogt, 204-205.

⁶⁶ Voogt, 205.

⁶⁷ Geneviève Rodis-Lewis, *Descartes: His Life and Thought*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 170.

⁶⁸ Rodis-Lewis, 166.

accidental. Faced with a feud with one particular dissenter, Descartes determined to combat his “detractor and enemy.” He did so with words and with respect. He wrote that ideally “readers will judge that my design is not to engage in the controversies of religion... [and that] I ask only for peace on both sides, but I see well that to obtain it I must wage a little war.” His detractors dismissed his defense, arguing that he was not an earnest seeker of truth, just one trying to combat it. They also accused him of feeding skepticism and reinforcing atheism.⁶⁹ Again, if anyone could be labeled or even perceived as an atheist, then society would easily dismiss him—as Bayle knew all too well. Like Bayle, Descartes had to endure a war of words and disrespect from his enemies, but he too was not threatened with execution.⁷⁰

His life was not, by any means, entirely carefree, however; Descartes lived in fear of what might happen to him should the Church decide to take greater action against him. In fact, this debate of the three-fold man caused the Church to pressure Utrecht University, which even though it had first fostered Cartesian philosophy, now became the first to ban it.⁷¹ The Church won this battle too, just as it had Bayle’s dismissal from the *École Illustre*. Descartes fought his condemnation with great fervor and tenacity and the similarities to Bayle’s later ordeal are somewhat astounding, however predictable they may have been. In 1647, Descartes complained of more efforts by theologians attempting to squelch his ideas at the University of Leiden, a place where Descartes found many academic friends and many theological enemies, much like the experience of Bayle in Rotterdam. Descartes elected to eventually leave the Netherlands, stating in correspondence that he had grown tired of his persecution and limitations there, and a friend lobbied for him to receive a pension from Queen Christina in Sweden, where he died of

⁶⁹ Rodis-Lewis, 168-69.

⁷⁰ Rodis-Lewis, 169. The author notes the case of Vanini, a man burned at the stake in Toulouse, France.

⁷¹ Theo Verbeek, *Descartes and the Dutch: Early Reactions to Cartesian Philosophy, 1637-1650* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992), 19.

natural causes in 1650.⁷² It seems the Dutch Reformed Church won the battle for confessional purity with Descartes by ridding the country of his presence, but, like Bayle, Descartes probably won the war with the legacy his immense body of work left upon the rational and philosophical world. Bayle noted the similarities of his experiences to Descartes's, who served as an example for Bayle on how to navigate the criticisms of the Dutch Reformed Church.⁷³

Descartes was not the only example for Bayle, however. Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677) also challenged mainstream Dutch society's views on orthodoxy. As a free-thinking Jew, Spinoza faced censure from both Jews and Calvinists. Spinoza's religious background placed his disputations in a different place from Bayle's. However, Spinoza's call for tolerance and a secular approach to religious freedom were in the same vein as the "Reformed" Bayle. Calvinists were particularly hard on Jews, more so than were Catholics, perhaps because of a longer historical relationship between Catholics and Jews. Steven Adler writes that the "Calvinists were ever vigilant against heretics and nonbelievers, and they frequently attempted to rouse the regents from their nondogmatic slumber."⁷⁴ In addition, at the outset of the seventeenth century, Calvinists also did not like Jews because they worried Catholics pretended to hold Catholic services under the banner of protection as Jews. This was not a rampant problem, however. Spinoza was particularly troubling for Calvinists because he was both not Christian and a heretical and skeptical Jew. Spinoza was censured by his own Jewish community and distrusted by the rest of religious society. Furthermore, Jews excommunicated (*cherem*) Spinoza to show Calvinist society that they would not house heretics either.⁷⁵

Fortunately for Spinoza and others like him, the Grand Pensionary of Holland in the 1650s,

⁷² Stephen Gaukroger, *Descartes: An Intellectual Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 407 and 416.

⁷³ *Rondel Letters*. December 4, 1698, Letter #156.

⁷⁴ Steven Adler, *Spinoza: A Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 147.

⁷⁵ Adler, 6, 147, and 150. The views most threatening that Spinoza proliferated were rejections of "the immortality of the soul and a full-bodied conception of divine providence."

