

## The revocation and its consequences



The Edict of Fontainebleau, drawn up by Le Tellier, who died little more than a week after its official registration, contained eleven clauses.<sup>1</sup> All surviving temples were to be instantly demolished, although in fact a few survived, among them those at Pontorson in Brittany, and Vialas (Castagnols) and Le Collet-de-Dèze in the Cévennes.<sup>2</sup> Some became Catholic churches, but Le Collet came into the hands of Marie-Félice de Budos, marchioness of Portes, and was to be restored to the Calvinists a century later.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes, as at Sanvic in Normandy, a cross was erected to purify the ground on which heresy had flourished.<sup>4</sup>

All religious ceremonies and assemblies were immediately prohibited and ministers given two weeks to leave the country on pain of service in the galleys. Pastors who abjured, however, and their widows after them, would enjoy exemption from the *taille* and from the obligation to quarter troops. They would receive a pension greater by a third than

their previous stipend and their widows would be entitled to a half of the state pension. Concessions regarding length of study and the payment of fees were offered to any former minister of the reformed faith who wished to qualify for a legal career.

Protestant schools were to close and parents courted a heavy fine if they failed in future to baptize their children in the Catholic faith and to raise them in accordance with its beliefs. Calvinists who had already left France could regain possession of their property if they returned within four months; continued absence after that period would result in confiscation in terms of a declaration of August 1685. No further emigration by Calvinists was permitted and a ban was placed upon the export of their goods and capital. Defiance of this clause could result in banishment to the galleys for men and the surrender of person and property for women. There was further a general interdiction on all concessions which could be interpreted as favourable to Calvinism and notice was served on those who might subsequently recant that they would be penalized in terms of all previous legislation against relapsers.

There was no mention in the revocation edict of Calvinist marriages and burials and Louis XIV told Harlay that the omission was deliberate.<sup>5</sup> The edict closed on what Léonard has described as "an unexpected note".<sup>6</sup> Members of the reformed church who had not yet seen the light could continue to ply their trades and enjoy their property on condition that they made no practice of their religion. These concessions were perhaps a sop to public opinion and helped to create a favourable climate for general acceptance of the edict. The post-revocation dragonnades, however, suggest that the king's apparent generosity was frequently ignored. Moreover the revocation edict was followed by several supplementary interdicts which closed a few gaps in anti-Calvinist legislation.<sup>7</sup>

In November and December 1685 the legal and medical professions were entirely closed to Calvinists, in December they could no longer teach new converts and in January 1686 Calvinists were now forbidden to employ any but Catholic servants. In January too an edict was passed which Léonard has called "the most odious of all this legislation".<sup>8</sup> Children of from five to six years of age were to be removed from Calvinist parents and entrusted to the care of Catholic neighbours, or, if their board could not be paid, consigned to the poorhouse. Even the dead were not suffered to escape, for a measure of April 1686 condemned those who had abjured, but who refused the sacraments of the Catholic church on their deathbeds, to be dragged after death through

the mire and flung on the garbage heap. This final degradation, theologically unimportant to Calvinists, but nevertheless a personal indignity, was mitigated somewhat before the close of the year in deference to public feeling on the matter. Pierre Dez has pointed out that "cette fureur contre les cadavres, une des plus répugnantes manifestations de la persécution romaine, s'exerça aussi à un moindre degré contre les jansénistes".<sup>9</sup>

Although there had been no unanimity in the royal council on the subject of the revocation, Catholic France in the main followed Bossuet's lead in welcoming the step.<sup>10</sup> Madame de Sévigné, writing to her cousin Roger de Rabutin de Bussy, said of the edict: "Rien n'est si beau que tout ce qu'il contient, et jamais aucun roi n'a fait et ne fera rien de plus mémorable".<sup>11</sup> Subsequent events, however, were to see a rising tide of criticism, overt and covert, and it is possible that some, like Claude le Peletier, the controller general, and Basville of Languedoc, were not as fervent supporters of the revocation as appeared at the time.<sup>12</sup>

The reaction abroad was predictable. Pope Innocent XI, in conflict with Louis XIV over the gallican issue, failed to give the French king the enthusiastic approval he would have liked.<sup>13</sup> Queen Kristina of Sweden expressed her condemnation of Louis's harsh treatment of Protestants,<sup>14</sup> while in England the revocation did nothing to further the cause of James II. Although the revolution of 1688 which brought William of Orange to the English throne cannot be linked directly with anti-Catholic feelings stirred up by events in France, they were undoubtedly a contributory cause.<sup>15</sup>

In the United Provinces the letters of Johannes de Neercassel, the vicar apostolic, indicate hostility to Catholics there even before the revocation.<sup>16</sup> That the immediate prelude to the Edict of Fontainebleau gave rise to considerable anxiety among Dutch residents in France is apparent from contemporary ambassadorial correspondence and early in 1685 the matter was taken up by the United Provinces with the king.<sup>17</sup> The anti-Catholic backlash can be seen in Zeeland, where papists were compelled to worship in private,<sup>18</sup> in the barony of Breda, where Mass was forbidden in several village churches<sup>19</sup> and in such towns as Amsterdam, Leyden and Enkhuizen, where Catholics were expected to contribute to Calvinist relief.<sup>20</sup> The revocation led to the expulsion from the United Provinces of the Jesuits, several of whom asked La Chaize to intercede with the king for the repeal of the Edict of Fontainebleau.<sup>21</sup>

Despite the prohibition on the exodus of Calvinists from France, pastors and a few others apart, the stream of refugees to neighbouring Protestant countries, growing steadily from 1679, became a flood after late October 1685. Some, of noble birth or special merit, were exempted from the terms of the edict of revocation. The admiral Duquesne was permitted to remain in France without being forced to abjure; exit permits were given to his son Henri, to Ruvigny, to Marshal Schomberg and a handful of other notables. Several, like Esther Herwarth, daughter of the former controller general, were compelled to leave hostages. A few hundred among the recalcitrant were also banished from the kingdom; others were deported to the French West Indies, whence many found their way to Dutch and English possessions in the Americas and sometimes back to Europe.<sup>22</sup>

The continued presence of Calvinist ministers would certainly have made the task of crushing the reformed faith more difficult and it was against this influential class that the act of revocation was essentially directed. One or two went into hiding, like Raymond Bastide of Florac in the Cévennes, who staved off his abjuration in this manner until 1692,<sup>23</sup> while at least one minister, Pierre Reboulet of Ajoux in the Vivarais, was spared expulsion in 1685 on account of advanced age and physical infirmity. Plans to convert him by force were made in February of the following year, but he died on the eve of their execution.<sup>24</sup> It has been calculated that one pastor in six abjured, some, among them the Cévenol minister Louis de Bagards of Saint-Félix-de-Pallières, becoming active campaigners for the Catholic cause. Others, including Daniel de Larroque of Le Caule in Normandy, returned from exile to abjure.<sup>25</sup>

Movement within France had begun to grow as the revocation approached and anti-Calvinist action was stepped up. Some saw La Rochelle, with its old tradition of Huguenot independence, as a possible refuge while awaiting escape; others moved to the greater seaports, particularly to Nantes. The capital was also an obvious magnet for those who sought safety, despite legislation directed against non-residents. It was possible to live in Paris in comparative anonymity, sometimes under an assumed name; moreover the existence there of the diplomatic representatives of powers friendly to Protestantism suggested that the government would hesitate to use strong measures to coerce Calvinists in the city.

Paris did escape many of the more violent features of the anti-Calvinist drive. The aristocracy of wealth and commerce among reformed church members there was treated with some circumspection, although an

attempt was made to secure conversions at a mass meeting which many failed to attend.<sup>26</sup> There was some billeting of troops from December 1685 on those reluctant to conform, but the military kept a low profile.<sup>27</sup> The movements of Calvinists, particularly those from outside the capital, were, however, carefully watched, as the records of the police chief Nicolas-Gabriel de la Reynie indicate.<sup>28</sup> The strong Paris church showed initial signs of resistance to the revocation, but was dissuaded through the efforts of the pastor Jean Claude. His influence in reformed church circles was considerable and it is significant that he was not afforded the stipulated two weeks' grace before leaving the country, but was deported with twenty-four hours' notice. We see a last flicker of hope that religious accommodation would allow Calvinists to come to terms with the changed situation in a request by Paris heads of families within the reformed ranks that Calvinists might be permitted communion in both kinds, services in the vernacular and other concessions if they joined the Catholic church.<sup>29</sup>

But if active Calvinism died in the capital, as elsewhere, Paris remained a noted centre for arranging escapes. Emigration agencies sprang up to provide false papers, passports and certificates of abjuration, certain inns gave shelter, guides could be hired at a price and routes planned in advance. Protestants in foreign embassies gave their assistance, the Dutch, for example, arranging for the transfer of funds.<sup>30</sup> A flourishing emigration organization in the rue Mazarine operated under the aegis of the representative of Brandenburg, Jean Beck, until Louis XIV had him jailed in the Bastille to await expulsion from the country.<sup>31</sup> The king could do little, however, to curb the activities of those connected with such major embassies as those of England and the United Provinces.

