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"Enemies Surround Us and Besiege Us"

Refuge Societies and the Other *in Unpublished Exile Sermons and Sources from the Dutch Republic* (*c. 1680–c. 1740*)

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Abstract

This article uses unpublished exile sermons exhumed from the Leiden manuscripts, theological dissertations, and synodal sources to explore the interfaith relationships of exiled societies in the Dutch Republic, in particular the links between Huguenot refugees and their multi-confessional host society. It examines how ministers viewed the exiles' relationships with the other, as well as the theological motives for stigmatising such ties. By studying confessional interactions of competition and mutual attraction within the Refuge, this essay highlights the porous nature of religious boundaries, despite the Huguenot community's isolate claimed by the ministers. It also reveals latent conflicts between diasporic societies: the United Provinces were not a peaceful asylum for the Reformed faith of refugees, but rather the scene of a counter-Catholic struggle that stretched even into the Spanish Netherlands. Finally, this survey shows that exile revived proselytist projects aimed at French-speaking Jews and supported extraterritorial religious struggles in the eighteenth century.

Keywords

Huguenot Refuge – diasporic societies – Dutch Republic – multi-confessionality – manuscript exile sermons – confessional intermingling – transnational solidarity – extraterritorial religious struggles

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1 Introduction

This study looks at the Huguenot societies of the Dutch Refuge and their relationship with the *other* through the homiletic sources preserved in the manuscript collection of the Walloon Library of Leiden. The choice to explore the subject through unpublished manuscript sermons is based on three decisive observations. The first relates to the fragmented knowledge of printed sermons issuing from the exile, intended for refugees,[1] and the fact that most of the collections (as well as works of pastoral literature) from Refuge printing presses were mainly intended for the Protestants who had remained in France;[2]

1 There are about twenty titles from the period and zone under consideration, including Joseph Asimont, *L'Ecole de la pénitence, ou divers sermons d'exhortation à se repentir, prononcés en divers temps dans l'Eglise françoise de La Haye* (The Hague, 1686); Pierre Du Bosc, *Sermons sur divers textes de l'Ecriture sainte* (Rotterdam, 1687); Jean Guillebert, *Sermons sur divers textes de l'Ecriture sainte* (Amsterdam, 1687); Abel Rotolp de la Devèze, *Sermons sur divers textes de l'Écriture sainte, prononcez à La Haye* (Utrecht, 1690); Samuel de Brais, *Le tableau de la repentance, ou sermon sur les versets 60. 61 & 62. du chapitre XXII de l'Evangile de N.S.J.C. selon S. Luc, fait & prononcé à Haarlem* (Rotterdam, 1693); Jacques Abbadie, *Les caractères du chrestien et du christianisme marqués dans trois sermons sur divers textes de l'Evangile, avec des reflexions sur les afflictions de l'Église, preschez par M. Abbadie* (The Hague, 1695); Élie Benoist, *Sermons sur divers sujets par Elie Benoist, Ministre de l'Eglise Wallonne de Delft* (Delft, 1698); Daniel de Superville, *Sermons sur divers textes de l'Ecriture sainte* (Rotterdam, 1701); David Martin, *L'excellence de la foi et de ses effets: expliquée en vingt sermons sur le chapitre XI de l'Epistre aux Hébreux. Prononcez à Utrecht dans les années 1708 & 1709*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1710); Jacques Saurin, *Sermons sur divers textes de l'Ecriture sainte* (La Haye, 1715–1720); Jacques Basnage, *Nouveaux sermons avec des prières pour les différens état de la vie, de la pénitence & de la mort* (The Hague, 1720); Jean Louis Bonvoust, *Sermons sur divers textes de l'Ecriture sainte* (Utrecht, 1722); Jacques Colas de La Treille, *Sermons sur divers textes de l'Ecriture* (Amsterdam, 1727); Jacques Lenfant, *Sermons sur divers textes de l'Ecriture sainte* (Amsterdam, 1728).

2 See *La voix du ciel au peuple captif en Babylon ou deux sermons sur l'Apocalypse de St Jean Apôtre chap. 18. v. 4* (Amsterdam, 1685); [Pierre Allix], *Douze sermons de P.A., Ministre du S. Evangile sur divers textes* (Rotterdam, 1685[2]); Jean Claude, *La récompense du fidèle, et la condamnation des apostats, ou Sermon sur saint Matth. chap. 10. vers. 32–33. Avec la dernière exhortation que feu M. Claude fit à Charenton* (Rotterdam, 1688); Claude Brousson, *La manne mystique du Désert, ou sermons prononcés en France dans les déserts et dans les cavernes durant les ténèbres de la nuit de l'affliction, les années 1689, 1690, 1691, 1692 et 1693*, 3 t. in 1 vol. (Amsterdam, 1695); Antoine Le Page, *Sermons et prières pour aider à la consolation des fidèles de France persécutez* (Rotterdam, 1698); [Élie Benoist], *Lettre d'un pasteur banni de son pays, a une eglise qui n'a pas fait son devoir dans la dernière persécution* (Delft, 1686); [Gabriel Mathurin], *Les feuilles de figuier, ou Vanité des excuses de ceux qui ont succombé sous la persécution* (The Hague, 1687); [Jean Graverol], *Instruction pour les Nicodémites* (Amsterdam, 1687); Pierre Jurieu, *Lettres pastorales adressées aux fidèles de France qui gémissent sous la captivité de Babylon* (Rotterdam, 1686–1689); Jacques Basnage, *Lettres pastorales sur le renouvellement de la persécution* (Rotterdam, 1698).

it seemed pertinent to exhume the manuscript sermons written by the ministers of the Walloon churches specifically for Protestant exiles in the United Provinces. The second observation takes note of the generally timid approach taken by researchers towards this type of narrative source, or even of a certain lack of historiographical interest in this homiletic production, which has been neglected by historians of the Refuge. It remains largely untapped, due to many historians' unfamiliarity with its theological subject matter, often considered as a deterrent. The moralistic tone tends to turn them away from the documentary aspect of preaching, even though it necessarily implies the existence of an audience, and through such preaching we can apprehend a society of exiles grappling with the society who welcomed it in, and with various other groups surrounding it. It must be noted that when these resources are mobilised, their study is often limited, as in Myriam Yardeni and Graham Gargett's work, only to published sermons.[3] And when manuscript resources are considered, as in David van der Linden's recent monograph, only slight use is made of them, confined to a few very rare examples.[4] The third observation that confirmed this choice is the extreme archival abundance and the wealth of unpublished materials preserved in the Walloon manuscript collection that contrast with the limited use that historians have made of them. Let us add the fact that studies specifically focused on the modalities of religious coexistence and the theme of multi-confessionality in the Dutch Republic, like those of Andreas Nijenhuis, which are rich in information, do not include homiletic material.[5] This study

3 Myriam Yardeni, *Le Refuge huguenot. Assimilation et culture* (Paris, 2002), 103–110; Graham Gargett, "Le pasteur David Boullier: pasteur du Refuge, adversaire des philosophes et défenseur de l'orthodoxie protestante", in Jens Häseler, Antony McKenna (eds.), *La vie intellectuelle aux Refuges protestants* (Paris, 1999), 305–337. See also Ghislaine Sicard-Arpin, "L'Église réformée dans la prédication du Refuge: une vision apocalyptique de Babylone à Jérusalem," *Revue Mabillon* 72 (2000), 247–267; David van der Linden, "Preaching in Print: Huguenot Sermons in the Dutch Republic, 1685–1700," *Diasporas* 18 (2011), 62–77.

4 David van der Linden, *Experiencing Exile. Huguenot Refugees in the Dutch Republic, 1680–1700* (Farnham, 2015), chap. 3, 85, 90, 94–95 (the author only mentions four manuscript sermons). Similarly, his latest study evokes them without analysing them, essentially sticking to the edited sermons: "A Tearful Diaspora: Preaching Religious Emotions in the Huguenot Refuge," in Giovanni Tarantino, Charles Zika (eds.), *Feeling Exclusion. Religious Conflict, Exile and Emotions in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 2019), 44–62.

5 Andreas Nijenhuis, "État calviniste et société multiconfessionnelle à l'aune de récits français dans le contexte de la Révolte (1568–1648). L'exemple des Pays de la Généralité après la prise de Bois-le-Duc (1629)", *Chrétiens et Sociétés* 17 (2010), 45–102; Id., "La coexistence confessionnelle aux Provinces-Unies du Siècle d'Or. Pratiques religieuses et lieux de culte dissimulés à Amsterdam", in David Do Paço, Mathilde Monge, Laurent Tatarenko (eds.), *Des religions dans la ville. Ressorts et litiges de coexistence dans l'Europe des XVI^e^-XVIII^e^ siècles* (Rennes, 2010), 55–80.

aims to highlight the epistemological appeal of homiletic sources and means to show how pastoral sermons and exhortations inform us about the issue of interconfessionality in exile.

2 Homiletics: A Window onto Exile Societies

Sermons are not only meaningful for intellectual history. By convening moral principles in the defence of an ethic of faith, and using a rhetoric of militancy, they inform us of the practical hardships that Huguenot refugees had to face. The selective use of Scripture often sheds light on the nature of these setbacks, just as the biblical terminology covertly identifies the adversary on the field.

This theological filter serves to examine the challenges faced by the Protestant exiles, presented through the prism of the Scriptures. By showing us another enunciation of reality, cast in biblical language, it gives historians access to the symbolic economy of pulpit battles that, far from being entirely theoretical, echo concrete difficulties. There is a combat residing in the use and interpretation of the Scriptures that reveals silent struggles and latent oppositions.[6] While predication is not the easiest type of source to deal with, nor always the most prolix, it remains deeply interesting for my present research concerns, since the homiletic discourse is based on contact with both community practices and social practices, which it aims to define and regulate. These sermons thus open a window onto Exile societies (showing community tensions within them and relations between the refugees and the outside world), and allow us to understand the socio-confessional power struggles in which there are aspirations and desires interfering among the faithful that do not necessarily match their religious affiliations and claims. They also tell us about the way in which a part of the French pastoral corps looked at the Reformed exiles, the image it had of its refugee communities and the behaviours it claimed to regulate.[7]

6 On the historical attraction of these sermons, see Chrystel Bernat, "Le zèle, matrice d'une homilétique combative dans la prédication de Claude Brousson (1689–1698)", in Chrystel Bernat, Frédéric Gabriel (eds.), *Critique du zèle. Fidélités et radicalités confessionnelles, France XVI^e^-XVIII^e^ siècle* (Paris, 2013), 263–291, especially 266; Id., "Laodicée et la tiédeur sacrilège. Plaidoyer contre le scandale de la timidité spirituelle dans l'œuvre de Claude Brousson", *Études théologiques et religieuses* 90 (2015), 515–546, there 518.

7 What Willem Frijhoff says about his own narrative sources is quite convincing regarding the homiletic sources, which allow us to see the self-image that exiled societies had through the discourse of their pastors, who formulate and enact the major principles: Willem Frijhoff, *Embodied Belief. Ten Essays on Religious Culture in Dutch History* (Hilversum, 2002), 57.

However, this is not all that these sources have to offer, if we consider their documentary potential and informative value, for they often cover long periods of ministerial testimony. These resources, the extent of which has yet to be assessed across the whole Republic, command the attention of historians because of the strong pastoral presence in these lands. Hans Bots underlined the peculiarity of the number of ministers in the United Provinces, which welcomed more than four hundred pastors and proponents, which means nearly two-thirds of ministers in France went into exile after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.[8] However, while proportionally very few wrote books for the Protestants who remained in France (the pamphlets written in The Hague, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Arnhem, and Utrecht by great figures such as Pierre Du Bosc, Jean Claude, Pierre Jurieu, Antoine Le Page, Jean Graverol, Gabriel Mathurin, Claude Brousson, Élie Saurin, Jacques Basnage, are all merely trees that should not hide the forest of those who did not publish anything at all),[9] some of them, on the other hand, left behind sometimes abundant amounts of homiletic documentation geared towards migrants and focused on Reformed life in the Refuge. One only has to think of the seventeen volumes of unpublished manuscript sermons by Minister Isaac Ponce to be convinced of this. The documentary potential of these resources appears all the greater once this pastoral literature is apprehended in all the richness and variety that are currently available in the Walloon manuscripts, which, in addition to sermons, contain pastoral letters, apologetic writings, exegetical remarks and theological analyses, correspondences between ministers, and documents related to private life. They are a rich source of various types of information on the life and societies of the Refuge, from the highest to the humblest pulpits. This gives an idea of the interest and extent of the exploratory field that offers itself to the historian.