Johan de Witt, ushered in a new era of “True Freedom” and the political power of intolerant elements of the Dutch Reformed Church began to wane significantly.⁷⁶ Spinoza, like the others, lived his life in the Netherlands until natural causes took him in 1677, albeit at an early age.

An advantage Bayle possessed in terms of finding tolerance from the Dutch and others across Europe is that although he was often considered a heretic for his radically tolerant ideas and for his intellectual “skepticism” (and his questioning of the natural world), Bayle generated his moral and philosophical treatises from the position of being an insider—Bayle was actively a member of the Reformed Church. Unlike Spinoza, Bayle could appeal to his faith when backed into a corner.

Despite Bayle’s “embarrassments” generated by his controversial publications, the consistory wanted to keep Bayle in as well; if he made appropriate penance he would remain in good standing. The fact that he and other exiled philosophers mostly resided peaceably in the Netherlands serves as evidence that the Netherlands, at the least, was more tolerant of outspoken philosophers than most of France, as well as highly accepting of like-minded religious refugees.

The effects of Bayle’s efforts to foster tolerance are difficult to measure, but certainly Bayle’s influence was extensive. Bayle’s work came to be known as the “Arsenal of the Enlightenment” as it was used as fodder to bolster reason over sectarian theology. He was the first advocate of total religious tolerance, and did so not by faith alone. Bayle supported his open and comprehensive definition for tolerance by petitions both to theology and to philosophical logic, so he could appeal to many groups. These acts were only plausible and possible in a society willing to allow free thinkers to migrate and worship (or not worship) in relative freedom. He died at a young age in 1706, but not from persecution—from natural causes of

⁷⁶ Adler, 150.

having poor health for most of his life. His view of the Dutch Republic as a “grande arche” still held true.

CONCLUSION

Bayle's essays and books were fodder for accusations of atheism by Pierre Jurieu, a former professor and colleague from the Rotterdam *École Illustre*. Because of Jurieu's mistrust, Bayle was deemed unfit to be entrusted with the instruction of youth. However, his loyal writer friends, some wealthy patrons, and certain of his former fellow professors, nonetheless supported Bayle throughout the long ordeal of religious and political persecution and ostracism, which he survived. It was therefore only fitting that Bayle should characterize the Netherlands as "la grande arche des fugitifs."¹

His metaphor of "grande arche" can be explained in perhaps three senses, (a) an ark or a vessel of safety against the deluge of persecution, (b) the swath of land to the north of France, in effect a large bow or arch of Dutch territory that promised a place of refuge and safety for the fugitives from French expulsion, and (c) an ark as a crowded, temporary space. Indeed, Bayle himself serves as an example of the limit and extent of this "arche." Bayle was not a neutral observer drawing reflective conclusions from a historical survey of the recorded experiences of others. He lived at the cutting edge of intolerance and felt its sting personally in France at the hands of both the Catholic clergy when he was Protestant, and from the Protestant clergy when he was Catholic. Indeed Protestants in the Netherlands and elsewhere also mistreated him with accusations that he was an atheist because of his advocacy of toleration, among other reasons. But it was especially the massive exodus of the Huguenots from France, their homeland, which caused thoughtful focus on issues of intolerance and persecution by a world awakening to enterprises and opportunities outside their provincial, traditional experience. In such a context and perhaps for the first time in the modern era, Bayle articulated the hypocrisy of holding fast to

¹ Nusteling, 27. See also Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, 688. See Figure 2.

the position that if religious tolerance were to be a part of public life, some tolerance would be quite enough. The wide reach of the Huguenot diaspora in a relatively short time brought this issue into the lives and the minds of thinking people across Europe and the Atlantic world. Bayle's influence may not have created a traceable, linear thread from merciless religious persecution of the 1600s to widespread acceptance of tolerance for all creeds and stripes (and in practice, this still does not exist in the world today), but his voice was an innovative and persistent call for a new order.