Escapes were also arranged by French Calvinists already abroad, while escapees could also count on some help along the road from villagers, Catholic and Protestant alike. Even some of the priesthood sympathized with the plight of Calvinists. Jean Gaté, priest at Saint-Denis, was known to have provided certificates of Catholicity to refugees and a Bordeaux priest brought several refugees out of France in person. There were hazards, however, in accepting assistance. Informers and peasants bent on plundering the unfortunate abounded. To avoid recognition refugees frequently travelled in disguise, moving at night and preferably in inclement weather.<sup>32</sup>

Two popular escape routes led from Paris and north-eastern France towards the Low Countries, with rendez-vous points outside the capital

from which guides would conduct refugees to the frontier. Those leaving Paris would make for assembly points near Amiens and Saint-Quentin, travelling by way of Senlis. From the first of these rendez-vous, parties would approach the southern Netherlands by a route which skirted Arras, Lille and Roubaix, moving north into the relative security of Spanish territory at Courtrai, which became a headquarters town for the guides. Those from the Saint-Quentin area took a more southerly route via Le Quesnoy, Valenciennes and Mons in Hainaut. The little town of Bohain, north-east of Saint-Quentin, was known to be a nest of guides. Refugees requiring documents would often wait for them in the neighbourhood of Lille and other frontier towns.<sup>33</sup> Entry into the United Provinces was gained by crossing Flanders or Brabant and the towns of Breda and 's-Hertogenbosch saw the passage of many refugees.<sup>34</sup>

There were, however, other escape routes from Paris and the north and east: across the Jura to Switzerland through Franche-Comté, a recent French acquisition and inclined to favour the movement of refugees; over the Vosges into Alsace, a reasonably safe region less affected by the revocation; through the Ardennes to Maastricht, where refugees could expect to be charitably received.<sup>35</sup> Calvinists from Paris also made their way to Dieppe and other nearby points on the coast of Normandy, joining other refugees from that province and elsewhere in the west and north-west to escape to southern England, or to put to sea in a fishing-smack to reach one of the "barques de charité" sent from the United Provinces to bring refugees to the ports of that country.<sup>36</sup> The Channel – the British Sea, as it was then called – provided no safe passage, since Barbary pirates had been attracted there by the possibility of rich plunder from French emigrants. Those in more affluent circumstances certainly took with them money, jewels and other valuables, while large sums were also smuggled out of the country by various means. In November 1685, for example, a considerable fortune was despatched from Paris to Brussels by coach<sup>37</sup> and in the following year the *Mercurie historique et politique* reported the arrival of ships in the United Provinces carrying clandestinely exported gold and jewelry worth large sums.<sup>38</sup>

Dieppe was not the only Channel port to provide a means of escape. Many left from the Cotentin peninsula and the coast of the gulf of Saint-Malo, making their way to the neighbouring Channel Islands and to such English mainland havens as Southampton. For Calvinists from the Calaisis the short sea crossing to Dover was an alternative escape route to those along the Flemish coast and further inland. Those members of

the reformed church living in the seaboard provinces from Brittany to Guyenne found opportunities for clandestine flight from the Atlantic coast, particularly from the Ile de Ré off La Rochelle and from Royan at the mouth of the Gironde. Many settlers in England sailed from Royan for Plymouth and the little town of Cozes near Royan was an important assembly point for refugees, some of whom came from localities at a considerable distance in the interior.<sup>39</sup> Some emigrants from Languedoc reached safety after a long journey to the Atlantic coast across the Cévennes, before embarking on a ship bound for England.<sup>40</sup>

Mediterranean ports also offered a means of escape, especially to Genoa on the Ligurian coast, although many refugees from south-eastern France took an overland route to Geneva, using the upper valley of the Durance, or the Rhône valley.<sup>41</sup> Spain too continued to provide an escape route for those in the south-west.<sup>42</sup> Refugees often had to travel long distances across France to a point of final departure and routes were usually followed which passed through regions where Calvinism had long flourished and escapees could count on a strong measure of sympathy.<sup>43</sup>

The French authorities did their best to check the emigration, although the cost of the operation, the compassion of many Catholics for the oppressed and the large numbers filling the prisons to overflowing brought about a relaxation in preventive measures in 1687. It was hoped that a more humane treatment of former members of the reformed church would arrest the outward flow of refugees. The plan, however, was a failure and vigilance was renewed before the end of the year, aid for refugees being regarded as a capital crime. Frontier guards and militia patrolled the passes into Switzerland and the north-eastern border, and although guards could sometimes be bribed, many refugees were captured, imprisoned, sent to the galleys, or, in the case of women and girls, to convents and hospitals.<sup>44</sup>

Coastal shipping was also carefully watched, although again there was some relaxation in 1687, when patrol ships in the Channel were withdrawn.<sup>45</sup> Port officials, many of them sympathetic to Calvinists and formerly members of the reformed church, tried to prevent such examples of excessive zeal as the smoking out of ships' holds, a practice which on one occasion poisoned a cargo of prunes and caused the death of a child.<sup>46</sup> At Nantes in November 1685 two frigates lay in the river to keep a careful check upon Dutch merchantmen,<sup>47</sup> but interference with foreign shipping was greatly resented. The English diarist John Evelyn

wrote in December 1685: "The French insolently visite our vessells, and take away the fugitive Protestants; some", he added, "escape in barrells".<sup>48</sup> The searchers sometimes drew a blank. The *Haerlemse Courant* published a report from La Rochelle in January 1688 which stated "dat aen 't boort van 't schip van Schipper Job Cornelisz. van Rotterdam, op sijn vertreck leggende, op pretext, dat hy eenige Vluchtelingen in had, 50 a 60 Soldaten eenige dagen gesonden zijn; doch, 't contrarie bevonden wesende men hem weder heeft laten varen".<sup>49</sup>

On the Mediterranean coast François Adhémar de Monteil de Grignan, Madame de Sévigné's son-in-law and military commander in Provence, instituted a naval patrol between the mouths of the Rhône and the Var, paying special attention to the seas off Marseilles and the coast from Fréjus to the frontier with Savoy. His efforts to block the escape of refugees do not, however, seem to have been particularly rewarding.<sup>50</sup>

The French were greatly aided by the many informers in the task of tracking down guides and fugitives. The guides were of all types, not always French, nor necessarily in sympathy with Calvinism. Some were undoubtedly in the business for money; many were thoroughly unreliable. The informers operated both within France and abroad. In the United Provinces they mingled with the refugees to gain their confidence, sending back their reports through diplomatic channels in a numerical code to be deciphered by the royal officials. Some of their information came from unsuspecting emigrant pastors. Spies had their price and the French government wanted a good return for the money expended on them. As the ambassador to the United Provinces, Jean-Antoine de Mesmes d'Avaux, declared of one in 1686: "Il me paroist, . . . que le donneur d'avis de harlem est un peu avide d'argent, mais je croy quil en a besoin". However, he added, it would be foolish to give the Haarlem informer too much.<sup>51</sup>

The information supplied was often detailed, both with regard to refugees and those prepared to assist them. In January 1686 the ambassador forwarded to Paris a report on a planned escape by sea of Calvinists from the Angoumois who hoped to bring with them to the United Provinces a large cargo of wines. In March, news was received of a possible exodus of Protestant merchants from La Rochelle and the Ile de Ré in an armed ship bound either for Denmark or the Carolinas. In the following year the imminent departure of a party from Normandy was noted. It included the former minister at Dieppe, Antoine le Page, and would make its escape in an English vessel.<sup>52</sup> The movement of goods belonging to fugitives did not go unobserved. It was reported in

March 1686 that a Dutch ship was to pick up the personal effects of Calvinists at Tonnay-Charente in Saintonge;<sup>53</sup> some months earlier brandy casks filled with coin and destined for England were confiscated on the Normandy coast.<sup>54</sup>

Descriptions of guides were circulated to facilitate their capture. One who was going back to Paris to escort a Calvinist merchant out of the country wore his own hair lank and black, had a swelling in one eye like a pearl, a gruff voice and a fluent knowledge of French and German.<sup>55</sup> Another, described by the “donneur d’avis” of Haarlem, was a French Catholic of middle height, with brown hair, a lively manner and with “le visage un peu gasté de petite verolle, mais pas beaucoup”. He too collected parties of refugees in Paris.<sup>56</sup> All this information must have been of value to the French authorities, although it was not always acted upon. Certainly many of the guides were captured. Léonard has noted the arrest of more than 150 between 1685 and 1703, sixteen of them women.<sup>57</sup> More than half of these were taken into custody in 1686, a circumstance which points to that year as the most significant in the Calvinist exodus after the revocation, although the death penalty of October 1687 for those aiding refugees must have acted as a considerable deterrent. It is worthy of remark that the anti-Calvinist measures of the period did not include interference with the mails.<sup>58</sup>

The precise number of those who took the road to exile remains a difficult matter to determine with any degree of accuracy; nor can it be stated with certainty how many of them went to each of the countries of refuge. There was clearly movement from one country to another, often of men seeking to better themselves. It is equally certain that Catholics mingled with the Calvinist refugees of the late seventeenth century. Some were of the landed nobility,<sup>59</sup> but Ligou has pointed to the deplorable economic conditions in France which may well have led many – Catholics and Protestants alike – to decide to emigrate. Catholic workers, deprived of a means of livelihood by the departure of Calvinist employers, doubtless sometimes followed their masters across the frontiers. The situation at Tours, where the decline in population greatly exceeded the Calvinist exodus from the town, is significant.<sup>60</sup> There was already a movement of peoples from the countryside into the towns in France, dictated in part by opportunities offered in industrial centres and in part, as John Locke noted, by the fact that in many towns the *taille* was not levied.<sup>61</sup> There was therefore probably an economic, as well as a religious motive for the greater emigration associated with the anti-Calvinist campaign.