This article explores the trans-faith relationships of exiled societies and the links the French refugees established with their host society and with their multi-faith environment in the Dutch Republic. With studies focusing on scholarly, intellectual, educational, and journalistic history, the history of the Refuge in the United Provinces was long treated as nearly indistinguishable from that of the Republic of Letters, the clandestine press, gazettes, and pamphlets. Until recently, various studies of artistic creativity, language learning, and journalis-

8 Hans Bots, "Les pasteurs français au Refuge dans les Provinces-Unies: un groupe socio-professionnel tout particulier, 1680–1710" and "Liste des pasteurs et proposants réfugiés dans les Provinces-Unies", in Häseler and McKenna, *La vie intellectuelle* (see above, n. 3), 9–18 and 19–68. Among the 870 pastors in France, 680 chose exile and 405 of these sought refuge in the United Provinces.

9 See supra n. 2 for the references to their works.

tic vitality continued this trend.[10] The religious component is often the poor relative in the current historiographical renewal of the studies on the Refuge, including in the publications that seize upon the confessional pluralism but do not consider the drawbacks of this type of coexistence or the effects of the religious mix that characterised the United Provinces.[11] Willem Frijhoff's decisive work on the Dutch societies has no counterpart for Exile circles.[12] Because related research continues to focus on the history of integration and tolerance, including the creative effects of a certain freedom that was conducive to the development of an editorial press and critical writings, little is known about the extra-community tensions running through the diasporic circles in the United Provinces.[13] The weight of business relations, socio-economic interests, class solidarity, or intellectual appetites often eclipses the examination of the strictly religious dimension of confessional interferences.[14] However, trans-faith relationships, made up of affinities and rivalries, show that Exile societies were

10 Pieter Loonen, "The Influence of the Huguenots on the Teaching of French in the Dutch Republic during the 17th Century," in Jan De Clercq et al. (eds.), *Grammaire et enseignement du français 1500–1700* (Leuven, 2000), 317–333; Rebekah Ahrendt, A Second Refuge: French Opera and the Huguenot Migration, c. 1680–c. 1710 (Ph.D. diss., University of California, 2012); Pierre Swiggers, "Regard sur l'histoire de l'enseignement du français aux Pays-Bas (XVI^{e}-XVII^{e} siècles)", *Documents pour l'histoire du français langue étrangère ou seconde* 50 (2013), 49–79.

11 Nijenhuis, "La coexistence confessionnelle aux Provinces-Unies du Siècle d'Or" (see above, n. 5).

12 Willem Frijhoff, "La coexistence confessionnelle, complicités, méfiances et ruptures aux Provinces-Unies", in Jean Delumeau (ed.), *Histoire vécue du peuple chrétien* (Toulouse, 1979), 229–257; Id., "Dimensions de la coexistence confessionnelle", in Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, Jonathan Irvin Israël, Guillaume Henri Marie Posthumus Meyjes (eds.), *The Emergence of Tolerance in the Dutch Republic* (Leiden—New York—Cologne, 1997), 213–237 and Id., *Embodied Belief* (see above, n. 7).

13 Myriam Yardeni, "Assimilation et intégration dans le refuge huguenot (fin XVII^{e}-XVIII^{e} siècles): Nouvelles possibilités, nouvelles méthodologies", *Diasporas* 23–24 (2014), 116–131; Marion Brétéché, *Les compagnons de Mercure. Journalisme et politique dans l'Europe de Louis XIV* (Seyssel, 2015); Isaure Boitel, *L'image noire de Louis XIV: Provinces-Unies, Angleterre (1668–1715)* (Seyssel, 2016).

14 Andreas Nijenhuis, "Le chanoine, le philologue, la 'demoiselle' et le rabbin. Rencontres et débats confessionnels aux Provinces-Unies à la veille de la paix de Westphalie, dans le Voyage de Claude Joly", in Bertrand Forclaz (ed.), *L'expérience de la différence religieuse dans l'Europe moderne (XVI^{e}-XVIII^{e} siècles)* (Neuchâtel, 2013), 157–187; Cátia Antunes, "Cross-cultural Business Corporation in the Dutch Trading World, 1580–1776" and Silvia Marzagalli, "Trade Across Religious Boundaries in Early Modern France," in Francesca Trivellato, Leor Halevi and Cátia Antunes (eds.), *Religion and Trade: Cross-Cultural Exchanges in World History, 1000–1900* (Oxford—New York, 2014), respectively 150–168 and 169–191.

engaged in a war of influence and in a heretofore underestimated combative activity in their places of asylum.

Following up on stimulating studies on the experience of religious difference in Europe, on the phenomena of ethnic, cultural, and religious impregnation, and in the wake of recent work focusing on diasporic permeability and mobility, this survey aims to understand how contacts with external bodies were handled in the Refuge, what major principles governed such contacts, and in what capacity the Huguenot communities in The Hague, Nijmegen, and to a lesser extent Haarlem, were affected by the confessional societies that surround them.[15] It is based on documentary resources that have been undervalued up to this point: the Exile sermons (here referring to unpublished manuscript sermons written specifically for refugees), associated with three types of related sources—theological dissertations, exhortations to refugees, and synod acts—all of which are connected by ministerial activity and echo or respond to one another. This combination has led this paper to be structured in four historical-documentary sections that proceed by successive tableaux, inscribing this survey within a chronological arc that precedes and accompanies the Revocation and stretches forward until 1740 in order to delve into the phenomenon on either side of the migratory shock of 1685 and during the first half of the eighteenth century, which is still little known. With four thematic focal points, and by looking at the various theatres of exile that can inform us about religious interferences, this introductory study has three objectives. It seeks to grasp the conceptual framework within which ministers view their relationship with the *other* (i.e. both the way in which this relationship is structured and the ideology that underlies it), to identify the nature of interfaith relations and to clarify the profile of these *enemies* (how the figure of the *other* is constructed, and the faces it wears), and finally to understand how these contacts are considered and stigmatised (the registers used to express otherness and the theological themes behind the denigration of any closeness or union with the *other*).

This article aims to show that the inclusive multi-confessionalism of the Dutch Republic was also a breeding ground for latent hostilities and interpolated battles; the "island of temperate freedom" dear to Hans Bots opened up

15 Bertrand Forclaz (ed.), *L'expérience de la différence religieuse dans l'Europe moderne (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles)* (Neuchâtel, 2013); Bertrand Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden: The Huguenots and their Migration to Colonial South Carolina* (Columbia NY, 2006); Mathilde Monge, Natalia Muchnik, *L'Europe des diasporas, XVI^e-XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 2019). See also Willem Frijhoff, "Uncertain Brotherhood: The Huguenots in the Dutch Republic," in Bertrand Van Ruymbeke, Randy J. Sparks (eds.), *Memory and Identity. The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora* (Columbia S.C., 2003), 128–171.

new territories of antagonism where new hybrid identities developed, along with extraterritorial clashes, provoked by highly combative and competitive convictions.[16] It also reveals that the impermeability of the religious boundaries demanded by exiled ministers was diminished by a high degree of socio-religious porosity and, as such, it invites us to consider the signs of confessional intermingling in Huguenot societies.

Let us begin with the ministers' sermons and exhortations to Protestant refugees, which provide records of religious power struggles and allow us to approach successive layers of this society of exiles and various types of trans-confessional relationships.

3 Understanding and Attempting to Normalise the Relationship with the *Other*: The Phantom Limb of France and Community Isolationism

This section looks at how the exiles' relationship to native Dutch people was viewed. On one hand, it seeks to understand how the presence of their society of origin may have affected their relationship with their host society. On the other hand, it analyses ministers' attempts to normalise the conduct of refugees and the expectations that preachers attributed to those Protestants who remained in France, but also to Dutch authorities and subjects. It shows that sharing a common religion with the local population did not promote a common identity, and that the dominant feeling among the refugees was that of being outsiders, reinforced by the defence of a highly codified migrant profile.

This analysis is based on the unpublished sermons of Isaac Claude and Isaac Ponce kept in the manuscript collection of the University Library of Leiden. Isaac Claude (1653–1695), who remained in the shadow of his father (Jean Claude, pastor in Charenton, Bossuet's famous adversary) and has been little studied until now, is of interest to us because he was present in the Refuge very early on, because of his early exile, in 1682, to the United Provinces, and his ministerial appointment dates to before the Revocation, in June 1685, when he was called to The Hague before being confirmed as the third pastor there in

16 The expression comes from Hans Bots, "Le Refuge dans les Provinces-Unies", in Eckart Birnstiel, Chrystel Bernat (eds.), *La diaspora des huguenots. Les réfugiés protestants de France et leur dispersion dans le monde* (*XVI^e^-XVIII^e^ siècles*) (Paris, 2001), 63–74 (there 63).

September 1685 alongside Daniel Desmarets and Jean Carré.[17] Claude left 96 autograph sermons that have the distinction of bridging the gap between the pre-Revocation homiletic discourse in France (where he was a pastor in Clermont en Beauvaisis from 1678 to 1682) and the preaching that he wrote in exile and continued to write until his death in 1695. The intersection of these two types of sermons, written between 1678 and 1695, is significant because the frequent cases in which sermons written in France were recycled informs us of perennial concerns. Moreover, this overlapping of discourses, unchanged from one place to the other, suggests that in the minds of the exiled ministers—and this interests me most particularly—they were still dealing with the same Protestants (at least in the early years of their settlement there), without considering the impact of their new environment; this implies that the ministers believed in a necessary distance and in a sort of impermeable seal around the refugee community. This first corpus, which stretches over nearly twenty years (1678–1695), offers a look at ten years of preaching in the Refuge (1685–1695), focused on the years with a heavy flow of exiles and the first decade of interactions with their host society.

The second corpus draws from four of the seventeen in-quarto volumes of handwritten sermons by Isaac Ponce (†1739),[18] the former minister of La Bastide-de-Virac (in the Vivarais region) who preached between 1686 and 1721. During the 35 years of his ministry in Nijmegen, he preached every fortnight as an ordinary pastor from September 1701 onwards, following the death of his colleague Zacharie Polgé, after fifteen years of a ministry shared in turn with five other fellow refugees in the same city, which had a strong Catholic presence.[19]

17 Bots, "Les pasteurs français au Refuge dans les Provinces-Unies" (see above, n. 8), 32. *La Confession de foy des Eglises Reformées des Païs-Bas* (Amsterdam, 1687), 46, calls Isaac Claude "Pastor […] now of the Church of The Hague, confirmed by Mr. Des Marets, pastor of the same place [as of] June 1684." On Isaac Claude, see Solange Deyon, "Les relations de famille et d'affaires de Jean Claude d'après sa correspondance à la veille de la Révocation, 1683–1685", *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français* 116 (1970), 152–177.

18 *Articles résolus dans les Synodes des Eglises wallonnes des Provinces-Unies des Pais-Bas, Années 1730–1744*, s. l., s. n., 15 sq. (article LXXIV of the synod assembled at Nijmegen, 3–12 September 1739, notes the death of "Mr. Isaac Ponce, Pastor Emeritus of this city [of Nijmegen]" during the session of 11 September).