Borrowed from Bayle and his generation, though, we still consider the story of toleration as one of steady increase in practice, a fact heavily disputed by Kaplan, and this thesis. Kaplan writes, "Champions of toleration themselves, they saw history as the story of its rise. We, their intellectual heirs, still do."² A rise in toleration may be a bit convoluted, but philosophers did make society more aware of the issue, and certainly ideas of tolerance were more abundant than ever before, thanks to people such as Bayle. However, the atrocities of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries certainly provide evidence enough that the practice of tolerance has not necessarily increased. Regardless, Bayle's experience in the Dutch Republic was mixed. He was tolerated with ease and indifference by civic and university authorities, but the Dutch Reformed Church had its mission and did not appreciate anyone who challenged its goal of making Dutch society more Reformed.

The Reformed Church saw most Huguenots (not Bayle) as helping this mission. While the thousands of Huguenot refugees experienced great trials and hardships on their journeys out of France to the Netherlands and to the rest of the Atlantic World, in the aftermath of the Revocation of 1685, the journey to the Dutch Republic was more readily facilitated because of an existing infrastructure than virtually anywhere else. The infrastructure existed in the British

² Kaplan, 335-36.

Isles, but the people of the Netherlands were more religiously similar to the Huguenots than the English were, and the Dutch welcomed the Huguenots because they also wanted their economies to grow. In the British Isles, and especially London, the people rather wished the refugees would not come at all—even to the point of taking up a collection so they would go to the New World. The Walloons of the Netherlands readily accepted and welcomed the Huguenots because they were cut from the same acceptable cloth—they were the same and orthodox. This, in turn, helped community solidarity and the confessionalization efforts of the Dutch Reformed Church. After all, the new refugees subscribed to the same beliefs and they signed oaths stating so. Dutch Walloons also provided ample charitable donations and community outreach for the refugees—more so than anywhere else in the Atlantic world. This is probably why more Huguenots came to the Netherlands, and stayed, than any other resettlement location.

The Huguenots accomplished a remarkable achievement in creating churches and settlements in which they functioned autonomously but harmoniously with the Dutch Reformed Church and local civic authorities. The study of clerical authority and sociability between the pastors from the Walloon Churches and the Huguenot refugee pastors showed that these groups worked together in the interest of helping refugees succeed in their new homes and the Walloons wanted the Huguenots to succeed as members of their confession. The Synod records offer insight into the official synodal oversight and welcome to the Refugees, as well as the specific assignments and responsibilities accepted by the various consistories in order to help the refugees. That is more than a group of tolerant people; it is rather a network of communities working together in their commitment to solve a group problem and integrate a population into their way of living. The Walloons tried to treat the Huguenots as brethren in the Gospel. Wanting a people to join its group goes beyond tolerance all the way to acceptance.

The manner in which the Walloon Church monitored clerical orthodoxy was systematic and somewhat methodical, but it was open and welcoming and done in a manner that promoted autonomy and charity; the language used toward the Huguenot pastors was clearly of reverence and respect for the trials they had encountered leaving their homes, possessions, and oftentimes their families in France. Most importantly, it promoted confessionalization. The Walloon Church quickly allowed entire congregations of Huguenots to be led under its arm; it established Huguenot leaders of consistories of the Walloon Church. The Huguenots may not have so easily integrated into Dutch society without this official welcoming under the auspices of the Walloon Church. Dutch Reformed Church authorities favored the thought of this kind of sponsorship amongst its French-speaking populations. The Church took a similar liking to the other populations of Reformed refugees, including Scots and English. The Huguenot refugees readily proved their value to the new communities and the new communities put them hard to work.³ The Walloon pastors and refugee pastors worked hand-in-hand to resettle their community of brothers and sisters from France; their labors ranged from attempting to secure their freedom from prison in Southern France, the galleys in North Africa, or other rescue efforts long before the refugees had joined their new communities in the Netherlands. If tolerance is only for the intolerable, then the reception of the seventeenth-century Huguenot refugees in the Northern Netherlands was well beyond mere tolerance, because the host Dutch people considered the newcomers as welcome members of the many communities.