Estimates of the total Calvinist emigration from France have varied greatly from a modest 60 000 to a clearly exaggerated three million.<sup>62</sup> A major problem in determining the accuracy of figures in this connection is the lack of precision in dates for an outward movement which had its beginnings in the later sixteenth century and was to continue until the revolution. It is suggested – although Léonard has queried a similar figure as an underestimate<sup>63</sup> – that the total emigration from France and the territories on the eastern and north-eastern borders was between 190 000 and 200 000 during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. This estimate is not far removed from Scoville's 200 000 for the years 1681-1721<sup>64</sup> and would indicate that rather more than 20% of French Calvinists left the country. It was a considerable emigration, but one which represented no more than 1% of the entire population, a far cry from Saint-Simon's allegation that Louis XIV's actions cost the kingdom a quarter of its people.<sup>65</sup>

The chapters to follow, dealing more specifically with the known and presumed places of origin of French-speaking settlers at the Cape of Good Hope, will also discuss the position of Calvinism on a regional basis and provide approximate figures for the emigration of members of reformed congregations from these regions. It is, however, appropriate to examine at this stage certain general effects of the revocation in France and in neighbouring states.

The emigration was undoubtedly at its heaviest in frontier regions and among communities living on or near the coasts. Again, as Ligou has demonstrated, the northern part of the country was more affected than the south, both for geographical reasons and because there was more cohesion in the Calvinism of such provinces as Languedoc and, to a lesser extent, Dauphiné.<sup>66</sup> Ligou has also suggested that proportionately more people emigrated from the towns than from the countryside.<sup>67</sup> This contention cannot be accepted without reservation. It is true that many Calvinist merchants and manufacturers – some with trade connections abroad – decided to flee, but artisans from villages as well as larger towns were well represented among the exiles.<sup>68</sup>

An analysis of the trades and professions of those given assistance by the refugee Threadneedle Street church in London shows a relatively small number of merchants, a surprisingly large number of agricultural workers for an urban parish and a great mass of artisans and tradesmen, particularly in the cloth industries, for whom Spitalfields would be a great magnet. By no means all were originally townfolk.<sup>69</sup>

It would seem – and much work yet remains to be done in this field, as

Ligou has pointed out<sup>70</sup> – that emigration was lowest at opposite ends of the social scale. The unskilled, particularly the rural unskilled, tended to remain at home. This class would often lack the energy and initiative to emigrate and would have the greatest difficulty in making a success of a new life abroad. The richer bourgeoisie, on the other hand, the civil servants, professional people and above all the higher nobility had many inducements to remain in France.

It was, not surprisingly, the young and virile who tended to escape more frequently than the aged and it was noted at the time that many young families emigrated, leaving their possessions to their parents.<sup>71</sup> Those who remained in France as Catholics could inherit, but not sell, the property of fugitive relatives, but possessions were otherwise confiscated and from 1699 administered by a special department of state, the *Régie des Biens des Religioneux fugitifs*, which subsisted for almost a century.<sup>72</sup>

Those who came into the possession of the property of refugees formed, as Ligou has observed, a significant group among the former Calvinists who adopted the Catholic faith; others too among the nobility and the bourgeoisie abjured through conviction, or because it was in their own interests to do so.<sup>73</sup> In many parts of France, especially where Calvinism had been very much a minority faith, the old belief died with the disappearance of the generation which remembered the earlier dispensation. This was essentially true in such provinces as Burgundy. Elsewhere Protestantism, although seriously weakened and driven underground, survived all efforts to eradicate it.<sup>74</sup>

Success in obtaining sincere conversions depended in large measure upon the means of persuasion adopted. Some of the best Catholic preachers of the age were used in the task of conversion, among them the Jesuit Louis Bourdaloue, more famous in his day even than Bossuet as an orator, who was sent to Montpellier.<sup>75</sup> There were, however, frequent instances of a lack of co-operation. A report of 1699 from Saint-Lô in Normandy spoke of the many who “font gloire de perseverer dans leur opiniatreté”, refusing to attend instructional classes. Stronger measures to combat their indifference were called for, since “une conduite aussi opiniatre ne sert qu’à les endurcir de plus en plus dans leurs erreurs et qu’à Ruiner les heureuses dispositions de ceux qui voudroient se convertir”.<sup>76</sup> At Châlons-sur-Marne in the early eighteenth century it was suggested that the children of former members of the reformed church should be removed from all parental influence, for “l’entestement des pères est incurable”.<sup>77</sup> In the Meaux bailiwick im-

mediately after the revocation the lieutenant general Payen noted that "comme ceux de la R.P.R. . . . sont gens froidz et opiniatres ils nont rien veu qui ait pu sensiblement les toucher".<sup>78</sup> Gilbert Burnet, who saw the effects of the revocation at first-hand in France, commented that it was always possible to tell a new convert by his look of dejection.<sup>79</sup> Basville understood only too clearly the real depth of conversion for many when he spoke of the New Catholics of Nîmes in 1687. They seemed sincere enough, but "il est difficile de croire que le souvenir des chastimens et de la conduite un peu sévère (*sic!*) qu'il a fallu tenir n'ayt pas une grande part à ce changement".<sup>80</sup> The intendant of Languedoc was ever a master of understatement.

Forced conversion certainly made many bad Catholics and doubtless led to religious indifference, although the roots of agnosticism lay in deeper soil than the anti-Calvinist campaign of the later seventeenth century.<sup>81</sup> The deprivation of Calvinist ministrations among rural and semi-literate populations where the reformed faith had been firmly established led to such manifestations of irrational behaviour as were illustrated in the Camisard insurrection of the early eighteenth century in the Cévennes.<sup>82</sup> The survival of Calvinism in France as an organized force owed much to Geneva and the Walloon church of the United Provinces. Gaining its martyrs among the preachers who served the clandestine *Eglise du Désert* and nurtured by many who practised their faith in the quietness of their own homes, the Calvinist church was to re-emerge in the more liberal atmosphere of a later age.

Contemporary comment on the harmful economic effects of the attack on Calvinism in France came from a number of informed sources. The Rouen intendant Marillac, formerly in Poitou, noted the decline of sugar manufacture in the town in the weeks before the revocation edict,<sup>83</sup> three years later his colleague in Auvergne, Jean-Baptiste Desmaretz de Vaubourg, indicated a significant drop in the production figures for point-lace in Languedoc and Guyenne and its effect on the source of raw material in his own province.<sup>84</sup> Vauban's famous memorandum of 1689 in favour of a restoration of Calvinism covered a wider field. The great architect of military fortifications complained that arts and manufactures had been impoverished by the revocation, exports reduced, commerce ruined and capital driven out of France on a large scale.<sup>85</sup>

A modern survey by Andrée Gobert has emphasized the baneful influence of the revocation on certain local industries: woollen manufactures in Normandy and Languedoc; leather goods at Saint-Lô and Saint-Jean-

d'Angély; the production of paper at Angoulême.<sup>86</sup> In general, however, it must be conceded with Scoville that the loss of 1% of the population, in part made good by Catholic refugees from Ireland and Scotland after the deposition of James II and VII, cannot have caused more than a temporary setback to French commerce and industry. The economic problems of France in the late seventeenth century must be seen in wider perspective.<sup>87</sup>

The exodus of Calvinists was not the sole cause of economic decline, as the intendant of Orleans, Jean de Creil-Bournaizeau, noted in 1689 with reference to such towns as Gien, Vendôme and Châteaudun in his jurisdiction.<sup>88</sup> France was again at war, commerce was generally stagnant and capital in short supply. The recession indeed pre-dated the revocation, as may be seen in the silk industry of Tours on the Loire.<sup>89</sup> The international situation also accentuated declining export figures, with a corresponding reduction in maritime commerce from such ports as Bordeaux, La Rochelle and Le Havre.<sup>90</sup>