19 The records of the Walloon Library state that, as a pensioner in Nijmegen from 1686 onwards, Isaac Ponce was elected pastor after the death in 1701 of Minister Polgé (who had been in office since 20 May 1683), but that he refused to occupy the post full-time because of his fragile health, preaching only every fortnight until 1 October 1721. See also *La Confession de foy des Eglises Reformées des Païs-Bas* (see above, n. 17), 44 and Bots, "Les pasteurs français au Refuge dans les Provinces-Unies" (see above, n. 8), 59.

It must be noted that these corpora rarely mention the *other* explicitly, providing us instead with allusions or subtle hints. Before the 1690s, indications of any increasing closeness with outsiders are limited, suggesting that such interactions were not immediate (nor immediately visible), and alliances of interest—let alone sincere unions—began to occur only months or even years after the refugees arrived. It appears that they initially remained gathered within their community of origin. Unless there were already pre-existing relationships, establishing close links required time and appears to have occurred only intermittently.[20] As such, the *Exhortations faites aux Refugiez sur leur conduite & sur leurs sentiments*, taken from the *Examen de l'oppression des reformez en France*, written by Benjamin de Daillon and published in 1687 in Amsterdam (and which the minister himself identifies as a "sermon"[21]), can perhaps help us understand why the topic of the relationship with the *other* resonated so weakly at first in sermons of the Refuge. Let us take a moment at this point for a rewarding detour, rich in information. Here I will insert my second documentary focal point, concentrating on a printed text that cannot be ignored, for what Daillon says appears as a general discourse for the benefit of all French exiles of any kind, wherever they may be.

This former pastor of the Church of Rouen, exiled in England, intends to address all exiles of the Reformed faith ("to those whom God has lifted out of oppression—who find themselves scattered in various kingdoms") and states some considerations of great importance, which shed light not only on the ideology that conditioned the relationship to the *other* but also on the dual society that was imposed on refugees.

> I cannot help but tell them that the eyes of everyone [in France and abroad] are upon them, to consider their conduct, and to note their feelings. The French are said to be naturally inconstant […]. People examine their speeches and their actions to judge whether their flight is not rather an effect of the mood of the nation […] than the fruit of their love for religion.[22]

20 The homiletic study reinforces what has already been said about interfaith coexistence, which appears only in isolated acts: Frijhoff, *Embodied Belief* (see above, n. 7), 48.

21 *Examen de l'oppression des reformez en France, où l'on justifie l'innocence de leur religion, &c. adressé à Madame de *** par Mr. B. de Daillon* (Amsterdam, 1687), piece IV, section VIII: *Exhortations faites aux Refugiez sur leur conduite & sur leurs sentiments, tant à l'egard d'eux mêmes que de ceux qu'il* [sic] *les font souffrir*, 328–347, there 331.

22 Ibid., 329 (and 328 for the preceding citation).

From the outset, we can observe a dual, spectral society in exile: the original one and the surrogate. The Refuge society was at first this dual entity (at least in the early years of exile), riveting the refugees firmly to the country that they had left behind. While the exiles were in a local environment, they were also exposed to the sight of a people in the shadows: the Protestant population of the kingdom, who found themselves conjoined to that of their host society, like a *phantom limb*, a part of the body (here of the social body) that, although amputated, continued to haunt the memory and condition the relationship of migrants to their host society, necessarily second to the Reformed society that they had left in France and lost.[23] A phenomenon reinforced by the feeling "at least for the most part," Daillon confides elsewhere, "of the pain of being dependent and the shame of living as beggars."[24] It should be noted that the Refuge's distrust of the motivations of the French exiles, as evidenced by the minister's statement, seemed to require the migrants to maintain their denominational identity as a persecuted people, the only legitimate identity for them, as we shall see.[25] For the moment, let us remark that the denominational relationship to the host society also led to a confrontation from nation to nation, which, despite the religious link that united them, injected an aspect of foreignness into their relationship. Their common adherence to the Reformation did not erase this otherness; their shared denomination did not guarantee a blended identity.

Daillon's *Exhortations* provide us with an opportunity to understand how the migrants' relationship to the natives was still perceived in 1687. Daillon pragmatically discusses the conduct of refugees in society and what was expected of them, as much by the preachers accompanying them in exile and their Reformed fellows who were still detained in France as the princes and Protestants who welcomed them. A theoretical interpretation but nonetheless prescriptive. Let us thus listen to the minister, whose sermon to the Reformed

23 This remark extends into the historical research field of the Refuge the reflections of the Franco-Algerian visual artist Kader Attia, whose installation *Penser la mémoire* (*Thinking of Memory*), which earned the 2016 Marcel Duchamp Prize, draws on the phenomenon of the "phantom limb" (which, even after it is removed, continues to inhabit and obsess the memory of the invalid) and leads us to reflect on the difficulty for contemporary societies to critically apprehend the legacy of colonisation or grasp the subliminal presence of vanished empires.

24 Daillon, *Examen de l'oppression des reformez* (see above, n. 21), piece I, 1.

25 Whether it is merely a suspicion that is useful to the pastor's argument or a proven fact, the religious motive seems not to be seen as the exclusive reason for exile, to such a degree that the migrants are required to justify it. Might this be an effect of waves of cultural and economic migration that were occurring alongside religious exile?

exiles provides three important lessons. Although extensive, it is worth attempting to grasp the inner logic of this statement:

> Those who have abandoned their lands and their property, in order to preserve their freedom of conscience, are expected to be great examples of regeneration: and it is considered that those who left in this way, in order to profess the truth always and to practice religion, must love only God and their salvation, and let nothing be seen in themselves but that which must necessarily proceed from this love. The preachers rejoice in their arrival, as in a powerful aid that comes to help them in the work of converting hearts to God, to which they apply themselves. The princes receive them as a people whose conversation and example will bring all their subjects back to the practice of virtue. People are disposed to look at them [...] as models that they will have to follow; and as the favourites of heaven who will draw God's blessing down onto those who have hosted them. If instead of all these beautiful things, which one should reasonably expect from refugees for the Gospel, one sees more fruits of natural corruption than of regeneration; if one sees debauchery and dissoluteness among those whom the punishments of God should have made sober and continent; if one sees envies, jealousies and quarrels among those whom [...] a shared escape, with the shared purpose of serving God, should have united so completely that they became only one heart and only one soul; if one sees an eagerness to take and amass money, or an ambition to have income and employment, in those whom the abandonment of all things used to make them appear like a people who had renounced all interests other than that of their salvation; finally if one sees a love of the world, the vanity of worldly things and the desire to appear in assemblies, with superfluous clothing, with immodest adornments, in those who have so many subjects of true affliction and should only show themselves with all the marks of the grief, the humility, and the annihilation before God and before men to which their condition, that of their loved ones, and that of the Church oblige those hearts that truly love God: all the joy and all the affection of the people among whom they circulate will change [...] into aversion.
>
> They will be seen as justly punished people, whom the hand of God will pursue everywhere; because they desecrate his name everywhere [...]. It will be judged that they should not be suffered, for fear that they will bring down the curse of heaven everywhere, and that they will envelop in their own ruin those who have hosted them. I therefore urge you, my brothers, to reflect on [...] the end of my sermon, regarding the disposition of those

> who may be seduced by error [...] so that you may say that if you have so far resisted the force of temptation [...], the power of worldly desires and the affections of the flesh that remain within you will not fail to bring you down in the end. For the time of our suffering is not over [...] the vices that have drawn the wrath of God down upon us did not merely remain with those who have fallen [= *the apostates*], but [...] have followed us into foreign lands, where we display much love for the world [...] without wanting to suffer any of it being taken from us; I can't help but fear further tremors, which will bring many of these rotten fruits down again.[26]

These pastoral exhortations shed light on attempts to normalise conduct and codify relations; in support of this goal, a restrictive societal space was developed that did not lend itself to extra-denominational openness in the early years of the exodus. These conditions invite three main remarks: on the understanding of the societal environment, on the requirement for a devotional attitude from refugees, and on their community dissociation from their immediate surroundings.

While life in the Refuge was indeed considered in terms of political-social interactions (in contact with "preachers," with members of the refugee community, and occurring in full view of the "princes" and local "peoples"), interaction involving exiles was apprehended in a very limiting way: it was restricted to a communicative fervour that was supposed to make the local native population evaluate the advantages of this freely proclaimed faith, and to make those populations who were free to profess their faith understand the benefits of religious freedom that had been lost elsewhere. In this kind of community training that aims to set the rules of conduct for exile (going so far as to specify what can be said and what must be kept in silence[27]), the refugee community is seen as a dissociated unit whose arrival in the host society imposes an attitude of withdrawal and a specific cohesion. Furthermore, the pastor's argument also tells us about the strict categorisation of the exiles to which the French pastoral corps aspires: each refugee is above all a "refugee for the Gospel" whose visibility is based on his active devotion, which is the only activity able to legitimise his exile. The migrants' presence in the Refuge is therefore intended to be a highly confessional presence, whose exemplarity must nourish the virtue of the subjects of the powers who welcomed them. It is intended to be a source of regeneration for others; they should not beg or demand. Their activity must

26 Daillon, *Examen de l'oppression des reformez* (see above, n. 21), piece IV, section VIII, 329–332.

27 Ibid., 336–342.

limit itself to "professing the truth and practising religion at all times"; in short, showing nothing but their eagerness to serve God: they must "show nothing of themselves other than what must necessarily proceed from this love." Exile, according to Daillon and his colleagues, creates obligations for the migrants: the welcome they enjoy forces them to an assiduous profession of faith, to a continuous discipline, failing which, he argues, "the affection of the people among whom they circulate will change [...] into aversion." While it is difficult to assess the societal impacts of these express recommendations, this attitude leads to a certain degree of partitioning or distancing. A desire for a codified presence, promoting a typified Huguenot appearance: humble, sober, afflicted, apolitical, orthodox, pious, if not edifying, distant from all worldliness and thus from external societies, turned towards his own family, in solidarity with his community. This codification portrays a territory of exile, or, to put it better, a societal zone and a mode of action for the refugee, outside of which the migratory logic itself fades away and exposes itself to criticism. The Refuge society is thus approached from a sectorised perspective.

In a passage regarding "what we must think and say," we may understand that if the conduct of refugees is considered through its interactions with the host society (Daillon refers to "conversation and example"), there are unspoken thresholds that must not be crossed with regard to local populations (in terms of ambition and dispossession) and with regard to the ruling powers (in terms of political discourse) so that the refugees might be kept at a safe and respectful distance from the host society. Whether it is a response to the expectations of the host countries or to what the French ministers imagine these expectations to be, it is expressly recommended that all political discourse be renounced, even against Louis XIV and his oppressive policy against the Protestants. Not only because the exiles run the risk of being disbelieved, but more fundamentally because they would risk offending the ruling powers.[28] It is indeed permissible to demand justice from sovereigns (Daillon states: "I do not believe that any prince can find it wrong that we always say that, whatever power and whatever authority a sovereign may have, the equity and fairness without which he cannot rule justly should not allow him to take away the

28 Ibid., 336. It should be noted that what is required here of the faithful is not required of the ministers who, from the Refuge, and for the most part from within the United Provinces, produced a body of scathing criticism of the Revocation policy of the French monarch. While political statements were regulated everywhere, this rigour is particularly pertinent in the case of England, with which Daillon, as a non-conformist during the reign of James II, was more personally confronted. On this last point, see in particular Robin Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain, vol. I: Crisis, Renewal, and the Ministers' Dilemma* (Brighton, 2015), 255 sq.

graces he has granted to subjects, when they have done nothing that makes them unworthy, nor to mistreat them for wanting to persevere in a religion that his predecessors and he himself allowed them by solemn edicts to profess and to practise publicly"). It is likewise recommended that the refugees tell everyone about the "cruel policies" of the Roman Church, "which is not concerned with any moral principles, which uses fire, iron, and poison without scruples to knock down anything that refuses to bend under its authority […] to try to make everyone know the misfortune of being engaged in the interests of such a corrupt, anti-Christian church." It is not permissible, however, to allow oneself to resort to insults or to speak with unbridled hostility against the prince and the established authorities, because first of all it is impossible to think of loving and serving God in a suitable way while retaining bitterness in one's heart and, second, expressing such resentment might cause the exiles to be despised:

> Especially when it comes to sovereign powers […], we must be careful not to give free reign to our feelings to the point of blaspheming against these dignitaries […] or making abusive, offensive, scornful statements. The word of God expressly forbids us from this. These speeches […] serve only to make us despised, even hated, by those in power […] under whose authority we take refuge; who look at us afterwards as bad subjects; and who take no pleasure in seeing us inspire in their own people, through these speeches, the freedom to judge the actions of the sovereigns […]. It is a respect that we owe to the order of God, who established the kings, to impose silence on our very thoughts, when we feel them wanting to rise up against them.[29] It is also an edification that we owe to all the people among whom we are dispersed, to make them see the great moderation of our sentiments.[30]

Daillon's *Exhortations*, and those of other ministers, are based on the conviction that the future of the refugees hung upon their religious and social conduct in exile: in the face of a God who is already angry at his unfaithful people, which they believe is evidenced by the persecution in France, the preachers urge the refugees to behave in an exemplary manner (to be "models") within the asylum that God has opened to the most faithful among them (and whom their co-religionists regard as the "favourites of heaven," a status that they must not betray through their attitude). This exemplarity is based on a triple responsibil-

29 The minister here refers to Ecc 10, 20 ("Curse not the king, no not in thy thought").

30 Daillon, *Examen de l'oppression des reformez* (see above, n. 21), 342.

ity for the exiles—intra-community (in their own present location), national (towards the Protestants remaining in France) and extra-national (within their host society)—which implies an attitude of restraint, but also of discretion and circumspection.[31] This does not mean that it was effective in every way, but that it was, at least in the early stages of exile, an imperative condition, expected of refugees, which may have come to bear on the slow infiltration of the host society, regarding which sermons in The Hague and Nijmegen do not seem to say anything until 1691–1692. While it is difficult to assess how far this may have conditioned life in the Refuge, it sheds light on the ideological framework in which the relationship to the other and to the surrounding society was perceived. Thus, in the early days, life in the Refuge was not considered with a view to incorporation, especially while their ministers still thought a return to France was possible. Until the disappointment of the Treaty of Rijswijk, which in September 1697 ruined any hope of re-entry into France, the homiletic discourse promoted the existence of a community of exiles as a separate body whose exemplarity and discretion had to serve as identifiers.[32] This, at least, was what the pastors imagined for it.

Sermons and pastoral literature reveal an expectation that host societies would scrutinise the refugees' faith. In the Dutch Republic, the sermons of exile and synodal prescriptions express a degree of cautiousness regarding this society, which, according to the ministers, was observing and even listening to the attitudes of the refugees, whom it seems to have continued to dissociate from its own Calvinist population, thus forcing the exiles to remain visibly attached to the Reformed religion, to be careful in their words and to apply themselves to glorifying God.[33] This implies that, however Protestant they might be, the Huguenots were themselves a Reformed *other* in a land of exile, a close yet distinct socio-denominational entity, altered because they are exiled.[34] At least

31 Recommendations shared by the refugee minister in Haarlem, Jean Barbin, *Les devoirs des fideles refugiez* (Amsterdam, 1688), 186 (chap. VI: *De nôtre conduite par rapport à ceux au milieu de qui nous avons à vivre*). On the perceived watchfulness of the Protestants of France, which still had a heavy influence in 1722 on how the exiles were expected to behave in the Refuge: see Bonvoust, *Sermons* (see above, n. 1), 326 sq.

32 This homiletic discourse corroborates what has been said of the "relatively closed" ministerial body, and is evidence of the late acculturation identified by Elisabeth Labrousse, *La révocation de l'Édit de Nantes. Une foi, une loi, un roi* (Geneva, 1985), 197 sq. and H. Bots, "Les pasteurs français au Refuge dans les Provinces-Unies" (see above, n. 8), 17 and Bots, "Le Refuge dans les Provinces-Unies" (see above, n. 16), 72.

33 Which, in fact, Daillon requires from the French exiles, exhorting them to exalt God in front of "all who will see you" and to be "holy in all your conversation": Daillon, *Examen de l'oppression des reformez* (see above, n. 21), 333 sq.

34 This is very likely an explanation for the non-assimilation noted by Myriam Yardeni,

this is how they saw themselves, for this sentiment of foreignness is prevalent among the exiles themselves, and even in the statements of the Dutch authorities addressing the "foreign Protestants." The closed-off aspect of rootlessness and the sense of foreignness that prevails in the representations of the early years of the exodus can be clearly perceived in a sermon by Isaac Claude in which he salutes those refugees who have chosen to live abroad as foreigners in order to remain faithful to the Reformation rather than to protect their interests by staying in France at the cost of apostasy. He evokes their exile as an unfinished act, which, rather than bringing them into contact with *otherness*, has projected them into an *elsewhere*, where they can live out the primary reason for their exile, namely their faith: "Exile," he preaches, "makes the faithful regard the world as a foreign and enemy country […]. This leads them to seek a better homeland that is heaven, and to reach for the spiritual Canaan."[35]

The leaders' fear of the external gaze, correlated with that of discouraging the welcoming population from its hospitality, caused them to try to restrict the social life of refugees and their manifestation in society to the devotional aspect; this was the only aspect that seemed to justify their refuge, as if confessing their faith was the requisite condition of their presence. Critical writing regarding papism is the only area in which these rules are bent. Political discretion, in fact, does not in any way prohibit the criticism of Catholicism, in which Daillon calls on refugees to participate, as we have seen. In the Refuge, the exiles are urged to send out resounding echoes of the Roman violence that was the reason for their migration and that animates their struggle in the name of the Reformation—while remaining circumspect with regard to ruling powers. This is to say that exile does not, theoretically at least, put an end to the struggle against Catholicism but instead continues it by various means, for this is a persistent exhortation and a lasting struggle from a distance, as we shall see. This battle takes two forms—offensive but also defensive, with regard to the "rotten fruits" who have passed over to the enemy, or about to succumb out of worldly interests in their place of exile.[36] The spectre of inter-religiosity thus looms across borders.

In mixed cities with a substantial Catholic minority, the fears of exiled ministers were threefold: French pastors jointly feared a spiritual slackening of exiles

"Assimilation et intégration dans le refuge huguenot" (see above, n. 13), 126.

35 See Leiden University Library BWA MC 7, sermon by Isaac Claude on Rm 8,27 (The Hague, 19 August 1685). See also Barbin, *Les devoirs des fideles refugiez* (see above, n. 31), 185, and *Nouvelles extraordinaires de divers endroits* (Amsterdam, 18 August 1681), cited in Bots, "Le Refuge dans les Provinces-Unies" (see above, n. 16), 66.

36 Daillon, *Examen de l'oppression des reformez* (see above, n. 21), 332.

(who, now assured of their freedom of worship, might give it up more easily), the discrete and deleterious action of surrounding Catholics (but also the attractiveness of their circles), and the damage to the reputation of the exiles caused by the "libertines," referring in particular to the Catholics and defectors in Haarlem "who are either papists or real apostates, who come and go from one side to the other, who sometimes cover themselves with the title of refugee in order to be treated gently when they are surprised in their excesses"; they are "goats mingling with the sheep" and causing trouble, Minister Barbin proclaims.[37]

4 Denominational Porosity and the Stigma of Diasporic Inter-Religiosity: The Persistent Pitfalls of Religious Accommodation in the Refuge

This part of the study explores the indicators of the social integration of exiles and how French ministers handled the relation between respective influences. It is an attempt to understand the tightly circumscribed world in which they tried to hold their communities together while in exile. By identifying the types of religious interactions and the denominational power relations that occurred in cities surrounded by Catholic populations, it analyses why the church leaders regarded the Refuge as a dangerous space even though it offered them freedom of worship. This examination reveals that the peril of religious compromise against which the ministers warn the faithful is not the mere fact of the exiles' spiritual slackening or of their worldly interests, but the effect of sustained Catholic propaganda.

Religious accommodation is not a danger specific only to the oppressive situation in France, where the violence of the Catholicisation programme pushed the Protestants to Nicodemism. The exile sermons point to it as a peril that also threatens the community's survival in the Refuge, where socio-economic interests eroded it. Whether it is a mere homiletic topos or an expression of the exiles' struggles with the business community, the theological theme of the "love of worldly things" is the biblical reading of a phenomenon sufficiently notorious to be denounced in the pulpit. It is not only a rhetorical figure aimed at denouncing rapprochements outside the community, but a clear indication of the social integration of some of the exiles and the compet-

37 Barbin, *Les devoirs des fideles refugiez* (see above, n. 31), 97, 101, 117 and 184, 186 (for the citations).

ing influences affecting the community. This biblical theme enouncing social interaction most often discourages and discredits the interest-based relationships with other minorities aimed at doing business beyond sectarian disputes. Together with the seduction motif, it has the advantage of informing us both of the stigmatisation of interfaith relationships and of the strictly delimited framework in which pastors tried with difficulty to keep their exiled communities as the diaspora drew on.

In three scenes gathered from the years 1691–1692 (which correspond to the repeated call from the Walloon churches to safeguard Reformed orthodoxy),[38] Isaac Claude's sermons reveal much about the balance of religious power in The Hague. Three of his sermons throw us into the heart of extra-community tensions and bear witness to three types of interactions that reveal how real interfaith porosity was. The adversary (Roman Catholic, atheist, or deist) is rarely referred to explicitly but still looms in the pastor's censures and elliptical formulas.

The first, a Pentecost sermon, delivered on 3 June 1691, hints at the effects of a mixed denominational environment. While it is not possible to accurately identify the nature of the attack or the specific "enemies" to which the minister alludes—other than to consider that he is pointing at the French Catholics, from a distance (we can see here that he defends a fervent profession of Protestantism in exile at a time when the Reformation was being persecuted in France)—such a statement within the Refuge, and the vigour of the tone, might have surprised an audience inclined to hide its faith under a bushel even though it was now free to profess it aloud without fear of being driven away:

> My brothers, let us celebrate our Pentecost fittingly, […] a perpetual Pentecost, I mean that we must never be ashamed of it […] despite all the oppositions […] against us […] for fear that our enemies will stop our mouths and prevent us […] from publishing it [the Gospel], and from bearing witness to it everywhere […]. Their fury is such, it is true, that it often surprises the firmest hearts. But remember […] always that our Gospel was not published in the past in order to be kept in the darkness and in the hiding places of shame. The shadows are not made for God or for his Gospel. It was preached in the face of the Jews and of all Jerusalem to […] the most implacable adversaries of his son […]. It is never more

38 In 1692, the synod of Breda urged refugee pastors to be "jealous of orthodoxy, and to make their zeal and ardour to maintain it appear in their conversations in their writings" (Article 30) quoted in Bots, "Les pasteurs français au Refuge dans les Provinces-Unies" (see above, n. 8), 12.

> worthy to be confessed than when it is most attacked [...] This is when we must show all its truth and all its excellence [...] This is when we must demonstrate the sincerity of our faith and our piety. [...] As he blesses courage [...] on the day of the Pentecost, who knows if he will likewise bless our confession, and if he will make it the instrument of his conquests and victories over his enemies.[39]

This sermon is all the more surprising because it is not a re-use of a sermon preached in France but rather a text composed in the Refuge, in which the fervent perspective challenges any accusation of spiritual tepidity. Such fervour in the Refuge must certainly serve the cause of the Reformation in France but also the general advancement of truth. In this sermon, Isaac Claude urges the union of exiles who have made compromises for their interests ("we have obeyed the spirit of this world too much, which is a spirit of division and separation"), challenging them on the impossibility of living in peace at the expense of truth, evoking compromises in view of which "war is a thousand times holier than peace." Along with his criticism of the love of the world, whose "illusions" and "phantoms" he mocks, the minister stigmatizes "the sad and painful effect that under the sweet appearances of friendship hides the deadliest and most poisonous of all poisons."