Bayle himself typifies the aspiration of tolerance and both its successes and failures in the Netherlands. Despite having been censured for espousing radical beliefs, Bayle found a home in Rotterdam that eventually allowed him to speak and publish freely what he thought, although not without opposition from some quarters. Bayle found numerous influential allies in the

³ Alice Clare Carter, 2.

Netherlands and became a voice heard across Western Europe. Bayle risked his own personal wealth and health throughout his life in hopes that society would allow a multiplicity of belief systems to peacefully coexist. His writings show no fear in the face of personal threat, danger and loss. As a Huguenot himself, Bayle witnessed and chronicled the severe trials of the Protestant in France, and as a professor, publisher and philosopher in the Netherlands, Bayle leveraged his experiences to the greater good of humanity. He became a champion of toleration, regardless of one's belief system. The people and institutions in the Netherlands created, as Bayle suggested, an ark or vessel of safety against a torrential storm of persecution, even if that vessel was sometimes waterlogged and slowed by instances of intolerance. Despite the intolerance Bayle received for his radical ideas, he still wrote that he thought of the Netherlands not merely as an "arche," but "la grande arche des fugitifs," though the precise meaning of that term was hardly always self-evident to all, even to Bayle.

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Figure 1: Data Table found on <http://www.huguenotsociety.org.uk/history.html> [accessed on 22 May 2010]. This table shows the Huguenot diasporas worldwide. Provided by the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland.



Figure 2: Entry from Bayle's *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* about Jean Kuchlin. Obtained from Google Books at <http://books.google.com/ebooks?id=4FpDAAAACAAJ> [accessed 3 October 2011]. In this reference, Bayle calls the Netherlands, "la grande arche des fugitifs."

KUCHLIN (JEAN) Ministre & Professeur en Théologie, néquit en 1546, dans une petite ville du païs de Hesse nommée *Wettera*. Son Pere bon & honnête Artisan, chargé de dix fils & de trois filles, qu'il ne faisoit subsister que par le travail de ses mains, ne laissa pas de destiner à l'étude celui-ci; mais la mort ne lui permit pas de l'y voir fort avancé. Le Pasteur (a) du lieu prit soin de l'enfant, avec d'autant plus de joie qu'il lui vit faire de bons progrès & en Latin & en Grec, sous Justus Vultejus Recteur de l'Académie de Wettera. Mais quand il fut question d'aller aux Académies, Kuchlin n'eut pas de petites difficultez à essuier à cause de sa pauvreté. Il ne perdit pas néanmoins courage, il se résolut à busquer fortune; & pour cet effet il se mit à voïager comme un jeune Aventurier du College. Il ne trouva rien à Francfort. L'hôte qu'il eut à Maïence le mena chez les Jésuites, qui ne le gardèrent que jusques à ce qu'ils eurent vu qu'il ne vouloit point abjurer le Protestantisme. Tout ce qu'il trouva à Strasbourg fut une Lettre de recommandation de Jean Sturm à Brentius, qui professoit à Tubinge. Celui-ci ne le garda pas long-tems; il ne le crut pas assez prévenu du sentiment des Ubiquitaires. Kuchlin, s'étant fait rendre la Lettre de Sturm, s'en alla à Heidelberg, où enfin il trouva ce qu'il cherchoit; car Ursin lui fit obtenir de quoi vivre pour continuer ses études en repos. L'Académie d'Heidelberg étoit alors bien florissante. Le jeune homme y fit beaucoup de progrès pendant six ans; après quoi il fut envoyé régenter dans l'Ecole de Neustad (A), où il eut entre autres Collegues Fortunatus Crellius, & Frédéric Sylburgius (B). Ensuite il fut reçu Ministre, & donné à l'Eglise de Tackenheim, qu'il servit fidèlement, jusques à ce qu'après la mort de l'Electeur Frideric en 1576 Louis son Successeur chassa les Ministres qui ne voulurent pas être Luthériens. Kuchlin s'étant retiré au païs de Hesse sa patrie, & n'y ayant trouvé que du rebut, se tourna (C) par le conseil de sa femme du côté de la grande arche des fugitifs, je veux dire du côté de la Hollande. Il passa par Embden en 1577, & s'y arrêta quelque tems, d'où ceux d'Amsterdam l'appellèrent pour la charge de Ministre (B). Il l'accepta, & l'exerça dix-huit ans: après quoi il s'engagea tout de bon à la Principauté d'un College de Théologie, que Messieurs les Etats de Hollande avoient érigé à Leide en 1591, & dont il avoit eu dès-lors la conduite pendant quelques mois. Ce fut en 1595 qu'il se détacha tout-à-fait de son Eglise d'Amsterdam, pour s'attacher à ce College. Il y enseigna la Théologie jusques à sa mort, qui arriva le 2 de Juillet 1606. Il avoit marié ses deux filles à deux Savans, l'une à Pierre Bertius, & l'autre à Pestus Hommius (D). On recueillit en un volume in 4 à Geneve l'an 1613 toutes les Theses de Théologie qu'il avoit fait foutenir en divers tems. Guy Patin l'a fort loué, & un peu trop; car il le nomme *un des plus savans hommes de son siècle* (E).