On the other hand the effects of the revocation must be seen in terms of the export of skills and the stimulation of industry which resulted from it in France's trading competitors. The discreet reference by the directors of the *Compagnie des Indes orientales* in 1686 to the emigration of workmen then manufacturing abroad goods formerly produced in France is an indication of contemporary dissatisfaction in commercial circles.<sup>91</sup> Further evidence comes from Limoges, where the intendant, Michel de Barberie de Saint-Contest, complained of the danger to the French paper-mills of the manufacture in England by Calvinist refugees of fine quality paper.<sup>92</sup> Despite attempts by the French ambassador in London, Paul de Barillon d'Amoncourt, to persuade operatives to return to their homeland, the new competitor flourished. Similar instances of foreign competition stimulated by French expatriates may be cited in other industries, particularly in the textile trades. In 1695, for example, the silk merchants of Lyons accused London Huguenots of blocking French exports to England.<sup>93</sup> The duties on imported French silks were certainly increased.<sup>94</sup>

The merchant class in general was less affected by the prevailing anti-Calvinism of post-revocation France and many of the Protestant ship-owners and exporters were not disturbed in their religious beliefs, an indication of the importance attaching to trade and the significant rôle played by Protestants in it.<sup>95</sup>

But even if the revocation caused no lasting ill-effects to the French economy and was not the sole cause of the *fin de siècle* depression,

there is no doubt that the countries which received the flood of refugees were immeasurably enriched, not only commercially, but also in the intellectual, scientific and artistic fields. In the practical skills it has been said of those who came to the United Provinces: "In handel en scheepvaart, ambacht en industrie trokken de Hugenoten een groter deel van de welvaart aan zich dan hun aantal zou doen verwachten".<sup>96</sup> This is perhaps to over-emphasize their contribution, but it was none the less appreciable.

Of all the lands of refuge the United Provinces were the greatest attraction. There, as the *Mercure historique et politique* put it in 1686, the newcomers found their "terre de promission".<sup>97</sup> Calvinists from France were welcomed from 1681 and given help in cash and kind. Municipalities vied with each other in publishing offers of citizenship and guild membership on easy terms and in allowing freedom from taxation for varying periods to assist refugees to establish themselves.<sup>98</sup> Assistance did not only come from Protestant sources: the Jews of Amsterdam and the Catholics of Haarlem both made notable contributions.<sup>99</sup> The northern Netherlands were, in the words of the emigrant philosopher Pierre Bayle, "la grande arche des fugitifs"<sup>100</sup> and perhaps as many as 80 000 settled there to augment the Dutch population of some two and a half million people.

They came to a country which had already absorbed many French and French-speaking refugees and which possessed an established reformed Walloon church originating in the sixteenth-century exodus of Protestants from the Spanish Netherlands. In the United Provinces too was established an information centre under the refugee pastor Pierre Jurieu which served to put in touch with each other members of families scattered throughout the countries of exile.<sup>101</sup> The founding of new French language congregations and the extension of existing ones helped, as Léonard has said, to create a Huguenot France in exile, exerting a strong influence on the clandestine Protestantism of post-revocation France and in the long run upon the course of Dutch history.<sup>102</sup> Most of the new congregations joined the Walloon synod, but a few remained independent churches. The beginning of a policy of full naturalization in 1709 and the inevitable process of assimilation brought the newcomers into the mainstream of Dutch life, but the French tradition has survived to the present.

The British Isles were not far behind the United Provinces as a popular refuge. In England, where French congregations long preceded the revocation, relief funds had been made available since 1681.<sup>103</sup> Al-

though the diarist Evelyn deplored the lack of official encouragement to refugees during the brief reign of the Catholic James II, ascribing it to "a fatality of the times we were fallen into",<sup>104</sup> public opinion and the Anglican church were solidly in favour of an open-door policy towards Calvinist refugees. Fugitives from France arrived in large numbers and flourishing new congregations were founded in many English localities, as well as in the Scottish capital, Edinburgh.

The greatest concentration of refugees was, however, in London. Poorer Calvinists tended to settle in the eastern parishes, particularly in the Spitalfields area, merchants established themselves in the city and many of the social élite in the Soho district. The accession of William III in 1688 gave a new impulse to settlement in England and by the end of the century perhaps 50 000 Huguenots had taken refuge in that country. Letters of denization or of naturalization were granted and it is interesting to note, with reference to the earlier movement for religious accommodation in France, that many French congregations in England came to conform to the rites of the Anglican church.<sup>105</sup>

The same movement towards conformity with a state church was apparent in Ireland among refugee congregations. Settlement in that country of French refugees was also of early date, but was greatly accelerated after 1688. Many former French Calvinist soldiers in William III's service helped to crush James II's attempt to undo the work of the Glorious Revolution by a military campaign in Ireland. Their leaders included the younger Ruvigny, created Lord Galway in 1692, and the former French marshal Schomberg, who fell at the Boyne in 1690. Officers and men in William III's Huguenot regiments remained in Ireland, some helping to found the French colony at Portarlington, a settlement promoted by Galway in 1693.<sup>106</sup> Others went to Dublin or to provincial towns, playing an important part in commercial and manufacturing undertakings.<sup>107</sup> In all perhaps 10 000 Calvinist refugees, many of a superior class, were attracted to Ireland.

The republic of Geneva was an obvious place of refuge, but the situation there as the revocation approached was a delicate one. French-speaking Switzerland lay too close to France for comfort and as early as 1669 the opinion had been regretfully expressed that as pensioners of the French king the Swiss could do little to help their fellow Protestants across the border.<sup>108</sup> Geneva was particularly vulnerable. It had early absorbed a large body of refugees from the Pays de Gex in Burgundy; a further influx in September and October 1685 was caused by the threat of a dragonnade there and a report from the city in the latter month,

published in the *Amsterdamsche Courant*, stated: "'T is te verwonderen hoe veele van die van de Gereformeerde Religie uyt Vrankryk, door de strenge vervolging tegens de zelve, alhier zyn aengekomen, dat daeglyks nog continueert".<sup>109</sup> Assistance was provided for many refugees from France and from Savoy, but French officials exerted pressure on the republican authorities to prevent the city from becoming a haven for Huguenot fugitives and before the end of 1685 refugees were being given eight days to move on to a further destination.<sup>110</sup>

The political situation improved after 1690 when France turned her attention to Savoy. Three years later refugee merchants in Geneva were emboldened to ask permission to attend the trade fairs of Languedoc to purchase textiles. Their threat to buy in England or the United Provinces if their request should be refused failed, however, to sway the French government.<sup>111</sup> One interesting scheme for Calvinist relief conceived in Geneva deserves a passing mention: that of Jean Noblet in 1680 for an island settlement in the New World which might have made the Genevan republic a colonial power. This was, however, a still-born Utopia and Noblet's efforts six years later to gain French support for his plan were equally in vain.<sup>112</sup> The significance of Geneva as a clearing-house for refugees made it a centre for paid spies seeking information about the exodus from France. Active intriguers were the French representatives there, Roland Dupré and his successor Charles-François de la Bonde d'Iberville.<sup>113</sup> Attempts were also made to persuade refugees to return to their native land.<sup>114</sup>

The principality of Neuchâtel was to become a haven for refugees in the early eighteenth century under Brandenburg hegemony, but at the time of the revocation it was ruled by a branch of the Orléans-Longueville family and provided no sure refuge, despite its Protestant character.<sup>115</sup> Zürich and other centres offered succour, but the greatest welcome was afforded in the Pays de Vaud, then under Bernese control. In all more than 20 000 refugees settled in Switzerland,<sup>116</sup> those in French-speaking areas merging rapidly with the local population.

Reaction to the oppression of French Calvinists was swift in the Protestant states of Germany. As early as April 1685 Karl I, landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, offered refugees a haven and his example was followed by Friedrich Wilhelm, the elector of Brandenburg, who signed the Edict of Potsdam on October 29, 1685, within days of the revocation, providing exiles from France with citizenship, work, privileges legal and ecclesiastical, and permission to retain their customs and language. Similar concessions were extended to French Calvinists by Christian

Ernst, margrave of Brandenburg-Bayreuth, by the Duchess Eléonore d'Olbreuse of Brunswick-Lüneburg and by the rulers of Brandenburg-Anspach and Brunswick-Kalenberg.<sup>117</sup> Despite some Lutheran hostility to Calvinists, about 43 000 refugees came to Germany, either directly from France or by way of Switzerland, Flanders or the United Provinces, whence many shipped from Amsterdam to Hamburg. Wilhelm Beuleke has estimated that 20 000 of the exiles settled in Brandenburg, with a strong concentration in the Berlin area.<sup>118</sup>

Northern Europe also attracted refugees to the number of 2 000, in Léonard's estimation.<sup>119</sup> Those who settled in Sweden were denied religious equality until 1741, although some relaxation in the uncompromising Lutheranism of that country was obtained by Dutch pressure in 1687.<sup>120</sup> The reformed community in Moscow, dating originally from the early seventeenth century, gained full recognition soon after the revocation. The bulk of the refugees in northern Europe, however, made their homes in Denmark, whose queen, Charlotte Amelia, despite her alliance with France, opened doors to the persecuted. Most settled in Copenhagen and the Jutland seaport of Fredericia.