This recurring fear of a weak and unsteady faith (of "cold and light conversations") is part of the feeling among ministers of a persistent danger. The Refuge is not, in fact, the ideal shelter for the faith, secure against all trials. The point is similar in the sermons of Jean Barbin (1642–1728), a pastor in Haarlem, who, as early as 1688, challenged the exiles with the affirmation that escaping Catholic destruction in France was not everything, and that it was still up to them to protect themselves from causing their own perdition in the Refuge. The Republic is merely a "little Zoara" where there may still be hidden traps; it is a shelter full of pitfalls, explains the minister, where the less careful risk falling prey to their own covetousness.[40] Six years after the Revocation, Claude insistently appeals

39 Leiden University Library, BWA MC 7 *Recueil de sermons manuscrits autographes prêchés par Isaac Claude à Clermont, Charenton et à La Haye pendant les années 1678–1695*: sermon on Ac 2,1–4 pronounced in The Hague on 3 June 1691, on the day of the Pentecost (non-folioed). *Nota Bene*: these sermons, in a narrow and cramped handwriting, with numerous crossed out and underlined words, corrections and notes regarding additions in the margins, are full of abbreviations, which I have chosen to fill in here in order to facilitate the reading.

40 Barbin, *Les devoirs des fideles refugiez* (see above, n. 31), 98, 104, 183. The small town of Zoara is the place of asylum where Lot, after being saved and leaving Sodom, nevertheless came to perdition because of his own carelessness, explains the minister (Gn 19,22).

to refugees not to depart from the truth (he writes: "asking for this peace and […] moving away from the truth, this is […] a rebellion and a conspiracy, it is asking for the peace of the underworld […] for there can never be a union between Christ and Belial, light and darkness, and to want to combine them together is precisely to conspire to destroy one by the other"). He also exhorts them not to be intimidated by the paganising influences surrounding them (we must recognise that the biblical figure of the "Jew" serves in his sermon to refer to the non-Christians whom pastors associate with atheists and false devotees). He recurrently calls to stand firm in the face of "temptations." His preaching expresses the intensity of the threats bearing down on the exiles and the potential impact of religious blending on their confessional integrity. Minister Barbin, according to whom "there are traps everywhere," says the same thing to the refugees of Haarlem, surrounded by Catholics: "We retreat to lands where […] the Gospel is triumphant and where the true religion is dominant. But in these countries, are there not some infirm people […] If we only had to live with good people, we could walk with more confidence […]. But are we not still surrounded by people who hate our religion and whose hatred can spew forth upon our people, in order to spy on our weaknesses […]? Because after all, is there anything one is not capable of when one sets out to destroy someone?"[41]

His colleague Isaac Claude's insistence that the Reformed people of The Hague should not keep their faith hidden but rather claim it even among the pagans, just as the Gospel was once proclaimed in the midst of the Jews, and even in its homeland, Jerusalem, speaks for itself here. Is this a measure of the time that it took for the Catholic presence (which accounted for 30 to 40 percent of the global population of the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century) to become more pressing among the exiles in The Hague?[42] Nevertheless, in the years 1691–1692, which seem to have been a turning point, we find that the sermons relay echoes of a refugee community affected by heterodox friendships, which the minister denounces under the theme of "corruption" and by using the biblical figures of the "wicked," archetypes of unrepentant deceivers to whom all forms of peace are denied, doomed to perish through their contempt for God. Claude assesses this corruption in the light of the shortcomings and confusion among Protestant exiles, who engage in all kinds of alliances and participate "without distinction […] in all confederations," while in the pulpit the idea prevails that friendships must be formed strictly in accordance with denominational affiliation, at the risk of betraying and warping it:

41 Ibid., 100, 182–185.

42 Nijenhuis, "La coexistence confessionnelle aux Provinces-Unies du Siècle d'Or" (see above, n. 5), 66. See also Frijhoff, *Embodied Belief* (see above, n. 7), 44.

> What I want to conclude from this is that since we are so inclined to imitate [Judas] and so quick to follow the examples we have before our eyes, one of the greatest ways in which we must take care of ourselves in society is by choosing our friends well, along with the people with whom we intend to converse in the world, and not to behave as do those fools who associate with the wicked as well as with the good, and who also indiscriminately join all confederations. There would not be so much doubt, so many disorders and failings among us, if […] the fear of God regulated our friendships, and if we were a bit more cautious on this subject than we are […]. Our piety […] needs support […]. If we do not give it righteous and well-founded support, it must necessarily fall and wither, but will you find such righteous support among the wicked? No, my brothers, no, it is only to be found […] among the faithful. Judge therefore whether it is not extremely important that you associate with them […] In all holy societies, encouragement towards goodness and truth must come from all sides […]. Banish […] [therefore] this wicked inclination [towards treachery] […]. It is this indeed that makes me raise my voice today to try to guard you from this poison, and from this evil, which is, alas, only too great and too general. There is nothing more unworthy of you or that you must abhor more strongly. There is nothing, however, that spreads more easily.[43]

The imperviousness of denominational boundaries prescribed by the Refuge ministers is contradicted by the great socio-religious permeability that Claude considers to be an extensive phenomenon and a "too general evil," even in The Hague. The final sermon draws back the veil from these "wicked people" by whom Isaac Claude warns the Huguenots not to be deceived:

> My brothers, learn from this not to be surprised by all the clamour of Roman Egypt under the pretext that it observed Lent and some fasting […]; it speaks to us only of its mortifications, and thus claims to carry the perfection of humanity as far as it can go. But according to what we have said along with St Paul, should we not have lost all shame and modesty in order to make one of our gravest errors […] into the material of our glory? Do not be surprised by this, however, my brothers. Superstition has the particular character of being bold and impudent, it violates all respect for

43 Leiden University Library, BWA MC 7: sermon by Isaac Claude on Matt 26,8–9, The Hague, 14 November 1691.

> the most sacred laws, and when this offense is made, far from correcting itself, it canonises its own faults […], and you are not without knowing this aspect in particular […] [of] Roman superstition. It has disfigured Christianity into a hundred things […] with its relics and idolatry, it has reduced piety […] to processions and rosaries […] and to pilgrimages and abstinences […]. I confess to you, my brothers, that when I think about such undignified and anti-Christian conduct, I can only be seized with holy horror; I ask God again from the bottom of my heart to deliver his Gospel from this infamy […]. For at last, [instead] of remaining calm as you see this debasement of the Christian religion, enter, my brothers, enter into these movements; they are the same as those of St Paul in Athens, and give thanks to God to have removed you from such a wicked, corrupt, and superstitious communion […]. If you were righteous […] you would stop the mouth of your enemies and convince them that you have abandoned their fasting and abstinences only to attach yourself to the most salutary aspects of the Gospel […] and thus you would advocate for our Reformation […]. The vocation that has been addressed to you commits you to this too strongly to believe that you would still persevere in [such] indecencies.[44]

The exhortation not to fear proclaiming one's faith, the stigmatisation of ill-chosen friendships, and, more surprising here, the competitive appeal of Catholic devotion, which draws in those Protestants who are attracted by the practices of Lent (to the point of forcing Isaac Claude to refute the idea that the Reformation is in this respect a "convenient religion"), offer us three eloquent cases of these interferences and denominational interpenetrations. In the latter example, it is not so much religious slackening or compromises linked to private interests but rather a devotional attraction appealing to the desire for Christian perfection, which the rigour of Catholic asceticism sharpens in some Huguenots. The appeal of the Catholic religion is so pervasive that the minister begins to recall the principles considered superstitious and criticises the lack of opposition to Catholics, accusing the refugees of negligence and urging them to rise up from their weakness and not to relax their efforts to defend the Reformation, the vulnerabilities of which he points out.[45]

Let us end our examination of this homiletic focal point with the sermons of Minister Isaac Ponce, the subjects of which attest to a Huguenot society

44 Ibid., sermon by Isaac Claude on Rm 14,17, The Hague, 10 February 1692.

45 Ibid. On the coldness and negligence of the exiles regarding the service of God, see also ibid., sermon by Isaac Claude on Ac 1,10–11, The Hague, 30 April 1693.

in Nijmegen undermined by spiritual abandonment. The absence of dates for these sermons deprives us of a detailed chronology but the recurrence of the theme points to a marked trend.

Ponce frequently denounces a cooling piety and a decreasing assiduity in worship, the lack of ardour of his audience, the weak religious tributes of a community of exiles whose eyes, if the minister is to be believed, are turning away from God. The exiles' attitude shows that they are unwilling to carry out their religious duties from which they excuse themselves more and more frequently. The pastor severely reprimands their "defects and imperfections of piety," forcefully chastising the faithful who are unwilling to produce glowing marks of their faith, living "in a way that does not match their religious belief," who whisper against God and challenge his providence "by outrageous speeches."[46] These are all grievances that Ponce places under the theological motif of "rebellion," usually used by ministers to stigmatise religious compromises and apostasy.

Nijmegen, like Haarlem and Maastricht, had very strong Catholic communities, and Isaac Ponce's sermons match what we find in the archives of the consistories of the Walloon churches, containing complaints in various places about exiles marrying Catholics or attending mass.[47] Ponce adds to the list the misdeeds of "atheism, deism, and libertinism, which have infected an infinite number of people of all kinds and conditions," noting that among the refugees "we congratulate ourselves on attacking religion." Railing against the "infinity of disorders," the "perjuries, false oaths," mocking the pitiful "efforts made up of a mix of languor, coldness, and neglect," and portraying the exiles as hypocrites ("this is the portrait of those who live in these Provinces, in this city, I would even say of many of those same people who make up this very flock"), Ponce reports on the powerful influence of this surrounding society using eloquent formulas, including the accusation that Nijmegen's exiles "drink iniquity as a fish drinks water"![48] The subjects and even the explicit titles of the minister's sermons reveal a sectarian struggle that was taking place in this Catholic envi-

46 Leiden University Library, BWA MD 5.1: Isaac Ponce's sermons on Ps 2,12 and on Ps 39,10. On their remoteness and their lack of practice, see his sermons on Ps 50,15, then on Ps 81,14 and Lk 11,28 and Leiden UL, BWA MD 5.3: Isaac Ponce's sermons on 1 Th 1,6–10, then on 1 Th 4,1–9; 1 Th 5,15–28; 2 Th 3,9–18; 1 Th 4,1–9; 1 Th 5,15–28 and his paraphrase of 1 Tm 1,12–20. *Nota Bene*: none of the parts of the volumes in the series MD 5.1 to 5.17 containing the *Sermons manuscrits du ministre Isaac Ponce* is folioed or dated.

47 Leiden University Library, BWA MD 5.2: paraphrase by Isaac Ponce on 2 Cor 6,11–18. See in particular *Le consistoire de l'Église wallonne de Rotterdam, 1681–1706*, ed. Hubert Bost (Paris, 2008), 415 (act dated 20 March 1706).