(a) Jean Pincier, *deuxième* du Professeur Hyperius, Professeur, dit-on, en Théologie à Metzbourg.

(B) Il étoit son compatriote & son parent.

(C) Meursius, dans les paroles dont il est parlé dans la Remarque (B).

(D) Tiré de son Oraison funebre, prononcée par Luc Tackehemius. *Præfatus* Meursius, *Actus*, *Notav.* pag. 111.

(E) Patin: *Lettre* CCCLXII, pag. 487 de *il Tome*.

(1) Henningus Wille, *ad* ann. 1606.

(A) Il fut envoyé régenter dans l'Ecole de Neustad.] L'Auteur du *Diarium Biographicum* (1) dit que Kuchlin fut Recteur de cette Ecole; mais son Oraison funebre, où l'on n'auroit pas à cette dignité, marque expressément qu'il enseigna à Neustad lors que Basile Pithopæus y étoit Recteur. Il y a une autre suite dans le même *Diarium*: on y donne comme deux Ouvrages différens les *Disputationes Theologicae ad Catecheses Ecclesiarum Belgarum explanationem*, & les *Disputationes de Religione Christiana præcipuis capitibus*. Ce n'est qu'un seul & même Livre.

(B) Ceux d'Amsterdam l'appellèrent pour... Ministre.] Mr. Moréri examinoit si peu les Auteurs qu'il consultoit, qu'il n'a considéré que la première partie d'une période de Meursius. S'il avoit eu la patience de lire toute la période, il auroit vu tout le contraire de ce qu'il affirme. Il dit que Kuchlin fut Ministre à Emden & à Groningue dans le Païs-Bas; mais il est certain qu'il ne le fut pas à

Groningue. Il avoit à choisir entre cette ville-là & Amsterdam, & il penchoit plus vers la première que vers la dernière: cependant il se laissa persuader la préférence de celle-ci. Ecoutez Meursius (2). *Infinidus uxoris que Belgica erat in Belgium abijt, Emdamque ventis anno C1512 LXXXVII, ubi cum operam aliquamdiu tam in schola quam in Ecclesia navasset, eodem tempore ab Amstelædamensibus & Groningensibus evocatus fuit. Ille, cum propter Germanici idiomatis vicinitatem Groningenses preferendus judicaret, à clarissimo viro D. MENSONE ALTINGIO gravissimis rationibus perconvictus fuit, ut operam suam Amstelædamensibus Ecclesie addiceret.*

C'est une grande négligence au même Moréri, d'avoir dit en général que Kuchlin enseigna la Théologie à Leide. Il faisoit spécifier si ce fut en qualité de Professeur de l'Académie, ou en qualité de Principal du College Théologique. Meursius lui éclaircissoit cela fort nettement.

(2) Athenæ. *Notav.* pag. 111.

Figure 3: A Letter from Bayle to Professor du Rondel. This letter was obtained from archives of the Walloon Library at the University Library at Leiden University in the Netherlands.