But Calvinist emigrants from France went further afield. Several thousand eventually found a haven in the English mainland colonies of North America, others in the Dutch and English possessions of the West Indies.<sup>121</sup> Some merchants established themselves in the lands of the eastern Mediterranean<sup>122</sup> and French speakers also settled in the trading empires of the English and Dutch East India Companies, among them the small group of two hundred and more (0,1% of the total emigration at most) who joined the burgher population at the Cape of Good Hope. Many men took service with the trading companies of England and the United Provinces and were not infrequent visitors to the settlement in Table Valley.<sup>123</sup>

If the numbers of refugees in the various countries of exile appear to exceed the total figure suggested for the exodus of the last quarter of the seventeenth century, it must be remembered that some of these settlements were made as a result of a second movement of refugees. This is true of the Cape and to a large extent of the West Indies, while the majority of French Calvinist settlers in mainland North America crossed the Atlantic after a period of residence in England and the United Provinces. The movement of refugees between the various European areas of settlement must also be taken into account. This was of considerable volume between England and Ireland, between England and the United Provinces, and between the German states and the

northern Netherlands. There were also emigrants who returned to France either permanently or temporarily.<sup>124</sup>

An indication of this movement of refugees is provided by A.P. Hands and Irene Scouloudi in their analysis of those helped by the Threadneedle Street church in London between 1681 and 1687 who gave an onward destination. Of 575 persons so listed more than 50% planned to leave England, the vast majority going either to Ireland or to the United Provinces. Other intended places of settlement included Germany, Switzerland, the West Indies and mainland North America. Nor had all the arrivals in London come directly from France. Many were from the United Provinces, an appreciable number from Ireland and others from the German states, Switzerland, the Channel Islands and even Bermuda.<sup>125</sup> Church records in the Netherlands confirm this considerable international movement.<sup>126</sup>

It is evident from the Threadneedle Street records that failure to find employment was one reason for the apparent restlessness of many refugees;<sup>127</sup> the problem was commented upon in 1688 in reports reaching France from the United Provinces.<sup>128</sup> A contemporary regarded the professional class and the bourgeoisie as perhaps the worst hit of all refugees,<sup>129</sup> although tradesmen too suffered. Cases such as that at Arnhem in 1687, when an unemployed tailor was assisted to make the journey to England were not infrequent.<sup>130</sup> Nor were relief funds everywhere sufficient to provide help for the needy. In 1685 available resources at Maastricht were almost exhausted<sup>131</sup> and three years later the consistory members of the Walloon church there drew attention to "le grand nombre des refugiez qui passoient par (la) Ville en se sauvant de france, et l'impossibilité ou ils se trouvoient de les pouvoir secourir". Leeuwarden came to the rescue on that occasion, but was itself compelled to restrict charity to its own refugees in the following year.<sup>132</sup> Swiss records also indicate the difficulty of financing relief measures. As early as 1684, after a particularly severe winter, the coffers at Geneva were almost empty;<sup>133</sup> the church authorities at Nyon in the Pays de Vaud confessed in September 1689 that "nostre despençe estoit beaucoup plus grande que nostre recepte" and that with few exceptions "tous . . . sont presques aussi pauvres que ceux que l'on assiste".<sup>134</sup>

The inadequacy of relief accentuated widespread human suffering and it should be remembered that, despite the apparent prosperity of a city such as Amsterdam, it is probable that more than 80% of the population of something over 200 000 lived near or below the level of minimum subsistence.<sup>135</sup> This would certainly be equally true of other urban

centres in late seventeenth-century Europe. In 1689 London saw disorderly assemblies of refugees "in the last stage of misery",<sup>136</sup> while two years earlier it was reported that many exiles in England and the United Provinces were dying of hunger and that there was great poverty in Brandenburg.<sup>137</sup> Lausanne in the Pays de Vaud spoke in December 1689 of "la misere extreme ou sont reduite la pluspart de nos freres" and sought aid in order to clothe "la nudité des pauvres veillards (*sic*) et Enfants".<sup>138</sup> In 1692 the congregation at Arnhem remembered with compassion those refugees dying miserably in poverty, especially in Piedmont and Switzerland,<sup>139</sup> while a report to Paris from the United Provinces more than five years earlier noted a diminution in the flow of refugees reaching that country, adding: "Ceux qui sont desja icy sen pleignent".<sup>140</sup>

There is no reason to suppose that information on the refuge reaching France from The Hague was presented in a specially favourable light. Letters in the diplomatic bag did not minimize the effect of the revocation and in some instances would seem to have exaggerated the size of the exodus. In November 1685 a report stated: "On assure icy que dans la seule ville de Rotterdam, il y a cinq mille françois refugiez, et en beaucoup plus grand nombre à Amsterdam". In the following year "une furieuse quantité de refugiez" was noted, arriving "tant par mer que par terre". A few weeks later it was estimated that 75 000 refugees had reached the United Provinces, including "40 millez hommes capables de porter les armez".<sup>141</sup>

It is perhaps not surprising, in view of the large influx of French Calvinists into the lands of refuge, that some hostility towards them became apparent as time went on.<sup>142</sup> They were a foreign element in society, with foreign ways and thus inferior; they were viewed with suspicion in some English circles as Presbyterians and republicans; they were an economic threat, especially in already overpopulated urban areas; their poor were sometimes considered a burden and, as was well said by the Nîmes refugee Gaspard Baux, "la charité se refroidit".<sup>143</sup>

There were complaints, as at Geneva, of incivility towards refugees by local Calvinists at church and of profiteering by innkeepers.<sup>144</sup> Zürich restricted residence to aliens plying certain trades, particularly textile workers and those engaged in the manufacture of soap.<sup>145</sup> A general hardening of attitude towards Calvinist refugees in Switzerland led Ruvigny to seek recruits there for his Irish colony, since he knew that "les Cantons protestans font sortir tous les Refugiez des terres de leur domination".<sup>146</sup> This reluctance to accept refugees angered French

exiles elsewhere. In a letter received in Lausanne from Rotterdam in August 1699 it was stated: "Il y a . . . de l'Inhumanité a forcer Ceux Qui sont chez vous a se retirer (;) cest un peché Capable d'atirer la Colere de Dieu sur les Cantons Evangeliques".<sup>147</sup> In England there was much bitterness occasioned by royal favours to Calvinist refugees and some scurrilous anti-Huguenot propaganda, used later, with suitable variations, against the Jews.<sup>148</sup>

There is no doubt that, despite the persecution in France, many Calvinist exiles remained loyalist in outlook and hopeful of a return to their native land. This attitude is well summed up in a contemporary plea to Louis XIV to revoke the Edict of Fontainebleau:

"Monarque triomphant qui tire de toy-même  
L'Eclat que d'autres Roys tirent du Diadème  
Et qui par le progrès de ton rapide Cours  
Enfle si noblement l'histoire de nos jours . . .  
Rappelle les troupeaux, rappelle les Bergers,  
Que la Tempeste chasse en des Bords Estrangers".<sup>149</sup>

Here is no criticism of the king and the storm which had driven away so many of his loyal subjects was regarded rather as a divine punishment, as is evident in the prayer of the Arnhem refugees, beseeching God "qu'il veuille apaiser son couroux envers nos povres Freres de France, qui gemissent sous le poids dune lamentable persecution".<sup>150</sup>

This patriotism for the lost fatherland, this intense royalism, this expectation that exile would be merely temporary, were not calculated to endear the refugees to those amongst whom they had settled. Such an attitude was widespread until Louis XIV made it clear in 1698 that he would never allow Protestants to return to France "qu'à condition de se soumettre à ses volonte et de se ranger à la Communion Romaine".<sup>151</sup> The royal decision of 1698 led to another wave of emigration, as is instanced in the records of the Maastricht church,<sup>152</sup> but even after that hopes for a restoration of French Calvinism on native soil were not extinguished. In 1711 the former elder and *œconome*, or treasurer, of the Riez church in Provence, Nicolas Gaudemar, drew up a record of the history of this small congregation before the refugee Amsterdam lawyer Philippe de Marolles, "pour pouvoir servir", he stated, "si dieu par sa Misericorde vouloit Rallumer le flambeau de son Evangile dans ces Cartiers la".<sup>153</sup>