48 Leiden University Library, BWA MD 5.1: Isaac Ponce's sermon on Ps 81,14 (for all citations).

ronment against the "deranged conduct" of the refugees, the "quest for excuses and pretexts for corruption"; a struggle that is manifest in his criticism of "false deities," his defence of a faith in "one God" and the impossibility of "serving two masters [...], God and Mammon," in his admonitions against secular exiles seeking the company of "declared enemies of God [...] [who] associate with the children of darkness" and give their hearts to Belial, in his reproaches against those who have been "seduced by the false doctors," and in his call to "return to Jesus Christ [...], abandoned in such a cowardly way."[49]

Ponce's insistence on "all the efforts that the false doctors [make] to mislead" the exiles suggests a sustained programme of Catholic propaganda aimed at the refugees. Such propaganda not only emerged from the Huguenots letting down their guard and purportedly letting themselves sink into a passive interreligiosity, out of interest or worldly lusts, but also gained power from Catholic initiatives. These compelled the pastor of Nijmegen, and of The Hague, to rework the theological matter and the fundamentals of the Reformed doctrine, which were degraded or otherwise challenged by surrounding Catholics (Claude preaching about the consumption of meat, the appropriate understanding of fasting and the role of good works, Ponce against the eucharistic dogma of transubstantiation, the value of communion in both kinds and justification by faith alone).[50] Just as there were the phenomena of the Francisation of the Dutch and the Creolisation of the Huguenots in the New World, these sources provide clues, if not of the Catholicisation (the use of the term would require a further broadening of the survey), at least of Catholicism pervading the Huguenot societies in the mixed cities of the United Provinces.[51] French

49 See for example Leiden University Library, BWA MD 5.2: paraphrases by Isaac Ponce on Rm 6 ("Le dogme de la justification par la foi défendu contre les objections des impies"), then on 1Cor. 8,1–6 ("Saint Paul repondant aux Corinthiens au sujet des choses sacrifiées aux idoles"), on 2Cor. 6,11–18 ("Obligation où sont les fidèles de n'avoir aucun commerce avec les infidels", a term that Ponce uses interchangeably with "idolâtres", designating Catholics), on 2Cor. 11,1–15 ("Saint Paul soutenant son ministere contre les faux docteurs"), on Ga 1,1–10 ("La préface de l'epitre aux galates et les reproches que St Paul leur fait"), Ga 2,1–10 ("Paul prouvant la verité de sa vocation contre ses ennemis") and Ga 3,1–14 ("Diverses preuves que St Paul allegue en faveur de la justification par la foi"), on Ph 3,1–10 ("L'excellence de la connoissance de J.C. par dessus tous les avantages charnels"); Leiden University Library BWA MD 5.17: Isaac Ponce's sermon on Matt. 26,26–29 ("Le retranchement de la coupe et le dogme de la transsubstantiation combatus").

50 See supra, n. 44 and 49, and for the citation, Leiden University Library, BWA MD 5.2: paraphrase by Isaac Ponce on Col. 3,1–11 ("Les grands devoirs imposez aux fideles de Colosse").

51 See Bots, "Le Refuge dans les Provinces-Unies" (see above, n. 16), 73; Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden* (see above, n. 15). On these phenomena, see also Lauric Henneton,

refugee circles seemed to experience what the Dutch Calvinists themselves had experienced. This perfect echo of the situation is noted by Willem Frijhoff in native Dutch society; it testifies to the Catholic permeation of Dutch Protestant societies, which can also be seen in some Huguenot exile circles.[52] The situation of refugees responds to the complex pattern of relations between Christians of various observances specific to the United Provinces, which often also escape the will of exiled pastors.

While among these enemies it is sometimes difficult to distinguish Catholics from libertines, it is clear that the threat they represent is severe; Ponce constantly alerts his Reformed listeners to "the tricks and artifices of the enemies, who neglect nothing in order to corrupt you," believing "that times are bad and difficult for the Church, formidable enemies opposed to the progress of the Gospel [...] neglect nothing in order to undermine the faith and the constancy of the faithful [...] to discourage them."[53] The homiletics of the Refuge maintain a highly warlike language that can be surprising when we encounter it in the land of exile. While it may be part of conventional homiletic rhetoric, it is nevertheless the expression of a pressing danger. Is it the effect of mobile, shifting audiences, and the presence of the relapsed believers made numerous by the back-and-forth journeys to France in the early years of the exodus?[54] Are these the consequences of interconfessional contact? In any case, the war metaphor is inevitable, and Ponce urges the exiles to arm themselves from head to toe. The pastor of Nijmegen devotes two eloquent sermons to this persistent religious peril in the Refuge, which he believes threatens the Reformed faith and the community cohesion of the refugees even as exile offers them freedom of worship:

"Circulation, conversation, créolisation", *Études théologiques et religieuses* 86 (2011), 49–70; Susanne Lachenicht, "Religious Orthodoxy and Trans-Confessional Practices in Colonial New York and South Carolina," *Revue d'histoire américaine* 141 (2014), 21–31.

52 Frijhoff, *Embodied Belief* (see above, n. 7), 42–43. Unknowingly and to a lesser extent, Huguenot ministers, like their Dutch counterparts, came up against the inclusive society that the civil authorities tolerated (see ibid., 44, 52).

53 Leiden University Library BWA MD 5.1: Isaac Ponce's sermon on Ps 2,12 and BWA MD 5.2: paraphrase by the same author on Eph 6,1–12. In BWA MD 5.3, the paraphrase on 1 Th 1,6–10 could be targeting the ambient influence of the libertines.

54 A pervasive phenomenon, as evidenced by the consistorial acts of the Walloon Church in Rotterdam: *Le consistoire de l'Église wallonne de Rotterdam, 1681–1706* (see above, n. 47), 56, n. 23. See also Yardeni, *Le Refuge huguenot. Assimilation et culture* (see above, n. 3), especially 96 sq. in the chapter "Conversions et reconversions dans le Refuge huguenot".

> Thanks to the goodness of God, my brothers, we are not exposed to the violence of the persecutors, we can make an open profession of Christianity without fear of being forced to silence ourselves; we live in a republic where the people of God, far from being oppressed, enjoy precious freedom, under the protection of sovereigns who declare themselves their foster fathers. But we have other enemies who are no less formidable or less dangerous. Enemies who surround us, and besiege us, and who make every effort to make us stray from our duty, roaring lions prowl around us, the world by its deceitful attractions constantly works to corrupt us and to seduce us […], employing a thousand tricks, a thousand stratagems […]. To resist the attacks of these enemies, it takes no less courage, no less firmness than to resist persecution […]. But, alas, there are few who oppose their efforts. On the contrary, most are secretly in agreement with them […]. Far from looking away from the vanity of the world and all the objects that could seduce them, they are so dazzled by the deceptive glare of the honours and riches of the earth, that they are ready to undertake anything, and to use even the most criminal means to satisfy their ambition […]. You Christians who can make these same reproaches against yourselves, think on this carefully: by continuing such conduct, you run towards perdition […]. This is the goal for which they aim, and they will have no trouble succeeding since you are completely devoted to them […] you must conquer or perish. There is no middle ground, you have to fight with all the force you are capable of […] or, if you don't have the courage to fight in this war, you will have to perish with these enemies.[55]

These concerns arose from such reprehensible fraternities within the very Republic where it was possible to live out the Reformed faith freely. The *world* that was affecting the exiles' faith, and by which some of the Huguenots were indeed won over, was the world of interfaith connivances and intermingling, stirred up and provoked by social envy. Ponce considers them no less dangerous than the effects of religious persecution and does not hesitate to compare the powerful attraction of the desire for social recognition to the effect of the oppressive violence that, in France, had led people to break from their faith. This surprising comparison suggests both the temptation towards internal remoteness and the outward application to promote it. The pastor sees this complacency as ingratitude on the part of the exiles who, with their freedom restored, dishonour God, who removed them from the very Catholicism

55 Leiden University Library BWA MD 5.2: Isaac Ponce's paraphrase on Eph 6,1–12.

by which they now wilfully allow themselves to be led into error ("but what use has been made of this favour? […] You have turned back").[56]

In a very explicit sermon on "The Excellent Armor of the Faithful," constructed on Eph 6,13–24, Isaac Ponce's way of extending the war metaphor throughout the Apostle Paul's address is not just a laborious way of seeking to electrify the more or less apathetic faith of the refugees, or of mobilising their fervour against a virtual enemy. It is instead the expression of a worry that finds in the warlike Pauline register (with its "weapons of God" and its devotional modalities of Christian commitment) its most expressive combative expression, aimed at engaging the struggle in Nijmegen, in an environment perceived as powerfully offensive and as not suffering the slightest breach.

> Man is surrounded by a host of enemies against whom he must take precautions to defend himself and to stay on his guard so as not to be struck down right away. But if the life of man in general can be seen as a continuous struggle, this is above all the idea that one must form regarding the life of a man of faith, for not only is he surrounded, like everyone else, by enemies who attack his bodily life, but also by enemies who resent his spiritual life and who make continual efforts to destroy it. We therefore cannot exhort the faithful strongly enough to look after themselves so that they are not surprised by the machinations of their opponents. This is what the sacred authors address as well. They constantly send […] strong exhortations to the faithful to urge them to always be ready to fight […] for […] your adversary roams around you like a roaring lion searching for those whom he can devour. […] It is in this view also, my brothers, that St. Paul strongly urges the faithful of Ephesus to take up all the weapons of God so as to be ready to resist all attacks that are waged upon them […]. Take up all the weapons of God […] since we have to fight not feeble and insignificant enemies, but enemies whose power and number, skill and malice, artifice and violence are also dangerous […] a single defect, a single passage left open to the enemy, who takes advantage of everything, will suffice to doom [you]. […] Therefore, be firm.[57]

56 Leiden University Library, BWA MD 5.1: sermon by Isaac Ponce on Ps 81,14 ("Les sentimens de l'Eternel au sujet de l'Israël ingrat et rebelle").

57 Leiden University Library, BWA MD 5.2: paraphrase on Eph 6,13–24. See also BWA MD 5.3: paraphrase on 1 Th 2,1–10, an exhortation not to let the crown be ravished by the enemies of the Scriptures, and to be "always unshakeable" and to grow stronger in Reformed communion.

The terms of this local balance of power are not entirely new. Suspicions are expressed with the help of tried and tested biblical rhetoric, expressed here in the figure of the "enemy of the Gospel" and the "false doctors," and also in the register of deceit and seduction, of the stealthy and pernicious action of adversaries, of imposture, of error, that are specific to the Protestant denunciation of Roman Catholic initiatives.[58] This seemingly overused rhetoric nevertheless retains a strong and explicit ideological charge, for it does not point to just any enemy but rather to the enemy who already surrounds the faithful, is already in his immediate vicinity, and who, in the figure of the prowling lion and the circling wolves,[59] "neglects nothing in order to sow the chaff in the field of the Lord," Ponce assures us, and "makes every effort to turn us away from the Gospel"; these formulas refer to the Catholic environment of Nijmegen and the Roman communion against which the pastor also undertakes to preach openly and urges refugees to remain vigilant.[60]

Based on the last two document-based focal points, bringing together theological dissertations and synodal acts, we can briefly mention five other types of confessional interaction in the Dutch Republic.

5 From Huguenot Proselytism to Transnational Mutual Aid from the Refuge Exiles: Diasporic Competition and Struggles

The final part of this essay highlights the plural modalities of the religious struggle that continued among the exiles, and sheds light on the hidden wars that continued in the Refuge during the first half of the eighteenth century. Without dismissing the phenomena of coexistence that were supported by socio-professional interests, this part of the study calls for considering long-term sectarian rivalries and the weight of religious motives that presided over various silent conflicts.

In his *Dissertations sur le Messie*, published in The Hague in 1699, Isaac Jaquelot (1647–1708), minister of Wassy, exiled in Heidelberg and then in The Hague from 1686 to 1702 before reaching Berlin, offers another portrait of the Refuge: the more unexpected Protestant proselytism towards the French-

58 On the biblical seduction motif used as polemical rhetoric in Reformed homiletics against Rome and Catholicism, see Chrystel Bernat, "Prêcher contre Rome au temps de la Révocation. Babylone: figure archétypale de la polémique anticatholique dans l'homilétique protestante du second XVII^e siècle", *Études Épistémè* 37 (2020) (online soon).