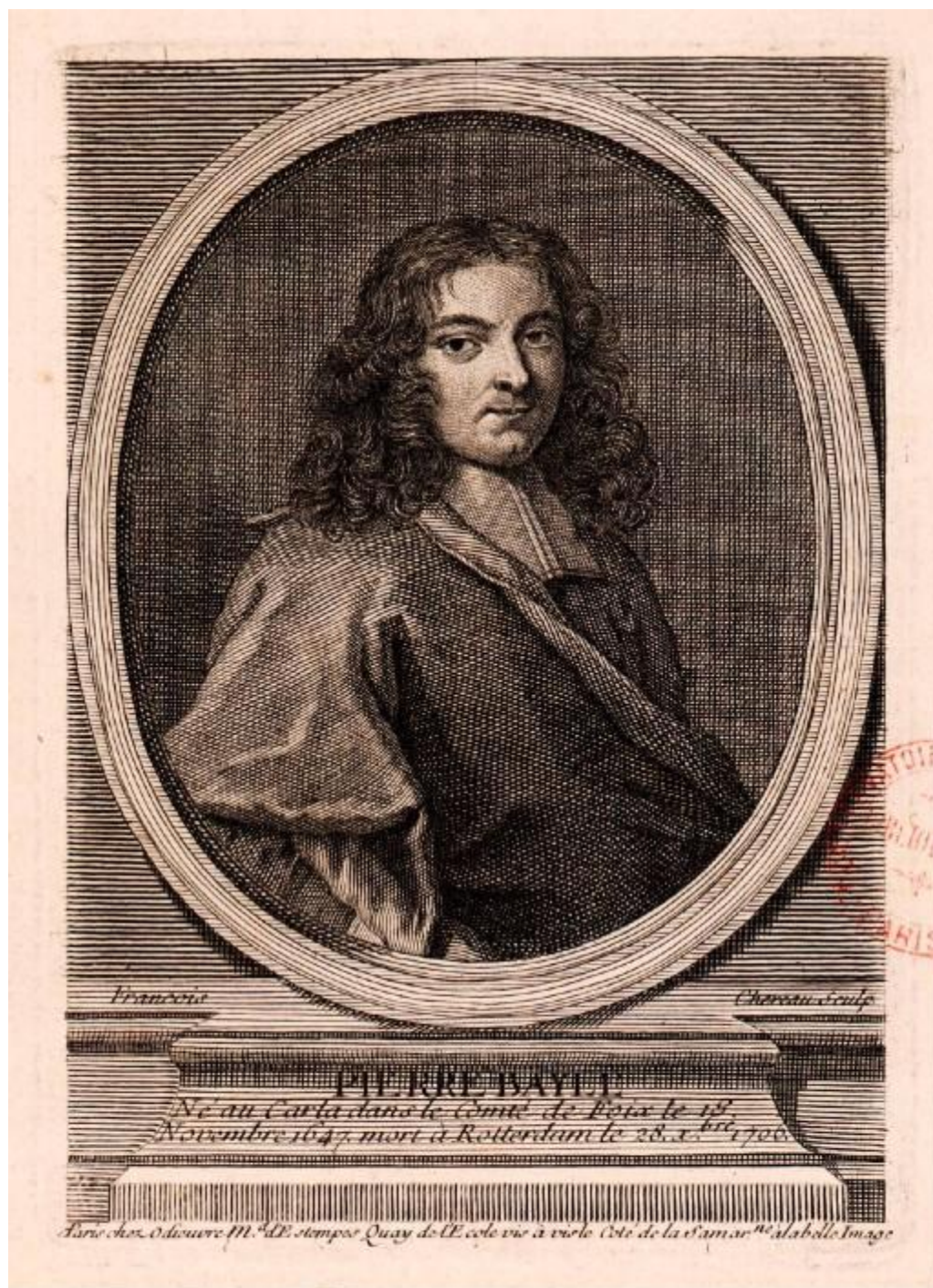
LETTRE C. M.
 A Monsieur du Rondel. le 4 Dec 1698
 A Amsterdam le 9. Decembre 1698.
 Je n'aurois pas tant tardé, mon très-cher Monsieur
 de vous remercier de la part que vous avez prise
 en mon affaire, comme vous me l'avez témoigné par
 votre tendre & obligante lettre, si Mr. Leves m'avoit
 envoyé l'Accius au tems qu'il s'alloit lorsqu'on
 tira cette feuille, je l'aurois qu'on en tirât un ou
 deux exemplaires plus qu'à l'ordinaire. Il le fit
 faire, & mettre apart ces feuilles la pour me le
 envoyer, mais elles se sont égarées, de sorte que d'or-
 dinaire en ordinaire on me les a fait attendre inu-
 timent jusques à ce qu'enfin on m'a avoué qu'elles
 étoient introuvables. J'attendrai à vous envoyer quelque
 que l'on ait imprimé quelque autre article qui se
 plus propre que plusieurs autres à vous faire ju-
 de la piece. Je n'ai pas voulu faire deparier les ex-
 -plaires de Mr. Leves, une feuille de moins, fait que
 l'exemplaire d'un livre, fut il de 1000 feuilles est
 Voilà, Mon cher Monsieur les excuses que j'avois
 dessein de vous écrire aujourd'hui de mon silence
 quand même je n'eusse pas reçu votre deuxième
 lettre remplie de bon ^{sent.} amitié, & que vous exprimer
 fortement qu'on voit bien que c'est le coeur qui
 s'en eussent, je vous assure, ravi de joye, & j'oppose
 cela comme un bouclier à tous les ^{trains} traits de
 ennemis. Je me moque de leurs vains triomphes, &
 suis assuré que je passe les nuits plus tranquillem.
 qu'eux. Ce n'est pas une petite mortification pour
 que de voir que pendant, que l'on s'est moqué de
 Dénonciations publiques, d'avis aux Réfugiés, &
 Cabale