It must also be noted that, despite the existence of already established French Protestant congregations in the lands of exile, refugees often felt

themselves ill at ease in foreign surroundings. The English handshake came as a surprise to those accustomed to more formal manners,<sup>154</sup> while members of the Arnhem congregation begged to be allowed to keep to their own ways and to take communion standing in the French fashion.<sup>155</sup> And if the manners of their hosts were not always to the liking of the newcomers, those of one or two of the exiles must have scandalized those who gave them shelter. The two young men who rushed out of church at Groningen after the sermon on the first Sunday in March 1687 in order to fight a duel doubtless shocked a wider circle than the local Walloon congregation.<sup>156</sup> A similar case occurred in the same month at Leeuwarden, where a member was suspended from communion, "aiant donné des coups de baston à un autre".<sup>157</sup> And if the mercurial temperament of some of the French refugees disturbed the tranquillity of northern communities, the emphasis placed by others upon the dignity of rank was also a source of friction. There were quarrels between established ministers in the United Provinces and refugee pastors often quick to show resentment when their pretensions were felt to be disregarded.<sup>158</sup>

It would take time before the process of assimilation brought the expatriates into the mainstream of the life of the countries to which they had fled. That some among the first generation found conditions too difficult and returned to France is not surprising, although the case of Jean Guillaume from the Sedan region, who returned in 1686 to ask the Maastricht congregation "de recevoir une seconde fois ses larmes",<sup>159</sup> was certainly not unique. Others sought different solutions to the social and economic problems of exile. Among them must be numbered the refugees who sailed from Dutch harbours for the distant Cape of Good Hope. It is to them and to their origins in Europe that we now turn our attention.

#### REFERENCES: CHAPTER FOUR

1. For the text see HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, X, appendix XCIV, pp. 389-392.
2. LÉONARD, *History of Protestantism*, II, pp. 432-432n.

3. For the history of this church see A. HUGON, *En Cévennes; le temple et l'histoire de la paroisse du Collet-de-Dèze (Lozère)*.
4. J.-B.-D. COCHET, *Les Eglises de l'arrondissement du Havre*, I, pp. 56-57.
5. LÉONARD, *History of Protestantism*, II, p. 431n.
6. *History of Protestantism*, II p. 431.
7. See HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, X, appendix LXXXVIII, p. 377; LÉONARD, *History of Protestantism*, II, p. 435; LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, pp. 248-250.
8. *History of Protestantism*, II, p. 435.
9. *Histoire des Protestants et des églises réformées du Poitou*, I, p. 301n.
10. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, p. 199. Bossuet saw the revocation as the crowning glory of a new Constantine, a new Theodosius, a new Marcian and a new Charlemagne. Louis XIV was also likened in the *Académie française* to Apollo slaying Python (A. GOBERT, 'La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes; ce qu'elle a coûté à la France', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, June 1, 1966, p. 338).
11. *Lettres*, ed. E. GÉRARD-GAILLY, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 112, II, p. 114; Livry, Oct. 28, 1685.
12. Their vindications are, however, unconvincing (ORCIBAL, 'Louis XIV and the Edict of Nantes', in HATTON (ed.), *Louis XIV*, pp. 162; 176n.).
13. LIGOU, *Protestantisme* pp. 250-251.
14. See VOLTAIRE, *Age of Louis XIV*, p. 405.
15. OGG, *Louis XIV*, pp. 161-162.
16. See B. NEVEU, 'Les Protestants français réfugiés aux Pays-Bas vus par un évêque catholique: lettres de Jean de Neercassel à Louis-Paul du Vaucel (1685-1686)', *BSHPF*, CXIII, Jan.-March 1967, p. 52: Oct. 5, 1685. This is confirmed by Jean-Antoine de Mesmes d'Avaux, French ambassador at The Hague (143, Correspondance politique, Hollande, 1685: to Louis XIV, Oct. 19, 1685, f.122 (AMAE)).
17. 11178, Staten-Generaal, Inkomende brieven, Vrankryk, . . . , 1685: Consular letter, Marseilles, Aug. 29, 1685, and letter to Louis XIV, Oct. 2, 1685, ff.41; 61-63v. (ARA).
18. E.K. TIMINGS (ed.), *Calendar of state papers preserved in the Public Record Office: Domestic Series. James II*, I, 1862, p. 377: London, Nov. 5, 1685. For further anti-Catholic action in Zeeland see (C. WEISS), *Geschiedenis der Fransche Protestantsche vlugtelingen, van de herroeping van het Edict van Nantes, tot op onzen tijd*, ed. and trans. A.N.E. CHAN-GUION, p. 43.
19. See 143, Correspondance: Saint-Disdier (chargé d'affaires) to Louis XIV, The Hague, Oct. 25, 1685, f.128v.
20. TIMINGS (ed.), *Calendar of state papers. . . James II*, I, 1862, p. 377: London, Nov. 5, 1685; NEVEU, 'Protestants français réfugiés', *BSHPF*, CXIII, Jan.-March 1967, p. 58: Dec. 21, 1685; V.F.J. BOONACKER, 'De Fransche gemeente te Enkhuizen, 1686-1721. Eene bijdrage tot de

- geschiedenis der refugiés in Nederland', *Studiën en Bijdragen op 't Gebied der historische Theologie*, III, 1876, pp. 349-353.
21. LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, p. 250.
  22. LÉONARD, *History of Protestantism*, II, pp. 439-440. Note the assistance given at Arnhem in 1688 "pour un refugie, qui avoit este transporte en Amerique" (Eglise wallonne d'Arnhem, II, *Comptes des diacres*, 1686-1690: Oct. 17, 1688, p. 5 (GA Arnhem)).
  23. MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPP*, CXIV, April-June 1968, p. 306n.
  24. S. MOURS, *Le Protestantisme en Vivarais et en Velay des origines à nos jours*, p. 284.
  25. MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPP*, CXIV, Jan.-March 1968, p. 85n.; April-June 1968, p. 305n.
  26. LÉONARD, *History of Protestantism*, II, pp. 433-434.
  27. F. GONIN and F. DELTEIL (eds), 'La Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes vue par les informateurs du Grand Condé', *BSHPP*, CXVIII, Jan.-March 1972, 336, pp. 166-167: J. Hérauld de Gourville to Condé, Paris, Dec. 25, 1685.
  28. FF 7050-7055, R.P.R. (Bibl. nat.).
  29. LÉONARD, *History of Protestantism*, II, p. 432.
  30. LÉONARD, *History of Protestantism*, II, pp. 442-443.
  31. F. FUNCK-BRENTANO, *Les Lettres de cachet à Paris; étude suivie d'une liste des prisonniers de la Bastille (1659-1789)*, 1215, p. 90: Nov. 15, 1686.
  32. 145, Correspondance politique, Hollande, 1686: Ambassador to Louis XIV, The Hague, Jan. 15, 1686, and from Haarlem informer, Jan. 17, 1686, ff. 42v.; 47; 153, Hollande, correspondance et documents divers; avis secrets: letter of May 20, 1687, f. 100 (AMAE). See also LÉONARD, *History of Protestantism*, II, pp. 443-444; BAIRD, *Huguenots and the revocation*, II, pp. 75-76.
  33. 145, Correspondance: Ambassador to Louis XIV, The Hague, Jan. 15, 1686, f. 42v.; 149, Hollande, correspondance et documents divers; avis secrets: Informers, March 8 and 10, 1686, ff. 93; 98-98v. (AMAE); BAIRD, *Huguenots and the revocation*, II, pp. 74-76.
  34. See Breda, 1, *Livre des Actes . . . depuis l'an 1643 . . . au 27 d'Avril 1779*: June 22, 1686, p. 36: "L'Eglise se (trouve) augmantée par un nombre asses considerable de fransois refugies"; B.l.D. ('s-Hertogenbosch) 32, *Livre des Actes . . . 1649-1712*: Sept. 11, 1689, p. 257; BW 836, *Ontfangh en uytgaaff ten behoeve van de franse Vluchtelingse sedert 22 Octob. 1687 tot den 6 Januarij 1689* ('s-Hertogenbosch) (Bibl. wall.).
  35. Archief der Waalse gemeente te Maastricht, 1, *Register van resoluties van het consistorie*, 1646-1733: Nov. 29, 1685, p. 52 (GA Maastricht).
  36. GUIBERT, *Mémoires*, II, p. 228; LÉONARD, *History of Protestantism*, II, p. 444. Giving aid was profitable. A group left Dieppe in 1687, having "fait marché avec un Capitaine anglois pour cinq mille frans (*sic*)" (153, Hollande, correspondance: letter of May 27, 1687, f. 112).