59 Leiden University Library, BWA MD 5.2: paraphrase by Isaac Ponce on 2 Cor 11,1–15.

60 See in particular ibid., paraphrase on Ga 1,1–10.

speaking Jews of the United Provinces ("the Jews who are in these provinces" and are more "familiar" with the French language than with Latin, as Jaquelot points out), who in his view remain "enemies of the Gospel" because of their attachment to the Old Testament. His preface opens with an evangelical perspective: "They confess that God promised to send them the Messiah, we say that he has come […]. Even if we had enough indifference and indolence to neglect them, they would have to ask us to produce the reasons that lead us to believe it. We are anticipating such requests."[61] Exile in Calvinist-dominated provinces thus revived the proselytic ambitions that their status as a banned minority denomination had curbed and eventually ended in France. This is to say that the Protestant refugees were not in a simple relationship of exiles, which is further evidenced by Jean Barbin's exhortations in Haarlem, the preaching in Nijmegen of his colleague Isaac Ponce, anxious to attract new souls to the Reformation, and the consistorial acts of the Walloon Church in Rotterdam supporting the proselytists of Rotterdam and Leiden as early as 1681, and again in 1699.[62] Isaac Jaquelot, who confides that he does not understand Dutch, does not fail to reach out to French-speaking Jews, and is very confident of being able to seize the windfall of their presence in the Christian States in order to encourage them to convert to Christianity; he considers that it is not by driving them away into third-confessional countries that the Protestants will be able to achieve their conversion ("Do we expect them to convert to the Gospel in the middle of the Mahometans or of the idolaters?"[63]). The Jews, deprived of any civil rights, and forming an extreme minority with only a few thousand

61 Isaac Jaquelot, *Dissertations sur le Messie, où l'on prouve aux Juifs que Jesus-Christ est le Messie promis et prédit dans l'Ancien Testament* (The Hague, 1669), unpaginated preface (Amsterdam, 1752, respectively p. xx, xij, xxij-xxiij). The philosemitism of the Huguenots, defended by Myriam Yardeni, and accentuated by the Protestant ministers' interest in Hebrew culture, even as they remained very critical of the Jews (their appropriation of the history of biblical Israel must not be confused with their consideration of the Jews), should not be used to sugarcoat these early proselytising attempts; Myriam Yardeni, *Huguenots et juifs* (Paris, 2008), in particular 143–154.

62 Barbin, *Les devoirs des fideles refugiez* (see above, n. 31), 183. Ponce supports this proselytism in Nijmegen (apparently aimed at Catholics), Leiden University Library, BWA MD 5.2: paraphrases by Isaac Ponce on 1 Cor. 8,7–13 ("No one is without the knowledge that the salvation of our neighbour must be as much in our hearts as our own […]. We must do everything that depends on us to promote it") and on 2 Cor. 11,1–15. See also BWA MD 5.3: paraphrase on 1 Thess 2,1–10. *Le consistoire de l'Église wallonne de Rotterdam, 1681–1706* (see above, n. 47), 40 and 312 (acts from 22 June 1681 and 22 March 1699). On proselytism aimed at the Jews, see also Daniel de Superville, *Sermons sur divers textes de l'Ecriture sainte*, 3 vols. (Rotterdam, 1717), t. II, 350.

63 Jaquelot, *Dissertations sur le Messie* (see above, n. 61), preface xxj.

members in the Dutch Republic around 1700, responded through the preacher and apologist Diego (Abraham) Gómez Silveira, a Jewish converso from Castile who had fled to Amsterdam, suspected of heterodoxy and yet the most prolific author in the Judeo-Christian polemic, which opposed a dozen texts (produced only in manuscript form so as not to compromise the Jewish presence in a Christian environment but circulating covertly) to Jaquelot, whose scholarship on Jewish sources and particular blend of provocation and respect passed for an innovation in Sephardic circles.[64] The controversialist discourse does not say anything about the concrete impact of this kind of proselytic initiative, but the phenomenon still needs to be studied, as the Jewish response to Minister Jaquelot's initiative was considered to be exceptionally forceful.[65] As such, it would be pertinent to examine the controversial writings related to the exiled pastors' proselytic efforts, since this was one of the variables of their long-term exile.

Synodal sources from the years 1730–1744 emanate from other variations on the relationships that exiles had with the societies around them. Whether these enterprises were educational, theological, based on an economy of solidarity, or strategic-religious and polemical, they were all competitive, and with a more offensive aim than in the early years, which were marked by withdrawal. While interfaith relations were sanctioned very early on and the attitude was rather defensive at first, the actions of the exiles seem to have become more combative towards their opponents over time.[66] While their attitude towards Lutherans, and even towards sympathising Catholics, seemed grateful in the early days (particularly because of their support at the time of the first exodus from France), intra- and interfaith controversies became acute during the first third of the eighteenth century, as evidenced by the acts of the synods of Zutphen in June 1733 and of Middelburg in May 1734, which intended to react to whatever could undermine the "Protestant Party" and prove to be contrary to the doctrine taught among the French-speaking Protestants in the Dutch

64 Harm den Boer, "Le 'Contre-discours' des nouveaux juifs. Esprit et polémique dans la littérature des juifs sépharades d'Amsterdam", Esther Benbassa (ed.), *Les Sépharades en littérature. Un parcours millénaire* (Paris, 2005), 47–65, there 58–60. On the numerical assessment and the exiled conditions of the Jews, see Nijenhuis, "La coexistence confessionnelle aux Provinces-Unies du Siècle d'Or" (see above, n. 5), 72 sqq.

65 Monge, Muchnik, *L'Europe des diasporas* (see above, n. 15), 428. The authors point to the mobilisation of other Protestant diasporic groups, in this case the Moravian brothers, with Zinzendorf in the lead, interested in the conversion of the Jews (ibid., 429).

66 See for an example of sanctions, *Le consistoire de l'Église wallonne de Rotterdam, 1681–1706* (see above, n. 47), 69 (act of 2 December 1685).

Republic, both refugees and natives.[67] This controversy was not only directed towards what was being spread in France but rather what was circulating in the Refuge. This is what we can infer from the rebuttal undertaken in 1733 by Des Vœux of the work of the defector Des Mahis, published nearly 40 years earlier in France and aimed at attracting Protestants to Catholicism by entering the persuasive field of the Scriptures.[68] Was it a reaction to the permeation of Catholic theology through the most exposed Reformed circles in the United Provinces? It is reasonable to think so, for it is likely that the work of the apostate minister Des Mahis had the effect hoped for by Catholics, even in exile circles; otherwise, how could we explain this late rebuttal, along with the others initiated between 1732 and 1734 against miracles attributed to relics?[69] It can certainly be speculated that this was the continuation, from a distance, of a polemical activity that it was impossible to carry out in France. However, the insistent warning of the ministers, delivered 50 years after the Revocation, in exile and far from the Catholic lands of France, to "fear falling into the hands of men who resent the [Reformed] religion," as preached in 1735 by the Rev. Jean Louis Bonvoust (1681–1751), suggests that the struggle against the Catholics was ongoing even in the United Provinces.[70]

67 Barbin, *Les devoirs des fideles refugiez* (see above, n. 31), 80 sq. *Articles résolus dans les Synodes des Eglises wallonnes des Provinces-Unies* (see above, n. 18), synod of Zutphen, 4 June 1733, art. CII, 34–35.

68 *Articles résolus dans les Synodes des Eglises wallonnes des Provinces-Unies* (see above, n. 18), synod of Middelburg, 17 May 1734, art. LXIV et LXV (report on the work of Minister Des Vœux, *Defense de la verité ou Refutation d'un livre intitulé La vérité de la religion catholique prouvée par l'Ecriture sainte par Mr des Mahis* published in Amsterdam in 1736), 18.

69 On the deliberate intention of the work of the defector Des Mahis, see the endorsement of the book written in Paris on 30 December, 1695, by P. de Laurens, Bishop of Belley, who notes that "it will be very useful to remove the Calvinists from error, because he fights them not only by the Holy Scripture, which they claim to be the only rule of the faith, […] but also as he was of their sect he convinces them by their own professions of faith and by the versions of their Bible, which he shows to have changed and altered the Holy Scripture." *La vérité de la religion catholique, prouvée par l'Ecriture sainte. Par M. Des Mahis, chanoine de l'Eglise d'Orléans, & cy-devant Ministre de la Religion Prétenduë Reformée* (Paris, 1710[5]), preface, XVI-XVII. On the works of Minister Des Vœux regarding miracles attributed to Abbot Pâris's relics at Saint-Médard Church in Paris, see *Articles résolus dans les Synodes des Eglises wallonnes des Provinces-Unies* (see above, n. 18), synod of Zutphen, 4 June 1733, art. CII, 37 and synod of Middelburg, 17 May 1734, art. LXV, 18. See also synod of Deventer, 31 August 1734, art. LXIII, 26.

70 Jean Louis Bonvoust, *Sermon composé à l'occasion de la L[e] année depuis la revocation de l'Edit de Nantes et prononcé le XXIII[e] octobre 1735 dans l'Eglise wallonne d'Utrecht par l'un de ses pasteurs* (Utrecht, 1735), 39 (*Sermon sur ces parolles. Bienheureux sont ceux qui écoutent la Parole de Dieu & qui la gardent. Luc: XI,28*).

The imprint of this sectarian struggle is evident in many other sequences, such as the disciplinary sanctions taken against Abraham Guiot, the pastor of Bleigny, who had a "quick and querulous temper," and whose repeated recklessness and drunkenness led him to "insults" that threatened the standing of Protestantism in a strongly Catholic environment. The case suggests, in a lapidary but instructive formula, how the Walloon Churches were struggling with their surroundings, and as such were concerned with the "breaches" in their defences that were caused by a lack of discipline, which by affecting the reputation of a minister also affected the reputation of the Reformed Churches as a whole:

> The Assembly [...] urges him to think seriously about the harm he is doing, and the fruits of his ministry [...] by making his character despised by ill-calculated ways of doing things. Occupying such a holy position, surrounded by Roman Catholics, to whom he must show by his manners the many ways in which our Religion can reform people's hearts, and bound to edify his flock, should he not, with some circumspection, behave in such a way as to repair the breaches made to his reputation and to his character? [...] Mr. Guiot [...] must be persuaded that if he [...] lacks restraint and seriousness [...] we will proceed against him until the deposition of his holy ministry.[71]

The Huguenots' actions, which were preventative at first, became offensive and propagandist in the eighteenth century, when they welcomed the proselytes who arrived in 1737 from the region of Liège, supported them and helped them settle along the borders of Catholicity, in this case in Maastricht. This is not an isolated example. Already in May 1700, the consistory of the Walloon Church of Rotterdam had deputised Basnage and Clarhaut to the burgomasters of Rotterdam, on the one hand in order to obtain subsidies to support the settlement in Rotterdam of proselytes from Mons in the Hainaut region who had abandoned Catholicism and, on the other hand, to prepare for the journey of some of them who wished to establish themselves in Brandenburg, with the help of

71 *Articles résolus au Synode des Eglises wallonnes des Provinces-Unies* (see above, n. 18), synod of Deventer, 30 August 1734, art. XLVIII et XLIX, 20–21. The minister, installed in 1720, was finally deposed in 1737 (ibid., synod of Maastricht, 27 May 1737, art. XXXIII, 11–12). *Registre des noms de tous les pasteurs des Eglises walonnes des Provinces Unies du Pais-Bas, depuis la Réformation jusques à la présente année 1733* (Leiden, 1733), 8.

the French Church of Berlin.[72] In May 1737, the Maastricht synod, which questioned the relevance of establishing proselytes from the regions of Liège and Limburg in the city, surrounded as it was by Catholics, examined the data in the political-religious equation, which gives us access to the strategies (social, corporate and familial, as well as financial, geopolitical, and linguistic) that accompanied the denominational conquests of the Huguenots in the Spanish Netherlands:

> The Moderator has provided […] a narration concerning the Refuge of several inhabitants of the region of Liège, of Limburg and of the surrounding area, who come to Maastricht to embrace the Reformed religion […]. They [the Churches] have blessed God with the progress that the Reformation is making among the people of these lands […]. Several churches have already sent their contributions […].
>
> […] Some deputies have presented questions from their churches […]. They ask […] if the city of Maastricht, where they are surrounded by Roman Catholics, is proper to serve as a refuge for these proselytists from the region of Liège? If they would not be better off in some village where, the expenses being lower, their work would be sufficient for their upkeep? Or if it is not appropriate to disperse them throughout all the churches? […] To […] these questions, the deputies from Maastricht […] and other members of the Company have noticed that staying in Maastricht is suitable for those proselytists who practice the profession of nail-making, that these people, speaking only Walloon, could not without inconvenience be dispersed to places where Flemish would be more necessary for them; that it would have been difficult to convince them, because they like to be within reach of working towards the assistance of the elderly and the children whom many have left in their country; that it is advantageous for them to remain in the vicinity of their former estates, which they hope to regain, from which some are currently earning an income; that this itself is useful for the spread of the faith among their compatriots, who, when they come to visit them, may be encouraged to follow their example; that they run no risk in Maastricht, being protected by LL. HH. PP. [the High Powers] our lords the States-General; that they are not exposed to the effects of irritation from Roman Catholics, some of whom, even nail merchants, as the Moderator has assured us, buy [the nails] made by these

72 *Le consistoire de l'Église wallonne de Rotterdam, 1681–1706* (see above, n. 47), 326 (act of 16 May 1700).