March. 4

Figure 4: Another page of a letter from Bayle to du Rondel. This letter was obtained from archives of the Walloon Library at the University Library at Leiden University in the Netherlands.

21.
 Cabale de Geneve, trois ou quatre Ministres flamans
 Vostres, & persécuteurs des Cartésiens soufflant
 aux Oreilles des nouveaux Bourgeois contre
 mon livre des Cometes, ont obtenu ce qu'ils ont
 voulu, sans que les Fortes contestations que sept
 ou huit des meilleurs têtes du Vroedschap opposerent
 en ma faveur, attiraissent un mot qui tombât ail-
 leurs que sur les Cometes. Quelques uns de mes
 amis m'ont conseillé d'aller demeurer à Amsterdam,
 prétendans qu'au pis aller j'y pourrais gagner quelque
 chose par des Colleges privés. J'ai mieux aimé demeur-
 er ici pendant qu'on ne m'en chassera pas, & voici mes
 raisons. Mon ennemi qui ne peut se glorifier de
 rien pendant que mon interdiction a pour fondement
 unique le livre des Cometes, triompherait si je quittais
 cette ville, il dirait, & ferait dire par tous ses emi-
 saires que je serois sorti à cause que je savois bien
 qu'on m'en donneroit l'ordre, & cela parce qu'on me
 regardoit comme mal intentionné & coupable en
 fait d'Etat. Outre raison, mon dict ionnaire a besoin
 de ma présence, tant afin que je corrige les dernières
 épreuves, qu'afin de hâter l'impression, & la composition
 même qui n'est pas encore fort avancée souffriront
 un terrible retardement d'un transport de domicile.
 En fin je trouve si peu de ragoût à enseigner de
 jeunes gens, & tant de douceur à vivre, sibi & musis
 sans dépendance de Curateurs, et de Collegues, que je
 me soecie peu d'endosser jamais le harnois ni en
 Academie ni en Ecole illustre. Si j'ai la santé, j'aurai
 de quoi vivre sans cela en écrivant. Si je n'ai
 point de santé, ce sera, comme j'espère, une affaire
 qui ne

Figure 5: Pierre Bayle (1647-1706). Obtained from the French National library at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b7720167n.r=Pierre+Bayle.langEN> [accessed 22 May 2010].



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 6: A sketch about the 1680 comet and its connection to eggs laid in Rome. Obtained from Bucknell University History Department's Carnegie project at <http://www.departments.bucknell.edu/History/Carnegie/newton/comet.html> [accessed 22 May 2010].