37. 143, Correspondance: Ambassador to Louis XIV, The Hague, Nov. 29, 1685, f. 184.
38. Nov. 1686, p. 59.
39. 145, Correspondance: Informer to ambassador, Haarlem Jan. 17, 1686, f. 46.
40. C.E. LART and W.C. WALLER (eds), *Registers of the French churches of Bristol, Stonehouse, and Plymouth; The Register of the French church at Thorpe-le-Stoken in Essex 1684-1726*, Publications HSL, XX, p. xi (LART).
41. See ARNAUD, *Histoire des Protestants de Provence*, I, p. 482.
42. 157, Hollande, correspondance et documents divers; avis secrets: letter of Jan. 24, 1688, f. 18 (AMAE).
43. See the route from Nimes to Bordeaux in LART and WALLER (eds), *Registers*, p. xi (LART).
44. SCOVILLE, *Persecution of Huguenots*, pp. 103-106.
45. TIMINGS (ed.), *Calendar of state papers... James II*, II, 1379, p. 349: Jan. 25, 1687.
46. LÉONARD, *History of Protestantism*, II, p. 444.
47. 11178, Staten-Generaal: Consul to ambassador, Nantes, Nov. 27, 1685, f. 82v.
48. W. BRAY (ed.), *The Diary of John Evelyn, Esq., F.R.S. from 1641 to 1705-6. With memoir*, p. 494: Dec. 4, 1685. The dates here and elsewhere with reference to England prior to Sept. 1752 are in Old Style.
49. *Extraordinaire Haerlemse Donderdaegse Courant*, Jan. 22. 1688.
50. J.-C. FERMAUD, *Le Protestantisme dans l'arrondissement de Draguignan de 1540 à 1715*, pp. 38-39.
51. 146, Correspondance politique, Hollande, 1686: Ambassador to Louis XIV, June 24, 1686, f. 292v. (AMAE).
52. 145, Correspondance: Informer to ambassador, Jan. 17, 1686, ff. 46-47v.; 149, Hollande, correspondance: letter of March 6, 1686, f. 90v.; 153, Hollande, correspondance: letter of May 27, 1687, f. 112.
53. 145, Correspondance: letter of March 1, 1686, f. 168v.
54. *Amsterdamsche Saturdaghe Courant*, Nov. 3, 1685: Paris, Oct. 29.
55. 145, Correspondance: Ambassador, The Hague, March 24, 1686, f. 251.
56. 149, Hollande, correspondance: "Le donneur d'avis", Haarlem, June 19, 1686, f. 214v.
57. *History of Protestantism*, II, p. 443 and n.
58. SCOVILLE, *Persecution of Huguenots*, p. 111.
59. Among them Jean Darenne de Saint-Paul of Montreuil, east of Paris, who abjured at Gorinchem (Gorcum) in 1689 (BW 529, Registre des Actes...1686-1726 (Gorcum): April 15, 1689, p. 30 (Bibl. wall.)) and Pierre de Belain des Arsis from La Flèche in Anjou, who abjured at Utrecht in 1690 (12 D 2, Livre des Actes...1671-1739: July 27, 1690, p. 99 (EW Utrecht)).
60. *Protestantisme*, p. 253.
61. LOUGH (ed.), *Locke's travels*, pp. 207-208: July 21, 1678. The environs

- of some towns, including Orleans, were also free of this tax. It should be noted that peasants moving into a *taille*-free town were still liable for ten years. Locke observed a tendency to send children to live in such towns and thus avoid a future burden.
62. See LÉONARD, *History of Protestantism*, II, p. 441 and n.
  63. *History of Protestantism*, II, p. 441.
  64. See *Persecution of Huguenots*, pp. 118-121.
  65. A. CHÉRUÉL (ed.), *Mémoires complets et authentiques...*, XIII, p. 24. The figures given here, based upon a variety of sources, reflect the loss on a regional basis set out by J. STOYE (*Europe unfolding 1648-1688*, p. 367), compared with the total Calvinist population of 856 000 given by MOURS (*Protestantisme en France au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, p. 86n.). STOYE (*Europe unfolding*, p. 367) suggests an emigration of about 175 000 for the years 1680-1700, representing some 20% of the reformed church population and less than 1% of the total population of France.
  66. *Protestantisme*, pp. 253-254.
  67. *Protestantisme*, p. 254.
  68. Note too that France was more than 90% rural in population at the close of the 17th century (P. ARIÈS, *Histoire des populations françaises et de leurs attitudes devant la vie depuis le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Collection Points, H3, p. 275).
  69. See A.P. HANDS and I. SCOULOUDI (eds), *French Protestant refugees relieved through the Threadneedle Street church, London 1681-1687*, Publications HSL, XLIX, appendix I, pp. 190-203.
  70. *Protestantisme*, pp. 253-254.
  71. 145, Correspondance: Ambassador to Louis XIV, The Hague, Jan. 3, 1686, f. 13.
  72. M. MOUSSEAU, *Aux sources françaises de la réforme (textes et faits); la Brie protestante*, p. 182. On the disposal of possessions see E. JAHAN, *La Confiscation des biens des religieux fugitifs de la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes jusqu'à la révolution*, Bibliothèque d'Histoire du Droit et Droit romain, 1.
  73. *Protestantisme*, p. 254.
  74. LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, pp. 254-255.
  75. GONIN and DELTEIL (eds), 'Révocation...vue par les informateurs', *BSHPF*, CXVIII, Jan.-March 1972, 118, p. 122: Allaume to Condé, Oct. 22, 1685.
  76. C 1936, Protestants, 1700-1762: Etat des religieux, Election de Reims, n.d. (AD Marne).
  77. C 1936, Protestants, 1700-1762: Etat des religieux, Election de Reims, n.d. (AD Marne).
  78. Ms. 122, Payen, Recueil, II: to Seignelay, Meaux, Dec. 6, 1685, f. 30v. (Bibl. mun. Meaux); MOUSSEAU (ed.), 'Documents', *BSHPF*, CVIII, Oct.-Dec. 1962, p. 251.
  79. *History of his own time*, I, p. 660.
  80. A.-M. DE BOISLISLE (ed.), *Correspondance des contrôleurs généraux*

- des finances avec les intendants des provinces*, I, 394, p. 100: to Le Peletier, April 4, 1687.
81. See LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, pp. 255-256.
  82. LADURIE, *Paysans de Languedoc*, I, pp. 614-629. See also LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, pp. 263-267.
  83. BOISLISLE (ed.), *Correspondance*, I, 206, pp. 54-55: Oct. 5, 1685.
  84. BOISLISLE (ed.), *Correspondance*, I, 578, p. 151: May 22, June 18 and 25, July 28, 1688.
  85. See P. GAILLARD, 'Vauban, la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes et la Dime royale', *BSHPF*, CXXI, July-Sept. 1975, pp. 354-369.
  86. 'Révocation', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1 June 1966, pp. 344-352.
  87. See particularly *Persecution of Huguenots*, pp. 434-447.
  88. BOISLISLE (ed.), *Correspondance*, I, 679, p. 177: March 23, 1689.
  89. LOUGH (ed.), *Locke's travels*, pp. 216; 217: Aug. 10 and 11, 1678. Recession in this industry before the revocation has been observed at Nimes in Languedoc (W.J. PUGH, 'Social welfare and the Edict of Nantes; Lyon and Nimes', *French Historical Studies*, VIII, 3, Spring 1974, pp. 366-367).
  90. GOBERT, 'Révocation', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 June 1966, pp. 576-577. On economic problems between 1684 and 1689 see L. ROTHKRUG, *Opposition to Louis XIV; the political and social origins of the French enlightenment*, pp. 211-233.
  91. P. KAEPPELIN, *La Compagnie des Indes orientales et François Martin; étude sur l'histoire du commerce et des établissements français dans l'Inde sous Louis XIV (1664-1719)*, reprint, Burt Franklin: Research and Source Works Series, 157/11, pp. 201-202.
  92. BOISLISLE (ed.), *Correspondance*, I, p. 106: June 10 to July 22, 1687.
  93. GOBERT, 'Révocation', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 June 1966, p. 577.
  94. SMILES, *Huguenots*, p. 269.
  95. GOBERT, 'Révocation', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 June 1955, p. 579: "Il est...raisonnable de conclure que la persécution religieuse n'atteignit pas de manière profonde la navigation française".
  96. I. SCHÖFFER, 'De Hugenoten in Nederland', in D. BOTTEN (ed.), *De Hugenoten in Nederland*, p. 22.
  97. Nov. 1686, p. 59.
  98. See the advertisements in the *Amsterdamsche Courant* from Nov. 3, 1685 (Middelburg) to Jan. 17, 1686 (Enkhuizen).
  99. C.H. VOORHOEVE, 'Hugenotenkerk in Voorburg werd 250 jaar geleden ingewijd', *Bulletin van de Nederlandse Hugenoten Stichting*, II, 1, March 1977, p. 17.
  100. H.H. BOLHUIS, 'La Hollande et les deux refuges', *Bulletin van de Nederlandse Hugenoten Stichting*, I, 1, March 1976, p. 6.
  101. F.R.J. KNETSCH, *Pierre Jurieu; theoloog en politikus der refuge*, p. 201, quoted by COERTZEN, *Franse Hugenote in Suid-Afrika*, p. 124.
  102. *History of Protestantism*, II, pp. 447-448.
  103. W.A. SHAW, 'The English government and the relief of Protestant refu-