> proselytes; that, after all, these proselytists have already begun a settlement in Maastricht that they cannot abandon and transpose elsewhere except at sheer loss.[73]

Professional and linguistic links, as well as the proximity of the former territories that contributed to the livelihood of proselytes who came to join the Reformed communities, and the possibility of organising networks of mutual aid for families who had remained across the border in Liège, were all criteria for settling newcomers to the Reformation in the border areas. This took place despite the presence of Catholics, which was seen less as an obstacle than as an opportunity to make the Reformation advance into enemy territories, not only in departure strongholds (in this case in Liège, where continuing ties with families and compatriots could help favour new conversions) but also in Maastricht, a settlement city, where despite a strong Catholic presence, both Huguenots and defectors took advantage of the protection of the Powers of the States-General and of trade relations that were rather favourable to orchestrating their support.

The attitude of the Walloon Churches was not one of simple welcoming but rather an incentive support policy. This can be seen in the request by the deputy of the Church of Goes that the most destitute proselyte families of Zeeland, especially those who were above all suspicion and had taken the first steps towards conversion even before the favourable measures were installed, be included in the Maastricht welcoming programme—families "who have given even more real evidence of their sincerity, having come out a little before this settlement, which is an *encouragement* for those who come to embrace the Reformation, was founded."[74] This is a far cry from the first years of exodus, centred solely on refugees. In the eighteenth century, Huguenot diasporic life opened up to other religious exiles whose perimeters had yet to be traced and whose proselytising territory had yet to be identified, even though some defectors would initially respond to economic benefits.

Let us complete this picture of interconfessional relations in the Refuge with the example of two eloquent registers of religious rivalries that continued among the Huguenots in the land of exile. The first relates to financial support for the Lithuanian Reformed Churches whose property and temples had been mortgaged to adversaries. A letter sent in 1737 to the Maastricht synod by Casimir d'Ottenhaus and Jean Perrin, deputies from the Grand Duchy of

73 *Articles résolus au Synode des Eglises wallonnes des Provinces-Unies* (see above, n. 18), synod of Maastricht, 28 May 1737, art. XXXVII and XXXVIII, 13–14.

74 Ibid., synod of Maastricht, 28 May 1737, art. XXXIX, 14. My emphasis.

Lithuania, to which the Synod chose to respond favourably, testifies to interposed power relations involving an international Huguenot organisation. The petition, about which the Huguenots of the United Provinces inquired through both the German and French Churches in Berlin, led to initiatives of transnational solidarity from within the Refuge. After obtaining confirmation of their situation and considering the help of the "Flemish brothers," the pastors De la Rivière in Amsterdam and Royer in The Hague, in charge of the file, launched a fundraising initiative in favour of these Lithuanian churches, which were exposed, it is said, to "continued persecutions from the enemies of the faith, extortion, and a thousand kinds of vexations," which prevented them from maintaining their ministers and schoolteachers and "even forced them to sell or mortgage to Jews or Roman Catholics the lands on which the temples intended for the exercise of our holy religion are built, having no means of redeeming or releasing them, without the charitable help and the pious beneficence of those who profess the same faith with them."[75] The case reveals to us forms of latent confrontations in which territorial and sectarian rivalries were drawn out and Protestant ecclesial foundations were contested. It tells us that diasporic networks were also places of cross-border action. In the eighteenth century, these spaces of exile witnessed interposed battles and extraterritorial religious struggles, sometimes serving as a rear base, sometimes as the bridgehead.

The second concerns the abduction of the orphaned Huguenot children of Protestant soldiers, a testimony to discreet clashes in border areas, particularly in the garrison towns of the Barrier ("because it is only in these cities that the papists dare to abduct them").[76] Through a project submitted in August 1744 by the Churches of Delft and The Hague, which aims to promote the education and subsistence of these orphans, we learn about the abduction "in the city of Ypres alone, from the year 1713 until the year 1727, [of] 75 children of soldiers [...] taken and raised in papism, in a house built expressly for this purpose." This continuing phenomenon forced the Walloon and Dutch consistories to arrange for their care—after the High Powers took the initiative in November 1727 to provide for their material and educational subsistence—and to discuss the possibility of placing them in charitable institutions in the city of Breda in

75 Ibid., 29 May 1737, art. LII, 21sq.

76 On the Barrier Churches in Austrian Belgium, in Charleroi, Furnes, Ghent, Menin, Mons, Namur, Tournai, and Ypres, in which Reformed Churches were set up following the Dutch garrisons, see Émile M. Braekman, "Les Églises de la Barrière", *Bulletin de la Société d'histoire du protestantisme belge* 3 (1984), 18–27; Yves Krumenacker, "Les églises de la Barrière", *Entre Calvinistes et Catholiques. Les relations religieuses entre la France et les Pays-Bas du Nord* (*XVI^e^-XVIII^e^ siècle*) (Rennes, 2010), 345–365.

order to remove them from the influence of the Catholics "because [...] there, the orphans would be less exposed to the seductions of papists."[77] This battle over the upbringing of children who were, according to the Walloon deputies, "often too young to have been able to achieve knowledge of our holy religion," sheds light on the plural modalities of the religious confrontation that was playing out in the distance against Catholicism, and in which the Huguenots of the Refuge were directly involved.

6 Conclusion

Agitated by conflicting aspirations, Huguenot societies were eroded by the Catholic environment around them and by the heterodox movements with which they maintained competitive relationships and to whose conquering initiatives they were exposed. Exile sermons inform us about the perspective of their ministers, who were trying to prevent relationships outside the community. However, we can perceive the existence of various types of interfaith relationships, both of rivalry and complicity, through their preaching. Homiletic sources refer to these enemies in elliptical but clear terms, employing theological motifs that do little to hide the true identities of these adversaries. In pastoral discourse, this *other* is described using the language appropriate to the enemy, the intruder, who must remain *other* at any cost. Perceived in the mode of corruption and error, this *other* refers to both the adversary on the outside—first Catholic, later libertine and atheist—and the outsider within, ranging from the socialite to the apostate won over by other exile circles and local confessions.

Even in the eighteenth century, refugee communities were grappling with pastoral resistance to acculturation on the grounds of preserving doctrinal purity. Any degree of closeness with people of other faiths was viewed as a threat that could alter and adulterate their own.

Among exiled French pastors who had suffered from the ravages of Nicodemism in their own country, faith was not thought of in any way other than

77 *Articles résolus au Synode des Eglises wallonnes des Provinces-Unies* (see above, n. 18), Rotterdam synod, 24 August 1744, art. XXXII and XXXIII, 10–12 (*Projet pour pourvoir à l'entretien & à l'education des enfants orphelins des soldats réformez, qui meurent dans les villes de la Barrière*). The reply stipulates a collection in all the provinces and cities of the Generality and of the Barrier, requests contributions from the Flemish and Walloon consistories in all cities containing a garrison, aims for an annual "voluntary subscription" from "all the churches in the jurisdiction of the Republic", and a levy on the fines to which soldiers were sentenced and on military expenditures (*Projet*, art. V and VI.1 to VI.6).

as completely impermeable. Any degree of permeability, even if it were only social, was seen as the beginning of the denial and possible reversal of the Reformation. They were entirely focused on the survival of their belief system, which was under severe attack elsewhere, and they struggled to articulate their beliefs to this new society, born in exile, raised in close contact with a mix of other religions and exposed to the advance of free thought. Without being able to consider interfaith connections based on interest (which already existed in France) as anything but disastrous, or to conceive other possible forms of brotherhood, the refugee ministers stigmatised any association with another confession by depicting inter-religiosity as the first step towards reprehensible spiritual depravity.

Interactions with the host society, which the pastors tried to keep discreet and measured, were themselves conditioned by the predominant idea that the legitimacy of the Huguenots' presence in the Refuge was linked to their situation as persecuted believers and dependent on their devotional attitude. This assumption, enclosing refugees in codified ways of being and behaving, tended to tighten the societal space around their communities of origin, at the same time as it established a strong, fundamentally distinctive exiled identity. Moreover, in homiletic discourses, the exiled community is perceived as an entity dissociated from its host society; their shared Calvinism is unable to overcome the feeling of foreignness. Until the Treaty of Rijswijk in 1697, this refugee society seemed to bear the cost of the hope of returning to France, which conditioned its partly externalist relationship to the United Provinces.

The denominational logic that presides over their discourse nevertheless stumbles upon the effects on the refugees of being uprooted and their need for societal reconquest in exile, which attests to long-term power struggles but also to the reciprocal sectarian attractions forcing church leaders to maintain constant vigilance. All the more so since their proximity to other denominations and their entanglements with them undermined the Protestants' theological principles, forcing pastors in Nijmegen and in The Hague to defend the fundamentals of the Reformed doctrine, which had been degraded by the surrounding Catholics as well as by the deist and libertine nebula.

The exiles, however, were not an isolated community who passively endured endless setbacks. After the reclusive early phase of the exodus, during which exiled societies were settling down and establishing themselves, the Huguenots showed combative attitudes towards Catholics, against whom the struggle continued in the Refuge throughout the first half of the eighteenth century. The ideal of community isolate began to give way to religious intermingling, which in turn led to—or simply prolonged, in the case of rivalries with Catholics—denominational conflicts. Far from being prostrate in their status as exiles,

the Huguenots were aggressive adversaries against the other societies of the United Provinces. Their initiatives, be they financial and educational, or controversialist and ecclesial, reveal in counterpoint the existence of very active adversaries (manifest in the impregnation of Protestant exile circles in mixed cities with Catholic doctrines) and also the strong propagandist involvement of the Huguenot networks, whose incentive policy towards proselytists in Mons, Liège, and Limburg bear witness to enterprising Walloon churches. Discreet clashes in border areas related to the capture of the orphans of Reformed soldiers in the garrison towns of the Barrier (which gave rise to counter-attacks in which refugees and their descendants joined with Flemish and Dutch Protestants), along with extra-national battles in which the ecclesial imprint of Protestantism in Europe was played out, were all muffled wars that call for reconsidering the intensity and proliferation of sectarian interactions in the Great Ark; these relations were neither isolated nor merely linked to socio-economic interests, as has often been affirmed, but were instead multiple and contradictory, and also revealing of purely religious aspirations, as is evidenced by the common ambition to conquer souls. Behind the arrangement of sectorised tolerances, the multi-denominational character of the Dutch Republic was more restless than it may appear at first glance, and thus covered competing religious appetites and interposed power relations, which historians still need to examine.

Nevertheless, beyond these struggles and the exiles' fierce determination to preserve what they considered to be their own identity, the sparse traces of their struggles are all indications of intertwined societies that had already been transformed. Identities that had been interwoven, torn apart, reworked, and that were constantly changing were battling against these denominational identities, which the ministers display as unaltered. From this point on, we need to examine not the defectors but the adulterated profiles, not the faithful who broke away or the dissidents but the blended exiles, imbued with the *other*; Catholicised Huguenots and Huguenotised Catholics, whose intermingling was so feared by their ministers, and whose existence is at once revealed and condemned by their sermons.