- gees', *Proceedings HSL*, V, 3, Nov. 1895 – July 1896, pp. 343-423. See also HANDS and SCOULOUDI (eds), *French Protestant refugees*, pp. 2-5.
104. BRAY (ed.), *Diary*, p. 492: Nov. 3, 1685.
105. C.W. BAIRD, *History of the Huguenot emigration to America*, 2 v. in 1, II, pp. 161-166.
106. J.S. POWELL, 'The Huguenots of Portarlington', *Studies*, LXI, 244, Winter 1972, pp. 343-353.
107. SMILES, *Huguenots*, pp. 292-317.
108. L. FORSTER (ed.), *A calendar of the correspondence of J.H. Ott 1658-1671 in the library of the Huguenot Society of London*, Publications HSL, XLVI, 395, p. 32: J.R. Wettstein to Ott, Basle, Feb. 17, 1669.
109. *Amsterdamsche Saturdagse Courant*, Nov. 3, 1685: Geneva, Oct. 16.
110. LÉONARD, *History of Protestantism*, II, pp. 445-446.
111. BOISLISLE (ed.), *Correspondance*, I, 1196, pp. 324-325 and n.: Basville, May 26, 1693.
112. C. R(OCH), 'Jean Noblet', in V. ATTINGER (ed.), *Dictionnaire historique et biographique de la Suisse*, V, p. 154.
113. H.-V. AUBERT, 'Les Espions du résident de France à Genève après la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes', *BSHPF*, LXXII, Jan.-March 1923, pp. 39-43.
114. M. FAURE, 'Les Archives du presbytère protestant d'Annonay', *Revue du Vivarais*, LXXV, 2, April-June 1971, p. 55: letter of April 10, 1688.
115. GONIN and DELTEIL (eds), 'Révocation...vue par les informateurs', *BSHPF*, CXIX, Jan.-March 1973, 356, p. 111 and n.: Gourville to Condé, Paris, Feb. 4, 1686.
116. LÉONARD (*History of Protestantism*, II, p. 446) gives 22 000.
117. LÉONARD, *History of Protestantism*, II, pp. 446 and 446-447n.
118. *Die Hugenotten in Niedersachsen*, Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Niedersachsens, Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Niedersachsens, 58, p. 16, and on German figures generally, pp. 16-17.
119. *History of Protestantism*, II, p. 447.
120. *Mercurie historique et politique*, July 1687, p. 987: Nouvelles du Nort (*sic*).
121. On the Americas see BAIRD, *History of the Huguenot emigration*, 2 v. in 1. Some fled directly from France to the West Indies and Canada to avoid persecution (M. REIBLE, 'L'Emigration coloniale en Angoumois sous Louis XIV et la question protestante', *Mémoires de la Société archéologique et historique de la Charente*, 1958, p. 130).
122. U.-J. DE DIANOUX, 'Huguenots fled to Turkey', *Bulletin, Huguenot Society of South Africa*, 12, 1974, pp. 20-21.
123. Many were in Dutch service before the revocation (J. PANNIER, 'Les Protestants français en extrême-orient au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *BSHPF*, LIII, Nov.-Dec. 1904, pp. 481-492). For Jacob Crommelin and others who served in the Dutch East Indies see 'Het Rotterdamse naturalisatieregister...', *De Nederlandsche Leeuw*, XCV, 6 June 1978, cols 171; 176.
124. See Waalse gemeente, Maastricht, 1, Register van resoluties van het consistorie: Dec. 7, 1686, p. 67.

125. *French Protestant refugees*, appendix III, pp. 222-227.
126. See Eglise wallonne d'Arnhem, II, Comptes des diacres, 1686-1690.
127. HANDS and SCOULOUDI (eds), *French Protestant refugees*, p. 12: "Some . . . went elsewhere after weeks spent in a hopeless search for work".
128. 157, Hollande, correspondance: letter of April 6, 1688, f. 77.
129. See A. GROTZ and N. W(EISS) (eds), 'Le Sort des réfugiés en Hollande, Angleterre et ailleurs en 1687; d'après une lettre originale et inédite', *BSHPF*, XLIII, April 15, 1894, pp. 186-198. The author was Gaspard Baux, then in the United Provinces.
130. Eglise wallonne d'Arnhem, II, Comptes: Sept. 22, 1689, p. 13.
131. Waalse gemeente, Maastricht, 1, Register: Nov. 29, 1685, p. 52.
132. BW 590, Registre des Actes consistoriaux 1659-1773 (Leeuwarden): May 2, 1688; March 10, 1689, pp. 54; 58 (Bibl. wall.).
133. Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève, *Histoire de Genève des origines à 1798*, II, p. 353.
134. Collection Antoine Court, 17 S, Papiers de M. de Mirmand: letter to Mirmand, councillor of the Brandenburg embassy, Zürich, Sept. 9, 1689, f. 14 (Bibl. publ. et univ.).
135. D.G. CARASSO, 'Inleiding', in D.G. CARASSO *et al.*, *Amsterdam die grote stad; 17e en 18e eeuw*, p. 6, where the figure of 80-90% is given for the 18th century.
136. W.J. HARDY (ed.), *Calendar of state papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of William and Mary. 13th Feb. 1687 - April 1690*, p. 227: Aug. 23, 1689.
137. 153, Hollande, correspondance: letter of June 28, 1687, f. 134v.; GROTZ and W(EISS) (eds), 'Sort des réfugiés', *BSHPF*, XLIII, April 15, 1894, pp. 186-198.
138. Collection Court, 17 S: Pastor Brouzet to Mirmand, Lausanne, Dec. 10, 1689, f. 15.
139. Eglise wallonne d'Arnhem, I, Livre des Actes du Consistoire, 1684-1819: Dec. 10, 1692 (GA Arnhem).
140. 153, Hollande, correspondance: letter of Jan. 28, 1687, f. 16v.
141. 143, Correspondance: Saint-Disdier, The Hague, Nov. 15, 1685, f. 167; 149, Hollande, correspondance: letters Haarlem, May 2 and 24, 1686, ff. 163: 180-180v.
142. See M.R. THORP, 'The Anti-Huguenot undercurrent in late-seventeenth-century England', *Proceedings HSL*, XXII, 6, 1976, pp. 569-580.
143. GROTZ and W(EISS) (eds), 'Sort des réfugiés', *BSHPF*, XLIII, April 14, 1894, p. 198.
144. Archives de l'Eglise de Genève, R 66, Procès verbaux des séances du consistoire, 1685-1688: Sept. 19, 1687, ff. 255 and v. (AE Geneva).
145. LÉONARD, *History of Protestantism*, II, p. 446.
146. Collection Court, 15, lettres et autres pièces: Ruvigny, Coventry, March 6, 1692 (copy), f. 41 (Bibl. publ. et univ.).
147. Collection Court, 14: Bibaud to Daillé, Aug. 26, 1699 (copy), ff. 179 and v.
148. L. GOLDING, *The Jewish problem*, p. 19.

149. Collection Court, 48, Mémoires: Requête en vers presentes (*sic*) au Roy par Mrs. de la Religion pretendüe Reformée au sujet de la Suppression de l'Edit de Nantez, n.d., ff. 241-242 (Bibl. publ. et univ.).
150. Eglise wallonne d'Arnhem, I, Livre des Actes: Nov. 8, 1685, for national day of prayer, Nov. 11.
151. Collection Court, 15: E. Benoist to Berne refugee directors, Delft, March 4, 1698 (copy), f. 114.
152. Waalse gemeente, Maastricht, 1, Register: extraordinary meeting, March 13, 1699, p. 185: "Les Refugiés viennent en foule".
153. 469<sup>2</sup>, Papiers concernant l'église de Riez, Ro(u)moules et annexes, 1626-1711: June 29, 1711, f. 164 (Bibl. Prot., SHPF).
154. BAIRD, *History of the Huguenot emigration*, II, p. 151.
155. Eglise wallonne d'Arnhem, I, Livre des Actes: May 8, 1684.
156. Kerkbestuur, 1/1, Handelingen, 1686-1780: March 15, 1687, ff. 6v.-7 (GA Groningen). Groningen used the Julian calendar at this time, as was the case with all the Dutch and German Protestant states (Holland and Prussia excepted) until 1700.
157. BW 590, Registre (Leeuwarden): March 6, 1687, p. 53.
158. See particularly Actes du Consistoire, III, 1687-1704 (Haarlem) (EW Haarlem). At Leeuwarden refugee pastors quarrelled among themselves over precedence. A solution was found by allowing them to walk into church "selon l'ancien(n)eté de leur réception" (BW 590, Registre: July 1, 1688, p. 55).
159. Waalse gemeente, Maastricht, 1, Register: Dec. 7, 1686, p. 67. He was received on March 24, 1687 (p. 71).